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DISSENT IN DEMOCRACY THE DEMAND OF THE DAY

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“The only thing wroth globalising is dissent.” -Arundhati Roy

“Dissent is the highest form of patriotism” -Attributed to Thomas Jefferson

“We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty.” -Edward R. Murrow

“What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or in the holy name of liberty or democracy?” - Mahatma Gandhi



EDITORIAL

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Dissent in Democracy: The Demand of the Day

Jnana-Deepa Journal is glad to bring out the proceedings of the annual Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth inter-faculty seminar, held on 13-14 November, 2016, at Jnana-Deepa Vidhyapeeth campus, Pune. The organizing committee was headed by Dr. Paulraj and myself. Papers were presented by the residential and guest faculties of JDV and the post-graduate students took active part in it. Rt. Rev. Thomas Dabre, Bishop of Pune and the Vice-Patron of JDV, was the chief guest for the inaugural ceremony of the seminar. He insisted upon the need for upholding the sacred values of democracy and pointed out that, more than ever before, we are in a difficult and challenging situation where our rich cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism is under severe threat. The papers covered a wide range of areas from the Scriptures to Plato's ideas, and from the Tribals' perspectives to the lessons from the world of natural sciences.

Dr. Victor Ferrao, Rachol Seminary, Goa, delivered the keynote address, "(Un) Democratising Democracy", in which, he highlighted the need for an open mind to accept constructive criticism which is unfortunately disappearing in our present Indian society. In the efforts to focus upon uniformity instead of unity the spirit of intolerance is dangerously on the increase. If someone is critical towards the majority and dares to think differently he or she is branded as 'anti-national'. Everyone is forced to think along the same lines and therefore "All dissent is viewed as anti-national. The sense and the nonsense of this politics of anti-nationalism lies

in a dislocated sense of insecurity acutely felt by the one who feels the need to make a public claim of purity of one's nationalism". He elaborates on some of the painful and unhealthy practices and events that take place which pose a serious threat to democracy. He finally calls for a serious introspection and invites all the people of good will to join together to restore democracy, peace and harmony in our nation: "(Un)democratising of democracy in our country is gaining momentum by the day. We have slipped into undeclared state of emergency. Can we diagnose this painful condition or shall we stay mum numbed by the intoxication of nationalism or the oedipal response triggered by the fear the very goons that are actively destroying our democracy".

Though it is the general opinion that St. Paul is a traditionalist or a conformist who supports the status quo unquestioningly, yet, as **Dr. Paul Raj**, in his exposition on "I regard them as rubbish, in order that I may gain Christ" (Phi 3:8): Paul's Radical Dissent with the Past Life Based on the Law", argues that there are in fact a number of stories about his life and mission which demonstrate that he was also a person of strong dissent to many elements that came across in his life. Paul undoubtedly challenged the legalistic attitude of the Jews, as Jesus did against the Pharisees and their legalistic approach to life. Paul was determined to follow Jesus in every aspect including his boldness and readiness to challenge the meaningless traditions. However Paul was cautious and wise: "While remaining faithful to the elements that were common to his old and new ways of life, for example accepting the fact that both the testaments speak of the one and the same God, he boldly questioned and rejected his learned traditions that contradicted his new experience considering them as either meaningless or redundant." At the same time he has also successfully integrated from his past life and background whatever was supportive of his new experience and life." The author, thus, argues that Paul's dissent was not reckless, nor just for the sake of dissenting, but it was constructive and well-calculated, from which we have much to learn.

Dr. Stephen Chundamthadam, SJ, in his "Democracy and Vigilantism: An analytical study of Indian democracy with reference

to Rājadharmā in the Manusmṛiti and the Republic of Plato,” attempts to bring in the two separate worlds of Manusmṛiti and Plato. He begins with the short description of the painful scenario of atrocities meted out against the minorities and how Dalits, especially Dalit women, are treated inhumanly in the country, which though takes pride in being the largest democratic country in the world. He argues that as we have selfish leaders without a vision for the country the Helpless masses and the cry for justice; he points out the need for ethical values and the guiding principles for political leaders and the administrative structures which usually turn out to be unjust and oppression. As rulers and policy makers are responsible for the welfare and happiness of the people they need to be people of honesty and integrity. Democracy may be, as Winston Churchill puts it, the worst form of government but we are not left with better options either. If the government goes to the corrupted and inhuman hands the masses have to suffer for a considerable time before any good change occurs in but the present ruling powers can get so powerful that they make sure to come back to power by any hook or crook. The author complains that the present leaders in our country are more interested in their own well-being and prosperity, rather than that of the people and they act against the rājadharmā and against the fundamental principles of democracy. Nevertheless he ends with the hope that “there will emerge leaders like Jayprakash Narayan who sacrificed his life for the cause of democracy and freedom. At the appropriate time people will respond creatively and genuine leaders will emerge to articulate the resentment of the people and to take up on themselves the agony and suffering of the people. To strengthen such a move we need to have the courage to take a stand with the oppressed and the suffering.”

It is natural that we differ from one another in our thinking and assessment. It is not an exception therefore to have different sets of values, approaches, belief-systems and so on. But human society is not possible if we don't live together in harmony. Differences on the one hand and the need for togetherness on the other hand seem to be two sides of the same coin. We need to live with each other to make our lives not only worth-the-while, but also even to make it possible; because we have different thinking capacities and

interests we are bound to disagree with each other and therefore the need is felt to give serious consideration to the dissenting voices; and finally we all are called to improve upon the society in holistic manner where not only the human society but also the whole environment is given their due importance. Therefore, **Prof. Nishant A. Irudayadason**, in his paper on “With, Against and for the Other”, reflects along these lines and offers his insights for “everyone who wishes to care for the other. Our call is to dissent to anything that might hinder the flourishing of human ideals. ‘With the other’ is the good will to be part of a social and political co-living. ‘Against the other’ expresses the inevitability of conflict and dissent. ‘For the other’ is the reason for which dissent becomes necessary.”

Dr. Arjen Tete SJ, in his paper, “Resisting Cultural Genocide”, powerfully brings out the dangerous and anti-poor nexus between the corporate world and the policy-makers in politics. As the adivasis are generally powerless in several fronts they are easily intimidated when they dare to come up with dissenting voices. The author cautions that their genuine protests, cries for their rights and demands for listening ears cannot be easily annihilated and there may be a big upsurge coming from within Adivasi communities. These communities look at lands not just as their properties and means of livelihood, but as the very cultural and existential identities. It affects their attitudes, values and way of life, and therefore when their land is forcefully taken away to be destroyed in the name of development, their very identity and existence are challenged. He elaborates on the current situation of land alienation and displacement and the tribals’ resistance for their very survival. He calls for a ‘radical ecological democracy’. The author argues that the tribals’ reverential attitude towards nature and their cautious care in utilizing the natural resources, just for their survival rather than for their greed, teach the modern society a great lesson on democratic ecology: “They [the tribals] register a powerful protest against a wasteful lifestyle devoid of any sense of responsibility to the world of nature. Tribal resistance in central states of India is for radical ecological democracy which is an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development”.

One of the minority sections that are forgotten or deliberately neglected in our society is the group of “LGBTQ” - gays, lesbians, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex community. Their voices and concerns are often taken into any consideration at all. **Dr. Konrad Noronha SJ**, analyses some of their concerns in his “Fractured Identities, Invisible Selves”. He argues that their rights are denied because of social taboos and cultural hangovers. This unhealthy treatment by the society in general affects those sections of people very badly, even to the extent of shaping their attitudes towards life, God, society, religion and so on. Counselors require special training to deal with such clients to understand them and to deal with their real issues of life. These people’s genuine problems and apprehensions demand a sympathetic hearing and constructive efforts are to be taken to make them acceptable in the main stream of the society. The author opines that the “Improvement or failure depends on the therapeutic relationship and the type of therapy used because therapies can be used appropriately as well as badly. This implies educating counselors in working with LGBTQI clients. Community resources too form an important part of the assessment of any client as community impacts treatment and any counseling work done with an LGBTQI client. A counselor must build on the capacity to solve problems, increase strengths, must be community driven, and must emphasize the assets of the client and the community. This would help tremendously in giving a variety of clients a holistic approach towards treatment.”

Prof. S. Stephen Jayard in his paper, “Dissent: A Demand for Ascent - An Essential Lesson from the Existential Nature of Science”, likes to look at the whole issue from the perspectives of Philosophy of Science. Amidst all the millions of species since the beginning of the Universe, we are, at least as far as we know today, the only ‘thinking’ beings; this thinking has to be nourished and encouraged so that the whole humanity gets enhanced. Respecting the diverse thinking and methods is essential as reality is too vast to be comprehended by one single method or mode of thinking. Therefore, “To curtail one’s thinking and force one to act only in certain manner would actually be a great disservice, not only to the individual concerned, but also to the whole of humanity; applying the same mould of thinking and acting to everyone in society will

lead humanity to a stunted growth and land it in stable waters.” This necessitates dissenting voices in our society. Science is, perhaps, the first discipline to realize not to absolutize any one perspective; there is always much to learn, not only from others but also from one’s own mistakes; “after all we can never know how much we don’t know and all that we know is what we know.” The paper argues, with examples from different sectors, that blind adherence to the powers and failure to allow diverse perspectives are dangerous to the growth of science and the welfare of the society in general. As Albert Einstein is convinced that “Blind belief in authority is the greatest enemy of truth.” The paper, further, attempts to explain how dissent in science is essential because of the very nature of science, by focusing on three important aspects: the nature of human reasoning, method of science and theory choice. Thus the paper argues that science teaches us a strong lesson in democracy that humanity cannot afford to ignore!

At the end of the deliberations on such a relevant and important theme the participants are deeply convinced of the need and relevance of informed dissent to strengthen our democracy to deepen our intellectual acumen / and to enhance the multifarious dimensions of our beloved nation. We wish and pray that our leaders, politicians, policy-makers and all the people of good-will put their minds and hearts together...

- To create an atmosphere of open and sympathetic dialogue where each and every one is given due respect and dignity in listening to one’s sincere viewpoints...
- To strive sincerely to enrich our society with renewed vigour and commitment to ensure that the multi-dimensional face of India is strengthened... and
- To work together to create unity, not uniformity to become the agents of the Holy Spirit in building up the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth.

Prof. S. Stephen Jayard

Faculty of Philosophy
(Guest Editor)



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(Un)Democratising Democracy

- Victor Ferrao

The eruption of binary of national/anti-national into the public sphere of our country appears to be a way of (un)democratising of our democracy. We as a nation are passing through narcissistic crises that trigger most of us to view everything that afflicts us through the prism of nationalism which itself is not national enough. We seem to have steadily migrated into a society of spectacle that wants to ratify/ enjoy its nationalism by slamming anti-nationalism on its others. A new Narcissus Indicus is born in our country that continuously draws the lines between itself and so called its anti-national other. We can trace this narcissism that masks as nationalism almost everywhere in our society. Students in national universities become victims of sedition. The cow vigilante's brigade simply takes laws in its hands against even imagined beef eaters. The baktas of BJP put out posters that may have portrayed Gods in bad light while they depicted the human PM Modi as divine. The army is strong when it comes to Pakistan but becomes weak if questioned by some Indians. All dissent is viewed as anti-national. The sense and the nonsense of this politics of anti-nationalism lies in a dislocated sense of insecurity acutely felt by the one who feels the need to make a public claim of purity of one's nationalism. I judge someone as anti-national and by that token think that I affirm my nationalism seems to have become the way of becoming Indian.

The phallic logic that seems to be at play in our context upholds the law of the father (ultra-Nationalism) and appears to say "you

are anti-national, therefore I am national". What is this phallic logic that has held us captive today? It is a repose that we often give when we are faced with fear and anxieties. This fear is described as castration phobia by the psychoanalyst. It is a response that is triggered by a sense of loss. The loss of self that a person/ community may feel in the face of its other demands a recovery of the lost self. This recovery is an actualizing of the image of the other in and through the cultural matrix of the self. Hence, the self carries its own other within it. Thus, for instance, we can discern how the colonial mission of civilization is carried forward in multiple ways by their mimic men who follow the hindutva ideology. This means the self is defined in relation to its other. The phallic logic having its relation to the phallus, (the symbol of procreation/ order of things) in any society is essentially logic of the body. Hence, it necessarily brings a feeling of alignment of the individual's body with the body of a nation which is brought about by exclusion of its otherised anti-national other. This is the umbilical cord that has to be cut to make one feel that one is national, pure and triumphant. Indeed, we have to examine this new felt need by a triumphant Indian subject to reconceive its loyalties to India by exorcising its other as a demonized anti-national. The colonial demand that said 'turn white or disappear' seems to have undergone a mimicked translation that says 'turn national or disappear'.

The national/ anti-national binary distributes anti-nationality to every opponent or dissident. The nation's ideal (see it as enlargement of Freud's ego ideal and ideal ego) is differed/ delayed in its actualization. It is therefore, easy to mask one's anti-nationalism by calling one's other anti-national. This means that one imagines that one becomes ideal citizen/ nationalist by dumping the other as anti-national. While this drama of assigning national / anti-national space continues, what is important is to ask ourselves what it does to our democracy. We seem to feel our nationalism in the event of acting upon that which is deemed as anti-national. This enactment of nationalism and anti-nationalism takes place on the body. What is deemed as anti-national has a profound body relation. Thus, beef eating, dressing of jeans by the women or their entry into pubs, the discourse about the sacrifice of the army, anti-national sloganeering, politics of the surgical

strikes etc., all are bodily. While doing this a sharp question arises: Are we enjoying our death drive? Is our democracy being sacrificed on the altar of nationalism and with what consequence? We have to scrutinize these questions so that we can respond to the narcissistic crisis afflicting our society.

It appears that nationalism has become the new opium for us Indians. Under its intoxication, we have silenced all dissenting voices. Every dissident and dissent is construed as anti-national as a result all shades of opposing voices are de-authorized and democracy has been transformed into oligarchy, the rule of elite for the elite. This social engineering that is (un)democratising our democracy remains unchallenged as we odipalise ourselves fearing of being branded as anti-national. But the choice of silence kills all dissent and our democracy loses its teeth. The question is why should we allow these voices

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of the controlling parents in our society to father us? Why do we fear being orphaned by these de-nationalizing forces? Unfortunately, oedipal behaviour of the majority allows a minority to control our destiny. Therefore, it is important that we find our voice of dissent. Democracy without dissent is nothing but the rule of despotic power elite. We seem to be on fast track to reach this point. All opposition or counter opinion being ridiculed as anti-national, several among us are choosing silence. The hegemonic articulations of the Government pass off without opposition because every shade of dissident is framed as anti-national. With no debate, contestation and effective interrogation, the spirit of democracy dies and a strong monologue of the ruling elite begins to hide under the mask of democracy. The mask of democracy is (un)democratising the democracy in our country right in front of our eyes. This is a death of democracy. It is like the Freud's dream where he saw that his father was dead but felt that his father did not know of his own death. In our case, it is we and not the dad father in Freud's dream who do not know about the death of democracy in it is very functioning. We

need to reclaim our right to dissent by contesting the brand of nationalism that deems others anti-national and thus save our (un) democratising of our democracy.

All societies undergo social conflict. Dissent and dissenters are essential component of a healthy society. The crises that is afflicting our democracy in our country is that nothing can remain open or undecided. Almost everything is foreclosed and determined on the basis of nationalism. The politics of loyalty and betrayal is than played to check dissent. This means that the one who detracts from these 'salvific teleologies' is branded as anti-national. Therefore, we may have to ask ourselves: are we unknowingly subscribing to the erasure of democracy in the very practice of the same? Have we fallen prey to the logic of hegemony of the politics of loyalty and betrayal? Unfortunately, It seems that we have become captives of

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to the politics of loyalty and betray at play in our society. The hegemony of this politics has weakened our democracy. But we cannot become active signatories of crumbling of democracy while it is being practiced in our country. We need to understand how our

active silence contributes to the (un)democratising of democracy. May be the post-Marxist thinkers like Ernest Laclau assist us to understand our pathetic condition. He teaches that politics of hegemony (in our case politics of loyalty and betrayal) has specific dynamics. He says that the power elite captures the empty signifier of the social order and foists its principles on the other constituents of the social whole. Thus, in our context, we can see how the BJP claims that it represents the interest of the Indian Hindus while it simply represents the interest of the corporate in India. But to mask this it foists the politics of loyalty and betrayal. Same may be said of Congress who has cast its nets among the minorities and others in the name of secularism. Both had enjoyed hegemony as active representatives and organisers of totality (of reality) for us Indians. Although, there are alternate narratives of AAP and others, they are still to find their firm foot in our society. With the politics

of loyalty and betray going gaga, the death of our democracy seems imminent. It is going to come sooner than we expect as we seem to have reached the monarchical totality under BJP where no opposition seems have the teeth to contest the power of (un) democratization of our democracy that is unleashed in our society.

The impending death of democracy in the very practice of democracy means that democracy is not totally supplanted by the power elite (BJP and its visible and invisible allies) in our country. It is in the mask of democracy that they hide their interest and present it with the veil of patriotism and hence cannot be opposed without being chastised as anti-national. That is why we may have to painfully agree that we have become an ensemble, a silent multitude unable to interrogate the dying democracy around us. This domestication and the taming of the multitude in the power of the politics of loyalty and betray calls for a resistance that will inscribe dissent and dissensus as the essential way of being an Indian. The discursive totality has to be broken. The salvific teleologies of the ruling BJP and its visible and invisible allies have to be deconstructed. Being fed on the so called lost golden past , the BJP and its allies propose to recover the lost golden past for us in the coming future. Thus, it has successfully created a desire of the sublime that is yet to come, the so called the Hindu Rashtra. Faced with the forever delayed coming of the pure Hindu Rashtra, we Indians take different positions which move from one of celebratory expectations to those that see it as gloom and doom. The discursive totality that has disabled and arrested our thinking of the alternatives has lead us to fed our egos on the fantasy of the 'second coming' of the Hindu Rashtra (even when there was no original Hindu Rashtra). What we have is only a counterfeit copy which is being flashed at us. Thus, the discourse of one nation one law, the surgical attacks, terror and Pakistan has captured our minds and we have lost sight of farmer suicides, the OROP struggle of our Army men, atrocities on dalits, women, tribals and other minorities in our country. We have been craftily anaesthetized and led into a collective amnesia under the maya of counterfeit copies of the sublime, the Hindu Rastra.

While we are given a hope of the return of Hindu Rastra, whose fore-glow seems to have put us into a state of numbness, a narcissus Indicus has become opium of the masses in our country. We seem to be happy to enjoy it being enacted in the images that allow us seeing ourselves migrating into the PM while he holds the sword or play Ram or Krishna much to the ecstasy of the mindless public both in huge mass rallies as well as often stage managed and even doctored images in the television. Thus, the withering of our democracy under the cover of a nationalism that is denationalising a sizable part of our citizenry with the arm of politics of loyalty and betrayal remains undetected. The fact that we do not seem to notice the eroding of our democracy shows that we seem to have suffered what is called the messianic arrest of our thought. We have found a messiah who will bring good days for us and we are happy waiting for the rising sun which never seems to come on the horizon. The corrosive poison that is crippling our democracy is already corroding us. Some of us have become active foot soldiers of the intoxicating 'sublime', the Hindu Rastra. Therefore, we may have to ask a difficult question: Can our democracy and the ideology of Hindutva cohabit without bringing any mortal harm to the practice of democracy in our country? Is Hindutva, the opium that kills our democracy in its practice? May be we have stepped into a mystification that has converted our democracy into an Ideology. When a discourse and practise legitimates and justifies oppression and presents it as a sine quanon or the only available option, it becomes an Ideology. It places the oppressive condition as the only alternative although it may be imperfect. Thus, it put foreclosures on every other alternate response to our precarious condition. Hence, we need a new leap of consciousness or a new upanishadic watershed that will contest the political abuse of our religions and cultures in our country. The West saw it in the French revolution and the enlightenment. Perhaps, we have to take a long march to restore real democracy in our country. Our loyalty and betrayal is visible in the practice of democracy and we can see who is really loyal and who betrays the interest of every citizen of our country.

Led by Karl Marx, we thought that that ideology distorts our reality. We think that it is something which is blurring our straight view. But today scholars like Slavoj Zizek teach us something

completely different. He says that ideology is not something that is introduced from outside on us. We in a way enjoy our ideology. We resist getting out of it. We seem to have to be forced to be free from it and it is discomforting and painful. He says that we are already eating the thrash from the thrash can that we may call ideology. May be we might understand this with a help of a film. The film, 'They lived from 1988' is one of the forgotten master pieces of Hollywood. It tells the story of John Nada. Nada in Spanish means nothing. It stands for a subject deprived of all substantial content.

Nada was a homeless worker drifting around; who one day happens to enter an abandoned Church and finds a box full of sun glasses. When he puts on the glasses something strange happens. The sun glasses begin to function like de-ideology glasses. They allow him to see

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We are already
eating the trash
from the trash-can
we may call as
'ideology'.
”

the real message beneath all glitz, propaganda and publicity. Thus, when he watches a hording that says have a holiday of your life time with his glasses on, he sees a grey inscription on a white background that says: 'marry and reproduce'. When he puts the glasses on he begins to see dictatorship in democracy. It is an invisible order that seem to sustain our apparent freedom. The truth is that we seem to live a lie.

The paradox is that we ascribe an absent invisible quality to everything. There is this absent excess in everything. This is how we feed on ideology. Thus, for instance, the burning of the effigy of PM Modi as Ravana on Vijayadashami day has offended some baktas because they seem to step out of the ideology enjoyed by the students and see the excess meaning that is hurdled on the effigy due the symbolism of Ravana and the choice of the day. It is as if this baktas and others had the luxury of putting the de-ideology sun glasses but only in this isolated case. Is that really so? Or are they really feeling the discomfort of standing out of their own ideology (even for a short time) which seems to have a temporary fall? Things are truly complex. May be we are led to detect our own enslavement to our ideology when faced with a temporary collapse

of the same. It is as if the scales in our eyes fall and we seem to wear the de-ideological glasses and are enabled to see our plight for a brief moment. It is like the stain that blemishes the canvas that sustains our ideology laden picture of our life. Today when we are living under the command of a narrow hate ridden nationalism which several among us have begun to enjoy because under its command we seem to feel an experience an absent presence of a quality that we consume with a sense of triumph and a feeling of being ahead of those that can be viewed as not national enough. Yes, we seem to enjoy the obligation to live a nationalism that is soaked in our religion cutting across all religions mimicking the (Lacanian) big other, the Hindu nationalist even when the our big other may ridicule our nationalism declaring that it is not national enough. The big other approves and legitimate the satisfaction of desire. The question is how we face the enjoyment of the big other, the triumphant Hindu nationalist? Majority among us enjoy the miming of nationalism that copies the enjoyment of the Big other while several others enjoy producing alternate nationalisms which are different but mark remarkable sameness to the tenor and texture (form) of the one enjoyed by the big other. All enjoy loving their motherland but in different ways some in approved ways others in contra and rebellious ways to the way of the mainstream big other.

The reigning Hindu nationalism has produced its other nationalisms soaked in religions, castes, regions etc. This means that nationalism has become an ideology. We can only detect the ideology of the other and fail to see our own staring into our eyes. India is living under the command of nationalism and we seem to be enjoying it like a coke that never really satisfies our thirsts. The vital issue is to discern what this ideology laden shades of nationalisms that can be identified among the different national and regional parties in the political spectrum are doing to our democracy. We may have to put on the de-ideological glasses to understand the strangulating damage that it has done to our democracy. It along with the economic policies that we pursue seem to have converted the practice of our democracy into an ideology. That is why what afflicts our society is nothing but ideological battles centred around the nationalism legitimated by the big other (the Hindu nationalism). Urgent issues like rising prices, famers

suicides, black money stored abroad, growing unemployment, denial of OROP to the soldiers, atrocities on the dalits, minorities and tribals etc do not have place even in our prime time of our television. In this scenario, the dissident and any form of dissent becomes an offence against the nation. We cannot see the love of the nation that triggers the dissent. But over simplify it as anti-national. This means we can violate our democracy but cannot stand the violation of the spirit of nationalism which of course is not embracive of other nationalisms. Ironically, this ideologically laden narrow nationalism urgently requires de-ideologizing glasses. Who will provide us the same? We seem to have been taken captive to this desire for the coming of the pure nation that always remains absent. It is the mysterious something absent that remains in an anticipatory form in the enjoyment of a nationalism that drives the practice of democracy. It is like the kinder surprise egg enjoyed by our children. The chocolate egg carries a surprise gift, the inner treasure that we get for free. Likewise, we chase our democracy and what we get today is the lure of the surprise gift, the promise of pure nationalism that always fail to satisfy like the surprise gift hidden in the kinder egg. In some way, we are infantilized and have become children fighting over an intoxicating drive for a coming of a perfect nation unmindful of the destruction of democracy in the very practice of the same.

We have to discuss this issue more closely. What are our political parties doing to our Democracy ? The political context in our country seems to have become a contest of the same. Each political party is trapped into playing the other of same for us. What does this mean? May be an example will assist us to illustrate this dynamics. BJP seems to play the other of Congress. We may ask: what is wrong in being the other of Congress? Ostensibly, there appears nothing wrong at its face value. If one looks at this dynamics profoundly with the help of psychoanalytical tools, we may get an insight into the politics both in our country and my home state Goa. This means we have to attentively discern the question of the other raised by political parties inhabiting our political space. Another way of looking at this vital issue is to study how the many is subjugated by the one in our political scenario. Here we will have to interrogate some of our assumptions that uncritically hold that

the one has to be over many. Therefore, what is many will have to become a copy of the one. The many thus is hierarchized and kept second to the privileged one. Now, in a multi-party democracy like India, it would be interesting to trace how all parties have played second to the one that is regarded as the original archetype. This original archetype becomes the background for the rest of political parties to claim their political space from time to time. The political landscape being dynamic, the one that assigns the rest a second position keeps shifting. Sometime ago the one that occupied this dominant position was Congress. But things have changed today.

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We seem to be trapped in a familiar discourse of ‘tu-tu mein-mein’ between and beyond the voices that have become second to the first.

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At present the privileged one that has pushed every other party in a secondary position is undoubtedly the BJP. Within our political landscape, every other major political party like the INC, NCP, AAP and the rest are playing the other of BJP and in a way playing second to it. Hence, we seem to be

trapped in a familiar discourse of ‘tu tu mein mein’ between and beyond the voices that have become second to the first (BJP).

In a political scenario where one ensnares the other to be second, the political discourse is set by the one and every other voice becomes its echo at the other end of the spiral of communication. This means in our contest, the political discourse is mainly set by the dominant BJP that has also usurped the apparatus of mass communication. Even when the secondary other (like Congress, AAP, Goa Forward in the Goa) contests and interrogates the discourse of the dominant one, the secondary other can speak only within the discursive framework of the one (BJP). This does not mean, the secondary other does not have to contest the dominant discourse. Indeed, the secondary other in our political landscape is not a monolith. Neither does it has to merely generate a counter discourse that remains imprisoned into the discursive frame set by the dominate one. It, however, has to raise a new discourse by changing the discursive framework at play. The change in discourse

has to be simultaneously counter-discourse to the political discourse of the dominant other and dismantle the privileged location of the imperial one (the BJP). This is the only way of breaking the chain that pushes the otherised parties to be others of BJP. Hence, instead of becoming relatively good copies of the Imperial one (The BJP in our context), each political party has to strive to dismantle/ derail the dominant and dominating discourse unleashed by the imperial one. Democracy should be the reversal of many over one but we seem to be hooked by the regime of dominant one over many. This is why we seem to be replicating the same old corruption under different labels where each political party becomes nothing but the other of the same. Maybe, we have to rethink the relation of one and many as a plural relation of many and not one over many.

The political reproduction of dominant one over secondary many can be arrested by extricating the otherised others from the dominant one. This will open us to the plural relation of many and is truly a democratic practice. It is only by refusing to be the other of the same (one) that true democracy can flourish among us. This means the plural of the many finds its sovereign voice and does not merely echo/ repeat the voice of the dominant one. The change of discourse that will reverse the regime of one over many has to transcend the discourse set by the dominating one over the rest. Therefore, in the context of the simmering political situation in Goa, we have to ascertain which parties are best suited to change the discourse that can dismantle the dominant one. We have already found that the Congress seems to have lost its unique voice and has somehow settled to be the other of the dominant BJP. Hence, it fails to inspire confidence to unsettle BJP. The politics of playing the other of BJP cannot succeed because the people of Goa have several viable choices which they lacked during the last election wherein BJP craftily played the other of Congress. NCP also appears to be playing the other of Congress and hence, the political space it enjoyed is shrinking very fast. The independent legislators who won last time cannot become invisible players of the BJP once again. With MGP apparently dancing to the tunes of BJP and reinforcing the discourse set by it, we seem to be left with AAP and Goa Forward to usher in the change in discourse that will

unsettle the ruling BJP and its (visible and invisible) allies. Hence, the question boils down to the fact that determines whether this two parties will become sucked into playing the other of BJP and die the Congress way or would they come together as two distinct voices that refuse to be the other of ruling BJP and stay together without being the other of each other. The anti-corruption of AAP may not enough to set a new discourse to unseat the ruling BJP Besides, sometimes AAP has been appropriated as the other of BJP that would only lead BJP to power. Hence, its anti-corruption stand long with the Goa-centric core ideology of Goa Forward that seeks to make the people of Goa as the sole high command seems to have seeds of destruction for the BJP and its (visible and invisible)allies in Goa provided they refuse to be merely the others of BJP

Is there a life after democracy? Democracy is flawed but it is better than any other mode of Governance that is on offer. Do we have too much representation and too little democracy? What have

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Our democracy
is kept alive, but
as dead through
the practice.”

we done to democracy? Have we hollowed all meaning out of democracy? Is our democracy emptied of its meaning. It seems that democracy has mutated in its very practice. Death of democracy is hidden or disguised in its practice. The practice of democracy not only

disguises or hides the death of democracy but also disguises the act of hiding. This means it hides the disguise. Thus the guise of democracy guards what takes place secretly and keeps it sealed from the people at a secret place. Thus, the secret place is a place of silence and hence no one can speak about it. It enters the unsayable and the unutterable zone because it hides something dead. Our democracy is kept alive but as dead through the practice. The practice of democracy has become the secret hiding place that disguises both the dead democracy and the act of hiding its death. Democracy is the living dead and is enjoying life after death. Unfortunately, the afterlife of democracy is castrating our citizenry.

