CHAPTER II

POSTCOLONIALISM: FROM THEORY TO MODEL AND METHOD

2.1   Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline certain hermeneutical principles, which will guide the reading of Matthew as it pertains to the concept of justice and righteousness. These principles will be drawn from postcolonial theory applied within a social scientific critical paradigm. The use of postcolonial theory in biblical criticism as one reads the Bible from a contemporary African perspective, and particularly from a Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) perspective, (a country at the crossroads of political turmoil and internal conflict), is not a matter of choice, but is an urgent appeal. This call draws its message and meaning from the Matthean voice of justice and righteousness, which was heard during Jesus ministry within the Roman colonization.

This call to justice and righteousness will investigate the politics, which has turned thousands of the DRC's[24] sons and daughters into the prey of wild beasts (oppressive politics) at home and beyond. It is a politics that has dehumanized people and denied them their rights to live a full life. It is a politics of both internal and external complicity.

This chapter deals with the various stages in the development of postcolonial theory, from where it started as anti-slavery and anti-colonial movements. It shows how colonized people joined various struggles for liberation. It also focuses on different approaches of anti-slavery and anti-colonial activists. Following a hermeneutical approach, this chapter deals with a

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[24] According to Kassa (2004:85-86), the Democratic Republic of Congo is affected by "a complex humanitarian crisis, the multiple facets of which revolve around patterns of dilution of any sense of responsibility on the part of the many would-be authorities". Kassa records some painful facts about the humanitarian situation in the DRC and particularly in the East: (i) At least 213 children out of 1,000 children of the same age, die before reaching the age of one year in the eastern DRC (quoted from UNICEF, 2002); (ii) About 3,3 million people died as a result of war, disease and hunger since 1998 (quoted from International Rescue Committee – IRC); (iii) Around 1,289 women out of 100,000 die as a result of childbirth or related problems; (iv) About 50,000 child soldiers are recruited by the various armed factions in the country; (v) HIV/AIDS has spread rapidly in the country through military conquests and defeats.

theory of postcolonialism as a biblical critical model. Various works, particularly that of Robert J C Young,[25] are used as references in the development of postcolonial formation. After having studied different postcolonial hermeneutical studies of the New Testament writings, I realized that Young is one of the most influential theorists in this field thus far. His current works in particular offer a comprehensive overview of the formation of postcolonial theory.

2.2   Definition of terms and their relatedness

2.2.1   Pessimistic approach to postcolonial theory

For the past two decades, both the term and the field of postcolonialism have been subjected to thorough and extensive criticism from the perspectives of literary, political and religious studies. To some theorists, the term is fairly simple, yet fascinating, while it is rather intimidating and intriguing to others, especially when dealing with the cruelty, both past and present, of human beings against their neighbors. At this stage theorists take different views with regard to this study field. Those who hold an optimistic view, regard postcolonial theory as a means of defiance by which any exploitive and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged. On the other hand, the pessimistic view regards postcolonial theory as ambiguous, ironic, and superstitious. These views create an interest which has to be dealt with before the theory is applied to next sections of this study.

Slemon (1995:100) uses the argument of Russell Jacoby to demonstrate how postcolonial theory is problematic for researchers because of its "lack of consensus and clarity." Young (2001:67) poses the simple question: "Why does the language of postcolonial criticism often seem so impenetrable?" But for others, according to Slemon (1995:100), this lack of clarity in postcolonial theory together with its fluidity and ambivalence, is "what is genuinely enabling about the field." Therefore, the term not only lacks clarity, but it also keeps

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[25] Robert J C Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in theory, culture and race*, London: Routledge, 1995; *Torn halves: political conflict in literary and cultural theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction, London :* Blackwell, 2001; *Postcolonialism: A very short introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

changing through "new forms of social collectivity" as they emerge in time and space in a postcolonial world. Thus, these "new forms require new ways describing them". In other words, it is difficult to keep up with the pace of the rapid changing world while at the same time keeping the definition (if any), the object and motive of postcolonial theory intact.