What is being hidden in the very practice of democracy is that which we all seem to know but cannot speak without slipping into blasphemy. Democracy is already displaces and is displacing us continuously. The phallic logic that runs it forces us to oedipalize and we choose the latency of silence. Democracy seems to have become a word that lies. There is censure inscribed on the texture of democracy. The censure demands complete obedience without any shade of defence. The democracy that we enjoy gives less political, economic, social and religious freedoms. We cannot question the Prime Minister, our Military, our economic policies and religious freedoms. All this demonstrates and manifests the censure that inhabits in the very texture of our democracy. These different censures seem to guard us from detecting the absence of democracy in the presence of it. We seem to be living in a society that has kept democracy under erasure. (Un)democratising of democracy in our country is gaining momentum by the day. We have slipped into undeclared state of emergency. Can we diagnose this painful condition or shall we stay numbed by the intoxication of nationalism or the oedipal response triggered by the fear of the very goons that are actively destroying our democracy?

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**"I regard them as rubbish,
in order that I may gain Christ"
(Phi 3:8)**

Paul's Radical Dissent with the Past Life Based on the Law

- M. Paul Raj

Abstract

There are a number of stories about St Paul's life and mission which demonstrate that he was also a person of strong dissent to many elements that came across in his life. In this short paper we are focusing our attention on these elements and areas. The author wishes to begin by making a few observations on the concept of dissent. After analysing what dissent is, he explains the context of Philemon (3:8), Galatians and Romans to explore Paul's understanding of dissent. The author concludes by affirming that Paul is not advocating dissent from everything that is traditional and standardized. His dissent is limited to the insufficiencies of the past. It is experience-based and situation-bound.

Keywords

St Paul, dissent in St. Paul, Jewish law, experience of God.

It may look strange to speak of 'dissent' in Paul who is habitually considered to be a traditionalist or a conformist who supports the status quo unquestioningly. Yet in fact there are a number of stories about his life and mission which demonstrate that he was also a person of strong dissent to many elements that came across in his life. In this short paper we are focusing our attention on these

elements and areas. I wish to begin by making a few observations on the concept of dissent.

‘Dissent’! What is It?

Dissent is born out of human capability to critical thinking which enables one to identify the differences in needs, aspirations, achievements, convictions, ideologies, experiences and value systems of both the individuals and groups in a society and to ‘finds one’s own way’ out into the world. Every form of dissent which deviates from the stereotyped modes of thought and behaviour, also implies an assent to something which is different from the established and long-standing traditions and conventions of a system.

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Authentic dissent
includes the readiness
to take risks in one’s
life and to even risk
life itself..
”

Dissent is never absolute and universal but partial and temporary. The one who wishes to be eternally and universally dissenting will end up in self-alienation and self-annihilation. At the same time authentic dissent includes the readiness to take risks in one’s life and even to risk life itself. Dissent is necessary for opening up inventive possibilities which enable a system to find a way out of hurdles, impasses, deadlocks and stalemates. Therefore, maintaining a creative tension between dissent and assent is imperative in every democratic system.

In the theology of religions sphere, dissent acquires special connotations. One can disagree with the belief system of a particular religion and choose to follow another one. Or one can attempt to reform and / or revive one’s own religion by challenging the rusted and corrupt praxis within it and by resuscitating the religion’s original foundations through prophetic and revolutionary words and deeds. Or one can rebel against one or more religions and religious systems and found one’s own religion or deny every religion.

The New Testament, especially the *Pauline Corpus* presents Paul of Tarsus as one who is caught between his rootedness in Judaism and the gripping experience of the Risen Lord. The New Testament also demonstrates vividly as to how he made sense of the conflict between the contemporary formulations of faith in God held by Judaism and the encounter of the Risen Jesus that was granted to him. The former was something which he had inherited and learned about while the latter was an experience he made for himself. Naturally his personal experience proved to be more powerful and it impelled him to question and to a large extent reformulate his belief system.¹ He did this not just for himself but for the whole of humanity because he strongly felt the urgency of leading all human beings to Jesus Christ. In the process of reformulating his belief for himself and for humanity, he is not in fact overthrowing the foundations of Israelite faith in Yahweh, but the legalistic and reductionist interpretations of the same faith. Following his master Jesus Christ, he does not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction and disagreement with the faith formulations and faith praxis of the time. There are a number of instances in the *Pauline Corpus* which bring to light the 'dissent' of Paul which he senses toward his past life. We, in this short essay, consider a few of such texts.

The Context and Explanation of Phil 3:8

We wish to study Phil 3:8 in its context, because this text contains one of the most powerful expressions of Paul's break with his past life. In this epistle to the Philippians, after emphasizing humility and unity in church life against divisions arising from within and opposition coming from outside the church (Phil 1:12-2:18), Paul begins a new section from Phil 3:1 where he explains the true righteousness.² He begins this discussion on true righteousness

1 A few aspects of the reformulation of Paul's faith is found in Francis Pereira, *Gripped By God in Christ: The Mind and Heart of St Paul* (Bombay: St Paul Publications, 1991), 33-37.

2 Here the term 'righteousness' occurs in 3:6 and in 3:9. (cf. Rom 1:17; 3:21-22, 25; 4:3, 5-6, 9, 11, 13, 22; 1 Co 1:30; 2 Co 5:21; 6:7, 14; Gal 3:6, 21; 5:5; Eph 4:24; 6:14). This term is along with the

first by making a contrast between the righteousness based on law³ and the righteousness from God through faith in Christ (Phil 3:2-11). All those who believe in the righteousness based on law are called 'dogs,'⁴ 'evil-workers,' and 'those who mutilate the flesh,' that is, the so called Judaizers.⁵ They are then contrasted with the

phrase 'justification by faith' refer to the same reality, namely, to establishing the '*right relationship with God*.' In the NT the three Greek nouns *diakiosune*, *dikaiosis* and *dikaionoma* are translated either as justification or as righteousness of God. 'Justification by faith' defines salvation from the perspective of the believer, namely, that every believer is saved or justified by virtue of faith in Christ Jesus, while 'righteousness of God' emphasizes the fact that the whole process is a righteous act of God. For a detailed study of 'justification by faith,' cf. James D G Done, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 334-389.

3 When Apostle Paul speaks of 'law' in his epistles, mostly it has a negative tone. Therefore he is criticized for giving a totally distorted picture of the Jewish law and religion and for presenting the mistaken view of the Law as the basis of salvation in Judaism. Cf. H. Räisänen, "Legalism and Salvation by the Law," in *Die Paulinische Literatur und Theologie*, ed. S. Pedersen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1980), 63-83. However, it should also be said that Paul's understanding of the law is not always negative. For example, in his epistle to the Romans he also makes statements like the law is 'holy and just and good.' In fact, Paul's negative understanding of the Jewish law is founded on his understanding of revelation made through Jesus Christ which is soteriologically directed to all human beings including the Gentiles, while Jewish law would be opposed to such an inclusion.

4 Here the term 'dogs' for human beings sounds a derogatory and contemptuous designation. In fact, the Jews were in habit of referring scornfully to Gentiles as 'dogs,' unclean creatures with whom they would avoid every association. Cf. Otto Michel, κῶων, κυνᾶριον, TDNT 3, 1101-04. Here Paul hurls this term on Judaizers who wanted to promote their ethnic identity through their erroneous teaching which insisted on circumcision as a necessary precondition for eligibility to be baptized. Cf. Robert Jewett, "Conflicting Movements in the Early Church as Reflected in the Philippians," in *Novum Testamentum* 12,4 (1970), 386.

5 By 'Judaizers' we understand the group of Jewish Christians

Christians who, according to Paul, personify the new circumcision and who worship God in spirit and glory in Christ (Phil 3:2-3). In the process he uses his own life as a model to demonstrate what true righteousness is.

First, he presents his life in its pre-Christian stance. As credentials of his pre-Christian life he enumerates his own circumcision on the eighth day, his ethnicity as an Israelite belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews, a Pharisee who was blameless under the law and who persecuted the church because of his zeal. After counting these 'gains' as he calls them, he goes on to say that he now counts them all as loss for the sake of Christ. The designation of his past life as a 'loss' (in Greek *zemia*— damage or loss) occurs three times in this section (3:7-8) before he finally calls all his past life as 'refuse' or 'rubbish' or 'dung' (in Greek *skubalon*).

By recounting his past credentials Paul demonstrates that he was a pure and proud Jew and that he had invested enormous energy in keeping the details of the law and was without fault in the eyes of his fellow Jewish lawyers. It was not until he had the so called Damascus Experience that he came to realize the bankruptcy of his past religious dedication. Not even in his wildest dreams Paul would have thought of his past life as refuse or rubbish, until he met Christ. Interestingly Paul is counting seven items as his credentials and the number seven implies completeness and includes every other facet of Paul's past life which he might have thought to be a gain. This becomes clear from what he says in 3:7-8, namely, that he considers everything as loss.

In fact, there is a progression in Paul's consideration. He expresses it in four steps. First he considers his past life as loss in v

who insisted that the Gentiles should first be circumcised before they can be baptized. Such a demand went against the Gospel as proclaimed by Paul the Apostle who insisted that there was no need of any circumcision before baptism. This serious matter of concern is discussed both in Gal 2 and in Acts 15 which contain the two presentations of the so called Jerusalem Council. Cf. John C. Hurd, "Reflections Concerning Paul's Opponents in Galatia," in *Paul and His Opponents* ed. Stanley E. Porter (Boston: Brill, 2005), 129-148.

7 and then moves to regarding all things as loss at the beginning of v 8. The rest of the verse 8 contains the next two steps, namely, that he has actually suffered the loss of all things and in the end that he regards them all as refuse or rubbish or dung. Among the four, the third step is particularly significant for two reasons. First the phrase 'I have suffered the loss of all things' emphasizes the fact that Paul lost everything for the sake of Christ. And second, the Greek verb used in this phrase to express the act of 'losing,' namely *zemioo*, is in the aorist passive (*ezemioothēn*)⁶ which actually denotes a definitive break with the past. Such a break with the past is further corroborated by the particle *menounge* meaning 'on the contrary' at the beginning of v 8. The same particle is also used in Rom 9:20 and in Rom 10:18⁷ where it is used to depict a contrast between two elements.

Paul considers all his past credentials as a loss or as rubbish for the sake of Christ. This is expressed in three different ways in v 8. The three phrases are: 'for the supreme good or surpassing value of knowing Christ,' 'for his (Christ's) sake,' and 'for the sake of gaining Christ,' The knowledge of Christ⁸ here should not be understood in the Greco-Roman mystery religions sense or the

6 In the New Testament Greek, the aorist tense is used to express the punctiliar aspect of an action. Cf. F Blass, A Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, ET Robert W Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 169. The aorist tense also refers to an action as 'terminated.' cf. James Swetnam, *An Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek: Part I: Morphology* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1998), 456. An action expressed by aorist form is considered definitive and could not be repeated. In other words, such actions happened once and for all.

7 Cf. Marvin R Vincent, *The Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon* (Edinburg: T T Clark, 1902), 100.

8 The genitive in the 'knowledge of Christ' can be understood both as subjective as well as objective, implying both the knowledge one has about Christ and knowledge possessed by him. What is held as of high value by Paul here is the fact that he knows Christ and as well as he is known by him. Cf. Gerald F Hawthorne, Ralph P Martin, *Philippians*, WBC 43 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 190-1.

gnostic sense of a secret ‘insight’ received by the initiates,⁹ but in the Old Testamentsense of ‘personal experience’ which implies a relationship of love and obedience.¹⁰ What is experienced here is the loving revelation of Christ and the response made through obedience. The point is that for Paul experience of knowing and relating to Christ was of more value than anything else in his heritage and more precious to him than anything else in his present experience. It was more valuable because it is a saving, personal, and transforming experience.

The second expression ‘for the sake of Christ’ implies that Paul considered his heritage, achievements and accomplishments as nothing but dung, because of his commitment to and preaching of Jesus Christ as the messiah. The third expression ‘for the sake of gaining Christ’ uses the verb ‘to gain.’ On the one hand this verb reminds the reader of the ‘gains’ of v 7 which are considered by Paul as a loss. On the other this verb anticipates the gain of v 9, namely, having the righteousness that comes from God through faith, as the only thing that mattered in his life. Paul also provides two further reasons in vv 9-10 for considering all his past credentials as rubbish. They are first that he might be found in Christ, and second, that he might know Christ and the power of his resurrection.

It is not easy to define the meaning of the term ‘dung’ (in Greek *skubalon*). This can be related to the ‘dogs’ of 3:2 and interpreted as something that was thrown to the dogs. This term was used to refer to ‘useless or undesirable material that is subject to disposal,’ be it excrement, refuse, manure, kitchen scraps or garbage.¹¹ In any case, the usage of this term in relation to his past life with its credentials expose the “utter revulsion” Paul felt “toward those advantages he surrendered.”¹² The choice of such a ‘vulgar’ term

9 Walter Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), 90-92.

10 Gerald F Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 191.

11 Cf. “σκῶβαλον,” in Frederick William Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 932.

12 Gerald F Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 192.

only emphasizes the vigour and completeness of the renunciation. Thus this text affirms Paul's attitude of dissent towards his previous accomplishments that was disapproving. Similar revolt against the Jewish understanding of righteousness under the law forms the polemic also in Galatians and Romans.

In Galatians

The polemic Paul intends to present in his Epistle to Galatians can be read at every stage of the Epistle. Already in the opening formula he attributes his commission and authority directly to Jesus Christ and to God the Father when he claims that he was "an apostle sent neither by human commission nor from human authorities, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead" (cf. Gal 1:1). Further, in the autobiographical reports found in Gal 1:11-24 Paul speaks about how he received the Gospel through a revelation of Jesus Christ. Paul himself never speaks of an encounter of the Risen Christ on the road to Damascus, but speaks of his experience of the Risen Christ in a sober and succinct manner in a few other places (1 Cor 9:1; 15:8) in order to assert the independency and the truth (reliability) of the gospel proclaimed by him and to assert his apostolic authority. The whole attempt to demonstrate the independency and the truth of his gospel was to expose the invalidity of the works of the law for the salvation of the Christians.

From Gal 1:13-2:21 Paul narrates a series of incidents to consolidate his position that adding law to grace is to destroy grace and to make a mockery of the cross. In 1:13-17 he takes pains to show that he never even consulted with any of the apostles in the first three years after his conversion as to the validity of the gospel he proclaimed, and even when he did first visit Jerusalem, the visit was brief and only included time spent with Peter (1:18-24). Finally, when Paul did consult with those who were of reputation in Jerusalem (2:1-10), they both refrained from demanding the circumcision of Titus (2:1-5) and gave hearty approval to Paul's gospel (2:6-10). So strong was this approval, in fact, that Paul later felt the freedom to rebuke the chief of the Jerusalem apostles, Peter himself for hypocrisy, when the two were in Antioch (2:11-21).

In fact, when Paul and Barnabas are in Jerusalem there were the so called ‘false brethren’ who were secretly brought in to bring Paul and Barnabas into bondage (Gal 2:4). These ‘false brethren’ were the same as the Judaizers¹³ mentioned above in this essay. That they tried to bring Paul and Barnabas into bondage is a reference to their attempt to make the law of circumcision as a precondition to every Gentile who wanted to become a Christian through receiving baptism. Paul refutes such an argument by asserting that adding law to grace is to destroy grace and to make a mockery of the cross (cf. 2:15-21) and categorically declaring that no one is saved by the works of the law but only through faith in Christ Jesus (cf. Gal 2:16). The intensity with which Paul asserts the redundancy of the works of the law is demonstrated in Gal 2:16 where he repeats the same negation three times:

Statement 1: “... a person is justified *not by the works of the law* but through faith in Jesus Christ.”

Statement 2: “And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and *not by doing the works of the law*,”

Statement 3: “because *no one will be justified by the works of the law*.”

Further in the epistle, Paul tries to corroborate his argument by presenting a number of illustrations in the section 3:1-4:31, where his description of justification through grace also gets clarified. He begins in 3:1 by drawing the attention of the Galatian Christians to the fact that when they became Christians they received the gift of the Spirit not by the works of the law but through faith in Christ Jesus (3:1-5). Therefore, they should not fall back to doing

13 J. Louis Martin calls this group of people simply as ‘teachers’ who are otherwise called ‘Paul’s opponents’ by the modern authors. He also explains in his commentary on Galatians that these teachers were preaching the law as the good news and that circumcision is the commencement of the law. Cf. J. Louis Martin, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997), 117-126.

the works of the law which they once tore down (cf. Gal 2:18). Then he continues with the example of Abraham to illustrate that one is justified by faith, not by the works of the law (3:6-14) and concludes that the law, which came 430 years after God's covenant with Abraham, cannot invalidate the promise (3:15-18).

Such an understanding of justification naturally raises the question as to why the law was given (3:19). If the same God gave the promise, why would he add the law? Paul answers this question (3:19-4:6) by attributing to law the function of a disciplinarian or custodian (Gk: *paidagogos*) till Christ came (3:23-25). In fact, Paul's understanding of the law in Gal 3:18-16 is rather negative. This section considers the law "inferior by virtue of its character (vs. 18), its origin (vs. 19b) and its moral weakness (vs. 21)."¹⁴ This view of Paul should be understood as his overreaction to the exaggerated view of the law by his opponents. In any case he is quite emphatic in drawing the line between the time of the law and the time of Christ in 3:24-25.

And finally Paul illustrates the break with the past by instructing the Galatians to live as children of freedom and not to fall back into the old slavery.

“ Paul invites his readers to dissent by throwing away the traditions of the past that are no more relevant. ”

Here he first points out that the Galatians had experienced slavery as pagans worshipping false gods (4:8-9). Now he tells them that by accepting the Judaizers' message, they would simply replace one kind of slavery with another (4:10-11). Thus the Judaizers' message did not only alienate the Galatians from Paul (4:17), but also robbed them of their freedom and joy in Christ (4:15). The allegory of Hagar and Sarah for law and grace respectively in 4:21-26 also has the purpose of inviting the Galatians to live as children of freedom and not of slavery. Thus Paul is also inviting his readers to a dissent that amounts to throwing away the traditions of the past that are no more relevant.

14 John W Drane, "Tradition, Law and Ethics in Pauline Theology," in *Novum Testamentum* XVI, 3 (1974): 169 (167-178).

In Romans

Such a polemic attitude towards the law is found also in Romans, which presents Paul's more complete understanding of and attitude towards the law. This polemic begins already in Rom 3:21-30 where Paul describes the revelation of God's righteousness and his love in Jesus Christ. V 21 states that righteousness of God is disclosed apart from the law, though the latter is attested to by prophets and law. Further it is said that all are justified by his grace as a gift and through the redemption in Christ Jesus (v 24) whom God put forward as sacrifice of atonement (v 25). That a person is justified by faith in Christ apart from the law is reiterated again in 3:28. In the following chapter, as he has already done in Galatians, Paul takes up Abraham as a paradigm example who is saved by faith and not by the works of the law. In doing so, Abraham is presented as the model of faith. The description of Abraham here in Romans is more extensive than in Galatians.

Actually it is in Rom 7 that Paul takes up a more complete discussion on law. In 7:1-6 he describes that we have acquired freedom from the law through the death of Christ by drawing an analogy taken from the institution of marriage. Like the Jewish wife who becomes free from the 'law of the husband' when her husband dies,¹⁵ so too the Christians who have died 'through the body of Christ' have become free from the law (7:2.3.4).¹⁶ The death Paul is referring to in this section is the death the Christians experience in and through Christ at their baptism (cf. Rom 6:3-4). If they have already died, then the law which is binding only on the living cannot exercise any control over them. This analogy

15 That the Jewish wife becomes free from the law of marriage at the death of her husband is not found in the Old Testament but in later rabbinic literature, e.g., in m. *Qidd.* 1:1: "she acquires freedom by a writ of divorce or by her husband's death." Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993), 457.

16 *Ibid.*, 455-456. In these pages the author also makes two lists as to what Paul mean by the usage of the term 'law' in Rom 7:1 and in 7:2 respectively.

is similar to the allegory of Hagar and Sarah of Galatians (cf. Gal 4:21-26) in that they both aim at establishing the freedom of the newly baptized Christians.

Then in 7:7-25 Paul describes how the gap between the law and the Christians gets widened because of the former's collaborative association with sin. In fact, Paul never asserts that the law is itself sin. On the contrary, he shows that the law is in itself holy, upright and good but goes on to maintain that the law amounts only to giving human beings knowledge of sin(7:7) which exploits the law itself as a tool to produce acts of sin in a person and leads the person to death (7:10), though in the absence of law, sin is as good as dead (7:8). Thus the effect of the law becomes counterproductive, that is, the law ends up producing sin instead of life it is supposed to produce. The counterproductive effect of the law is not due to its existence but to the presence of sin and the weakness of human beings. Here Paul rightly recognizes that the real problem is not with the law but with the human beings who are weak and are made of flesh and therefore are prone to succumb to sin which dwells within them. Thus the law appears to be at the service of sin which is the dynamic overlord who induces in human beings "a spirit of rebellion against God and of disobedience to his commandments."¹⁷ Because of such indwelling of sin, human beings fail to achieve what God desires of them. Not so with the grace that is given to everyone who has faith. This grace is recognized by the inmost self and by the mind of every believing human being. The wretched state¹⁸ of human beings can thus be remedied only through Jesus Christ our Lord (v 25) through whom the assistance is provided to the human beings in the form of grace to enable them to set their minds on the law of God and not on the law of sin (cf. Rom 8:5-7).

17 *Ibid.*, 463.

18 Paul refers to the 'wretchedness' of human beings in 7:24. This wretchedness is born of the discrepancy between human faculties of 'willing' and 'doing.' Such a conflictual condition of the human beings is described by Paul in 7:15-16 and in 7:19-20. For more info on the discrepancy between 'willing' and 'doing,' kindly see Michael Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer: Teilband 1, Röm 1-8*, Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014), 447-452.

There is yet another interesting text in Romans 10:4 which makes Paul's break with the past even more definitive by making the emphatic assertion: "For *Christ is the end of the law* so that there may be righteousness for everyone who believes." This verse is placed in the context of Rom 9-11 which deals with the topic of salvation for all including those Israelites who have hitherto rejected Jesus Christ. In 10:1-4 Paul depicts the ignorance on the part of the Israelites to understand the righteousness revealed by God in and through Jesus Christ. In their attempt seeking to establish their own righteousness, they have failed to understand God's uprightness in Jesus Christ who marks the end of the law. Now the term 'end' (*telos* in Gk) can refer to a number of related meanings such as termination or cessation (cf. Lk 1:33; Heb 6:11; 7:3; 1 Pet 4:7), close or conclusion (cf. Mt 24:6; Mk 13:7; Lk 21:9; 1 Cor 10:11) or goal (cf. Rom 6:21-22; 1 Pet 1:9; 4:17).¹⁹ Here in Rom 10:4 all the three meanings are applicable and implies that the salvation offered through Jesus Christ has achieved the goal of the Old Testament law leading it to conclusion and terminating it by making it redundant and superfluous.

Thus in the epistle to the Romans Paul reverses the understanding of the law. Even though the Torah had originally been given by God himself through Moses, still Paul is courageous enough to point out its redundancy in the face of the grace that has been given through Christ. He does not accept it even as a complement to grace. He resolutely rejects the law as something superfluous.

In Other Epistles

Expressions of Paul's dissent and break with his own past life and that of the Christians are found also in the other epistles including the ones which are not always considered to have been written by Paul himself. Given the size of this paper, it is not possible to make a

19 Cf. Frederick William Danker (ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian*

Literature (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 998-999.

detailed study of those texts which contain such examples. However, a brief mention of such texts could be made along with pointing out how Paul deviates from the traditional positions expressing his dissent with the past. We begin with one of the authentic epistles of Paul, namely, 1 Cor2:18-25, in which he contrasts divine-human understanding of wisdom and power by identifying divine wisdom and power in the cross, whereas the human wisdom fails to make such an identification. Paul substantiates his argument saying that the Greeks who seek wisdom and the Jews who seek power find the cross as foolishness and stumbling block respectively. In this section the message about the cross questions the wisdom of the world by explaining that a human wisdom that is incapable of understanding the real wisdom of God revealed on the cross, cannot be wisdom at all. So also the human power that does not recognize the power of God on the cross is not power at all. By arguing this way, Paul presents the cross as the basis for Christian identity²⁰ which stands opposed to the fundamental values of a fallen, sinful world.²¹

The second issue we consider is taken from 1 Cor 12-14, a section in which Paul is discussing the theme of spiritual gifts. While the Corinthian Christians, especially those who possessed the gift of speaking in tongues, seem to be taking pride in the spiritual gifts considering them to be the result of their spiritual enlightenment, Paul is making an attempt to drive home in their minds the fact that such gifts are free and gratuitous gifts of God and not achievements of the Corinthian Christians themselves. Paul does this by using the Greek term *charismata*(cf. 1 Cor12:4.9.28.30.31) which expresses the 'given' nature of such spiritual gifts in place of the Greek term *pneumatika*²² (cf. 12:1) which simply means 'things of the spirit' and which would have led those who possessed them feel superior to the rest of the community members. Paul expresses his dissent

20 Cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 148.

21 Cf. C. Blomberg, *I Corinthians*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 52.

22 This term *pneumatika* must have been a term used by the Corinthian Christian themselves to refer to the spiritual gifts and probably they must have used it to express their pneumatic enthusiasm.

to the conviction of the Corinthian Christians by giving them a corrective, namely, by telling them that the spiritual gifts are also charisms at the same time. Paul is making this terminological shift to steer their attention to the grace-given character of the spiritual gifts. Here Paul's courage to correct the Corinthian Christians from misunderstanding and distorting the message he proclaimed to them in spite of the fact that the church in Corinth was at its fledgling stage.

Another such point of disagreement between Paul and the community members was related to the conflicting understanding of apostleship.²³ That an apostle was understood to be a messenger or proclaimer of the gospel message was current in all the churches of Early Christianity. Yet Paul does not seem to have been accepted by the Christians of Galatia and Corinth without any dispute. That is why he tries to establish his apostolic authority and credibility in the first two chapters of Galatians. Further, he also attempts to correct the popular understanding of apostles among the Christians especially in Corinth. While the Christians of Corinth expected the apostles to be super-apostles, Paul insists that they be slaves and stewards of the gospel (cf. 1 Cor 4; 2 Cor 2-4; 11-12).

Yet another important area of dissent between Paul and Judaism was related to the universal characteristic of salvation offered in and through Jesus Christ as against the limited understanding of Judaism. Though it is true that Abraham was promised already in Gen 12:3 that in him all the families of the earth shall be blessed, yet the people of Israel understood election as limited only to them (cf. Ex 19:3-8; Dt 7:6; Amos 3:1-2). However, this is relativized by Paul in Rom 1:16 where he writes that the gospel is the 'power of God for salvation to *everyone* who has faith' in spite of the fact that the Jews were the ones who were historically called first. In Gal 3:28 Paul asserts that when one is in Jesus Christ all distinctions

23 For a detailed study of apostleship as a point of contention between Paul and some of the communities he had founded especially the communities of Galatia and the community in Corinth kindly confer N. H. Taylor, "Apostolic Identity and Conflicts in Corinth and Galatia," in *Paul and His Opponents* ed. Stanley E. Porter (Boston: Brill, 2005), 99-127.

between Jew and Greek, male and female and master and slave are abolished. Paul's understanding of universalism reaches its climax in Ephesians. Though it may not have been written by Paul himself, yet this epistle, written in the spirit of Paul, categorically declares that the distinctions between the Israelites and the Gentiles are abolished and as Christians all have become part of the one and the same people (cf. Eph 2:11-22).

We would like to consider one final example which is taken from another deutero-Pauline epistle, namely, from 1 Tim. Speaking of his past life in 1 Tim 1:13-15 Paul calls himself a blasphemer, a persecutor, a man of violence and foremost among the sinners. This text also makes it clear that he sees the transition that has taken place in his life as the result of the “graciousness and mercifulness

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”

of God's salvation.”²⁴ He says that even though he was formerly a blasphemer, a persecutor, and a man of violence, but he received mercy because he had acted ignorantly in unbelief. Now this goes against what he has said about himself in Phil 3:4-6. There Paul does not seem to regret that he persecuted the Christians, on the contrary, he adds this to a long list of his credentials from his past life. In Phil 3:4-6 it is probably Paul the rabbi speaking and here in 1 Tim 1:15 Paul the repentant sinner. In any case 1 Tim 1:13-15, like Phil 3:4-6, marks Paul's rejection of the past.

Concluding Remarks

The revolt of Paul against Jewish the law and legalistic attitude to salvation found there is correlative of Jesus' revolt against the Pharisees and their legalistic approach to life. Paul was a disciple of Jesus Christ and shared and committed himself totally to Jesus' vision of life that was based on his experience of God, humans

24 William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC 46 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2000), 51.

and cosmos. Such a commitment implied a definite break with his glorious past though such a partition was quite unpleasant and embarrassing and a reorienting of himself to the new way of life. However, Paul does not make the mistake of throwing the baby out with the bath-water. While remaining faithful to the elements that were common to his old and new ways of life, for example accepting the fact that both the testaments speak of the one and the same God, he boldly questioned and rejected his learned traditions that contradicted his new experience considering them as either meaningless or redundant. At the same time he has also successfully integrated from his past life and background whatever was supportive of his new experience and life. Thus his dissent is not ruthless and indiscriminative but a sensible and differentiated one. In all this one aspect of Paul's dissent comes out very strongly, namely, he was always ready to take any risk for its sake. He did not seek mere intellectual clarity on matters of dissent, but made a clear-cut option and jumped into action.

Further, it should be noted that Paul is often accused of being dogmatic in his teachings and does not permit much dissent from his positions. For example after providing instructions on the practice of charisms in 1 Cor 14, Paul writes in v 38: 'Anyone who does not recognize this is not to be recognized.' It must be noted here that most of such demands made by Paul are context-bound and not valid universally and for all times. Further, such dogmatic, seemingly absolutizing demands can be attributed to the intensity of his experience of and commitment to the risen Christ and his passionate concern for the communities he is addressing. Thus, Paul is not advocating dissent from everything that is traditional and standardized. His dissent is limited to the insufficiencies of the past. It is experience-based and situation-bound.

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Democracy and Vigilantism

An Analytical Study of Indian Democracy
with Reference to Rājadharmā
in the Manusmṛti and Plato's Republic

- Stephen Chundamthadam S J

Abstract

The public beating and humiliation of Dalits in the name of cow protection in Una, Gujarat; instances of rape and murder of Dalit women, atrocities against minority communities and tribal in different parts of the country reveal the defective understanding of procedural trial and punishment which is the sole prerogative of the state in a democratic country. It may be noted that democracy presupposes divergent opinions and the freedom to disagree but the government has the responsibility to ensure the fundamental principles enshrined in our constitution. But, at present in India, though we claim to be the largest democracy in the world, many of the democratic values are compromised.

The author hopes that at the appropriate time people will respond creatively and genuine leaders will emerge to articulate the resentment of the people and to take up on themselves the agony and suffering of the people. To strengthen such a move we need to have the courage to take a stand with the oppressed and the suffering.

Keywords

Vigilantism, false nationalism, Manusmṛti, ethical values,
Jayprakash Narayan

1. The Context

The public beating and humiliation of Dalits in the name of cow protection in Una, Gujarat; instances of rape and murder of Dalit women, atrocities against minority communities and tribal in different parts of the country reveal the defective understanding of procedural trial and punishment which is the sole prerogative of the state in a democratic country. These incidents reveal the failure of the democratically elected government's responsibility to ensure law and order in the country and to protect the weaker sections. Repeated incidents of cow vigilantism tacitly supported by the government and the powerful reflect the mind-set of the ruling party and the indifference of the general public. It is more disheartening that people those who are in authority betray the trust of the common people by supporting such atrocities. The union minister for social justice and empowerment, referring to the Una incident said that the problem was that the *gaurakshak*¹ squads rushed off on the basis of a rumour rather than "find out its veracity and then go."

Democracy presupposes divergent opinions and the freedom to disagree but the government has the responsibility to ensure the fundamental principles enshrined in our constitution. But, at present in India, though we claim to be the largest democracy in the world, many of the democratic values are neglected. In such a context, this paper makes an analytical study of democracy based on the *Manusmṛti*² and the Republic of Plato. We also bring in similar

1 *Gaurakshak* squads are formed by Hindus with the tacit support of BJP and RSS who believe that cow protection is their sacred duty because cow is sacred and is worshipped as cow mother.

2 *Smṛti* literally means what is remembered. But *Smṛti* is a term commonly used to refer to *Dharmaśāstras* composed in verse. The work *Manusmṛti* used by Kane (1962), Lingat (1973), Dave (1972) is also known as *Mānavadharmasāstras*, used by Mandlik (1886), Jolly (1887). The author *Manu* need not be a single individual who composed the work; several people could have been involved in the composition. Lariviere (2000, 3), "I doubt whether such texts as the *Nārada-smṛti* or the *Manusmṛti* were composed by a single Individual." Against this

ideas from the Vedas, *dharmaśāstras*, *Arthaśāstra* and the Epics³. The author of the present article doesn't subscribe to the world view and the ethnic ideology based on which Manu developed the code of law⁴. Our reference is limited to chapter seven which deals with the duties and responsibilities of a king (*rājadharmā*)⁵ in the context of vigilantism.

2. The Term Vigilantism

The term comes from Spanish *vigilante* or Latin *vigilans* means watchful. According to the Cambridge Dictionary 'vigilante is a person who tries in an unofficial way to prevent crime or to catch

view Patrick Olivelle asserts that "this text was authored by a single individual or at least by a strong chairman with a committee of research assistants." (2006). *Mānavadharmasāstra* (c 3 CE), is the oldest among the four i.e. Yajñavalkya, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana and it is the most authoritative. Manu is considered as the first human being and also as the first king.

3 The Vedas are the sacred literature in Hinduism. They are four in number i.e., Rg, Yajur, Sāma and Atharva Vedas. The *Dharmaśāstras* are the *smṛti* literature dealing with ethical rules and regulations. *Arthaśāstra* is the work of Kautilya about wealth. The great epics are the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. The former deals with the fight between Rama and Ravana and the latter the story of the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pandavas.

4 B.R. Ambedkar was highly critical of Hinduism and particularly of *Manusmṛti* which he rejected in 1935. Inspired by Ambedkar a group of young untouchable men burned the copies of the *Manusmṛti* in Nasik in 1935; Madhu Kishwar, a prominent women's activist burned the copies of the same in the premises of Rajasthan High Court in March 2000. These and other protesters believe that *Manusmṛti* legalized the caste and gender discrimination and oppression in India.

5 In the Rg Veda there are no clear instructions with regards to the rights and duties of a king except he was regularly advised by his *purohita* and royal ministers with regard to matters of his kingdom. Manu in chapters seven, eight and nine of *Manusmṛti* deals with the various aspects of good governance.

and punish someone who has committed a crime, especially because they do not think that official organizations such as the police are controlling crime effectively. Vigilantes usually join together to form groups. This phenomenon is called vigilantism.

In India, Vigilantism is the tendency of some in the society to take up the law in their hands and enforce it the way they think is right, e.g. *gaurakshak* squads. Whether it is against the structural evil or against persistent injustice to a group or minority community, it is a dangerous trend in the country. This tendency shows the failure of the elected government to ensure law and order and also the strong resentment of the ordinary people. But it is unfortunate that this trend of vigilantism is reinforced by our popular movies, TV news and shows, stories, novels and popular writings. When the elected government fails to ensure justice to all its subjects, or when the authority tacitly joins hands with the unjust and the powerful to oppress and exploit the people, the powerless in the society take to vigilantism is a natural phenomenon. But, in India, vigilantism is by the powerful supported by the elected government, is a contradiction and a dangerous trend.

3. Selfish Leaders Without a Vision for the Country

For the effective functioning of a democracy, people in all the three units i.e., legislature, judiciary and executive have to consider the state's interest as their own and work as if they are the servants of the people. But now in Indian democracy legislatures are busy enacting laws to suit their interest or the interest of the community they belong to, the common good of all is neglected. Similarly many in the Judiciary and the executive are not able to transcend their narrow selfish interest for the sake of the larger good. As a result of the irresponsible and selfish administration by those who are in authority like the incompetent steersman of the ship in Plato's *Republic*, justice is refused to the poor and the ordinary people. Plato in his *Republic*⁶ gives the simile of the state of a ship

6 The *Republic* is the most important work of Plato dated around 380 BCE. In this work, Socrates, Athenians and foreigners discuss the definition of justice, administration of city state, political

which represents the pathetic condition of the Greek city states during his time (488-489). The hijacked ship is steered by someone who is hard of hearing, short in sight, not trained in ship steering and above all lacks knowledge of various natural phenomena which is inevitable for the efficient steering of a ship in troubled waters. Most of our political leaders, who are in power, are like the incompetent steersman in Plato's Republic who are not properly trained in statesmanship and as a result will bring in doom to the nation and suffering to the people.

4. Helpless Masses and the Cry for Justice

Lawlessness and selfishness of the rulers in the country calls forth involvement by the masses. People are forced to take law into their hands and enforce justice for the helpless.

Protection of the weak is one of the three most important duties of Sikh religion. In the past non-cooperation movement by Gandhi against British rule, total revolution by Jayprakash Narayan against the

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People are forced to take law into their hands and enforce justice for the helpless.

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authoritarian rule of Indira Gandhi had massive support by the people to bring back law and order in the country. Anti-corruption movement by Anna Hazare was a timely response to a persistent evil in the society but it was shrewdly high jacked by BJP to strengthen their vote base. Naxalite movement in different parts of the country is on the increase, through the enactment of new land laws, tribals are uprooted and alienated from their homeland in the name of development, small scale farmers are forced to be daily labourers because of the government policies in support of big land owners and large scale farmers, multinational companies are favoured and supported by the policy makers in the centre in the name of industrial development and make in India project.

theory etc., leading to the discussion on *Kallipolis*, a city state ruled by a philosopher king as the ideal ruler.

People are forced to migrate to metros and cities because of lack of means of lively hood in the semi urban and village areas.

In any country media plays a vital role in checking the unhealthy policies of the ruling majority and revealing the mind of the general public through healthy criticism. But in India, in the recent past media is domesticated either by threat or by pleasing. Recent blocking of the NDTV and another channel in Assam are examples of curtailing the freedom of the media. Most recently the demonetizing of 500 and 1000 currency notes created uncertainty, enormous amount of inconvenience and suffering for the ordinary people. People in India at large, because of the cultural and ethnic enslavement in the past and because of the belief in the karmic effect, are willing to take up on themselves any amount of suffering and injustice. Divided opposition political parties and ethnic groups reinforce the arrogance of the ruling party to continue with their anti-democratic governance. Appointments of army and air force chiefs superseding other seniors, abolition of the planning commission, attempt to appoint judges according to the choice of the ruling party, ruthless suppression of voice of dissent, aggressive and insulting 'trolling' of other leaders by the electronic brigade of the ruling party, misuse of the national agencies like CBI, Enforcement Directorate, Income Tax authority etc., are very dangerous trends in the Indian democracy now.

5. Ethical Values: The Guiding Principles of Political Leaders

There are two approaches with regard to the importance of politics in the *Republic* of Plato, the predominant view is that politics is the central theme of the work. According to Schofield's *Political Philosophy* (2006) "the dialogue contains most of Plato's most striking ideas in political philosophy" (p. 9) which are revisited in his later writings. The discussions on politics are not the 'imaginative constructions' of an ideal city state but they are based on ethical values and just behaviour of a soul. In the *Republic* Plato draws the picture of the gradual development of a soul in the society based on ethics leading to the happiness of the just. Though Plato did not accept democracy as a healthy form of governance,

his most important work, the *Republic* gives clear guidelines to rulers of the city states.

Plato discusses the principles based on which the custodians are to be selected to rule the city state (412-414). The test for choosing the best to govern the city state is the one who believes that the interest of the state is identical to one's own interest. If we apply Plato's principle to our elected representatives and rulers, we will realize that most of them are unworthy of the position they hold in public life. Most of them, shrewdly equate their personal selfish interest with the interest of the state. The rulers are to be constantly watched and tested throughout their public life to see whether they follow the fundamental principles in their life and governance (415). The most important thing in the life of a ruler is that he/she is basically a servant of the community.

“The most important thing in the life of a ruler is that he/she is basically a servant of the community.”

6. Unjust Administrative Structures

Corruption in public offices, siphoning of enormous amount of money from the public exchequer for personal and family use, misuse of power and authority, exploitation of the poor and the unorganized and other similar events reveal the callousness of the elected leaders of the country. The incapacity of the judiciary to meet out justice on longstanding legal disputes, partisan judgment of courts violating human rights (e.g. verdict of the Nagpur bench of the Bombay High Court on Prof. Saibaba of Delhi University for bail for medical help), the ministry of culture forcefully asserting its control over some of the prestigious cultural institutions of India like Pune Film Institute, Lalit Kala Academy, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, some of the prestigious IITS and Universities, the new education bill discretely prepared by the ruling party, the Maggi noodle controversy and instant release of Patañjali noodles without proper certification, the saffron-clad fundamentalists dictating terms in the name of religion and pious activities, anti-

social and caste elements in the society misappropriating *gaumātā* sentiments of the Hindus, enormous amount of money being spent in the name of *swatchabhārath*, clean *gangā*, cow protection etc. M Ps in the ruling BJP are competing among themselves to praise the prime minister even when he makes foolish and autocratic decisions. There is no one in the ruling party, like the little boy who shouted ‘the emperor is naked’ to tell the prime minister that his administrative decisions are detrimental to the interest of the poor and the ordinary people. All these antidemocratic events are taking place with the tacit understanding of the caste ridden ruling powerful is a dangerous sign.

8. Honesty and Integrity of Administrators

A hierarchy of administrative units starting from the local to the highest was a special characteristic of the Vedic civilization. According to Saroja Bhate, “Strong emphasis on the character, honesty and integrity of the administrators and superintendents at various levels is reflected in the code of conduct, *ācārasamhita*, laid down by Śāstrakāras such as Kaudilya.”⁷ Vyāsa in the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which is the longest portion in the epic, deals with the principles and different aspects of the statecraft elaborately. In this section Bhīshma explains the duties and responsibilities which a king should learn to ensure the wellbeing of the subjects. A king is made king for doing his duties, not for enjoying the pleasures only (*MB XII.90.34*), and the king should be interested only in doing good to his subjects (*MB XII.88.2*). Protection of the weaker section is his primary duty (*MB XII.58.44*). Manu concludes the discourse on *rājadharmā*, “Conducting himself in this manner and always devoted to the Laws pertaining to kings, the king should direct all his servants to work for the good of his people.”⁸ Welfare of the people of the people should be the main concern of the ruler.

7 “Law & Administration in ancient India as Reflected in Vedas and Smṛti Literature.” In *Gems of Law & Dharmasastra*, ed by Abha Kulshreshtha and Sushama Kulshreshtha, Delhi: Sanjay Prakashan, 2006 p.67.

8 *Manusmṛti*, 9.324, trans. By Patric Olivelle, (2006) New York:

9. Ruler Responsible for the Welfare and Happiness of the People

There are references to kings and levels of administrative structures in the Rg Veda (9.92.6). People in different levels of administration fulfilled their responsibilities in a participatory way without any interference from the higher authorities. Both *Manusmṛti* and *Arthaśāstra* deal with legal matters pertaining to individual and community in an elaborate way. At the same time special care was taken to ensure the safety and security of each and every individual. The main concern was to ensure justice to all for which the kings had council of ministers to assist him. Out of the 2684 verses, Manu sets apart 982 verses for royal duties and responsibilities (*rājadharma*). Manu in chapters seven, eight and nine of *Manusmṛti* deals with the origin, proper behaviour, punishment for failures, need for cultivating virtue and learning, policies for good governance, protection of the subjects, appointment of councillors and spies etc. King was considered as 'servant king' whose main responsibility was to 'protect the people'. *Manusmṛti* verse 89 of chapter I sums up the responsibilities of a king, "To the kshatriya he allotted protecting the subjects, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, recitation of the Veda, and avoiding attachment to sensory objects."⁹ There are detailed instructions with regard to the collection of taxes in *Manusmṛti*. This structure of taxation would have been practised in the Indus/Harappan civilization which was earlier to *Manusmṛti's* period. Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* gives clear and detailed instructions with regard to administration of the kingdom, social security measures, protection of the rights of the subjects, relief for natural calamities, care for the environment etc.

A king, according Kālidāsa,¹⁰ is considered to be the abode of all good qualities. In the ancient India, Kings received their authority

Oxford University Press, p. 16, 206.

9 Patric Olivelle, *Manu's Code of Law* (2005) New Delhi: Oxford University Press. P. 91.

10 Several scholars are of the opinion that the greatest of the poet and dramatist of the Sanskrit literature Kālidāsa was a court poet of a

and power from God and they were guided and advised by *rishis, sabhas and samitis*. Sage Vasishtha asked the leaders to consult the village elders in settling local disputes. According to Gautama, a king is one who lives according to the *śāstras* (*sādhukārin*) and one who speaks truth (*sādhuvādin*), (*Gautamadharmā* 2.2.2). The life and administration of a king is to be according to the scripture.¹¹ King is responsible for the welfare and happiness of his subjects. Gautama advises king to take precautionary measures to avert earthly and cosmic calamities.¹² A ruler, with the advice of his council of ministers, chief priest and sages has to ensure happiness and prosperity to his subjects in the country.

10. Exploitation of Religious Sentiments for Wealth and Power

From the time of Independence struggle, there is an attempt to sabotage the very democratic fabric of the country. Balagangadhara Tilak, during the British rule popularized Ganesh festivals to unite the people against the British rule and to strengthen the Independence struggle. Political leaders of the country, in the recent past, appropriate religious space and events for strengthening their vote base. Visva Hindu Parishad (VHP), in 1984 vowed to destroy three important holy places of Muslims and to construct Hindu temples in those sites that is Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, Gyanvapi Mosque in Varanasi and Shahi- Eidgah in Mathura. After the destruction of the Mosque, BJP promised the voters construction of Ram temple in the same spot. Ayodhya is a sacred space for Hindus, so for the conservative Hindus the presence of a Muslim mosque in the same spot violated the sacredness of the space. But Hindus in general accepted the reality of a mosque for several

king named Vikramāditya whose kingdom was near to the Himalayas. There are detailed descriptions of the Himalayas in his *Kumarasambhava*. Commonly accepted theory is that Kālidāsa lived around 4th-5th CE during the reign of Chandragupta II.

11 *Tasyacavyavahārovedodharmaśāstrānyaṅgāniupavedāhpūraṇam, Āpastambadharmā* 2.2.19.

12 *Yānicadaivotpātacintakāhprabrūyustānyatīyet/ tadādhinamapica eke yogakṣemampratijānatell Gautamadharmā* 2.2.15.16.

centuries. Destruction of the mosque was a cunning political move to exploit the religious sentiments of the pious Hindus for their political gain. BJP government in Gujarat, played communal politics to remain in power in the state. Now in the centre, BJP in the name of Cow protection, clean Gangā, construction of Ram temple in Ayodhya, false nationalism, fight against terrorism and corruption is trying to redefine the democratic values of the country. Religious space is misused for political gains; Untruthful and narrow minded political leaders divide the people in the name of religion and communities for their selfish ends. All these prove that we live in the kali yuga where evil is predominant both in the mind of the people and of the leaders.

11. Penance for Wrong Judgement by a Ruler

In order to ensure impartial judgment on matters of conflicts a king is assisted by scholars and advocates in the śāstras.¹³ If a king gives a wrong judgment because of his negligence or partiality he has to do penance (*prāyaścitta*) by fasting for one or three days. *Bodhāyana* says three fourth of the sin incurred in such wrong judgment goes to the king and his advisers. *Āpastamba* is of the opinion that such a king goes to hell. For a just and sincere king, to perform his royal duties (*rājadharma*) is like walking on the edge of the sword, he can never become an autocrat. The people of Nineveh along with their king did penance for their sins, so too king David. Prophets in the Old Testament functioned as the voice of God for the kings to walk in the path of righteousness and to avoid evil. Lord Vishnu incarnated as Narasimha to protect his devotee Prahlāda and to punish the evil king Hiraṇyakaśyapu. The purpose of incarnation in Hindu religion is to protect the righteous and to punish the evil. B. G. 4:7-8. If we apply these principles in the case of the present rulers of India, because of their criminal and evil acts even the ancient sages will find it difficult to suggest proportionate punishments for them.

13 *Rājapradvivakobrahmaṇovasāstravit/*
2.4.26.2.

Gautamadharmā

12. Division and Exploitation

The ruling class in India divide the people on the basis of religion and caste to implement their agenda. Communal harmony and peace is disturbed to a great extent in the recent past. Rg Veda had comparatively flexible class/caste structure based on profession and mobility from one group to another. According to Kāthaka Samhita the dignity of a person depends on knowledge not on descent (30.1). But later the *Samhitas* and the *Manusmṛti* did not allow class mobility and Manus describes elaborately the duties and responsibilities of different castes in chapter 8. “For the sake of preserving this universe, the Being, supremely glorious, allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.”¹⁴ Regarding the rules for the *śūdras* Manus says, “For the Sudra, on the other hand, the highest Law leading to bliss is simply to render obedient service to distinguished Brahmin householders who are learned in the Veda. When he keeps himself pure, obediently serves the highest class, is soft spoken and humble, and always takes refuge in Brahmins, he obtains a higher birth.” (Manu 9: 234, 235). Plato in the Republic argues that division in the society based on merit not based on birth is to be maintained for the smooth and efficient functioning of the state (423). In the Bhagavad Gītā Krishna tells Arjuna, “the fourfold order was created by Me according to the divisions of quality and work.” (B. G. 4.13).¹⁵ Atrocities against the dalits, the tribals and the religious minorities with the support of the ruling powerful by certain sections of people in the society, are injustice and violation of human rights. This will further weaken the fragile communal harmony between the different groups of people in the country.

13. False Nationalism

Vigilantism is voicing the dissent through rightful means. But vigilantism has a negative aspect that is the powerful with the tacit support of the rulers will oppress and exploit the poor and the

14 As quoted by Charles Naegele (2011) in *Ancient History of India: Manusmṛti Revisited*. New Delhi: D. K. Print World, p. 72.

15 *Cāturvarṇyam mayāsr̥ṣṭam guṇakarmavibhāgaśah/ B G 4:13*

ordinary people. This phenomenon becomes all the more inhuman when it is exercised by social exclusion and religious sanction. What is happening in India today in the name of vigilantism is hooliganism. Any rightful dissent in India today is cunningly depicted as antinational, terrorist and anti-people activities. Kanhaiya Kumar was accused of an anti-nationalist and was filed sedition charges against him, so too other liberal thinkers who criticised government's policies which are against the interest of the larger public. The electronic brigade of BJP is ever vigilant to pounce up on and insult any voice of dissent.

This kind of a strategy was used by the Hindu fundamentalists way back in 1947 when G. V. Ketkar of Pune, a strong supporter of RSS ideology, declared in public "Gandhism cum false nationalism is enemy number one." For RSS, Gandhi's nationalism was false because he advocated multiculturalism and was soft towards Muslims. This narrative reaches its climax with the murder of Gandhi and the confession by the murderer Nathuram Godse "in putting an end to Gandhi's life, I have removed one who was a curse to India." The present rulers of India reasserted this line of thinking when they installed the photograph of Godse in the parliament house and justified their action. By doing so they are redefining Indian polity in line with uni-cultural, caste based and exclusivist ideology. This will be the greatest danger Indian democracy will have to face in the near future.

14. Conclusion

Democracy came into existence as a reaction to concentration and misuse of power by the rulers and as a result of the realization that an individual or a group is not the perfect form of government. According to Winston Churchill democracy is the worst form of government but there are no better choices. When the elected leaders become corrupt and powerful, the ordinary people feel helpless and betrayed. This helplessness and resentment of the electorate will give rise to vigilantism in the form of violent protests and overthrow of the government.

As in the simile of Plato's hijacked ship, our country is ruled by leaders who are hardhearted, narrow in vision, not trained in political leadership and above all lacks knowledge of various cultural phenomena and diversity in the vast country. Most of our political leaders are like the incompetent steersman in Plato's Republic who is not properly trained in statesmanship. These leaders are intolerant towards any dissent and they feel threatened. Such leaders, instead of bringing in happiness and prosperity, will bring in suffering and persecution to the people. The present rulers are going against the glorious traditions of Hindustan and the guidelines given in the *Manusmṛiti*, *dharmasāstras*, the Vedas and the great epics like *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. They act against the *rājadharma* and against the fundamental principles of democracy.

It is true that the powers of darkness prevail over righteousness in the Indian sub-continent now. The politically shred ruling party exploit the good will of the common people who were disappointed by the rampant corruption, black money, terrorism and communal tension in the country. Lack of unity among the opposition, lack of leaders with larger vision and credible political leadership further aggravates the situation. The ruling party manipulated the extreme right Hindu ideology to strengthen their support. Since the opposition is disunited and lacks a credible leader of national stature, the beginning of the fall of the present administration has to be from within BJP. The party will have to cut to size the image of the leader who has grown more than the party and against whom there are serious allegations or else the party will be rejected by the common people in the next election. There is hope in the political future of the country which withstood many upheavals and terrible suffering including emergency in 1975. There will emerge leaders like Jayprakash Narayan who sacrificed his life for the cause of democracy and freedom. At the appropriate time people will respond creatively and genuine leaders will emerge to articulate the resentment of the people and to take up on themselves the agony and suffering of the people. To strengthen such a move we need to have the courage to take a stand with the oppressed and the suffering.



With, Against and For the Other

- Nishant A. Irudayadason

Abstract

Democracy should not be understood as a new synthesis that characterizes modern societies as heralded by Francis Fukuyama in *The End of History and the Last Man*, as an “end of history” homogenizing and harmonious reaching its apex in the “Market Democracy” after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. For it is by finding unity, the dreamed harmony that history closes and protects itself in eternal stability. End of conflicts, end of confrontations, end of new ideas, and end of progress.

Democracy thus presents itself as a perpetual conflict movement, this conflict ensuring the nourishment of a dynamism that maintains a certain tension within the self, living with the other. The self is thus constructed with, against, and for the other in an anxious confidence taking into account both the vulnerability and the menace of otherness. Thus democracy is for those who wish to care for the other. Our call is to dissent to anything that might hinder the flourishing of human ideals. “With the other” is the good will to be part of a social and political co-living. “Against the other” expresses the inevitability of conflict and dissent.” “For the other” is the reason for which dissent becomes necessary.

Keywords

Democracy, end of history, posthumans, consensus, resistance, cooperation

Democracy should not be understood as a new synthesis that characterizes modern societies as heralded by Francis Fukuyama in *The End of History and the Last Man*, as an “end of history” homogenizing and harmonious reaching its apex in the “Market Democracy” after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The ideal of consensus thus promises only one thing, the end of history. For it is by finding unity, the dreamed harmony that history closes and protects itself in eternal stability. End of conflicts, end of confrontations, end of new ideas, and end of progress.

Democracy is not a synthesis; it is by definition a delicate tension between persons willing to lead a social and political life of co-living. Without this tension, the very spirit of democracy is extinguished, and in its extinction, happens the end of ethics itself. The end of debating ideas definitively signals the death of ethics itself insofar as there is no longer any need to question oneself. In order that ethics continues to be as moral interrogation and reflection, we should be constantly weighing all possibilities from ethical perspective. Therefore we need to evaluate the shared benefits of our social and political life. The power of ethics manifests in actualizing solicitude, which alone can ensure the success of different possibilities. Heidegger takes up the idea of Nietzsche to justify the need for openness to new possibilities: “The devaluation of the highest values hitherto first of all makes the world seem valueless. These values are indeed devalued, but beings as a whole remain, and the need to establish a truth concerning beings simply grows more pronounced. The indispensability of new values becomes obvious. The positing of new values is announced ... even though the presence of a new world of values has been detected and—albeit unwillingly—already acknowledged. This intermediate state, in which the historical peoples of the earth must decide on their destruction or on a new beginning...” (Heidegger 1991, 204)

Democracy thus presents itself as a perpetual conflict movement, this conflict ensuring the nourishment of a dynamism that maintains a certain tension within the self, living with the other. The self is thus constructed with, against, and for the other in an anxious confidence taking into account both the vulnerability and the menace of otherness.

“With, against and for the other” therefore means a desire to build a world together, with all its promises and potential threats. The tension with otherness is maintained: on the one hand it shows the desire to come closer to the other, but on the other hand it resists the other when threat is perceived. It is essential to state living together in terms of “with and against” because the fluctuation of the interests of each other is far from stable. Finally, it should order the formula giving an end to this tension “with and against” that combines hospitality and strength: the power gained by this approach must ultimately be deployed by the return to the other, by the solicitude “for”. We have an approach that is organized with, and against each other.