For this reason, it is equally difficult to formulate a single theory to deal with all forms of social, political, academic, military and economic changing winds, creating new histories in societies across the globe (cf Slemon 1995:100-105). Subsequently, postcolonial theory becomes a constant and continuing struggle in the company of humanity (see Bhabha 2001:39). Theorists maintain that postcolonial theory is concerned with all those complexities of the many cultural and historical experiences. Ashcroft, et al (2001:2) argue that postcolonial theory is based on the "historical fact" of European colonialism, and on "the diverse material effects" to which this experience gave rise. Young (2001:4) correctly states that postcolonial critique is concerned with a "reconstruction and reconsideration" of history, particularly from the perspectives of the victims of colonialism and imperialism, not only in the past but also in the present. This mixture of histories is the interest of postcolonial theory.

The critical part of a definition of "postcolonial" has to do with the prefix "post-" which signifies two different meanings in one compound word. Theorists (Ashcroft et al 1989:1-4; Slemon 1995:45-52; 2001:100-114; Young 1996:67-68; 2001:1-10; Moore 2001:182-188) tried to address this issue. Slemon (1995:100) admits that one of the most "vexed areas of debate within the field of postcolonial theory has to do with the term 'postcolonial' itself." According to Moore (2001:182), such a conception of "post (-) colonial" can be viewed as "naïve, inadequate, or utopian".

According to Young (1996:67-68; see Donaldson 1996:5), "'post' is a symptomatic of the increasingly insistent institutional compulsion always to put oneself on the outside, the beyond … substituting a relation of time, of postness, of newness, for the lost relation of space". This tendency of wanting to get outside one's object is crucial to postcolonial theory. It defines patterns of contemporary theory, which help it "get outside itself, to step outside

its own skin". Slemon (1995:1001), on the other hand, argues that colonialism comes into existence within the concept of imperialism, "a concept that is itself predicated within large theories of global politics and which changes radically according to the specifics of those larger theories."

Gallagher (1996:230-231, see Isasi-Diaz 2004:341) interprets "post" as in being "opposed to a certain practice called colonialism." Such opposition is directed at an examination, "unveiling or deconstruction, and revision of the discourse that produces and reinforces oppression." Imperialism (Young (2001:26-27) operates as a policy of state, driven by the ostentatious projects of power within and beyond state boundaries. Again, imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept grounded in exploitation, partnership and assimilation (Nkrumah 1973:1). On the other hand, colonialism is analyzed primarily as a practice by which colonial rule binds her colonies to herself, with a "primary object of promoting her economic advantages" (Nkrumah 1973:2). It is characterized by mechanisms involving power through direct conquest or through political and economic influence that effectively creates a form of domination over another.

If the two words are compounded to form one meaning "postcolonial", then it is important to understand what "post" brings as new to colonialism, already defined as a "practice" of economic, political and cultural domination (Young 2001:17). Does it mean that these practices which marked colonialism are a thing of the past? Young (2001:15) insists that the "post" in postcolonialism is not simply a historical event in which one can move from "post"-colonialism to "post"-imperialism. The concern of postcolonial theory (Ashcroft, et al 1989:2) takes into account cultures affected by the imperialism from the period of colonization to the present day. This is because "there is a continuity of preoccupations" throughout the history of colonizers' aggression. However, this political, cultural and economic aggression is not over yet!