Therefore, it is in assuming from the outset the dynamics of “with and against” that the self can attempt to transcend itself, in order to make right decisions showing solicitude “for” the other. This transcendence done with, against, and for the other through free action should produce new ethics.

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There is a constant conflict of the dynamics “with and against” is essential aspect in the process of socialization. “The struggle for modern subjectivity passes through a resistance to the two present forms of subjection, the one consisting of individualizing ourselves on the basis of constraints of power, the other on attracting each individual to a known and recognized identity, fixed once and for all.” (Deleuze 1988, 105-106) Deleuze further adds that the struggle for subjectivity is “the right to difference, variation and metamorphosis.” (Deleuze 1988, 106) Deleuze speaks of these irreducible forms which are both irreconcilable and necessary to work for a common cause invites us to think of the immanence. “The duality of forms or formations does not exclude a common immanent cause which works informally.” (Deleuze 1988, 33) We are very much part of an energy where divergent forces both visible and expressible, according to Deleuze build what is common. It

is in this sense that dissent is a part. “There is only a relation of forces which acts transversally and finds in the duality of forms the conditions for its own action and its realization.” (Deleuze 1988, 34)

Necessity to Challenge Consensus

What is problematic is to admit that the cessation of conflict is the culmination of desire. Therefore, the end of desire, the end of the conflict is seen as the ideal tranquillity of a society. Having reached this ideal form of tranquillity, society would arrive at a political state

“Our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance.”

of supreme good, without desire, without passion, any deviance being severely reprimanded or even eliminated. Increased surveillance and the constant threat of punishment make it possible to verify the stability of this tranquillity. Here we fall back to Orwell’s *1984*, to the

terrifying totalitarian transparency. The avoidance of conflict is the specialty of consensus politics, and these politics of discipline deviates from democracy. “Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance. [...] We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine.” (Foucault)

The consensus allows for the elimination of conflict, control the action of the society in order to its security. The deviants are excluded, since by definition they are absorbed into a single thought validated by all. The dissenting life forms will have great difficulty in carrying out their project. They will suffer many frustrations if not directly repressed or eliminated. When the ruling power proclaims that it wants our happiness, any singular attempt to gain access to this happiness outside of this, to say the least, is not well perceived, if not considered seditious.

This self-censorship that we are capable of inflicting on us comes in the form of seek safety in a group, in the sameness of others. Like Cain trying to flee his conscience, we lock ourselves in the group,

thinking that its walls will be thick enough not to expose us to our conscience.

“Please,” Cain said, “put me underground,
those men of solitude below don’t bear the sound
nor sight of anything around them anymore.”

Let us note here that the desire not to see anything like that of not being seen remains very close to a place that would be transparent so that everything is seen by all.

“From a city of cloud to a city of bone
Cain walked down the tower steps, alone
And once in the dark of that eternal tomb
The eye stared back from the end of the room.”

(Victor Hugo’s poem “Conscience”)

If no refuge shelters us from our conscience, how can we bear this voluntary submission as a sufficient redemption? We see this voluntary servitude as a lesser evil and we are too easily satisfied with its mediocrity as with a reassuring and redeeming normality. To wade in the slightest evil is good for most: who has not already played this role in an airport, a train station, a bank, finally one of those places monitored by cameras, so that the image we give to be seen by those who watch, is consistent with what is expected of an abstract citizen? This expected image of conformity makes it possible to pass the security check without encumbrance, without questions, without exacerbated search, the good compliant citizen who wants to fly, will be faster served than the one who displays a deviant behaviour. The abstract citizens under surveillance *force* on themselves expected behaviour pattern to avoid the risk of being suspected. We become suspicious for ourselves.

The greatest danger would be to think that the ethics of a democracy must emerge collectively in order to permeate into the individual. It is exactly the opposite path that must be followed: to construct the “we” with the “I” so that democracy is at work in the tension created by the flux between attraction and resistance.

Integration today is conceived politically in the stripping a person of his/her singularity and to dress him/her up in the societal uniform. It is about the grand finale of the advent of Robert Musil's *The Man without Qualities*, Ulrich who depends on the outer world to form his character. Consequently, the demonization of the dissident is accomplished, the hunt is now open. It is not by a politics of integration of all or nothing that a democracy can be constructed, but by a politics of nuance. This understanding of the integration of "all or nothing" amounts to a *disintegration* of singularity in favour of conformity and disciplinary standard. Either the deviant becomes conformed to the group, or the group is forbidden to him. If the ethics of a society is based on the *disintegration* of the singular, it would be necessary to enter into resistance to challenge the ethics of consensus.

Resistance and Cooperation

These two words resistance and cooperation bring back to our memory the historical events during the Second World War. Resistance and Collaboration express two contradictory forms of engagement shared by people of that period. These forms of engagement relate to ease and simplicity, two concepts which determined the mode of action of the subject when faced with an obstacle. It is easier to adopt the logic of confrontation than conflict but simpler to adopt conflict than confrontation. "Simplicity is bound up with the real, contradictory process, while facility is bound up with identities and certainties with which a certain lack of courage, laziness lead us willingly."

In the logic of confrontation, we just react to the actions of the opponent or suffer the effects of these actions. Facility submits the injunctions of the opponent, fights them or flees from them. This triptych behaviour only calls for immediate potential reaction, however crediting the fleeing with a form of superiority vis-à-vis fight or submission. The fleeing makes the subject access effectively another reflection thus allowing him/her to take distance from the cause. In the logic of conflict, unlike that of confrontation, we can accommodate possible contradictions; at this stage, the *epoché* (bracketing) makes room for constructive contemplation of these

possibles. There can emerge challenges to be addressed in order to make the right decision and to do the right action. There is some risk in the conflict in the fact of situating oneself vis-à-vis the other in his/her otherness and difference. Hence there is a need to approach the other with courage and confidence, with anxiety and with care, that is, with, against and for the other.

It is easier to cooperate than to resist, rather, it is easier not to resist. It's the easy way. Michel Benasayag says that it takes great effort to "turn back on the desire to resist. [...] When we cursed twenty times on the same day humiliations and complications imposed by a rule, it takes great strength to subdue in us that which drives us to revolt." By this surprising but profound remark, the author insists on the daily effort required to find a justification for not to resist. The "collaborator" is the archetype of voluntary submission. This legitimacy will lead the collaborating subject to a habit of indifference and to a situation no longer tenable. His/her world will become so complicated that he/she will no longer be able to maintain an easy decision.

There is another solution, that of simplicity. It consists rather in assuming dissent than avoiding it. Since avoiding it implies a refusal, avoiding dissent seems more complicated than assuming it from the outset. Although the simplicity to assume dissent is more natural than to repress it, this obvious choice is nevertheless difficult; it involves courage, a virtue which is not immediately accessible and which exposes us to the risk of the choice to be a collaborator. But in this life, any complex thought (which admits the association of opposites as natural) becomes suspect. The deviant returns a form of insecurity to the group, which shakes up the comfort and safety of the protective system, yet progress can only come through it. We need to accept the path of simplicity, which assumes conflict and which agrees to deal with, against and for the other. Preparedness is essential for anyone who wants to try the adventure: "to be prepared beforehand for any contingency is the greatest of virtues." Sun Tzu wrote his Art of War nearly 2500 years ago in which he rationalized the strategy of war in three basic principles: - act as quickly as possible to win without protracted operations, - save maximum lives and if possible without bloodshed or even without

pulling the sword, - cause the least possible damage. "Your aim must be to take All-under-Heaven intact. Thus your troops are not worn out and your gains will be complete."

The most stunning victories are the ones won without the need to fight. Thus knowing oneself in terms of strengths and weaknesses, is at least as important as knowing one's opponent. "Know the enemy, know yourself; your victory will never be endangered. If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle."

Dissent is this form of conflict that Karl Popper described in the language of scientific discovery, where words take the place of swords in the art of argumentation. Sun Tzu, gives us a real philosophy of war which advocates a priority to the preparation of war and ensures victory ever before war is fought, an idea not conceived by Clausewitz did not conceive according to whom war "is an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfil our will. [...] and to introduce into the philosophy of war itself a principle of moderation would be an absurdity." For this reason, it seems interesting to retain in Sun Tzu the possible involved in his philosophy. If it is rational to consider war as a bloody conflict, the fact remains that the nuances that integrate the ability to win wars without actually being fought seem to move towards a form of excellence.

This presents the process of emancipation, prepares a courageous attitude of openness to a thought of complexity, which assumes conflict to protect oneself and try for a social and political life with, against and for the other which is opposed. Confrontation must be considered possible, even if it is the most boorish form of conflict. To think that it is not possible is to place us in danger by negligence, and for this reason, it is better to understand conflict in terms of the coexistence of the opposites. The African tradition inscribed contradiction positively terms in its palaver. This is also true of American national identity: "Dissent is not something that is uttered once and for all. It is part of a conversation that reaches moments of reconciliation. These moments come as temporary

compromise and consensus. These principles have been embedded in American ways of life since America's founding; for even as the Founders sought a democracy capable of consensus, they were committed to the proliferation of dissent" (Sarah Marie Stitzlein). The argumentation strategies are not far removed from these meanings, they refer to a discursive conflict and if sophistry lends itself to the logic of interests of one party, Aristotle's Rhetoric fully complies with the demands of attitude of excellence that demand the approach of selfhood. Based on the spirit of the rhetorician, bent on the pathos of the opponent and in awaiting the *Kairos* for an opportune moment to decide on the right action, rhetoric seems to place firmly the symbolic of excellence to build a dynamic of emancipation.

Retrieving and Debunking *Urbarmensch*

The conflict is inscribed in a natural logic, which means that the conflict is not anthropocentric. The elements are combined in this world by contingencies and it is our responsibility to conceive this contingency as directing the possibles. The opposition of these different elements that meet give rise to new conflicts. Is not human person the result of a natural conflict in which every being, at some point, draws on its own determinations to "persevere in its being" as Spinoza suggests? Many arguments that connect us to the continuity of nature places beings in conflict with one another; in the context of this cruel reality that depicts Clément Rosset, is there not a link with this contemporary crisis that provides for the emergence of a new human, a post-human? The post-human will probably remain a utopia. I mean by this that the expected evolution is less than biological physiological and philosophical. "The greatest thing in the world is to know how to belong to oneself." (Montaigne) We cannot expect this post-human to descend from a flying saucer with alien appearance; this post-human is similar to what is imagined by like Nietzsche: what we are capable of becoming. It is up to each one of us to make a change or not, the beginning of the process, as stated by Montaigne that is to know how to belong to oneself. Again, this disposition must not be understood in terms of egoistic swelling, rather it is an

unfolding of our singularity out of the sameness, aimed at the goal of solicitude in tension with, against and for the other.

This understanding is particularly important given that we now know that solicitude is what we can offer better. But the threat of mediocrity exhorts us to excel. The subject of solicitude has to commit to excellence. This way of excellence passes through the overcoming of this dreary humanity. Foucault says that there is nothing to cry over the death of the human person. On this point, he approximates Nietzsche for whom the human person had imprisoned life and that it is up to the overhuman to liberate life. We know what Hitler has made of the concept of overhuman, distorting it into a superior race. This was an attempt to draw some superficial criteria for the development of an ideal society, criteria that served to eliminate deviant elements including the Jews, people with special needs, gypsies and homosexuals. This is why vigilance to keep in sight the goal of solicitude must be ensured.

Nietzsche, in this regard, did not mind that slavery be restored; it is an assurance of the brightness of a civilization. "Culture and art rest on a terrible foundation. In order that a wide, deep and fruitful soil may exist for their development, the vast majority must be in the service of a minority, must labour beyond the measure of their individual needs, be slaves of poverty. At their expense, by means of their surplus labour, must the few rise to freedom." (Nietzsche) Let the antidemocratic Nietzsche be the insurmountable limit for us. We shall prefer an attitude of solicitude, subscribing neither to the elimination nor to the subjugation of the mediocre. The challenge before us is to turn mediocrity into excellence.

The dissent is what must be assumed but never exceeded! Democracy can be guaranteed only by this. "If the forces within man compose a form only by entering into a relation with forms from the outside, with what new forms do they now risk entering into relation and what new will emerge that is neither God nor man?" Deleuze reasons with Foucault on the idea that would exceed the idea of covering or uncovering of human person and in this, both of them come up with reflection that simultaneously retrieves and debunks the overhuman of Nietzsche. This overhuman, by freeing himself/herself, will be able to act with, against and for

the other, he/she will free life by bringing his/her internal forces in relation to the external forces. It is an act of dissent and in this dissent would be born other forms of conflict. "With and against the other" becomes formula inseparable from "for the other," so as to build a life together from self-transcendence; this self-transcendence makes sense only if it aims to place one's power in the service of the vulnerability of the other. This becomes imperative as soon as we imagine its opposite that could produce an inverse thought. Arendt rightly notes that evil consists in not thinking what I would feel if what I inflict on the other is inflicted on me. If the dissent is ethically unsurpassable, it admits compromises but it has nothing to do with consensus. Compromises contain within them the initial conflict by virtue of the existence of two parties in truce, while consensus sign the evacuation of the conflict. The latter displays a pretentious unanimity that would be elusive when we attempt to verify it.

The surpassing of the self begins from setting in motion of the inner forces toward the outside forces so that a new form appears from the resulting action. It is precisely in this new form, crystallized by the results of the act of the meeting of the inside and the outside of the self, the ethicality of what was liberated will be expressed. Speaking of those who hid the Jews during the Second World War, Michel Terestchenko holds that their act did not reveal a forgetting of themselves, rather a commitment of the whole being investing with all force one's will and intelligence in a helping deed.

These reflections are meant for everyone who wishes to care for the other. Our call is to dissent to anything that might hinder the flourishing of human ideals. "With the other" is the good will to be part of a social and political co-living. "Against the other" expresses the inevitability of conflict and dissent." "For the other" is the reason for which dissent becomes necessary.

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Resisting Cultural Genocide

- Arjen Tete SJ

Abstract

This paper examines tribal unrest in central India. The paper has a limitation as it depends on the studies of other tribal scholars to present the Adivasi predicament rather than on my own ethnographic study. The author pleads that Indian society ought to adopt radical ecological democracy that nurtures tribal values. Renunciation is the key. Greed is identified as the source of the problem of ecology, and adopting a simple life-style is the way to suppress greed. Living in harmony with the nature and keeping their needs to the minimum, the Adivasi communities proclaim the message that the earth resource should not be used indiscriminately to satisfy human avarice. They register a powerful protest against a wasteful lifestyle devoid of any sense of responsibility to the world of nature. Tribal resistance in central states of India is for radical ecological democracy which is an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

Keywords

Tribals, culture, cultural genocide, land alienation,

Dalit rage brought down the Gujarat model and exposed it for what it is - a sickening upper caste pro-corporate policy framework... Discontent is simmering in tribal villages...

Sometimes it bursts out in sporadic protests...the power of their anger may not be visible as those of comparatively more organized communities of the oppressed. But don't be surprised if the next big upsurge comes from within Adivasi communities. The government is playing with fire.¹—Brinda Karat.

Introduction

This paper examines tribal unrest in central India. The paper has a limitation as it depends on the studies of other tribal scholars to present the Adivasi predicament rather than on my own ethnographic study. Like all authors, I write from a particular paradigm, from where it hurts tribal communities and their environment. Hence, my thinking is influenced by my culture and the society in which I live. I recognize my perspective's limitations and strengths, and, therefore, my reflection may get particularized by its context, but it is still valid.

We Indians are being repeatedly told by every politician in our country that we have to have more growth to reduce or remove poverty. The metaphor is that the cake must get bigger for people to have a bigger share, especially the poorest. However, the real beneficiaries do not seem to be the poorest but the rich. Recently, the Indian media had been full of analysis of the benefits of 25 years of economic liberalization. Sadly, tribals, Dalits and ever-increasing number of the working poor were just footnotes in the entire discourse. It is not surprising that their reactions are also becoming visible. The present model of growth is driving not just our economic paradigm but also the paradigm of how society should be. It is generating non-sustainability, inequality and deep violence within society. Our amazing pluralism of cultures is being reduced to uniformity. The dominant culture seems to be fast swallowing up the little traditions. "Social Darwinism" seems to be sweeping across the country.

1 Brinda Karat, "After Dalit Anger, This Could Be The Next Big Upsurge," (Aug 6, 2016), available from <http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/after-dalit-anger-this-could-be-the-next-big-upsurge-1441049>, accessed Aug 6, 2016.

My exploration begins by recognizing that there is a deep crisis of existence in the tribal belt in spite of empowerment policies of the government. Having considered anthropological, cultural, and existential consequences on the Adivasis affected by displacement, this paper underscores reasons for tribal resistance and illustrates radical ecological democracy as an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

Land Alienation and Displacement

According to tribal theologian John Mundu, the Adivasi reality has been a saga of land alienation, exploitation, displacement, and migration.² Although Adivasi land alienation began during the medieval period and intensified during the British regime, it has aggravated since the year of independence. Furthermore, with economic liberalization of 1990s, vast industrial estates and Special Economic Zones are rising up, and with them, land sharks who gobble up land.³ The British introduced Zamindari System to collect revenue worsening the oppression of the Adivasis. Consequently, a series of Adivasi uprisings took place in the region resulting in the enforcement of two legislations for checking the land alienation of the Adivasis: Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act, 1949. These are protective laws. According to these laws, the Adivasi ancestral land cannot be sold or transferred to a non-Adivasi.

Similarly, certain articles of the Indian Constitution are exclusively devoted to the cause of the tribal people: Articles 244, 244A, 275(1), 342, 338(A) and 339. These provisions aim at ensuring social, economic and political equity to tribal people. The provision of the Fifth Schedule enshrined under Article 244 of the Indian Constitution, for example, protects the interest of the Adivasis with regard to land alienation. Under this article, the

2 John Mundu, "Adivasi Reality: A Saga of Displacement and Migration," in *Enigma of Tribal Life and Culture*, ed. Vincent Aind (Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2009), 47-83.

3 Vandana Shiva, *Making Peace with the Earth* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 30-82.

Governor is empowered to repeal any Act either enforced by the Parliament or the Legislative Assemblies, merely through the public notification if the Law is not suitable for the Scheduled Area to have retrospective effect. There are one hundred and twelve blocks of Jharkhand in 14 districts identified as Scheduled Areas.⁴ These have been the original home of the Adivasis down the centuries.

More recently, two more legislations have been promulgated to protect the interests of the tribal people: the Panchayat Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act 1996 and Forest Right Act 2006. As a piece of legislation, PESA makes the community-the collective-a legal entity and it confers on tribal societies who live in Scheduled Areas the right to self-governance. The Forest Right Act 2006 seeks to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded. It is clear that the prime objectives of these legislations are protection of Adivasi land, traditional self-governance and culture.

However, since the year of independence, the government adopted the Western model of industrialization and the pace of displacement escalated in central India. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was amended in 1947 for urbanization, industrialization and development projects. The first Prime Minister of the country, Jawaharlal Nehru's policy of setting up of mega projects relating to industry, dams etc., as the temples of modern India have left tens of thousands of Adivasis displaced.⁵ Human right activist Gladson Dungdung opines that Nehru is not only the architect of modern India but also of the Adivasi misery.⁶ The Adivasi land alienation and displacement are spoken of as "sacrifice" for "national interest"

4 Mundu, "Adivasi Reality," 54.

5 Jawaharlal Nehru, *Modern Temples of India: Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru at Irrigation and Power Projects*, ed. C.V.J. Sharma (Delhi: Central Board of Irrigation and Power, 1989), 40-49.

6 Gladson Dungdung, *Whose Country Is It Anyway? Untold Stories of the Indigenous Peoples of India* (Kolkata: Adivaani, 2013), 111-114.

and “*The Greater Common Good*.”⁷ Several Government owned projects like Damodar Valley Corporation, Bokaro Steel (1950), Heavy Engineering Corporation, Uranium Corporation of India Ltd. Mines, KoelKaro Project (1955), Patratu Thermal Plant (1960) and several coal mining projects began in Chotanagpur. All these projects were launched with the proclaimed aim of proper rehabilitation and compensation, but the actual performance story is quite different. According to a research, the total land acquired in the name of development project between 1951-1995 is 6,258.895 sq. km. of land out of total area of Jharkhand 79,714,000 sq. km.⁸ Although an official database for persons displaced or affected by projects is not available, social scientist Alex Ekka gives the figure of the displaced during this period as many as of 15,03,017, of which 41% belong to the Adivasi community. Only a third of the displaced persons of planned development have been resettled. Entire Adivasi population is under mortal threat today on account of evident land alienation and consequent displacement.

Within a decade of its creation in year 2000, Jharkhand government signed 104 Memoranda of Understandings (MoUs) with the corporate houses.⁹ Similarly, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and West Bengal signed a long series of MoUs with corporate houses. In order for the MoUs to translate into real money, tribal people needed to be moved. But, to compulsorily acquire tribal land and turn it over to private mining corporations is illegal and unconstitutional under the PESA. Hence, when the State failed to hand overpromised lands to the corporate houses, the issue of Maoism came to surface.

7 Arundhati Roy, *The Algebra of Infinite Justice* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002), 43-141.

8 Alex Ekka and Muhammed Asif, *Development-Induced-Displacement and Rehabilitation in Jharkhand, 1951 to 1995: A Database on its Extent and Nature*, A Research Project Supported by OXFAM India Trust (New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2000), 67; as quoted by Mundu, “Adivasi Reality,” 63-65.

9 Dungdung, *Whose Country Is It Anyway*, 107.

Consequently, in 2009, the government of India announced what it called Operation Green Hunt deploying two lakh paramilitary troops across central Indian states--homeland to millions of India's tribal people and dreamland to the corporate world--against the poorest, hungriest, and most malnourished people in the world.¹⁰ It was called "creating a good investment climate." The government argued that development activities cannot take place in Naxal infested areas without cleansing the Maoists. The Maoists (most of them tribals) were considered to be "India's gravest internal security threat." Slain Maoists were displayed like hunters' trophies, with their wrists and ankles lashed to bamboo poles. It was declared as "war against terrorism," the CPI-Maoists.

However, in his work *Mission Saranda*, Gladson Dungdung has argued that the war is not against terrorism. It is the war against the Adivasis. He writes:

[T]his is not a war against terrorism, the so-called Naxalite insurgency by the CPI-Maoists but a war against the Adivasis. The hidden goal is to snatch their resources i.e. their lands, their forests, their water and hills... the war is actually, fundamentally, a war for control over mineral resource and that it threatens the security of all the common people in the Red Corridor and is wrecking their peaceful existence, their good governance, development and prosperity.¹¹

In the process, Dungdung concludes, innocent Adivasis are killed, women are sexually exploited, villagers are tortured, youth forced to migrate from their villages, children denied their right to education, development activities are blocked and the entire region

10 Arundhati Roy, "Walking with the Comrades," *Outlook*, March 29, 2010, available at <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?264738-1>, accessed Oct 15, 2016; see also Shiva, *Making Peace with the Earth*, 75-82.

11 Gladson Dungdung, *Mission Saranda: A War for Natural Resources in India* (Ranchi: DeshajPrkashan, 2015), xiii; see also Centre for Science and Environment, *Rich Lands, Poor People: Is 'Sustainable' Mining Possible?* (Delhi: CSE, 2008).

is terrorized by both State and non-State actors.¹² Dissent voices are curbed by both groups. Labelling all democratic movements as Naxal movement, the State suppresses them. Consequently, the Adivasis are continuing to lose their land, territory, lives, and livelihood. The Adivasis' recent history is characterized as an *Unbroken History of the Broken Promises*.¹³ It seems palpable that the sooner the weak and primitive societies are wiped aside the better for the growth.

The Expert Committee report of 2008, commissioned by the Planning Commission, concluded that development paradigm in the region has benefitted the dominant sections at the expense of the poor, causing displacement and reducing them to sub-human existence. The report also affirmed that this model of development destroyed tribal social organization, cultural identity, and resource base and generated multiple conflicts, undermining their communal solidarity, which cumulatively makes them increasingly vulnerable to exploitation.¹⁴ The Report had also talked of "increased corrupt practices of a rent seeking bureaucracy and rapacious exploitation by the contractors, middlemen, traders and the greedy sections of the larger society intent on grabbing their resources and violating their dignity."¹⁵ Amartya Sen opines that this paradigm of development contradicts the idea of "development as freedom."¹⁶ Sen writes that economic "unfreedom," in the form of extreme poverty, can make a person helpless prey in the violation of other kinds of freedom.

12 Dungdung, *Mission Saranda*, 110.

13 B.D. Sharma, *Unbroken History of Broken Promises* (Delhi: Freedom Press, 2010).

14 Government of India, "Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas," (Report of an Expert Group to the Planning Commission, 2008), 28; available from http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf, accessed Nov 1, 2016.

15 Government of India, "Development Challenges in Extremist Areas," 28.

16 Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 2010), 3.

Economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom.¹⁷

It is obvious that Indian State has been promoting crony capitalism in tribal areas rather than enforcing their rights and entitlements. Scholars have, therefore, argued that Jharkhand state was created on the basis of political bargains struck between India's political elites, on the basis of opportunism and expediency, rather than long history of struggles from within the state.¹⁸ The Jharkhand government of the day is trying to amend the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act and the Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act to facilitate acquisition of agricultural lands for non-agricultural purposes like building roads and setting up power projects.¹⁹ Hence, Jharkhand tribals are fighting against these amendments for their survival.

Tribal Resistance for Survival

In their work, *Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries*, Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya claim that India has already been transformed "from a basket case into a powerful engine of growth."²⁰ They are convinced that faster growth and freer markets remain the best remedy for poverty, inequality, pollution, and ill-health. For them, there is no other alternative. They challenge us endorsing the perilous illusions of competitive corporate nationalism.

17 Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 8.

18 Alpa Shah, *In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 20.

19 UCAN News, (Sept 26, 2016), available from <http://www.ucanindia.in/news/jharkhand-tribals-continue-fight-against-land-law-amendment/33035/daily>, accessed Nov 4, 2016.

20 Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, *Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013), xviii.

Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze, on the other hand, present a contrasting view—that there is something defective in India’s “path to development”—and a very different list of priorities in *An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions*. Acknowledging the importance of aggregate economic growth for generating public revenue, which can be used to reduce poverty, they focus on reducing inequality by redistribution and basic resource provision to create an environment for “inclusive growth.”²¹ Hoping to present material for “informed and reasoned public engagement,”²² Sen and Drèze carefully explain such issues as health care, education, corruption, growing inequality, and their suppression in India’s elite-dominated public space.

Aligning himself to the flock of Bhagwati and Panagariya, Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s “Gujarat development model” now threatens the whole country with greater ecological disaster and displacement. The Modi government operates shoving earplugs in its ears and, thus, refuses to hear the cry of the Adivasis. Since, the British Raj, government after government has been trying to decimate Adivasi culture, uproot it, and homogenize it into the “main stream.”

Furthermore, Indian society, in general, is moving towards poverty amnesia. Firstly, with the onslaught of globalization, the tribals, Dalits and other working poor are being told that they are disposable, dispensable commodities. The slogan of Indira Gandhi “*Garibi Hatao*” (poverty abolition) is being changed into “*Garib Hatao*” (drive the poor off the land). The whole atmosphere seems to be charged with the spirit of eugenics and the philosophy of the survival of the fittest. Secondly, there seems to be a progressive eclipse of social consciousness and responsibility in the country. Our economic policies cater to the consumerist tastes and the profits and power of the privileged elite, who are also mostly policy makers. This anaesthetizing of social consciousness and

21 Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

22 Dreze and Sen, *An Uncertain Glory*, 16.

responsibility strikes at the very root of our capacity to envision a different kind of society.

The Adivasis are, therefore, resisting cultural genocide which refers “to destruction of group identity and/or culture without killing people physically.”²³ Without their rivers, forests, and land, the Adivasi cultural practices, social systems and identity will be destroyed even if the people survive. Thus, *Loha Nahi Anaj Chahiye* (we want food grains not iron), *Jal, Jungle aur Jamin Hamara Hai* (land, forest and water belong to us), *Jan Denge, Jamin Nahi Denge* (we will surrender our lives but not our land) are some of the impassioned slogans raised in the area.²⁴ In a 2009 documentary, *Gaon Chhodab Nahi*, directed by K.P. Sasi, a tribal song, composed by the tribal activist, Bhaghwan Maaji against bauxite mining in Kashipur in Odisha, is critical of modernist paradigms of development. The perceived enemy here is the ideology of modernity and development.²⁵ The tribals view industrialization as a degrading force that pollutes rivers and kills fish and birds. Thus,

23 Felix Padel and Magdalena Kryszynska-Kaluzna, “Cultural Genocide: An Appropriate Concept in Today’s World?” in *The Tribal Tribune*, Vol. 4, issue 3 (April, 2012), available at <http://www.tribaltribune.com/main.php?opt=article&artno=195>, accessed June 12, 2016.

24 Dungkung, *Whose Country Is It Anyway*, 116.

25 2009 documentary, *Gaon Chhodab Nahi*, directed by K.P. Sasi: [we will not leave our village, we will not leave our forests, we will not leave our mother earth, we will not give up our fight. They built dams, drowned our villages and built factories. They cut down our forests, dug out mines, built sanctuaries. Without water, land and forest, where will we go? God of development, tell us, how do we save our lives? Dry is the Yamuna river, the Narmada river, and the Subarnarekha river. The Ganga river is a dirty drain and the Krishna river is but a black line. You may drink your Pepsi, Coco Cola and mineral water. How do we quench our thirst with such polluted waters? Were our ancestors fools that they conserved the forests, kept the land green, and made the rivers flow like honey? Your greed has charred the land and looted its greenery. The fish are dead, the birds have flown, who knows where].

they are fighting for their own survival as well as for the survival of their forests, rivers, and lands.

Similarly, the battle over the Niyamgiri mountain range in Orissa, from which the mining giant Vedanta wanted to extract bauxite, has finally been won by the Dongriya Kondh tribe, the original inheritors and stewards of the land. While the battle was still on, a member of the tribe said of their predicament:

We are used to the Indian government here. But the Vedanta government has come and devastated so many people. They won't let us live in peace. They want to take these rocks from the mountain. But if they take away these rocks, how will we survive? Because of these the rain comes. The winter comes, the wind blows, the mountain brings all the water. If they take away these rocks, we'll all die. We'll lose our soul. Niyamgiri is our soul.²⁶

This tribal cry of despair gives a glimpse of how sacred the place of nature is in tribal cosmology. It might seem awfully superstitious to the rational mind to think that rain comes from rocks. But with such a mental makeup, one can easily misread the metaphor and miss the deep causalities inscribed in this life-affirming cosmology.

To summarize, in central India, the Adivasis are resisting the total annihilation of their cultures. They are fighting against the homogenizing nature of technological culture—if we understand culture as consisting of a worldview, attitudes, values and way of life. It is a society that takes from the nature for need rather than greed.

Radical Ecological Democracy

The dominant economic development model is perilous. A business-as-usual approach resonates with the behavior of the proverbial fool, “cutting the very branch on which he sits.” To me, Sri Lankan theologian Tissa Balasuriya sounds more prophetic: “If we promote the spread of deserts or the death of rivers, lakes, and

26 Sikaka Lodu, a member of the Dongriya Kondh tribe, says this in a 2008 film, *Mine*, on Niyamgiri, made by the Survival International.

seas we are committing suicide, or genocide, or both.”²⁷ We may recall the words of Rabindranath Tagore in his long-neglected essay written in 1922, “The Robbery of the Soil”:

Most of us who try to deal with the problem of poverty think only of a more intensive effort of production. We forget that it brings about a greater exhaustion of material as well as of humanity. It gives to the few excessive opportunities for profit at the cost of the many. It is food which nourishes, not money; it is fullness of life which makes one happy, not fullness of purse. Multiplying material wealth alone intensifies the inequality between those who have and those who have not, and it inflicts so deep a wound on the social system that the whole body eventually bleeds to death.²⁸

Therefore, in their work, *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India*, Aseem Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari argue for a radical transformation in development policies, priorities and attitudes. They advocate practice of “radical ecological democracy” as a sustainable and equitable alternative.²⁹ This framework arises from the numerous grassroots initiatives that have sprung up in India.³⁰ This new paradigm affirms direct democracy, local and regional economies, cultural diversity, human well-being, and ecological resilience. Critiquing “the dominant values of competitiveness and aggression, greed and covetousness” which

27 Tissa Balasuriya, *Planetary Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984), 153.

28 Rabindranath Tagore, *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore: A Miscellany*, ed. Sisir Kumar Das (New Delhi: SahityaAcademi, 1994), 872.

29 Aseem Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari, *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India* (Delhi: Penguin, 2012), 264-269.

30 In 2013, in Madhya Pradesh’s Khandwa area, 51 people stayed immersed in water for the 14th day in what was being called a ‘*jalsatya-graha*’ (Water Resistance). The protestors were demanding compensation and rehabilitation for villagers whose homes would be submerged under water after the state government’s order of opening all the gates of the Omkareshwar dam in Madhya Pradesh.

are required by a successful industrial economy, this framework upholds values of “cooperation, compassion, integrity, simplicity, responsibility, equity and loyalty.”³¹

Consumerism has struck deep into the heart of middle class India. Money is the new deity worshipped by the rich. The Indians, mostly the “convent educated” middle classes (the product of British Empire and Christian Mission) are floundering for new ideas about themselves, their freedom, and their destiny, when east and west are clashing at shopping malls. Good life is an important part of prosperity. Hence, advocacy of radical ecological democracy paradigm will face the enormous challenge of overcoming the resistance of entrenched institutions and mindsets. Acceptance of this paradigm entails the spread of the core values underlying the framework. They are basically tribal values. Adivasi society is based on collectivism, equality, autonomy, not profit ethos and indigenous democracy.³² Traditionally, they have been practicing radical ecological democracy. Their values thus stand in sharp contrast to the “pride” of the caste and “greed” of consumerism which largely determine the social oppression and economic exploitation that define the brutal reality of Indian society today. The cultivation of these values is essential if Indian society is to be renewed.

Values that are essential for our survival of life are those of caring and sharing, not domination and manipulation. The pattern of domination and exploitation can lead to the silencing of nature and to the ecological death of both the nature and humans. The new perspective affirms our inter-relatedness to one another and nature. The scale of values essential for sustaining the inter-relatedness and wholeness of creation differs from the dominant value system of modern society. These values are conservation, not consumerism; need, not greed; enabling power, not dominating power; integrity of creation, not exploitation of nature.

31 Shrivastava and Kothari, *Churning the Earth*, 29-30.

32 Dungdung, *Whose Country Is It Anyway*, 25

Through the centuries the Adivasis have developed such a traditional culture that has helped them view their life support system as a community resource inherited from their ancestors, to be judiciously used and preserved for posterity.³³ Their customary culture is community based. It has equity and conservation of the resource i.e. sustainable development and the use of the resource as its basic principles.

Conclusion

Seventy years of planned economy has not benefitted all the citizens of the country at the same level. Rather, it has elevated some to the peak of riches, and sunk others, namely, the Adivasis into the pool of poverty and misery. Industrialization is propagated as the only way to develop. The Indian State perceives development and military action as the solution to the violence. In truth, injustice, denial, dispossession, and displacement are the foundations of tribal unrest in central India.

Authentic development is about enhancing human freedoms and quality of life.³⁴ Indeed, important components of human freedom—and crucial aspects of our quality of life—are thoroughly dependent on the integrity of the environment, involving the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we consume, and the epidemiological surroundings in which we live. The capacity to live the kinds of lives we value—and have reason to value—depends, at the most primal level, on the nature and robustness of the environment. Hence, the Adivasis are battling every day to protect forests, mountains, rivers because they know that these natural resources on their turn protect the Adivasis. Maintaining rapid as well as environmentally sustainable growth remains an important and achievable goal for India. At the heart of this vision lies a profound reverence for the nature that sustains life and connects us all as living beings.

33 Dungdung, *Whose Country Is It Anyway*, 25.

34 Dreze and Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*, 43-44.

Now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the Indians are becoming conscious that human activity—whether economic, political or social—also has an ecological consequence. It is not just a matter of sharing the natural resources of Mother Earth; it is a matter of preserving the very environment which makes it possible for humankind to survive on this planet. If we continue to destroy the planet's atmosphere at the present rate, it will not be long before we destroy humankind itself. We are in the face of a national crisis. The solution lies not just in economic, political, or technological instruments, but, above all, in the moral and spiritual rejuvenation of the Indian society which should acknowledge its corporate responsibility for the state in which we find ourselves, and a resolution to pull back from the brink of disaster.

Indian society ought to adopt radical ecological democracy that nurtures tribal values. Renunciation is the key. Greed is identified as the source of the problem of ecology, and adopting a simple life-style is the way to suppress greed. Living in harmony with the nature and keeping their needs to the minimum, the Adivasi communities proclaim the message that the earth resource should not be used indiscriminately to satisfy human avarice. They register a powerful protest against a wasteful lifestyle devoid of any sense of responsibility to the world of nature. Tribal resistance in central states of India is for radical ecological democracy which is an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

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Fractured Identities, Invisible Selves

- Konrad Noronha SJ

Abstract

Members of minority groups have often been described as marginalized in acculturation research. Being marginalized, affects the identity of persons and groups. One such minority group that is marginalized in India, and whose rights of expression are being denied because of social taboos, are the gays, lesbians, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex community (LGBTQI). The marginalization, affects the LGBTQI's outlook on God, religion and spirituality, and workplace behavior. For those with minority identities, workplace stressors include discrimination, expectations of stigma, and internalized heterosexism. Understanding of human behavior and persons have changed in modern times, with a deeper understanding of diversity and inclusivity, so that same sex relationships are no longer considered outside the sphere of human behavior. Counseling clients with such identities requires that the therapist have sensitivity that goes beyond the required major culture. This includes training in working with multicultural populations. This article deals with the LGBTQI identity, and how their identity impacts their God image. The issue has importance as it brings together the disciplines of moral theology, value ethics, professional ethics and what it means to be a pastor. Indicators for clinical practice are emphasized.

Keywords

Identity, marginalization, LGBTQI, counseling.

Fractured Identities, Invisible Selves

Identity is an umbrella term used to describe an individual's or a group's comprehension of himself, herself, their selves, as discrete, separate entities. It includes ethnic, cultural, sexual, religious identities, and therefore is not restricted to any single identity. When a person is considered only from one of these lenses, a marginalized identity sets in, and difficulties arise due to being known only through a single lens. In an increasingly globalized world acculturation research talks about marginalized groups i.e. majority groups considering others through only one lens. Aglobal identity is being stressed which plays an increasing role in developing self-concept and psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Kunst, & Sam, 2013).

Globalization is connected with the emergence and reconstruction of new identities. A national identity is one of the different identities that a person has because other identities occur through the appropriation of various voices that manage the origin of the identity and which might demand a host of lifestyles. In identity politics it is important to recognize the limits and acknowledge the necessity for accomplishing goals and building partnerships, without excluding anyone. In building hybrid and multiple identities certain ties with the original society are preserved when the new forms of life of the new culture and society are taken on (Esteban-Guitart, & Vila, 2015). Therefore, in a national identity social identification would necessarily include those who are considered as belonging to marginalized groups, like those with the LGBTQI identity (Bennett, 2006).

Perceptions in India have changed due to changes in the understanding of identity development. This is revealed through changes in the lives of youth. They now weigh changes in the light of losses, gains, and the need for adaptation. Although continuing to identify with traditional Indian collectivist beliefs, values, and practices; they also identify and participate in, minority world beliefs, values, and practices (Rao, Roeser, Berry, Gonsalves, Hastak, & Shah, 2013). In today's changing world there is also a new toleration debate as the understanding of toleration has changed, especially with regard to rights and religious prescription.

Questions about what should be tolerated and what the law should allow or proscribe about personal and family life and religious and cultural identity are creating problems due to new awareness and differences in perspective (Almond, 2010).

A powerful majority group can be repressive and discriminatory when it fails to substantively take total group identity into account. This is because group identity depends on how group members acquire and live out their group beliefs (Fraser-Burgess, 2012). Identifying with a group can contribute to a sense of well-being since belonging to groups brings social identification that impact individuals' beliefs about issues such as "their connections with others, the availability of social support, the meaningfulness of existence, and the continuity of their identity" (Khan, Hopkins, Tewari, Srinivasan, Reicher, & Ozakinci, 2014, p.787). Within a group, when the various identities are not considered, members might get excluded, like those with alternate sexual identities. This automatically means less power and privilege. It has been observed that individuals from social identity groups with differing levels of societal power and privilege like lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, people of color; women, perceived significant increases in esteem resulting from acceptance of their identity when the within the group climate is positive (Miles, & Kivlighan, 2012).

The varying identities just talked about might cause contradictions in the practice of counseling and psychotherapy and gives need to re-conceptualize therapeutic approaches, in the light of a multicultural, multiethnic, diverse world. Power differences and conflicting goals might arise for therapists and the counseling room needs to become a space for critique, dissent and action, allowing for a core experience of the self that will foster replication in society at large (Sorrell, 2006). Given these understandings, it is imperative that counselors and psychotherapists use communication and conceptualization skills to create a more accurate picture of the individual client's conceptualization of the world, within various therapeutic frameworks and most importantly help clients create accurate pictures of the self.

This understanding is essential to having and reflecting the most accurate understanding of the phenomenological view of the client.

As the counselor's multicultural conceptualization skills develop, he or she will be able to understand these multiple identities as interwoven and at times inseparable. Further, the counselor will grow to understand how the client's level of development with regard to one identity may affect his or her level of identity with regard to another identity (Salazar, & Abrams, 2005, pp.57-58)

In the counseling alliance it is important to develop relationships and partnerships with all types of persons in society, once similarities and differences are known and understood. Partnerships define the community, and connect persons with different identities. They give vision, identify individuals and organizations, engage and define roles, give cause for accountability, evaluation and communication, and reassess involvements and satisfaction. They build the capacity to solve problems and increase strengths, and if they are community driven they will emphasize assets (Lee, 2007; Fowler & Kub, 2009). With all the discrimination evident in the world and in India with regard to the rights of minority populations, these populations have begun to give expression to their voice. This is often considered as dissent, because majority voices are not listening. Let us now consider one such marginalized group in India, whose rights of expression are being denied, because of social and religious taboos, i.e. the gays, lesbians, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex community (LGBTQI). This topic is of importance as the fields of moral theology, value ethics, and professional ethics intersect. It also makes us want to consider the global understanding of the word pastor.

The LGBTQI identity

It is important to know that there are differences in the understanding of what it means by gay, lesbian, transgender, bisexual, queer and intersex. Also, there is a difference between gender identity, orientation, and behavior. A transgender identity is perhaps not as widely used or understood by the population as other alternate sexual identities (Hoffman, Knight, Boscoe-Huffman, & Stewart, 2007). Most LGBTQI people in India are in the closet. Very few express their identities because of inherent difficulties, like societal rejection and civil consequences.

Social Taboos and Civil law

The alternate sexual lifestyle is still not accepted in India, and same sex relationships are not spoken of openly. Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 criminalizes (male) same-sex sexual activity. There are no laws in India criminalizing lesbian sexual activity. In all states of India those with alternate lifestyles face discrimination, intolerance and abuse. Even in the southern states of India where the LGBTQI mobilization has been quite strong, there have been instances where people from the LGBTQI communities have not been allowed to enter hotels, restaurants or clubs ("World Bank, 2012).

The area of concern is that even though Article 14 of the Indian Constitution states "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India," yet discrimination and inequality persists ("ILGA.org," 2013). The question that arises therefore is how to bring an understanding of equality in society so that the rights of those with alternate sexualities are not trampled upon, and that they might live with dignity, without having to be apologetic about anything.

Research suggests that individuals with a marginalized sexual orientation report higher levels of social anxiety than heterosexuals (Wadsworth, & Hayes-Skelton, 2015). Gay men feel pressure to conform to masculine role norms (Hunt, Fasoli, Carnaghi, & Cadinu, 2016). Transgenders experience discrimination, and stigma awareness. Where there is internalized transphobia, transgenders have been helped by individual- and group-level buffers like resilience and collective action (Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013). In studies it was seen that for those with marginalized sexual orientation the exceptions were substance use and academic distress, which were experienced at levels similar to those of heterosexuals.

Discrimination notwithstanding, there has to be a sense of protection to people of all orientations, so that there is no fear in the expression of their sexuality. This population has faced a lot of discrimination from those with a majority sexual orientation, and

quite often from birth or a young age. The discrimination affects the LGBTQI's outlook on God, religion and spirituality. Whatever may be the choice by a person of an alternate sexual lifestyle, the process of accepting one's sexual identity is a challenging and painful process, especially for individuals coming from a religious background. Many LGBTQI individuals fear losing both their family and religious support systems through the coming out process. This apprehension often creates barriers to achieving a healthy sexual identity, resulting in stress more than what would be met with in a heterosexual population (Gates, 2011). These stressors are also seen in the workplace, unless there is a strong push for understanding and acceptance of diverse populations.

Workplace

A professional identity defines a person in the workplace and includes the ethnic, cultural, sexual and religious aspects of the person and his or her professional competencies. For those with LGBTQI identity, numerous stressors impinge into workplace behavior. They include workplace discrimination, expectations of stigma, internalized heterosexism, and therefore for employers, the need to employ different identity management strategies. Stressors in the workplace for minority groups were associated with greater distress and lower job satisfaction. Caution has to be observed in approaching group differences, especially in the cases of minority groups. Lower levels of homophobia in the workplace and concealment strategies like counterfeiting, avoiding, and higher levels of a disclosure strategy were associated with higher job satisfaction in the context of low discrimination. This disappeared as the level of discrimination decreased (Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013).

Despite efforts to dispel prejudice, workplace discrimination still occurs. Advocacy for rights, facilities and equal status is called for in such places, and should be an inherent part of any work place's identity and a necessary part of any professional setup. It should also be recognized that organizations while adopting a multicultural approach that celebrates group differences, might actually reinforce culturally dominant stereotypes. Therefore, it is important to adopt

broad strategies towards diversity in identity management (Shih, Young, & Bucher, 2013). It has been demonstrated that growth-fostering relationships may be associated with less psychological distress depending on whether the work environment is open or close to understandings of minorities. Therefore, understanding resilience factors among sexual minorities in the workplace is critical for a culturally sensitive and affirmative workplace, and to make minorities feel more welcomed (Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013).

Effects of discrimination

Mental health professionals need to honestly explore biases or prejudices against members of minority groups and use the information to move forward in less biased manners. In terms of sexual orientation, it may be hard for many faith-based counselors to reconcile scope of competence versus biases. Therefore, counselors should stay abreast of research related to adherence to ethical standards, competencies, and perceptions of clients. They have the responsibility to update their knowledge and constantly pursue continuing education (Balkin, Watts, & Ali, 2014, p.192) with regard to marginalized groups, especially LGBTQI. This is because lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth are often at greater risk for negative health outcomes compared with heterosexual youth. "Isolation is one risk factor cited throughout the literature" (Johnson, &Amella, 2014, p.523). The effects of isolation are seen on the social, emotional, cognitive, and spiritual levels. It has been seen that many LGBTQI youth have health issues linked to being and feeling isolated. However, the literature is diverse in describing isolation which needs conceptual clarification (Johnson, &Amella, 2014).

There has to be a focus on group and individual identity, as well as awareness about the dynamics and conditions that adversely affect marginalized groups in the larger community that might appear invisible. This means that counselors should broaden the understandings of self-interest and sense of identity (Boyd, 2010). Thus it is important to understand the complexity of experiences in understanding discrimination (Tran, Miyake, Martinez-Morales,

&Csizmadia, 2016). When the counselor shows an understanding of a variety of experiences; the counselor becomes a source of empowerment. This is because the counselor acknowledges that all experiences, identities and sexualities need to be evaluated with their implications in a multiracial, multi ethnic world, where every single person has multiple identities, visible and invisible.

Advocacy

Counselors may help clients become aware of their personal, emotional, and cognitive responses to anti-LGBTQI movements and policies. They may consider introducing advocacy on behalf of LGBTQI issues as a coping strategy for clients struggling with the impact of anti-LGBTQI policies. Although activism may be an effective coping strategy for some individuals, this involvement may be stressful and draining for others (Arm, Horne, & Levitt, 2009, p.93). Advocacy occurs at different levels, and always has to do with rights and social change. It means working towards bringing awareness to issues of importance. Accessing and working for anyone, any issue, especially for the marginalized, cannot occur without advocacy. The tasks are many.

Social taboos, majority culture domination with regard to identity and sexuality, discrimination and the civil laws have strong influences on the LGBTQI in India. Similarly, anti-LGBTQI movements and policies affect participants' personal relationships, mental and physical health. Also, perspectives about their country and government, and hopes about the future because movements and policies shape personal identity and beliefs of those who are LGBTQI. It influences the faith and the God image of this population. It also calls for an understanding of how such counselors would address the God of such populations, in relation to their identity and sexuality especially if the counselee professes to a faith tradition.

God Image

Religion and spirituality have often been areas of exploration in which individuals tell their stories to explain their belief systems

and religious practices. It helps in defining the religious identity of persons, especially the God image of persons. (Schwab, 2013). Identity is often spoken of with regard to continuity/ change, and sameness/difference, in relation to other individuals, institutions, and dominant discourses. Major theistic world religions maintain that homosexuality is sinful (Louis Hoffman, Knight, Boscoe-Huffman, & Stewart, 2007). Individuals with strongly religious backgrounds have clear moral codes with specific prohibitions about certain sexual acts.

Various groups understand homosexuality differently. One group maintains that being homosexual is sinful and is therefore intolerant of homosexuals. A second group believes homosexual behaviors are sinful and there is a third group that maintains that homosexuality, including engaging in same-sex intimacy, is not sinful. This last perspective is often referred to as an affirming or welcoming perspective (Hoffman, Knight, Boscoe-Huffman, & Stewart, 2007). Often LGBTQI persons experience bewilderment, hurt and anger because a key part of their personal experience, their sexuality is not accepted by religion (Mair, 2010). There needs to be a better understanding of God with regard to diversity issues. The majority of theistic religions believe that God influences the world whether God is understood as a theistic being separate from the world, or the Ground of all Being (Hoffman, Knight, Boscoe-Huffman, & Stewart, 2007). If God does exist and interacts with the world, then consideration needs to be given to the various forms of diversity.

The God Image for the LGBTQI community will frequently be based primarily upon broader experiences, as opposed to primarily parental influences. This has importance for practicing caregivers (Arm, Horne, & Levitt, 2009). The understanding of sexual orientation was different in the times of the Old and New Testament, due to the strictures of the cultures and thinking of the time. Understanding of human behavior and persons have changed a lot since then, so that same sex relationships are no longer considered outside the sphere of human behavior by sciences like psychology, sociology and most other sciences.

Conclusion

Fractured identities and invisibility for LGBTQI clients, is often the result of dominant identities. Counseling clients from minority backgrounds is not an easy task; it requires that the therapist have sensitivity and training that goes beyond the required major cultural norms. It is the clients' needs that take primary focus and it is the duty of the counselor to define those needs whether it be of the community or the individual and see that there are adequate resources. An awareness of the clients' background, taken in the intake, would form a first step in leading the therapist towards formulating an initial plan in treatment, and as treatment progresses, in formulating variations and better plans. After defining needs and assets, partnerships might have to be considered. For effective counseling it is important to note that the three characteristics of a community are its people, the place and the social interactions that occur, and these should be utilized. A good counselor will build on partnerships and relationships, which are fundamental to the process of treatment of persons especially with regard to socialization, and specifically with marginalized groups.

Improvement or failure depends on the therapeutic relationship and the type of therapy used because therapies can be used appropriately as well as badly. This implies educating counselors in working with LGBTQI clients. Community resources too form an important part of the assessment of any client as community impacts treatment and any counseling work done with an LGBTQI client. A counselor must build on the capacity to solve problems, increase strengths, must be community driven, and must emphasize the assets of the client and the community. This would help tremendously in giving a variety of clients a holistic approach towards treatment.

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Quotes for Noam Chomsky

(Famous for *Noam Chomsky: A Life of Dissent* by Robert F. Barsky)

"We shouldn't be looking for heroes, we should be looking for good ideas."

"If we don't believe in freedom of expression for people we despise, we don't believe in it at all."

"The whole educational and professional training system is a very elaborate filter, which just weeds out people who are too independent, and who think for themselves, and who don't know how to be submissive, and so on -- because they're dysfunctional to the institutions."

"The smart way to keep people passive and obedient is to strictly limit the spectrum of acceptable opinion, but allow very lively debate within that spectrum...."

"Optimism is a strategy for making a better future. Because unless you believe that the future can be better, you are unlikely to step up and take responsibility for making it so."

"I was never aware of any other option but to question everything."

"All over the place, from the popular culture to the propaganda system, there is constant pressure to make people feel that they are helpless, that the only role they can have is to ratify decisions and to consume."

"Education is a system of imposed ignorance."

"It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and expose lies."

"For the powerful, crimes are those that others commit."

"I think it only makes sense to seek out and identify structures of authority, hierarchy, and domination in every aspect of life, and to challenge them; unless a justification for them can be given, they are illegitimate, and should be dismantled, to increase the scope of human freedom."



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Dissent as a Demand for Assent

An Essential Lesson from the Existential Nature of Science

- S. Stephen Jayard

Abstract

We are thinking beings. Given the faculty of free will and the innumerable circumstances that we find ourselves in, there will always be infinite ways of thinking and reflecting. To curtail one's thinking and force one to act only in certain manner would actually be a great disservice, not only to the individual concerned, but also to the whole of humanity; applying the same mould of thinking and acting to everyone in society will lead humanity to a stunted growth and land it in stable waters. As long as we don't have the full picture of reality we cannot absolutize our perspectives, after all *we can never know how much we don't know and all that we know is what we know*. Silencing the spirit of dissent goes against the very spirit of being human as the lack of dissent, will block the ways for new insights and inspirations, inventions and discoveries. *Dissent, thus, is an essential property of our intellect.* The paper begins with a short description of dissent in various human fields and moves on to the fields of science to show how important dissent is for the field of science, and at the same time, unfortunately, how often it is silenced! Examples for suppression in four areas of scientific researchers are considered here to bring out this point: *Pesticides*, where the corporate companies attack the dissenters; *Fluoridation*, where the pride of the dental profession silences the protests; *Nuclear Power*, where the State agencies suppress the voice of the critics; and *Darwin's theory of Evolution*, where the conservatives dump the critics, including dissenting scientists, as

‘religious creationists’. Further the paper attempts to explain how dissent in science is essential because of the very nature of science, by focusing on three important aspects: *the nature of human reasoning, method of science* and *theory choice*.

Keywords

Democracy, Actual Practices of Science, Dissent, Ascent and Openness

Introduction

Rational beings as we are, we all engage in the act of thinking and reflecting. Given the faculty of free will (though it may not be absolutely free as it can be conditioned by several factors, but sufficient enough to make us responsible for our actions) and the innumerable circumstances that we find ourselves in, there will always be infinite ways of thinking and reflecting. To curtail one's thinking and force one to act only in certain manner would actually be a great disservice to humanity; applying the same mould of thinking and acting to everyone in society will lead humanity to a stunted growth and land in stable waters. As individuals are limited in many ways we cannot have a comprehensive view of reality, nor about our own selves. As long as we don't have the full picture of reality we cannot absolutize our perspectives, after all *we can never know how much we don't know and all that we know is what we know*. Silencing the spirit of dissent goes against the very spirit of being human as the lack of dissent will block the ways for new insights and inspirations, inventions and discoveries. *Dissent, thus, is an intellectual property.*

The paper begins with a short description of dissent in various human fields and moves on to the fields of science to show how important dissent is, and at the same time, unfortunately, how scornful it is sometimes projected. Examples for suppression in four areas of scientific researchers are considered to bring out this point: Pesticides, where the corporate companies attack the dissenters; *Fluoridation*, where the pride of the dental profession silence the protests, and *Nuclear Power*, where the State agencies suppress the voice of the critics; and *Darwin's theory of Evolution*, where the

conservatives dump the critics, including dissenting scientists, as 'religious creationists'. Further the paper attempts to explain how dissent in science is essential because of the very nature of science, by focusing on three important aspects: *the nature of human reasoning, theory choice and method of science*.

1. Dissent in General

Dissent can be understood as an expression of an opinion different from a prevailing or official position; it is a difference of opinion or feeling; it is a disagreement or refusal to conform to the authority of any form.¹ Dissenting voices are silenced by various means like absorption, domestication and homogenization. The uniqueness and the otherness of the other are ignored so that one ideology and one set of practices can be imposed upon. Unity is a value, but not uniformity; different voices are needed to be aware of the limitations of a system. If these voices are stifled, a system may continue to be in its own ignorance and arrogance. This issue gains importance as in the recent past several incidents have taken place that stifle the dissenting voices.

Serious situation in India: In protesting against the recent attempts by the Central Government to polarize the people in terms of cultural practices and religious ideologies, several intellectuals of our nation returned their *Sahitya Academy* awards. For they fear the Government is ruining the multicultural and multi-religious fabrics of India. The intellectuals and the champions of preserving India's great heritage of multiple faces strongly protested against the killing of M. Kalgurgi, Narendare Dabholkar, Govind Pansare, and Mohamed Akhlaq;² all these were engaged in writing to criticize the

1 See: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/dissent>; accessed on 17 May, 2016.

2 This note has been added, on 5 Oct, 2017, for the publication of the paper, not at the time of presentation. In the list of horrible and inhuman assassinations one more famous journalist has to be painfully added: Ms. Gauri Lankesh, 55, editor of *Gauri Lankesh Patrike*, a weekly newspaper, which she published from Bangalore, was brutally killed by the bullets from the close-range near her residence. It is widely

ruling forces and to conscientize the public masses on important issues. These killings are the heinous expressions of the brutal attempts to mute the critics and to manipulate the public opinion.