According to Moore (2001:182), the term "postcolonial" without hyphen is preferred by many critics because it is less "suggestive of (imagined) chronological or ideological supersession." What is evident here is that, despite the past of colonialism in the exchange

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for "flag independence" (Slemon 1995:102) that brought no economic independence, nor reparation for that past, imperialism as a concept and colonialism as a practice are still active in a new form. This new form is neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah (1965:xi) defines neo-colonialism as "the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress." For Cabral neo-colonialism is "an outgrowth of classical colonialism" (McCulloch 1983:120-121). Young (2001:44-52) refers to neo-colonialism as "the last stage of imperialism" in which a postcolonial country is unable to deal with economic domination that continues after the national independence. Altbach (1995:452-46) regards neo-colonialism as "partly planned policy" and a "continuation of the old practices". Young (2001:45) is however cautious in defining his understanding of "post" in relation to imperialism. He says that "the postcolonial is *post*, that is coming after, colonialism and imperialism in the sense of domination by direct rule." But "post" is not "*post* to imperialism" in its second sense in relation to indirect rule within economic and political domination.

Ashcroft et al (1989:11-13) argue that postcolonial theory emerges "from the inability of European theory" to effectively deal with the challenges and varied cultural provenance of postcolonial writing. The question that needs to be asked is whether that "inability" is caused by lack of means or lack of will to get rid of imperialism. Christian (1995:457-460) states her challenge to such theorization in what she refers to as "the race for theory." Her argument is that even "the literary critical theory [in postcolonial theories] is as hegemonic as the world which it attacks."

According to Christian (1995:457-460), the language employed mystifies rather than clarifies the condition of the marginalized, "making it possible for a few people who know that particular language to control the critical scene – that language surfaced, interestingly enough, just when the literature of the people of color, of black women, of Latin Americans, of Africans began to move to the 'centre'. Words such as centre and periphery are themselves instructive."

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In this argument, Christian implicitly draws closer to the issue of neo-colonialism in the area of academics. Her deception lies in the fact that literature, the voice of people who are not in power are ever "in danger of extinction or of cooptation", not because the weak cannot theorize, but because, she/he is "constantly limited by societal structures" which are the product of imperialism in colonial as well as in postcolonial settings.

The second challenge of postcolonial theory's definition is the contextual frame of colonialism and imperialism as it is linked to race, culture and gender, settler and native. Pertinent questions that theorists need to ask are: When does a settler become colonizer, colonized and postcolonial? In other words, when does a race cease to be an oppressive agent and become a wealth of cultural diversities of a postcolonial nation? Or within human history of migrations, when does the settler become native, indigenous, a primary citizen? And lastly, when does the native become truly postcolonial? Answers to these questions make postcolonial theory ambiguous and problematic, if not ironic.

Young (2001:19-24) deals with these questions, but does so in a narrow way. Young is convinced that all colonial powers wanted to have "two distinct kinds of colonies within their empires, the settled and the exploited, white and black", which were treated differently. Settlement was not merely a matter of getting a geographical space, but to develop a system of exploitation and domination.

This was the case in North America, South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. During independence, settlers became colonies that have freed themselves from colonialism (see Nkrumah 1973:31) and became postcolonial. On the other hand, in the process of their postcolonial rule, they became oppressors of the natives. This is also true with native elites who turn into dictators and oppressors of their own people in post-independent countries.

The danger of this duality is expressed in a spiral of victimization, when the oppressed becomes the oppressor. While it becomes difficult to draw a stabilizing line, the settler never becomes indigenous, not because of geographical distance of his/her origin, nor the time of

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his/her settlement, but because of color, tribal and ethnic differences. If the land issue in Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa is used as a case study, it would confirm the forgoing statement that the settler never becomes indigenous.[26] The same applies to the so-called *Zairianisation*[27] in the early 1970s in the DRC (Young & Turner 1985:326-362, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:148-151, Dunn 2003:109, 127) and was also the case in many other African countries during and after their independence. How South Africa maintains the balance in its land reform politics will be an interesting case to follow.

The issue with postcolonial theory is that it is very fluid, unstable and unreliable, in that its equality becomes difficult to maintain. In other words, the liberation of one is the fate of the other, and triumphalism which fails to heed the warning that God gave to the oppressed-liberated Israelites (Ex 22:21-24; 23:9; Dt 24:19-22), is a deadly temptation, if not a sin in socio-economic and political liberation theories. The issue is how to build a new nation in which both the former colonized and the former colonizer can live together, complementarily in the brotherhood of humanity.