India has a great tradition of tolerance towards difference of opinion. The recent suppression of dissent is in fact an insult to this long cherished tradition of India. As Amartya Sen points out the great emperors of India, like Ashoka and Akbar, not only exhibited mere tolerance but also respected and encouraged the heterodox voices.³ India has always been and still wants, as Jonardon Ganeri, explains, to be “an open assimilative, and spacious one, sustaining a plurality of voices, orthodox and dissenting, of many ages, regions, and affiliations” and he invites the modern India to study the valuable ancient traditions, to deliberate and to learn from them to decide “who to be, how to behave, and on what to agree. That is a fundamental freedom, one which ought not to be surrendered in binding”.⁴

Pushpa Bhargawa is convinced that when informed dissent is denied of serious and attentive listening and if it is not followed by appropriate actions, it is in fact a mockery of democracy. He suggests that real democracy would always encourage informed dissent, as “a citizen has a right to dissent without fear of victimisation — as long as such dissent does not lead to inhuman or unconstitutional action”, while on the other hand, “dissent in an authoritarian, dictatorial or colonial regime could lead to the severest of punishments — loss of life — as happened in colonial India, Hitler’s Germany or Stalin’s USSR”.⁵

considered as the result of the intolerant attitude of the majoritarianism, as she was the outspoken and courageous critic of the BJP’s Central rule and its policies. A painful example for silencing the dissent!

3 Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity* (New York: Picador, 2006), p. 247.

4 Jonardon Ganeri, “Intellectual India: Reason, Identity, Dissent”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 40, No. 2, India and the West (Spring 2009), pp. 247-263, p. 263.

5 Pushpa M. Bhargawa, “The importance of dissent in democracy”.

An informed dissent is an essential feature of a democratic society. But the State takes up various measures to curb the dissent; usually they “buy” the media to twist the truth; they project even a peaceful protest as a violent and a criminal activity. This twisted story very often sounds more realistic than the real story. Unfortunately lies are often more appealing to reason than reality!

When there are organized attempts by the State or the powerful institutions in the society, dissent also becomes the duty of the citizens in order to protect the democratic nature of the nation. According to Hamid Ansari, “the right of dissent also becomes the duty of dissent since tactics to suppress dissent tend to diminish the democratic essence”.⁶ Going against the powerful structures and the

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State is always projected as anti-nationalism or even betrayal of democracy and so on. But in fact when the State goes against the basic principles upon which the nation is built, it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to voice out their protest in acceptable manner; to dissent, therefore, is a “democratic right to object, oppose, protest and even resist”⁷. Ansari also meaningfully says, “the history of progress of mankind is a history of informed dissent”.⁸ Dissent is, understandably, cruelly unpleasant to the ruling class and the vested interests. Indian Constitution affirms and protects the right to free expression and this includes the right to dissent as well. This Fundamental Right, Article 19 (1) (a) protects the right to dissent.

<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/the-importance-of-dissent-in-democracy/article6123745.ece>; accessed on 17 May, 2016.

6 Hamid Ansari, “*The First Ram Manohar Lohia Memorial Lecture*” delivered in Gwalior on September 23, 2015. (see:

<http://thewire.in/11476/why-india-must-take-seriously-the-right-to-dissent/>); accessed on 17 June, 2016.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

The Supreme Court of India that “the restrictions on the freedom of speech must be couched in the narrowest possible terms” that is, the restrictions have to be ‘reasonable’ and cannot be arbitrary, excessive or disproportionate.⁹

Our focus here is on how dissent is seen in the world of science. In the world of science the opposition to dissenting voices is done rather subtly. Among other things, the realization of our existential limitedness will be enough to develop a right attitude to dissent. Thus, *dealing with the right dissent in the right manner will result in growth in many factors*, like humility, tolerance, understanding, fraternity and equality.

2. Dissent in Science

Science, as any other human enterprise, also needs to take dissent seriously; however, as human as any other knowledge enterprise, there also we do find severe attempts to destroy dissent and silence the dissenters. However the issue of dissent in science has not unfortunately been explored much in the past. It was not given importance. But now there are some serious efforts to discuss and bring it to the public awareness the whole issue of suppression of dissent in the world of science; for example, Freeman Dyson, a well-known physicist, has brought out a collection of his own Essays, book reviews and lectures, which focus on these particular issues;¹⁰ and another example would be the edited work of Oren Harman and Michael Dietrich.¹¹

Dissent is silenced by power and authority. Power is generally exercised over people by the authority, derived not only from politics and religion but also by the possession of knowledge and understanding. Foucault explores this notion to show how this

9 *Ibid.*

10 Freeman Dyson, *The Scientist as Rebel* (New York: New York Review Books, 2006).

11 Oren Harman and Michael Dietrich, eds., *Rebels, Mavericks, and Heretics in Biology* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2008).

latter power can be so very damaging.¹² Some authors mean by suppression on the restraints or inhibition without physical forces; by repression they mean physical violence too, like beatings, imprisonment, torture, and even murder. Often a category of people are suppressed because they belong to that category, like discrimination on the basis of gender, caste, creed or region. Censorship can be exercised by the authorities; sometimes self-censorship can also take place because of the fear of the authorities.¹³

We need to clearly distinguish between the actual 'suppression' and the actions taken for legitimate reasons. Given the situations there are no fool-proof tests to show that real suppression has taken place, Brian provides some clues and tests to show whether an action is a real suppression or just a corrective action taken for legitimate reasons.¹⁴

Double standard tests: this is to see whether the same actions have been taken upon other scientists also for similar performance, or only this scientist in question is unjustly treated so.

Commonly accepted standards of behavior: If the suppressor takes up the issue directly with the superior or the funding agencies, instead of issuing the matter with the concerned scientist first; it is an obvious attempt to pressurize the scientist to detest from being a critique from his or her own boss.

12 See: Foucault, Michael, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973) and also, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977).

13 Brian Martin, "Suppression of Dissent in Science", *Research in Social Problems and Public Policy*, Volume 7, edited by William R. Freudenburg and Ted I. K. Youn (Stamford, CT: JAI Press, 1999), 105-135, See:

<https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/99rsppp.html>; accessed on 19 July, 2016.

14 *Ibid.*

The case of peer review: one has to see whether the peer group behaves out of jealousy or on the accepted norms of behavior; for example, blocking the publications of a paper in the journal.

Unknown to the general, public there have been several cases of severe actions to suppress the dissident scientists. There is also no elaborate and well-established literature on them either. For our consideration let us take Brain Martin's analyses of three case-studies and one more incident regarding the suppression over the Darwin's critics, narrated by Discovery Institute, a Seattle-based policy centre. The stories of suppression in the world of science are generally unknown to common people because often they are subtle and they pertain to only highly elite society of the intellectuals. But the investigations into such suppression stories are necessary, because as Brain Martin affirms, they "can provide a convenient probe into the exercise of power in science and more generally into the dynamics of expertise and legitimacy in a technological society."¹⁵

Case-Studies

1) Pesticides

Pesticides are chemicals produced for the purpose of getting rid of insects, plants, fungi, and other micro-organisms which are considered to be harmful for the common welfare of human beings and their agriculture. Supporters argue that these pesticides need to be produced more to protect human environment, while the critics argue that several of such pesticides are actually harmful to the environment and human health. The issue has been in hot discussion from 1960s.¹⁶ For example, (a) Dr. Melvin Dwaine Reuber, a research scientist, was a noteworthy critic of pesticides. He made elaborate studies to show how cancer is linked with cancer. In

15 *Ibid.*

16 See: George Ordish, *The Constant Pest: A Short History of Pests and their Control*. (London: Peter Davies, 1976); and Christopher J. Bosso, *Pesticides and Politics: The Life Cycle of a Public Issue* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987).

1960s and 1970s, he came up with more than 100 scientific papers. But all of a sudden, in 1981, when he was head of the Experimental Pathology Laboratory at the Frederick Cancer Research Center, part of the National Cancer Institute in the United States, he got a scathing attack on his performance and professional behavior from the director of the Center, Dr Michael G. Hanna, Jr.; surprisingly, the same Director had earlier appreciated his campaign. There were counter-writings to show that Reuber's findings were wrong, and there were widely circulated by the petrochemical industries. Reuber soon sued the journal of *Pesticide & Toxic Chemical News* and even he was paid substantial damages; but later on, after a decade or so, he lost his case when the case was taken up in a higher court. (b) Clyde Manwell, professor of zoology at the University of Adelaide in South Australia, coauthored a letter published in the local newspaper that challenged the reasons given by the government for spraying fruit fly; but he was severely attacked in the State parliament and the university initiated an attempt to dismiss him.¹⁷ (c) Frank Egler wrote an article criticizing pesticides in *Bio Science* in 1964. As a reaction to it, both the journal and author were censured in a motion at a meeting of the Entomological Society of America, a professional body supported by pesticide manufacturers, though many of those who were present there would not have even seen the articles.¹⁸ This whole episode can be seen *as the conflict between the dissenters and the powerful pesticide industry.*

2) Fluoridation

It refers to the process of adding one part per million of fluoride to drinking water as a means of preventing tooth decay in children. In some parts of countries, like Australia, Canada, New Zealand,

17 Baker, C. M. Ann. 1986. "Fruit Fly, Free Speech and Academic Justice in Adelaide." Pp. 87-120 in *Intellectual Suppression: Australian Case Histories, Analysis and Responses*, edited by Brian Martin, C. M. Ann Baker, Clyde Manwell, and Cedric Pugh. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

18 Frank Graham, *Since Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 171.

and the United States it was already in practice. In 1950 the United States Public Health Service endorsed and promoted this practice. However there have been severe oppositions to this practice from certain quarters and some doctors and scientists did not dare to oppose it openly. But Dr. George Waldbott, a leading scientist, opposed fluoridation in the United States. He wrote extensively on the ill-effects of fluoridation, but certain journals regularly rejected his papers; he believed that the U. S. Public Health Service was behind this move. Similarly, John Colquhoun, of the Department of Health in Auckland, New Zealand, opposed the fluoridation's hazards publicly but he was formally warned to toe the official policy of the government. Another example of suppression would be the case of Max Ginns, who was expelled from his dental society in Worchester, Massachusetts in 1961, because he made public the petition of dentists and doctors opposed to fluoridation. We can quote a dozens of painful incidents of suppressing scientists and dentists for going against the policy of the government, though there were serious health issues pointed out by them. Very often they were threatened to derecognize from the official roster as dentists. But "The proponents of fluoridation have been highly successful in stigmatizing critics as reactionary, irrational, confused, and unscientific, and even in claiming that fluoridation is so well verified that there is no scientific debate".¹⁹ In some case the fluoridation supporters are so powerful that they could influence to grant more funds to increase the fluoridation process and even to make it compulsory for all the tooth pastes. Thus the industrial interests, especially of the aluminum industry, were behind the insistence of fluoridation. Even sugary food manufacturing industries were behind in curtailing the opponents of fluoridation, because fluoridation was projected to be the solution to tooth decay, hiding the established fact of link between tooth decay and sugary foods. These debates over fluoridation reveal the *conflict between the dissenters and the status interests of a profession that is dental.*

19 See: Brian Martin, "Suppression of Dissent in Science", *Op Cit.*

3) Nuclear Power

It refers to the process of producing electricity by tapping the energy that is released in nuclear fission. The supporters of this process praise it as the most safe and economical way of producing energy in the world, while the dissenters point out the possible dangers behind the whole process, like hazards of possible reactor mishaps, the safe disposal of radioactive wastes, increase of nuclear weaponaries, the division of the haves and have-nots, the misuse of economy, associated with producing and procuring the raw materials like plutonium. Though the US Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) initiated a detailed study in 1965 to find out the hazards of the nuclear power, it apparently was not ready to consider any results that would go against the nuclear power project. There are some clear evidences were the dissenting voices were summarily suppressed; for example, Ross Hesketh, a nuclear physicist at the Central Electricity Generating Board in Britain, in his writings pointed out the secret uses of civil nuclear power plants for military activities and he was continuously harassed and finally dismissed;²⁰ similarly, Jens Scheer, a leftist and critic of nuclear power, was a nuclear scientist at the University of Bremen; he was regularly harassed by the authorities and was threatened to be dismissed from the post;²¹ and another case from Japan; Atsushi Tsuchida, a physicist working at the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research vehemently critiqued and brought lots of awareness among the public by his extensive writings; but the salary increments were denied and he was prevented from lecturing outside the campus. The nuclear power is usually owned and run by the State; only in the USA some private agencies deal with it, and yet the State provides all possible assistance in their favour, like, going soft on them in case of nuclear reactor accidents, legal concessions and so on.

20 David Dickson, "Firing Spotlights Plutonium Exports." *Science* 221, 1983 (15 July): 245; and Rob Edwards, "A New Kind of Nuclear Victim." *New Statesman* 1983 (22 July): 8-10.

21 Allan Piper, "Anti-Nuclear Critic Faces Dismissal." *Nature* 257, 1975 (23 October): 636; and Dorothy Nelkin and Michael Pollak. 1981. *The Atom Besieged*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

The above three cases are just a few examples from innumerable instances of such treatments over the dissenters. Great many numbers of individuals and even organizations go unnoticed and unheard, even in the present times, when they cry over the suppression of their dissenting voices. Very often suppression is used not only to silence the so-called rebels, but also to send a strong signal to those who are planning for some sort of rebellion, and to deter others from any such move. Sometimes suppression can become, as Brian Martin points out, counter-productive, “when it is grossly unfair, exposing the raw face of power and stimulating greater dissent”.²² He also further explains how in some genuine cases of reprimanding they are not actual suppression but legitimate actions of corrections. The authorities may take some actions purely for the greater good of the institute or industry or the State, without any prompting or vested interests from outside and such moves don’t obviously come under suppression of dissent.²³

4) Dissenters and Darwin’s Theory of Evolution

There are some serious objections against Darwin’s theory of evolution. But the supporters of the theory have always tried to hoodwink the general public saying that the objections come from the religious quarters and all scientists are in agreement with Darwin. Even if some actual scientists raise their dissenting voices against Darwin, they are also branded as ‘religious creationists’.

22 See: Brian Martin, “Suppression of Dissent in Science”, *Research in Social Problems and Public Policy*, Volume 7, edited by William R. Freudenburg and Ted I. K. Youn (Stamford, CT: JAI Press, 1999), 105-135, See:

<https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/99rsppp.html>; accessed on 30 Nov, 2015.

23 For elaborate treatment of these themes, see: Julie Stewart, Thomas Devine, and Dina Rasor. 1989. *Courage Without Martyrdom: A Survival Guide for Whistleblowers*. Washington, DC: Government Accountability Project; George W Pring, and Penelope Canan. 1996. *SLAPPs: Getting Sued for Speaking Out*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; and Brian Martin, 1997. *Suppression Stories*. Wollongong: Fund for Intellectual Dissent.

Discovery Institute, a Seattle-based public policy center, prepared a list of 100 scientists who sign a declaration that they are quite skeptical about Darwin's claims over random mutation and natural selection to account of the emergence of complex forms of life and so they demand a careful study of Darwin's theory and the evidence that it provides. Those who signed against Darwin's theory were the scientists from diverse fields, like biology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, geology, anthropology etc. and different countries. But the Television Channel (WGBH / Clear Blue Sky Productions) that aired a series of programmes on evolution tried to project that all scientists in the world strongly support Darwin and all those who question Darwin's theory were only 'creationists'. This write-up also mentions about a recent public poll survey shows that 80% of the people want the media to show and discuss also the scientific positions that challenge Darwin's theory.²⁴

The supporters of Darwinism go to any extent to argue for their case. Henry Schaefer, a chemist and five-time Nobel nominee, while demanding a serious debate over Darwinism, comments: "Some defenders of Darwinism embrace standards of evidence for evolution that as scientists they would never accept in other circumstances."²⁵ It is said that the number of dissenters against Darwin is steadily growing. But the attempts to silence them in various methods are also on the increase; legitimate dissents are intimidated and suppressed; young scholars and budding scientists are threatened with the termination of their tenure; and even they engage in 'ad hominem' attacks when there are no real arguments to challenge the dissenters.²⁶

Thus one can easily understand that silencing the dissenters would be a detrimental for the real growth and development of science. The ignorance or the mistakes can hardly be corrected and this blinds the eyes of humanity in its journey towards truth. It is

24 See: "100 Scientists, National Poll Challenge Darwinism" (2001) - http://www.reviewevolution.com/press/pressRelease_100Scientists.php; accessed on 17 April, 2016.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

amply made clear, as Jed Macosko, a young scholar in the field of molecular biology at the University of California, Berkeley, puts it “Science cannot grow where institutional gatekeepers try to prevent new challengers from being heard”.²⁷

3. Areas of Concern in Science Necessitating Dissent

Let us discuss three areas of science where one can easily see the need for allowing dissent. Unless dissent is taken seriously the growth of science will be hampered.

1) Human Reasoning - Need for Science to Uphold Reasonableness

By the middle of 20th century Philosophy of Science, with its critical appraisal made humanity realize that the very understanding of science and its nature has to be revisited; it argues that even the notion of rationality has to be revised, as there is no one absolute rational framework to be imposed upon the activities of science in order to make it rational. The usual features of rationality don't seem to be sufficient to capture the picture of science. Rationality cannot be confined to logical consistency and justification; it cannot be equated to truth and therefore one can act in a perfectly rational way even on the basis of false beliefs.

Scientists have many assumptions that affect not only their beliefs and behaviours but also their scientific activities. A comprehensive understanding of rationality needs to involve in a very essential way **the agent** (the scientist). The role of the agent in the understanding of science is clearly brought out by Henry Harris. A scientist explores a hypothesis in her head first whether to proceed further or not. “Each scientist has his own mental store of facts, theories and associations, and a private set of value judgments about the relative importance of the different elements in that mental store”.²⁸ Scientists also go by faith, imagination, and intellectual bias and they also act like any non-scientist. The understanding of

27 *Ibid.*

28 Henry Harris “Rationality in Science”, in *Scientific Explanation*, ed. A. F. Heath (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 48

rationality has to involve *the context* as well. It can't be merely a rule-oriented activity. Rules are made for humans and not vice versa. Jesus Christ also reiterates the same, though in a different context, more than once the same point that the *Sabbath* is made for humans, and not humans for the *Sabbath*.²⁹ When we give due importance to the agent and the context in which she acts naturally rules take the back burner. I agree with Harold Brown in maintaining an account of rationality which necessarily acknowledges *the role of judgment*. Many like to recognize the role of judgment in rationality. Brown develops a model of rationality in which judgment plays a crucial role.³⁰ Our account of

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rationality has to realize *the role and importance of common sense* also. Being rational, in my opinion, can never deny or over-rule common sense. Of course, rationality should not be confined to mere common sense but it should never negate or violate it either. Rationality involves going beyond mere rule-following. Of course, Rationality does play a role in science but that is not everything. “Rationality helps”, as Henry Harris

29 The Jews were strict about following the religious rule of the *Sabbath*, which is observing the holy day without doing any work. On one such day, a man with a withered hand came to Jesus for miraculous healing. The narrow and legalistic mentality of the Jewish religious leaders objected to Jesus' healing because they took it to be doing some 'work', which is to be avoided on the *Sabbath* day. Jesus clarifies to them, saying that doing something good out of a genuine human concern cannot be considered as a violation of the rule of the *Sabbath* and he boldly declares, “The *Sabbath* was made for humankind and not humankind for the *Sabbath*”. (See: The books of Mathew 12:9-14 and Mark 2:23-28, in the Bible).

30 Harold I. Brown, *Rationality* (London & New York: Routledge, 1988).

has it, “but it is not a prescription for making discoveries”.³¹ As Putnam asserts, “‘Scientific’ is not coextensive with ‘rational’. There are many perfectly rational beliefs that cannot be tested ‘scientifically.’”³² Popper also shows that “poetic inventiveness” and “the invention of criticisms”³³ are also main component of rationality.³⁴

As one has to consider all these elements in understanding science, and since diverse opinions and interpretations are bound to occur, it is necessary for science to give heed to dissent.

2) Methodology of Science

Another reason why dissent has to be taken seriously is the very nature of scientific methodology. There is no one absolute method, fit for all sorts of scientific practices and occasions is available.

31 Henry Harris. 1981. ‘Rationality in Science’, in *Scientific Explanation*, ed. Heath. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 46.

32 Putnam, Hilary. 1979. “The Place of Facts in a World of Values”. In *The Nature of the Physical Universe*, ed. Douglas Huff and Omer Prewett, New York: A Wiley-Interscience Publication. p. 115.

33 Popper, K. R. *The Myth of the Framework – In Defence of Science and Rationality*. (ed.), (London: M.A. Notturmo, Routledge, 1994), p. 40.

34 However, one can still use the term of ‘Rationality’ in science, provided that account of rationality includes all these features of reasonableness that are explicated here. Those who are convinced of the short comings of the traditional views of rationality, look for an alternative account of rationality. Philosophers like, **Hilary Putnam** (‘Integrated View of Rationality’), **Stephen Toulmin** (denial of over-reliance of rationality), **Christopher McMahon** (‘Collective Rationality’) and **Stephen Nathanson** (‘Reasonable form of Rationalism’) propose alternatives to the traditional accounts of rationality, which captures the notion of rationality in a much more adequate manner. I have elaborated their details and the characteristics of reasonableness in science elsewhere: *Towards a Theory of Rationality in Science – A Plea for Reasonableness* (New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2012).

The very notion of scientific method needs to be explored. There are certain methods that are obviously unscientific; for instance, **a) Tenacity** – a rigid adherence to one's own beliefs without making sure whether one is justified in holding onto it; it even implies laziness to check and readiness to remain indoctrinated). This is naturally unscientific because no convincing or reasonable explanation of one's position is given; **b) Authority** – It is the most popular form of unscientific method. Authority may be of a book or a person(s) or the State or religion. By its very nature, authority resists the use of reason, any change and free thought and thus brings in a great stagnation in the growth of knowledge. The State may exercise authority for political reasons. (E.g. A capitalist country will ridicule socialism and vice versa); **c) Intuition** – Though it has a role to play in the process of acquiring scientific knowledge, in itself it is considered unscientific because no explanation can be given for intuitively known principles. It does not emerge out of any mediate sources, like sense-experience, rational discourses etc. Intuitive knowledge is immediate and inexplicable (e.g. The whole is greater than its parts). Observations alone will not be science; it very much involves assumption and imagination of the scientist too. This intuitive presupposition leads one to have a hypothesis. So the beginning of an assumption may be intuitive (non-rational), but its acceptance or rejection must be rational.

Basic Steps in Scientific Methodology

Contrary to the general thinking, the method of science does not start with observations and experiments. There are other steps prior to observation: **Stating the Problem** - A clear understanding of the problem at hand is therefore remarkably important; **Forming a Hypothesis** - A hypothesis is a tentative solution to the problem. It is only provisional and it is not yet proved experimentally. With the data available the scientist formulates a hypothesis for further investigations. The scientist has to use his imagination and assumption in formulating a hypothesis; **Observing and Experimenting** - Observation is the act of apprehending things and events, their attributes and their actual relationships. An experiment is basically observing and studying a certain complex phenomena under varied conditions, controlled by the investigator.

It is here complicated instruments and equipments come to help in the process. When two different hypotheses explain the same event equally well crucial tests are conducted to decide the right hypothesis. A procedure is designed to find out the right one from the fake one; ***Interpreting the Data*** - The results of the experiments are obtained in different forms – as figures, pointer readings, graphical representations etc. We need to interpret to make them intelligible and useful. Interpretation is done by means of analysis, synthesis, comparisons, analogies, models, one's own experience and expertise etc.; and finally, ***Drawing Conclusions and Inferences*** - This process of making judgments and opinions on the basis of observation and experiment is very important as it opens up new horizons of further researches. There are also several 'mental devices' are also used in science, like, logic, classification, comparison & analogy, models, mathematics and so on.

Thus, we are given to understand that the method of science is not just a simple straightforward procedure; it is not just a small framework within which the whole of science can be fitted in. The very process of the methodology itself involves possibilities of diverse opinions, interpretations of the experimental results and conclusions. Then how can we overlook dissent in science?

3) The Need and Relevance of Values in Theory-choice

In the recent decades, especially with the critique of Thomas Kuhn about the nature and functions of science, there emerges a strong view that science is a social enterprise; it is not purely a rational or logical enterprise that is not affected by the social or ethical considerations. Kuhn has convincingly argued that because science is a social enterprise to the core, and because science is for humans and by humans, all that affect humans will have to be seriously considered in the domain of science as well. For instance, Kuhn analyses the very process of 'theory-choice' in science. When the scientific community has to choose a theory from many available theories, the process that they undertake is not purely rational or logic, in the traditional sense of the term. Rather the process involves not only some objective criteria but also some "idiosyncratic factors dependent on individual biography

and personality”.³⁵ This process is, he is totally convinced, of great philosophical importance. The exercise of theory-choice involves *accuracy, consistency, scope, simplicity and fruitfulness of the theory*, which are individually important and collectively sufficiently varied to indicate what is at stake”.³⁶ Unfortunately, there is no one final understanding of what all these factors actually mean and still more challenging is that different scientists might give different degrees of importance to each of them. Thus the theory-choice, at the final analysis, involves their personality straits, value-orientations and belief systems.³⁷ From here it is not difficult to conclude that science cannot wash its hands off from values or belief systems of human society. Due to lack of concern for morals and values, science has done blunders in the past. As Youngson puts it, “Some of them are the result of carelessness; some arise from plain, stubborn wrong-headedness; some from arrogance... some arise from willful and culpable ignorance; some from spectacular bad luck; and some from human moral frailty”.³⁸

This kind of thinking makes it obvious that how science is not merely a rational enterprise, where everything goes on for specific logical reasons. Science has to unfortunately face crisis, with many blunders, precisely because there was a lack of openness and care to listen to diverse opinions and see the “other side” of a story. This again makes it necessary to listen to the dissenting voices within the scientific community.

35 Thomas Kuhn, “Objectivity, Value Judgment and Theory Choice”, in Yuri Balashov and Alex Rosenberg, (eds.), *Philosophy of Science: Contemporary Readings*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 429.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 422.

37 For more elaboration on this one may see my paper: “Are Values Valuable in Science? - A Kuhnian Perspective”, in *Omega – Indian Journal of Science and Religion*, 9 (2010), 7-24.

38 Robert Youngson, *Scientific Blunders* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 1998), p. ix

Conclusion

With all these analyses one can comfortably reiterate that any form of informed dissent is to be given due attention and sincere listening; every form of well thought-out reasoning, though it goes against the prevailing authority and the vested interests, can contribute towards a better understanding of science in particular and humanity at large. The best way to deal with dissent is to have a dialogue, with trust and open mind, in a sincere and friendly atmosphere. It will therefore be an injustice to humanity if that reasoning is strangled.

As Galileo Galilei puts it, “In questions of science, the authority of a thousand is not worth the humble reasoning of a single individual”³⁹ and therefore we can comfortably conceive that dissent is a demand for ascent in science.

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“The “idea of India” is indeed an open, assimilative, and spacious one, sustaining a plurality of voices, orthodox and dissenting, of many ages, regions, and affiliations. ... That is a fundamental freedom, one which ought not to be surrendered in binding oneself to narrower, constricted understandings of what India is” - Jonardon Ganeri

“Blind belief in authority is the greatest enemy of truth.” - Albert Einstein

“If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse, and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality.” - Desmond Tutu

39 See: <https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/g/galileogal387486.html>; accessed on 7 October, 2016.



Homo Faber: A Philosophy of Technology and Ethical Implications

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Abstract

Homo faber is the name that is attributed to the human being in the process of technological development and it is also seen as one of the stages of human growth and a product of *homo sapiens*.

Technology has become an omnipresent phenomenon today in all the dimensions of human existence on earth. It is considered the most essential ingredient of human life that the technological equipments are supposed to be *sine qua non* conditions even for an ordinary way of living. Many superstitions and needless sufferings of the past have been eliminated. The present condition of human life with all its comforts, facilities and safety are to be attributed to the development of technology. Human progress would not have been realized without technological advancements. The constant growth in technology promises a new age of opportunity in all the human affairs. The tremendous growth of technology and its domination over mankind is expressed today by the terms megatechnology or technocracy. However, there are many issues raised by the impact of technology on the human beings.

The immense growth of technology has endowed the human agent with the capacity of destroying even the very conditions upon which life depends. The power of modern technology has changed the whole notion of human existence and there is a serious invitation for all, to reflect about the technological determinism and the

potential threats to the human being and the environment posed by technicalization of life. The efforts to safeguard the integrity of the living world in the midst of the current technological crises must be taken by formulating the ethical imperatives for technological age.

A formulation of a philosophy of technology is required to look for an ethics based on responsibility and to deal with the deterministic character of technology. This article poses an invitation to contribute to the construction of a new humanism based on integral human values and concern for the environment.

Keywords

Homo Faber; *techné*; Technocracy; Technicalization; Human ascent; Baconian programme; Technological nihilism; Faustian soul; Efficient ordering; Biotechnology.

Introduction

Technology has become an omnipresent phenomenon in all dimensions of human existence. It is considered the most essential ingredient of contemporary human life that the technological equipments are deemed *sine qua non* conditions even for an ordinary way of living. The terms megatechnology or technocracy are used to express the tremendous growth of technology and its domination over mankind.

However, technological developments are seen by many thinkers as posing potential threats to the human being and the environment. There are many issues raised by the impact of technology on the human beings. In this context, the future of the human being has to be considered as ever more important, because new threats arising from thoughtless and irresponsible human goals and projects, which, though good in themselves, fatally disturb the balance of nature on which the survival of the organism must depend. (Levy 2002: p.8)¹ These provoke philosophical reflection on their origin and their ethical implications. Such an approach to

1 Levy, D. J. (2002) *Hans Jonas: The Integrity of Thinking*, Columbia, University of Missouri Press.

the study of technology is placed within the context of philosophy and anthropology because the concentration is set on to examine how technology affects the integral nature of human beings and how it affects the relationship of human beings among themselves and with the nature. Here the analysis of the technological interventions on human nature will be limited to the essential understanding of its meaning, its history in brief and the recent endeavours for a philosophy of technology.

Homo faber is the name that is attributed to the human being in the process of technological development and it is also seen as one of the stages of human growth and a product of *Homo sapiens*.

In this research, the analysis of the ethical implications of technology relies on the contributions of some important philosophers who attempted to establish a philosophy of technology and thereafter an imperative of responsibility for the technological age as a response to the crises created by technological developments and their consequences on humankind.

Science and Technology: Homo sapiens and Homo faber

The human being, as *Homo sapiens*, is capable of science and science reflects the status of knowledge. For its own development science needs technology, and in this way technology becomes a tool: the cause of technology is science and the cause of science is human reason. (Kraus 1997: p.7)² This causal relationship between science and technology stimulates a key philosophical and ethical reflection on the responsible use of technology. (Jonas 1980: p.145)³ Science grows through its interaction with technology and its influences on human life are carried out through technology. The emergence of man as *Homo sapiens* marked a significant point in the progress of human civilization where intellectual ascent was

2 Kraus, L. (1997) *The Art of Cloning and Eternal Life*, New York, Great Albany Books.

3 Jonas, H. (1980) *Philosophical Essays: From Ancient Creed to Technological Man*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

obtained. This ascent of mind led human beings to develop science and technology and it is in this that human ascent shows its singularity. (Drummond 1894: p.146)⁴

Man has tamed the entire atmosphere through scientific and technological advancement for his benefit. “Milestones in technological history are marked by the taming of nature towards human ends. Science is the discovery of how to do that;

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Milestones in technological advancements are marked by the taming of nature towards human ends.

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technology is that act of doing so. Technology tames entities and random or uncontrollable processes and events for human benefit.” (Kraus 1997: p.2)⁵ However it is notable that modern technology has developed so rapidly that it has become a human goal as

opposed to its being a tool or means of science. In this way science and technology have transformed the contemporary culture to be essentially techno-scientific. Thus the nobility of science is lost due to the powerful image of technology and it manifests *homo faber* as the essential attribute of man. (Jonas 2004: p.24)⁵

Characterizing human being as *Homo faber* demonstrates the human being as the toolmaker and tool-user. Human history is filled with records of tools and technologies. Epochs are measured by their most important technological developments and the use of tools: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age or the agrarian age, the industrial age and the information age.

The present stage to which humanity has arrived cannot be accidental. In all perspectives, whether social or political or cultural, humanity has reached the present status through a process that can

4 Drummond, H. (1894) *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*, New York, J. Pott & co. ⁵ Kraus, L. (1997) *The Art of Cloning and Eternal Life*.

5 Jonas, H. (2004) “Toward a Philosophy of Technology,” in *Readings in the Philosophy of Technology*, ed., David M. Kaplan, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp.19-34.

be traced with the growth of science and technology down through many centuries. This growth of man is a process and it can be called as the process of ascension. Therefore the story of *Homo faber* is the record of human progress through technology.

The Meaning of 'Technology'

There is a popular understanding of technology which explains it as something connected to technical instruments or devices or tools. However, technology does not simply mean technical devices. The etymological analysis of the word technology, as *technê* and *logos*, shows that it is a discourse on art or craft. The Greek word *technê* (τέχνη) is often translated as craft or skill or art. Plato used the word *technê* in the sense of art or skill which for him is distinct from *epistêmê*.⁶ For Aristotle *technê* is the artistic or technical knowledge to do things.⁷ By distinguishing *technê* from *epistêmê* Plato and Aristotle distinguished craft from scientific knowledge. Therefore *technê* is a disposition to produce something which is concerned with bringing something into existence. (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140a120).⁸ Thus basing on Plato and Aristotle, who have

6 For Plato *epistêmê* is knowledge which means the ability to know the reality as it is (*Republic* IV 477b); medical knowledge is *epistêmê* in the sense that it is knowledge of health (*Charmides*, 165c); even the knowledge of carpentry is *epistêmê* (*Euthydemus*, 281a); however, the knowledge needed to rule the city is *technê*; ruling is a kind of *technê* that looks out after the welfare of the city (*Republic*, 342e).

7 In his *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle identifies five intellectual virtues: scientific knowledge (*epistêmê*), artistic or technical knowledge (*technê*), intuitive reason (*nous*), practical wisdom (*phronêsis*) and philosophic wisdom (*sophia*). Scientific knowledge is to know what is necessary and universal. Artistic or technical knowledge is to know how to make things, or of how to develop a craft. Intuitive reason is the process that establishes the first principles of knowledge. Practical wisdom is the capacity to act in accordance with the good of humanity.

Philosophic wisdom is the combination of intuitive reason and scientific knowledge.

8 For Aristotle *technê* is end oriented. It aims at some good.

provided an earlier clarification on *technê*,⁹ technology is understood as an artistic or skilful knowledge or a systematic use of knowledge for intelligent human action.

Basing on the Platonic and Aristotelian clarification of *technê*, many definitions were proposed for technology by various thinkers down through the centuries. Kant has spoken of three special gifts of human beings: the technical gift, the pragmatic gift and moral gift. The technical gift is connected to the practical reason. These qualities distinguish human being from the rest of creation. (Kant 1996: p.239)¹⁰ For Heidegger “*technê* is the name not only for the activities and skills of the craftsman, but also for the arts of the mind and the fine arts.” (Heidegger 1977: p.13)¹¹ For Monsma technology is the systematic treatment of an art.

(Monsma 1986: p.11)¹² Robert Merton defines technology as “any complex of standardized means for attaining a predetermined result.” (Robert Merton 1964: p.vi)¹⁴ These definitions make clear that technology is a method or a tool rationally devised by the human effort and has absolute efficiency in every field of human activity.

The above etymological analyses of *technê* and different definitions of technology illustrate that technology does not refer simply to the technological devices. According to Heidegger technology cannot be merely reduced to technological devices or

(*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094a5-10)

9 But the use of *technê* as *ars* in Latin and as art or skill in English can be ambiguous. Art can mean both skill and fine arts.

10 Kant, I. (1996) *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, trans., Victor Lyle Dowell, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press.

11 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans., W. Lovitt, New York, Harper & Row Publishers.

12 Monsma, S. (1986) *Responsible Technology: A Christian Perspective*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans. ¹⁴ Robert Merton, Forward in *The Technological Society*, Ellul, J. (1964) New York, Vintage.

artifacts and not even to the techniques that produce those things. (Heidegger 1977: p.22)¹³ 'Technology' refers to the very essence of man or to the human rational capacity whereas 'technological' can point out the attitude or the devices.

Technology and the Human Progress

The inferences drawn from the records of civilizations and archaeological discoveries of tools, weapons, pottery and art give evidence of the way of life led by the ancient people. The development of technology can be traced from the elementary use of sticks and stones by the human beings from very early stage which can be called as the first use of tools and weapons for their survival and self preservation. The use of stones and sticks lead the human mind to fasten on them as the first step towards tool making. From there different types of weapons and tools were developed to control nature and preserve life. The Stone Age thus marked the natural and the common way how every civilization began.

Some thinkers attest to the fact that how to start fire and to use its heat for warmth and cooking was perhaps the first discovery in which man brought the chaos of nature under his control. (Kraus 1997: p.2)¹⁴ By the discovery of fire, man no longer had to rely on natural fires. As a whole the development of fire and food production, then eventually the wheel and the electric light were crucial steps towards the development of humankind. (Mondin 1982: p.69)¹⁵ Although early technologies seem ridiculous when compared with the contemporary technology, yet for the ascent of the present day hi-tech the earliest forms were *sine qua non* conditions.

13 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*.

14 Kraus, L. (1997) *The Art of Cloning and Eternal Life*. Asimov also attests to this fact.

15 Mondin, B. (1982) *Una nuova cultura per una nuova società: Analisi della crisi epocale della cultura moderna e dei progetti per superarla*, Milano, Editrice Massimo.

The progress of the human beings gained further impetus with the ability of communication. The language is also seen as a technique and tool with which humanity not only was able to communicate the skills and knowledge it gained to its peers but also was able to pass on the information down to the ensuing generations. Every successive generation while acquiring the wisdom of the past it added to it and improved on it. The development of language and communication continues even today with the technological

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Contemporary
technology aims not
only to control nature,
but also conquer time
and space..
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development of distant communication which is the outcome of high-technology. As Carey would observe “with the tremendous development of communication technology human beings are now outgrowing the nation-state and a new form of world order

is emerging, a global village, a universal brotherhood or world government on a shrunken planet.” (Carey 1992: p.170)¹⁶

Technological progress has provided man with a better life. The tremendous growth of technology and its domination over mankind is expressed today by the terms megatechnology or technocracy. Contemporary technology aims not only to control nature, but also to conquer time and space. It has influenced nearly every aspect of human life and offers a transcendent hope to achieve the eternal and the omniscient.

A Philosophy of Technology

Technology is seen as the focal point of contemporary life. The immense growth of technology has endowed the human beings with the capacity of destroying even the very conditions upon which life depends. In order to face this crisis and to examine the effects of technocratic culture on the contemporary human life situations and to estimate the ethical implications of technology,

16 Carey, J. (1992) *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, New York, Routledge.

a philosophical study of technology is vital. It is necessary to formulate an imperative of responsibility for the technological age which has created an ethical vacuum. (Jonas 1980: p.12)¹⁷ There is a philosophical ground for ethics because ethics, which is a doctrine of action, must ultimately be grounded in the philosophical and metaphysical principles which is a doctrine of being. That is why a formulation of a philosophy of technology precedes the ethical implications of technology in this study.

In the history of philosophy, there is no clear beginning for a philosophy of technology. Plato and Aristotle through their explanation given to *technê* started a philosophical understanding of technology. As a distinct and defined subject matter, philosophy of technology is a recent attempt in Western philosophy. Here an attempt is made to formulate a philosophy of technology starting from Aristotle together with a few important modern and contemporary contributions.

“Technology Imitates Nature”: Aristotle

As already seen, Aristotle saw *technê* as a disposition to produce something. Thus for him technology is a technical knowledge or a systematic use of knowledge for intelligent human action. But in his *Physics*¹⁸ when he deals with technology, one could observe that his notion of technology is essentially intermingled with nature. He affirms that ‘technology imitates nature.’ (Aristotle, *Physics*, II 194a13ff and 199a8ff) However, his affirmation seems inappropriate because contemporary technology has gone far away than nature. From the point of view of form and teleology Aristotle argues that technology imitates nature. Analogically he states that technology learns from nature.¹⁹ He argues that architects are

17 Jonas, H. (1980) *Philosophical Essays*...

18 Aristotle’s view of technology and nature occurs mostly in his second book of *Physics*, in particular 194a13ff and 199a8ff.

19 Even Plato’s affirmation that the concept of technology as learning from or imitating nature was prevalent among ancient empiricist and materialist philosophers. Plato, *Nomoi* X, 899aff.

concerned with both matter and forms of their artefacts and they have an aim. (Aristotle, *Physics*, 194a23ff)

Further he also agrees that technology can surpass nature in producing new things that nature cannot produce on its own. Therefore Aristotle does not categorically affirm that every technological production is a copy or imitation of nature. The human hand is the 'tool of tools' because it is the exemplary tool and with it other artificial tools are made and handled as its extension. (Aristotle, *Physics*, 199a16) However, the tools which substitute human hands are more efficient and perfect than the natural human hands. What Aristotle affirms is that human technology imitates natural teleology or purposiveness. Thus nature provides for technology the way and the goal. While technology imitating nature, it also supplements and completes what nature herself leaves imperfect. Here Aristotle affirms the human purpose; human beings take everything as means for their own purposes; for example, craftsmen produce new things from natural materials. (Aristotle, *Physics*, 199a8-33) Nature provides raw materials with which technology produces effects and thus nature is supplemented.

Aristotle also proposes a fundamental distinction between natural things and artefacts. For natural things Aristotle mentions animals, plants and the four elements. These natural things move, grow, change, and reproduce and are driven by purposes of nature. Artefacts, on the other hand, need human care and intervention and without human care they would perish. (Aristotle, *Physics*, 193a12) In this way Aristotle depending on the thought patterns of his time has presented his view of technology as something emerging from and connected with nature.

"Technology to Subdue Nature": Francis Bacon

During the modern times the rationalists and empiricists of the early seventeenth century were regarded as a source of thought for philosophy of technology with their combination of philosophy and science together with their mechanistic theories to compare organisms and machines. Francis Bacon with his programme of mastering nature saw science and technology as means for it. (Jonas

1984: p.140)²⁰ He is regarded as the first philosopher to focus the attention on the subject of technology. For him the invention of the magnetic compass, the printing press and gunpowder were the most important ones for the modern man. (Mitcham 1994: p.39)²¹ His goal named as 'Baconian Programme' favoured the furthering of the scientific discoveries in order to subdue nature.

On contrary to the Aristotelian notion of technology which imitates nature, Bacon viewed it as an instrument to subdue nature.

“Technology as an Expression of the Ascent of Mind and Arrest of Physique: Drummond Henry

Henry Drummond observes the ascent of human mind as the cause for the development of technology which resulted in the ascent of human beings. This ascent of the mind has replaced the ascent of the body. That is, with the development of the mind mankind had developed technological devices that arrested the ascent of the body. For example, human hands lost their need to further develop with the discovery of tools. Henry Drummond sums it up: “Levers are the extensions of the bones of the arm. Hammers are callous substitute for the fist. Knives do the work of nails. The vice and the pincers replace the fingers.” (Drummond 1894: p.102)²²

Further scientific and technological inventions sealed the necessity of material development to the organs of the body. In the words of Henry Drummond, for “shaping things with the hand, he invented the turning-lathe; to save his fingers he requisitioned the loom; instead of working his muscles he gave out the contract to electricity and steam.” (Drummond 1894: p.103)²³ Ernst Kapp

20 Jonas, H. (1984) *The Imperative of Responsibility: In Search of an Ethics for the Technological age*, trans. by, David, Chicago, University of Chicago press.

21 Mitcham, C. (1994) *Thinking Through Technology: The Path Between Engineering and Philosophy*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

22 Drummond, H. (1894) *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man*.

23 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology*

developed the theory that tools and weapons are different kinds of 'organ projections'. (Mitcham 1994: p.23)²⁶ In this way it is apt to think of the modern transportation systems as extended foot, glasses and telescopes the extended eyes, and computers as an extended brain.

Human mind invented through scientific processes many technologies and thereby caused an immense acceleration to the process of ascent of humanity. Technology replaced the organic involvement of mankind with efficiency and rapidity. Technological devices thus made the organs of the body redundant, preventing their further development, if not reduced their importance. With the ascent of the mind and with the development of science and technology the physical strength changed over to mental strength, the mind took control over the body.

The ascent of human mind which resulted in the technological development, not only arrested the physical ascent, but also put an end to the ascent of every other species in creation. Thus humans took charge of the ascent of nature by becoming the determining factor of every plant upon the universe whether they should bloom or fade; of every animal whether it should increase, change, or perish. Mankind has taken the control 'to subdue and conquer' the universe. (Drummond 1894: p.346)²⁴

"An Ontological Understanding of Technology": Heidegger

It is generally accepted that Martin Heidegger is one of the pioneering philosophers to systematically develop a philosophy of technology. He makes a distinction between the traditional and modern views of technology. Traditional notion of it is "a means and a human activity, can therefore be called the instrumental and anthropological definition of technology." (Heidegger 1977: p.5)²⁵

and Other Essays. ²⁶ Mitcham, C. (1994) *Thinking Through Technology...*

24 Drummond, H. (1894) *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man.*

25 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays.*

He affirms the instrumental notion of technology in order to show the present state of human slavery to it. He writes “everywhere we remain unfree and chained to technology...we are delivered to it in a worst possible way.” (Heidegger 1977: p.4)²⁶ Therefore for Heidegger technology has become a fate and destiny. By fate he means the inevitableness and destiny in the sense of revealing the end. Technology does not compel man to blindly follow it and he cannot also “rebel helplessly against it and curse it as the work of the devil” (Heidegger 1977: p.25)²⁷ because it has become a part and partial of human existence. While agreeing with the traditional views, he also thinks that they are insufficient for a better understanding of modern technology and to create a technological understanding of beings.

In his philosophy of technology Heidegger proposes that man as *dasein* must have a free relationship with technology in order to give a chance to *Being* to manifest in different ways. If *dasein* can have a free relationship with technology, then it is a new attitude and manifestation of *Being*. Thus for Heidegger, *Being* as *dasein*, chooses technology as a way for its revealing in the world of today. In this sense technology as such is a part of metaphysics, where one sees the disclosure of the *Being*.” (Heidegger 1977: p.4)²⁸ This is Heidegger’s ontological approach based on the technological understanding of being.

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Being as Dasein,
chooses technology as a
way of revealing in the
world of today.
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Heidegger’s ontological approach to technology does not definitely say whether technology is good or evil. He does not

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid. Ernst Junger wrote that technology is the real metaphysics of the 20th century. Ellul, J. (1964) *The Technological Society*, New York, Vintage, p. ix. This runs in parallel to Heidegger’s ontological notion of technology.

deny serious problems that technology presents with the entire catastrophe. At the same time, he also sees the positive aspects of technology. He also said that “it would be short-sighted to condemn it as the work of the devil. We depend on technical devices; they even challenge us to ever greater advances.” (Heidegger 1966: p.53)²⁹ He brings out the essence of technology in an objective manner, that is, without expressing likes and dislikes. In this way his philosophy of technology becomes an ontological understanding of technology. (Hubert 2004: p.53)³⁰

The ontological understanding of technology surpasses all the pros and cons of technology. However, Heidegger sees a nihilistic situation facing modern man, a situation of the human distress caused by the technological understanding of being, rather than the destruction caused by specific technologies. Therefore, the danger Heidegger sees, is not the destruction of nature or culture but a kind of our understanding of being which leads to technological nihilism. (Hubert 2004: p.55)³¹

Heidegger explains the concept of technological nihilism by introducing the German word *Bestand*.³⁵ Traditionally technology was considered as an instrument. With the Aristotelian causality Heidegger says that technology as an instrument becomes cause for its products. As the cause brings-forth (*poiësis*) its effects, so also technology brings-forth. Here ‘bringing-forth’ signifies an unconcealment or revealing. Therefore, the function of technology is revealing; the essence of technology is connected to the revealing of truth. But Heidegger observes that the modern technology is not revealing. He sees its nature of unconcealment as a challenging (*Herausfordern*) “which puts to nature the unreasonable demand

29 Heidegger, M. (1966) *Discourse on Thinking*, New York, Harper and Row.

30 Hubert, D. (2004) ‘Heidegger on Gaining a Free Relation to Technology’, in *Readings in the Philosophy of Technology*, ed., David M. Kaplan, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp.53 - 66.

31 Hubert, D. (2004) ‘Heidegger on Gaining a Free Relation to Technology’. ³⁵ In English it is translated as standing-reserve or raw material or stock.

that it supplies energy which can be extracted and stored as such". (Heidegger 1977: p.10-12)³² Thus the revealing of modern technology as challenging is explained by Heidegger's introduction of the idea of standing-reserve (*Bestand*).

For Heidegger considering everything, including human beings as standing-reserve is the instrumental orientation of modern technology. Thus modern technology transforms humanity itself into a standing-reserve, which means human beings are considered as raw materials of production and resources. This leads to the destruction of all potentials and values which is a nihilistic situation, brought about by technology. Thus rational beings becoming a part of the technical system as standing-reserves signify a technological nihilism. (Heidegger 1966: p.54)³³

In this nihilistic situation brought about by modern technology Heidegger proposes a way out for human beings by the correct understanding of the essence of technology. He introduces the real essence of technology with the German word *Gestell* (*Enframing*). *Enframing* is fundamentally a calling-forth. It is a 'challenging claim,' a demanding summon, that 'gathers' so as to reveal. Enframing is an abstract and ambiguous word. In this enframing, Heidegger sees the correct notion of modern technology with its danger and saving power; it is a peculiar phenomenon and a mystery in terms of its danger and saving power which manifest as two different moments of the same process. Man has to accept this fact of modern technology and learn to live with it. And accepting the enframing aspect of technology makes clear also the human responsibility to care for the world and to safeguard the essence of truth. (Heidegger 1977: p.33-35)³⁴

32 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. He brings the example of the Rhine River which was considered as a symbol of German national culture and a source for philosophical inspiration and poetry has now come to be considered as an energy source with its usage for hydroelectric power.

33 Heidegger, M. (1966) *Discourse on Thinking*, New York, Harper and Row.

34 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology*

Therefore, instead of allowing technology to pose itself as a mode of human existence in the present world, Heidegger invites human beings to understand enframing as the essence of technology and to have a genuine and free relationship with it. For him through technology *Being* manifests itself in a different way. So technology creates a possibility for the *Being* to find a way out of its concealment and gives it an ability to manifest itself differently. For this task Heidegger invites human beings to become the shepherds of *Being* to prepare the way for a new way of presenting through technology. (Heidegger 1977: p.42)³⁵

“Man as an Object of Technology”: Hans Jonas

Jonas sees technology as the focal fact of modern life. His contribution to formulate a philosophy of technology makes him with Heidegger another pioneer in the Western philosophic tradition. (Lechner 1971: p.75)³⁶ His essay “Toward a Philosophy of Technology” begins with the question whether there are philosophical aspects to technology. In his answer, he justifies a philosophy of technology because modern technology touches on almost everything vital to man’s existence. Therefore, if there are philosophies of science, language, history, art, ethics and politics, then there can be a philosophy of technology also, because it is integral to all the above in the world of today. (Jonas 2004: p.17)⁴¹

For Jonas, a philosophy of technology, according to the classical tradition has two fundamental perspectives: the formal aspect (formal object) and the substantive content (material object). The formal aspect implies that technology is a continuing collective enterprise which has its own laws of motion, structure and is autonomous. It constitutes the abstract nature of technology. The substantive content, or material object of technology, is concerned

and Other Essays.

35 Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays.*

36 Lechner, R. “Toward a Philosophy of Technology”, in *Philosophy Today*, 15(1971), 70-85. ⁴¹ Jonas, H. (2004) “Toward a Philosophy of Technology”.

with devices, tools and techniques which technology, “puts into human use, the powers it confers, the novel objectives it opens up or dictates, and the altered manner of human action by which these objectives are realized.” (Jonas 2004: p.17)³⁷ To this division of formal and material objects of the philosophy of technology, Jonas also combines his division of classical and modern technology. With the formal object, he connects the classical technology and material objects are in line with the modern technology.

Though Jonas draws a distinction between classical and modern technology which are fundamentally different in nature, he deals mostly with modern technology. The chief distinction between classical and modern technologies is that the former was a possession and a state (static) while the latter is an enterprise and a process. In this sense modern technology pervades the whole of human existence. Classical technology was goal oriented. Each new discovery was a means to achieve an end. It was concerned with simple means to natural ends. (Jonas 2004: p.18-19)³⁸ Thus, classical technology was considered as something self-sufficient and so its progress was halted. Modern technology does not strive for natural and immediate ends with simple means. It tries to surpass itself and to develop even further. It also spreads rapidly throughout the world due to communication systems which are among its achievements. (Carey 1992: p.170)³⁹

Further, technology has the capacity of creating ends by offering new possibilities. Therefore progress is the inherent drive in modern technology. For Jonas, the progress inherent in technology, does not involve any values. As the destiny of humankind, technology has become restless. It is impelled by competition and by other factors like growth in population and restricted natural resources. Jonas states the driving force in technology is “the quasi-utopian vision of an ever better life, whether vulgarly conceived or nobly.” (Jonas 2004: p.19-20)⁴⁰ He calls it a dynamism and explains it with the

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Carey, J. (1992) *Communication as Culture...*

40 Jonas, H. (2004) “Toward a Philosophy of Technology”.

Spenglerian mystery of a 'Faustian soul' innate in Western culture, "that drives it, nonrationally, to infinite novelty and unplumbed possibilities for their own sake." (Jonas 2004: p.20)⁴¹ When Jonas analyses the reason for this restlessness he finds the answer in the interaction between science and technology which he labels as the hallmark of modern progress. (Jonas 2004: p.22)⁴²

Technology is a species of power. Machines are the arbiters of this power to achieve the objectives of technology. Machines have made man an object or another machine in the process of production. The Industrial Revolution is an early example of the power of technology where the increase in speed, ease and quantity of production were realized through machines. In the technocratic culture, machines become an essential part of life. For Jonas the greatest accomplishment of machines was to produce substitutes for

41 Ibid. Goethe's *Faust* is a classic poetic drama on humanism which tried to probe the new realities of the world after the technical and economic revolution of his time. *Faust* refers to the diabolic power. Basing on it Oswald Spengler introduced 'Faustian Soul' to indicate the nature of western culture. He refers to it also as 'Faustian culture.' Spengler, O. (1992) *Man and Technics: A Contribution to A Philosophy of Life*, London, European Books Society, p.59. He further explains this concept of 'Faustian Soul' in his *The Decline of the West*. "If, in fine, we look at the whole picture - the expansion of the Copernican world into that aspect of stellar space that we possess today; the development of Columbus's discovery into a world-wide command of the earth's surface by the West; the perspective of oil-painting and the theatre; the sublimation of the idea of home; the passion of our civilization for swift transit, the conquest of the air, the exploration of the Polar regions and the climbing of almost impossible mountain-peaks - we see, emerging everywhere, the prime symbol of the Faustian soul. ... And those specially Western creations of the soul-myth called 'Will', 'Force' and 'Deed' must be regarded as derivative of this prime symbol." Spengler, O. (1932) *The Decline of the West*, New York, Oxford University Press, p.99. On the whole the Faustian Soul refers to the above mentioned pressures and the limitless 'will' that characterizes Western culture and mentality.

42 Jonas, H. (2004) "Toward a Philosophy of Technology".

natural materials which were scarce or costly. (Jonas 2004: p.24)⁴³ Machines themselves are artificial substitutes for the natural powers and organs. For example, Jonas sees the computer as the trans-nature of human making; for it is also a 'pervasive mentalization of physical relationships' which has its inherent paradox: "that it threatens the obsolescence of man himself, as increasing automation ousts him from the places of work where he formerly proved his humanhood." (Jonas 2004: p.28)⁴⁴ Contemporary technology, with its enormous growth of power engineering, electronics, aeronautics and computer technology, no longer imitates nature. Technology now does not help man with his deficiencies, but it actually does things that nature has never shown to humanity. Modern technology therefore aims at ends which have been created only by itself. According to Plato and Aristotle, *technē* was applied only to the nonhuman realm. Today man himself has been added to the objects of technology. Thus, "*homo faber* is turning upon himself and gets ready to make over the maker of all the rest." (Jonas 1984: p18)⁴⁵

“Machines themselves are artificial substitutes for the natural powers and organs.”

Jonas concludes his analysis of modern technology by saying that although humanity as a whole may have become powerful due to technology, men as individuals or even as large groups, have lost power. Their everyday lives may be improved, but should the system fail, their lives would be significantly worse than the lives of people, of old times. (Jonas 2004: p.30)⁴⁶ On the whole his philosophy of technology demonstrates the deterministic character of technology.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Jonas, H. (1984) *The Imperative of Responsibility*.

46 Jonas, H. (2004) "Toward a Philosophy of Technology".

“Technology as Efficient Ordering of Human Activity”: Jacques Ellul

Ellul was emphatically negative about technological development. He constantly criticized the domination of technology over the human beings and cautioned humankind of its disastrous effects. For Ellul modern technology has become a total phenomenon for civilization, the defining force of a new social order in which efficiency is no longer an option but a necessity imposed on all human activity. He envisions that in the end, technique has only one principle to become an ‘efficient ordering.’ Thus he views efficiency as a necessary commodity of technology. (Fasching 1981: p.17-18).⁴⁷

Ellul says that at present age man cannot live without the technical gadgets. At the same time, man is also at the risk of their hazardous consequences. Instead of technology being subservient to man, humans have adopted themselves to the techniques. (Ellul 1989:

p.136)⁴⁸ Therefore the nature of technology, for Ellul, is very influential that it escapes any judgment over it. Whether we judge it good or bad, it continues on its way and become a dominating point for humanity. Thus beyond being an instrument, technology has become an environment and a way of life. This aspect of technology is called the substantive impact and Ellul shares with this notion. (Feenberg 1991: p.8)⁴⁹

Technological Dilemma: An Ethical Evaluation of the Technological Progress

Technological developments are seen today as having their good and evil effects for the human beings. They mark the liberation of mankind from many of the tyrannies of nature. So many great walls that stood as obstacles to the human growth have been

47 Fasching, D. (1981). *The Thought of Jacques Ellul: A Systematic Exposition*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

48 Ellul, J. (1989) *What I believe*. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans.

49 Feenberg, A. (1991) *Critical Theory of Technology*, New York, Oxford University Press.

demolished. The constant growth in technology promises a new age of opportunity in all the human affairs. Many superstitions and needless sufferings of the past have been eliminated. The present condition of human life with all its comforts, facilities and safety are to be attributed to the development of technology. Human progress would not have been realized without technological advancements. As Herder observed man as a deficient being must compensate for his lack of natural tools and weapons by the creative use of science and technology. (Herder 1985: p.118)⁵⁰ However, technological advancements while promoting the quality of life have, in the process, enslaved mankind. (Jonas 1982: p.893)⁵¹

The good and evil effects of technology have created a dilemma for the contemporary society and there are many issues raised by the development of technology as having their impact on the human beings. Among them ethical issues are crucial and urgent and they provoke a philosophical reflection. As proposed in the introduction and throughout this article, concentration is made on the philosophical aspects of the technological advancements in order to evaluate their ethical implications.

At the same time it is also noted that beyond its good and evil, technology can also be viewed from a neutral point of view without adding any value to it. This means that technology in itself can be neither good nor bad. It can be used for any purpose by any persons. (Feenberg 1991: p.6)⁵⁷ This neutral aspect of technology affirms its instrumentality, which means that it is regarded as a tool which serves the purpose of the user. To use a popular example, technology is like a knife that can be used to cook, cure or kill. However, in such a situation, where technology has created a dilemma for the contemporary society with its good and evil aspects, such a philosophical consideration includes both of them leaving out its neutrality.

50 Herder, J.G. (1985) *Ideen zur Philosophie Geschichte der Menschheit*, Wiesbaden, Fourier.

51 Jonas, H. "Technology as a Subject for Ethics", in *Social Research*, 49 (1982)4, 891-898. ⁵⁷ Feenberg, A. (1991) *Critical Theory of Technology*.

Aristotle's notion of technology as imitating nature is based on his time. Therefore his notion is incompatible with the contemporary age, where technology has superseded nature in many ways. But he gives a basic understanding of technology as that which originated from the imitation of nature and is motivated for the human use.

Bacon was already conscious of the power of contemporary technology and he proposed a goal or ideal for it, to manage the nature for the development of mankind. Heidegger neither supports nor rejects technology. He is analyzing it objectively with its pros and cons and ends up in an ontological understanding of it. So his philosophy of technology becomes a metaphysical exercise without any relation to life experiences and environmental realities of the world which confront the effects of contemporary technology because he affirms the danger and saving power of technology.

Jonas and Ellul assess the rightness or wrongness of technological interventions in human life and nature in terms of the value of their consequences. Ellul in contraposition to Bacon did not favour the domination of technology in human life. For him the technical progress has three kinds of effects; the desired, the foreseen, and the unforeseen. So he is affirming that man has to adapt technology to his life instead of becoming an object to technology which could be an unforeseen effect of technology. (Ellul 1990: p.61).⁵² Jonas also pointed out the ominous side of the 'Baconian Ideal' as that marks the "danger derives from the excessive dimensions of the scientific-technological-industrial civilization." (Jonas 1984: p.140)⁵⁹ On this basis Jonas thinks that humankind has come to a point of no return where it will never succeed in regaining control over technology and assessing its values. He observes the ability of technology to play with the deepest core values of human nature. He identifies two ethical problems: first, the technological advancements, that is, the *Homo faber*, have attributed a new decree to human knowledge that is to the *Homo sapiens*; second, the promotion of new technologies

52 Ellul, J. (1990) *The Technological Bluff*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans. ⁵⁹ Jonas, H. (1984) *The Imperative of Responsibility*.

must be concerned with the true destiny of humanity. (Jonas 2004: p.23, 29)⁵³

Mankind's success as a tool-making and tool-using animal has soared to the present heights of megatechnology. Henry Drummond in his Lowell lectures explained the substitution of tools for human organs. Such a situation gradually turned humans into passive machine-serving animals and reduced them to creatures mastered by machines. (Spengler 1992: p.66)⁶¹

By the interpretation of the Greek concept *technê*, technology is understood as a rational entity and therefore universally applicable. In this sense one could observe that it has become the universal essence of humanity. It is leading towards a universal technocratic culture and in this it tends to unify all mankind in shaping a universal culture. Highly advanced communication systems and social media are visible signs for this trend. Thus technology has helped humanity for its ascent and empowered humans to control nature and opened up new frontiers to create a global village.

The immense technical possibilities have given an objective for the modern man not only to dominate the physical nature, but also the human nature. Biotechnology is seen as a recent manifestation of the technological progression. Since this article deals only with the philosophy of technology and its ethical implications, biotechnological developments and intervention on human nature are not considered.

Conclusion

The philosophical analysis of technology and its ethical implications envisages an orientation to understand the impacts of technological growth on humanity and environment, because the ends and means of contemporary technology have gone beyond the power of human ability to restrain it. This would endanger the future of the human being, destroy the dignity of life and shatter the environment of living organisms. This situation could

53 Jonas, H. (2004) "Toward a Philosophy of Technology".⁶¹
Spengler, O. (1992) *Man and Technics*.

result in all organisms including human beings, being treated as mere instruments for technological motives and as mere objects for experiments and manipulation. Jonas warns that such situation can lead to a future where all organisms may be considered as appendages to technological purposes. (Jonas 1984: p.ix)⁵⁴

Attention has to be paid to view technology as a factor that promotes a dualism and alienation: a dualism of mind and body, where mind is elevated and body is suppressed, a dualism of man and machine and a dualism of human intelligence and artificial intelligence; an alienation of human nature and behaviour which has become more machinery and artificial than human, and an alienation of human talents and labour⁵⁵ which are substituted by machines and devices. In another sense, technological development signifies the state of the human growth as *homo faber* becoming a substitute for all other aspects of human identity and growth.

Contemporary technology is the destiny of humankind in the sense that, unlike traditional technology, it is an enterprise, a process and a dynamic thrust upon human nature. Thus it has become the goal and ultimate destiny of humanity. In other words contemporary technology has become the central purpose of all human endeavours. As a destiny of the humankind technology has enslaved humankind.

The megatechnology or technocracy has influenced nearly every aspect of human life that man needs to reconsider now in a substantial way the environment and human nature. The immense growth of technology in the present age has endowed the human beings with the capacity of destroying even the very conditions upon which life depends. The efforts to safeguard the integrity of the living world in the midst of such technological crises must be taken by formulating the imperatives for technological age. This will result in providing concerns regarding the ethical implications of the techno-scientific culture to liberate humankind from the deterministic character of technology.

54 Jonas, H. (1984) *The Imperative of Responsibility*.

55 Alienation of man and labour as the result of industrial revolution has a detailed treatment by Karl Marx in *Das capital*.

Further philosophical reflections on technology are to be developed to analyze the issues resulting from the contemporary technocratic culture in an ultimate way, in order to defend the value and dignity of each individual human being which is lost by the technicalization of life with machines, which has done away the human dignity, individuality and originality.

In the contemporary society, there is a serious invitation for all, to reflect about the technological determinism and its potential threats to humanity. Such deterministic picture of technology challenges whether the contemporary society is ready to accept the above invitation to contribute to the construction of a new humanism based on integral human values and concern for the environment.

Science and technology are precious resources for promoting the integral development of man. They are ordered to man, from whom they take their origin and development. However, their advancements have created a technological dilemma and the fundamental symptoms of the technological crisis are scrutinized here. Still, with all its dilemmas, as A. Pacey observes, technology is seen as a part of contemporary life which is not something that can be kept in a separate compartment. (Pacey 1992: p.3)⁵⁶

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56 Pacey, A. (1992) *The Culture of Technology*, Cambridge, MIT Press.



Fr. Kurien Kunnumpuram SJ

A Man of Vision and Commitment

- Thomas Karimundackal SJ

Fr. Kurien Kunnumpuram, SJ (1931-2018) is no more physically present in our midst. We are unable to comprehend the loss to the Church, particularly the Church in India, and I am sure that his physical absence will create a vacuum in the theological circles and discussions. Though my life with him was short, Fr. Kurien has left behind immortal memories in my heart with his unembellished life. It is the same feeling that most people share about the undecorated, exemplary and scholarly life of Fr. Kurien.

Affable and Loving Person

Fr. Kurien was a simple and cheerful person who could hide a thousand feelings behind his innocent smile. He was a simple man who enjoyed the simple things that life offered. He enjoyed the spiritual enrichment of simplicity till the very end of his life. He could make life comfortable with very minimum needs and he never bothered about a secure life. I never heard him speaking ill of anybody. He was a virtuous man who never had any complaints in life.

Fr. Kurien showed great enthusiasm to visit his students and friends and to maintain close relationship with them. He used to walk with a meditative rhythm, and never in a hurry. So also in his quiet manner Fr. Kurien slowly walked into the lives of his friends and inserted himself into their hearts. He was always approachable.

He received everyone heartily, welcomed them cordially and treated them warmly. That was his personal trait of being hospitable. He remained an affable and friendly person to all, the lay staff, as well as the public. Many approached him for advice and counsel.

He was very systematic, regular, hardworking and totally committed to the task entrusted to him. He kept himself always busy, either reading or writing or counseling. One would never see Fr. Kurien sitting idle. He had a fire in him that kindled other fires. He was a man, who relentlessly gave love, received love and longed to love more. His family ties testify to this. His friends remember this. Even his detractors agree that he was a loving and lovable man.

Scholar and Academician

Fr. Kurien's life-time achievement has been, apart from other things, the engaged way of teaching the essentials of theological anthropology, ecclesiology, and Mariology in a very clear and concise manner. As a teacher he was very much loved and appreciated by his students. He knew the pulse of each and every student and treated him/her very personally. He gave freedom to the students and allowed them to grow responsibly.

Indeed, he was known for his intellectual caliber and clarity of thought. He completed his PhD on Vatican II with a special reference to "ways of salvation" from the University of Innsbruck in 1968, just three years after Vatican II. He has studied the documents of Vatican II taking the concern of every Christian believer in India, such as how to understand the meaning of his or her salvation through Christ in the Church in the face of multi religious context of India which claims to have various "ways of salvation". As Jacob Parappally observes, "Kurien Kunnumparam's contribution to the understanding of the theological significance of other religions in God's plan of salvation according to the teachings and insights of the Vatican II not only highlighted the importance of entering into dialogue with other religions as an imperative to the self-understanding of Church but also showed the need for a theology of Non-Christian religions and developing a theology of Christian Missions." Indeed, his scholarly and erudite expositions

on various theological themes give an answer to the question: How can the Church remain a home for all peoples and religions in the light of the teachings of Vatican II?

Theologian Par Excellence

Author of more than 15 books in areas of Ecclesiology, Anthropology and Spirituality, he has contributed significantly to evolve a method to theologize in the Indian context. He has articulated his creative theological reflections in the journal *Jnanadeepa: Pune Journal of Religious Studies*, a journal which he has founded in 1998. He has edited the Asian journal for Religious Studies (AUC) for more than ten years. He was the first editor of *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, published by Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth. He, along with Fr. Francis D'Sa and George Soares-Prabhu, Fr Francis Pereira SJ, Rui de Menesis, who belonged to the second generation of theology professors at JDV, brought about the emphasis on doing theology in the context. Thus, the scholarly contribution of Fr. Kurien exhibited a far-reaching influence in a number of areas.

Community of Freedom and for the Poor

Fr. Kurien was a man of determination and total self-reliance. His 44 years of meritorious service in various capacities at JDV and Papal Seminary (1969-2013) substantiate this. As the dean of the faculty of Theology (1974-77), and the Rector of Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth (1987-93) he has given an orientation to the theological and priestly formation in India. He has dreamt dreams for JDV and realized them raising JDV to the standard of a premier theological institution in India. According to him theological formation is meant to form the clergy to liberate people from the bondages – social, cultural, religious, and economical – rather than forming clergy for the routine ritual celebrations. In his opinion, priestly and religious life is not a withdrawal from the world but it is a prophetic commitment to the people to enable them to experience God in the midst of their struggles and sufferings.

According to Fr. Kurien, the mission of the Church is to collaborate with God's salvific work for the fullness of the human person and the human community according to the pattern revealed in Jesus Christ. He says: "To follow Christ is also to identify ourselves with the poor and powerless as he did. The Incarnation is the symbol of this identification. Through his incarnation he inserted himself into the human family and became one with us". According to him "the members of the Church are called to be the disciples of Jesus Christ. And the disciples of Jesus are the children of God". Therefore, in his opinion, to realize the Church's mission, a radical commitment to the values of Jesus is indispensable and necessary; values like righteousness, love, trust, forgiveness, sharing, genuine worship, avoiding ostentation, non-judgmental attitude etc.

This eminent theologian is convinced that the Church, the dream of Jesus, is a joyful community and its mission is to proclaim joy and freedom, which calls for sensitivity to the needs of other. He says: "joy was in fact the most characteristic result of all Jesus' activity amongst the poor and oppressed". Therefore, according to him the experience of Joy that Jesus communicated to his hearers should inspire all of us to find great joy in our Christian life, and it should be the abiding quality of Christian life. The basis of such a liberating and enabling joy and freedom should be our Christian experience of God.

Genuine Spirituality Guided by Vatican II

By integrating the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels and the Vatican II Fr. Kurien, through his writings and teachings communicated an inclusive spirituality, a spirituality that humanizes. According to him spirituality is not restricted to any particular religion, tradition or culture, rather it breaks the social, cultural and religious barriers leading to 'fullness of life for all'. This inclusive spirituality which he emphasized was against the traditional understanding of Christian spirituality. He made a distinction between piety and genuine spirituality; while the former is guided by the faithful performance of devotional practices and rituals, the latter is guided by the spirit of God which transforms the life and values of a person. He says:

“There is a lot of piety among us, but not enough spirituality. Piety consists in the performance of external devotional practices and is measured by one’s fidelity to these practices. Whether or not the faithful performance of these exercises of piety improves the quality of one’s Christian life is a question that is seldom asked. One is at times surprised that priests, sisters and lay people who are obviously pious are manifestly unfair in their dealings with other people. Some of them show so little of the compassion of Christ and are quite unwilling to forgive others.” He further claims: “Spirituality is a way of life. It is our total inward quest for growth, meaning and authenticity. And it is manifested in the quality of one’s life. to be spiritual is to be touched and transformed by the Spirit of God. In a person who has been touched and transformed by God’s Spirit the fruits of the Spirit will be seen: “love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control” (Gal 5:22-23)”. Accordingly, Christian Spirituality is essentially concerned about a way of life that is manifested in the quality of one’s life, a quality that makes one more human, liberative and close to God and fellow-human beings.

The Dream of Fr Kurien

His memory brings us hope of what a simple, dedicated and learned man can do to better the humanity. His memory will remain with so many of us, as a true friend, a mentor, a fellow seeker and most importantly a man who dreamt for a society of freedom, joy, peace and justice. Fr. Kurien continues to live in our memory and in our lives, as an inspiration, as a model, and most significantly as a loving presence. May his soul rest in peace, and may our souls become restless to live out the dreams of Fr. Kurien.

[Prof Kurien Kunnumpuram SJ was the founder-editor of Jnanadeepa Journal. This article was originally written for *The Smart Companion*, November 2018.]

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Joy and Freedom of Being a Christian

- Kuruvilla Pandikattu SJ

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Prof Kurien Kunnumpuram, SJ, one of the creative Indian theologians, is quite convinced that freedom and joy are essential characteristics of our Christian existence. This article, meant to pay homage to the founder of Jnanadeepa, explores the basic content of his book, Freedom and Joy, which, I believe, characterizes his own life! Let us listen to him, as he writes in his last book, "Freedom and Joy".

Jesus and Freedom

After a careful investigation of the Kingdom of God which was central to the life and ministry of Jesus the great Scripture scholar George Soares-Prabhu has come to the conclusion that Jesus was the supreme example of the freedom of the Kingdom of God. He has stated: "Jesus moves through the pages of the Gospel as the supremely free man. He is driven by no demons of greed or ambition – for the Son of Man "has nowhere to lay his head" (Lk 9:58) and has come "not to be served but to serve" (Mk 10:45). He is daunted neither by the pressures of heteronomous law (Jn 8:1-10) nor by the violence of established authority (Lk 13:31-33). With supreme freedom he challenges the most sacred institutions of his people when his concern for his fellowmen impels him to do so. He breaks the Sabbath (Mk 7:1-15), touches lepers (Mk 1:42), dines with the socially outcast and with sinners (Mk 2:15-17)."

Jesus' mission to liberate people. He said that the Spirit of the Lord "has sent me to proclaim release to captives and recovery of

sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free” (Lk 4:18). Jesus frees human beings from sin and guilt (Mk 2:1-12). He frees us from the routine of ritualism (Mt 6:7) and from the oppressive burden of the law (Mt 11:28-3 and 23:4). He liberates us from the terrible isolation to which we can be condemned by social ostracism (Lk 19:1-10), ritual uncleanness (Mk 1:40-45) or mental ill-health (Mk 5:1-21). He calls his followers to freedom from possessions (Mk 1:16-18; 10:1) from unhealthy family ties (Lk 9:61). He invites them to put all their trust in God so that they need no other security in life (Mt 6:25-34).

As a result of his personal encounter with Jesus Paul exclaims: “For freedom Christ has set us free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery (Gal 5:1).

Vatican II has dealt with freedom in the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. It declares that “authentic freedom is an exceptional sign of the image of God in a human being”. Then it adds: “For God has willed that man be left in the hand of his own counsel” so that he can seek his Creator spontaneously, and come freely to utter and blissful perfection through loyalty to him”.

In 2013 Pope Francis, in his Apostolic Exhortation: The Joy of the Gospel, stated: “Saint Thomas Aquinas pointed out that the precepts which Christ and the apostles gave to the people of God “are very few”. Citing Saint Augustine, he noted that the precepts subsequently enjoined by the Church should be insisted upon with moderation “so as not to burden the lives of the faithful: and make our religion a form of servitude, whereas “God’s mercy has willed that we should be free”. This warning, issued many centuries ago, is most timely today. Here Kunnumpuram recalls the powerful words of St Paul: “For you were called to freedom, brothers and sisters” (Gal 5:13). The implication of these words is this: Freedom is God’s gift to us. Every gift of God involves a task on our part. Hence it is our lifelong task to become increasingly more free. But as a famous hymn has it: “It is a long road to freedom”

Joy of Being a Christian

When Jesus was born in Bethlehem an angel of the Lord told the shepherds: “I am bringing you good news of great joy for all

the people” (Lk 2: 10). In the gospel of Mark Jesus begins his public ministry by proclaiming the good news that the Kingdom of God has come (Mk 1:14-15). Now joy is one of the fruits of the Kingdom (Rom 14:17). Towards the end of his ministry Jesus declared: “I have said these things to you so that my joy may be in you and that your joy may be complete” (Jn 15:11). After a careful examination of the life and ministry of Jesus, Albert Nolan came to the conclusion: “Joy was in fact the most characteristic result of all Jesus’ activity amongst the poor and the oppressed. The meals he had with them were festive celebrations, parties. Jesus obviously had a way of ensuring that people enjoyed themselves at the gatherings. The Pharisees were scandalized by this. Rejoicing and celebrating with sinners was incomprehensibly scandalous (Lk 15:1). They could only assume that he had become a pleasure – seeker, ‘a drunkard and a glutton’ (Lk 7:34).”

Jesus tried to explain this joy and this celebration to the Pharisees by telling them three parables: The parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son (Lk 15). It is highly significant that each of these parables ends with joy and celebration. When the shepherd finds his lost sheep, he calls together his friends and neighbours and celebrates with them. And Jesus adds: “Just so, I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance” (Lk 15:6-7). Something similar happens when the woman finds her silver coin which was lost. (15:9-10).

The last parable is extremely significant. After listening to the parable one wonders: Who is the lost son? The younger son who went away from the Father and lived riotously with his women? Or the elder son, who, like a true Pharisee, kept the law most faithfully? The younger son was able to receive God’s forgiving love, rejoice in it and celebrate it. But the elder son was not able to do so. So, he is really the lost son! To quote Nolan once again: “There can be no doubt that Jesus was a remarkably cheerful person and that his joy like his faith and hope was infectious... The poor and the oppressed and anyone else who was not too hung up on ‘respectability’ found the company of Jesus a liberating experience of sheer joy”.

Pope Francis points out that the whole Bible speaks of joy. Jesus himself “rejoiced in the Spirit” (Lk 10:21). He promises his

disciples: “You will be sorrowful but your sorrow will turn into joy” (Jn 16:20). Then he adds: “But I will see you again, and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy from you” (Jn 16:22). The disciples “rejoiced” at the sight of the risen Lord. In the Acts of the Apostles we read that the first Christians “ate their food with glad and generous hearts” (Acts 2:46). Because of the preaching of Philip and the miracles he worked “there was great joy in that city” (Acts 8:8). The newly baptized eunuch “went on his way rejoicing” (8:39), while Paul’s jailer and his household “rejoiced that he had become a believer in God” (Acts 16:34).

Challenge for the Indian Church Today

This experience of joy of the first Christians should inspire all of us to find great joy in our Christian life. Unfortunately, according to Pope Francis, “there are Christians whose lives seem like lent without Easter”. Some of them walk through life as though they are taking part in a perennial funeral procession. Kurien reminds us of Pope Francis who invites Christians everywhere “to a renewed encounter with Jesus Christ”. For “with Christ joy is constantly born anew.”

Conclusion

These reflections taken from Kurien’s last book aptly entitled, “Freedom and Joy,” published by Christian World Imprints, was released on 17th October, in a gathering of about 45 Christian thinkers, at SRC, Kozhikode, Kerala. They came together to reflect on the creative contribution that Prof Kurien Kunnumpuram to the Indian Church. Prof Kunnumpuram was then in comma after a stroke and fall at Kozhikode. A few days later, on October 23, 2018 he breathed his last. May his soul rest in peace! May his vision of a Christian who is both free and joyous!

Kunnumpuram, Kurien. *Freedom and Joy: Reflections on the Essential Characteristics of Christian Life Today*, Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth, Pune and Christian World Imprints, New Delhi, pp. 177+viii, ₹ 325/- ISBN: 977-93-5148-320-5.



A Call to Commitment

- Gijo John MSFS

The Book titled *A Call to Commitment: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Deut 10,12-11,32* published by Echter Verlag under Forschung Zur Bibel series is an exegetical and theological work by Thomas Karimundackal. It is resourceful, ingenious and a work of great proficiency by the author. He has perceptively tried to prove that Dt 10, 12-11, 32 could be considered as a summary of the preceding sections (Dt 1, 1-10, 11) and a link to the succeeding sections (12, 1-34, 12) of Deuteronomy. Further it could be taken as a hermeneutical key to understand and to interpret the theology of Deuteronomy. To prove this scientifically, the author has employed mostly a synchronic method to arrive at a coherent theological interpretation, to point out the theological significance, to trace the possible connections of the text within the compositional frame of Deuteronomy and to the rest of the Old Testament. Consequently, it draws out its contextual meaning and significance for the World of today.

In chapter one, the author has made considerable efforts to prove that the text (Dt. 10, 12-11, 32) is an independent literary unit and it is positioned intentionally within the larger literary block of Deuteronomy with a theological purpose. Secondly, he has defined the text as precisely as possible with a view to its literary investigation and interpretation. In doing this the author has focused on a threefold examination, namely the delimitation of the text, the context, and its translation with text-critical observations and evaluations. He affirms that, basing on the contextual and text-

linguistic grounds, Dt. 10, 12 points to the beginning of the Fifth parenthesis and Dt, 11, 32 marks the end of the fifth parenthesis (pgs. 18-24). Examining closely on the linguistic pattern, vocabulary and rhetorical development of the text (10, 12-11, 32), it has been proved that this unit is internally coherent (pgs. 25-27). Considering the different literary characteristics, time, place and theme, it has been evidenced that the pericope (10, 12-11, 32) is an independent literary unit distinguishing itself from the preceding and following units (pgs. 27-42). Analyzing the preceding and following pericopes, certain connections and commonalities have been identified. He has proved that Dt. 10, 12-11, 32 has been deliberately positioned at the middle of Deuteronomy to focus on Israel's single devotion to the Lord (pg. 43). He has translated the text literally and has compared the textual witness namely, the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint and the Qumran Manuscripts in order to bring out the adequacy to the MT as a basis for the Exegesis (pgs. 44-67).

In the second chapter, the author has attempted logically to examine the literary division of the text and its inner dynamisms and has highlighted the movement of the text, shifting back and forth a number of times from the present (Moab) to past events (Egypt, Sea of Reeds, Wilderness) with their challenges for the future (promised land) and there to choose Mount Garizim (Blessing) or Mount Ebal (Curse). He specifically identifies a structural division of the text with regard to space, time, persons, communication and vocabulary (pgs. 69-75). He derives a fivefold section from the viewpoint of verbal patterns and linguistic features namely, 10, 12-22; 11, 1-7; 8-17; 18-25; 26- 32 (Pg. 77). He focuses a little more upon the sub sections in order to derive further structural features embedded within the text verses (pgs.77-87). He arrives at a perfect structural outline of Dt. 10, 12-11, 32 taking into consideration the above-mentioned methods (Pgs. 87-88). He recognizes the inner dynamisms and movements of the text, such as, the Beginning and the End, the Temporal movement, the Spacial movement, the Thematic movement and the Repetition and Intensification from beginning to end of the unit which will ultimately help us to realize the various changes within the text. (pgs.88-98).

In the third chapter, to arrive at a meaningful exegetical dialogue with the text, the author has analyzed each verse and has interpreted them, considering the literary characteristics, grammar, syntax, semantics, key words, phrases and clauses as well as the author's personal observations, perceptions, choices, inter-textual comparisons to precisely bring out the exegetical and theological significance of Deuteronomy. So, in Dt 10, 12-22, the author has discovered a well-developed rhetorical whole with a series of infinitive constructs which serve as a comprehensive theme for the entire section (pgs. 100-150). In Dt 11, 1-7, he has highlighted the role of Moses in exhorting the Israelites with a fresh appeal for a wholehearted commitment to the Lord (pgs.151-180). In Dt 11, 8-17, he accentuates the mighty deeds of Yhwh, namely his benevolence in guiding Israel to the promised land. He also stresses the way Yhwh motivates the people to possess the land and to have an experience of his blessing (pgs. 181-222). In Dt 11, 18-21, he points to the exhortation to Israel to keep the commandment of the Lord in order to receive the blessing of long life in the land and Yhwh's constant assistance in the conquest and possession of the land (pgs. 223-240). In Dt 11, 22-25, he then emphasizes once again on the appeal to keep the commandment which is designed in the "if-then" rhetorical pattern (pgs. 241-251). In Dt 11, 26-32 he has highlighted the specific decision that the Israel has to make between blessing and curse by either obeying the commandment or by disobeying the commandment towards a Yhwh centered existence (pgs. 251-274).

The fourth chapter, concludes the study undertaken by the author with certain thought aggravating pastoral implications for our life. Firstly, with the help of a table, the author has systematically proved that Dt 10, 12-11, 32 is a summation of Dt 1, 1-10, 11 and also a link to Dt 12, 1-34, 12 by discovering certain common elements, vocabularies, recurrent motifs, instructive characters, blessing and curse motifs and unique expressions (pgs. 275-288). Secondly, the author has methodically exposed some of the portraits and roles of Yhwh which is found in the preceding and succeeding parts of the pericope so that we may comprehend the profound portrait of Yhwh in the present text (pgs.289-300). Thirdly, the author has minutely underscored the principles of

Yhwh's committed relationship with Israel and as response, Israel's requirements of a Yhwh centered existence in the land promised to them (pgs. 301-329). Fourthly, the author provides certain theological implications of this pericope with the help of a triangle indicating a close relationship between God, Israel and the Land, which ultimately moves towards a closer relationship between God, Humankind and the Earth (pgs.330-333).

To conclude, although this is an extensive work carried out by the author, there are certain areas that are just hinted at and are left unexplored by the author and secondly, there seems to be too much repetition of the biblical verses which makes it a bit monotonous. However, this work by the author can be considered as a masterwork in understanding the whole of Deuteronomy. It is indeed fascinating to see the methodology employed and also the number of Bibliography the author has used, emerging from various sources and different ancient languages. Finally, as per his intension of doing this research, he has proved that the fifth parenthesis i.e. Dt 10, 12-11, 32 is a summary of the preceding sections and a link to the succeeding sections of Deuteronomy and it could be taken as a hermeneutical key to understand and to interpret the theology of Deuteronomy and also has offered beautiful insights for our practical life.

Thomas Karimundackal SJ, *A Call to Commitment: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Deut 10,12-11,32* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag GmbH, FzB 185, 2017. Pp. 371, ISBN 978-3-429-04400-8)



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