Another pertinent example in defining postcolonial theory is when the term becomes a tool for political bargain on the ground of autochthonism[28] in a postcolonial state. In this regard Slemon (1995:102-103) mentions the case of Melanesian and Indian Fijian citizens. Indians brought from their own country to work in British colonial plantations in Fiji, found themselves settling in the country. Both groups legitimately claim to be postcolonial citizens of Fiji. The question, however, is "whether both groups have an equal constitutional claim to the category of Fijian citizenship which was the subject of a political coup in 1989, and it remains unresolved."

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[26] Lee & Colvard (2003) deal specifically with the politics of land and settlement in the entire Southern Africa region (see also Daneel 1998).

[27] During the early years of Mobutu's regime, he acquired all the properties of white people in the country and nationalized them.

[28] According to *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* 1970, autochthonism means "birth from the soil of a country, or aboriginal occupation of it."

The difficulty with such postcolonial behavior arises from the fact that social constituencies are ignored. This example is to some extent also applicable to the case of the Banyamulenge community in South Kivu and other Congolese of Rwandan origin in North Kivu provinces in the DRC. Although the Banyamulenge settled in a territory which later, with the coming of the colonizer was called the Congo, the postcolonial constitution found them being excluded on the ground of the community's Tutsi origin. In other words the same torture of colonialism is once again espoused in the postcolonial state. As Slemon (1995:103) proceeds to state, his analysis with regard to categorization is crucial:

> categories such as "native", "settler"…, "white", [indigenous, autochthon, tribal]… - as is always the case with the homogenizing nomenclature of race, class, gender, nation, sexual orientation, and the like – themselves conceal forms of division within groups, they conceal intersection lines and cross-over points within groups, they say nothing about the social process that construct these groups in specific places at specific times.

Those who criticize postcolonial theory such as McClintock (1995:10-11), Hulme (2001:295-308) base their arguments on those sociological concepts that have been ignored. Based upon the above quoted examples it appears that the road from pre-colonial to colonial and to postcolonial never ends with "post" in postcolonial, instead it becomes a new form of direct or indirect influence through local agents. This vicious circle does not allow the world to be postcolonial in its true sense. For McClintock (1995:10-11), postcolonial is "haunted by the very figure of linear development that it sets out to dismantle." It is found reorienting the world once more "around a single binary opposition: colonial – postcolonial." This results from its failure to distinguish between the beneficiaries and the causalities of colonialism. For this reason the postcolonial theory is rather fluid and unstable which should alert theorists to be mindful of both conceptual and contextual gaps which may be encountered along research processes.

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2.2.2   Critical approach with optimistic view to postcolonial theory

Having discussed some of complexities of postcolonial theory, it is also appropriate to examine a position of those who hold a positive view. According to Bhabha (1994:171), postcolonial criticism, "bears witness to the unequal and universal forces of cultural representation" that are involved in a constant competition for political, economic and social authority within the contemporary world. Moreover, Bhabha (1994:171) sees postcolonial critique emerging from colonial experiences. He argues:

> Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of 'minorities' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, race, communities, peoples.

Postcolonial theory formulates its critique around social histories, cultural difference and political discrimination that are practiced and normalized by colonial and imperial machineries. According to Young (2001:1-11; 57-69), postcolonial critique is concerned with the history of colonialism "only to the extent that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present." Postcolonial critique also recognizes anti-colonial movements as the source and inspiration of its politics. Postcolonial critique can be defined as a dialectical discourse that broadly marks the historical facts of decolonization. It allows people emerging from socio-political and economic domination to achieve their own sovereignty.

By contrast, postcoloniality, as Young continues to argue, emphasizes economic, cultural and material conditions "that determine the global system in which the postcolonial nation is required to operate." This view of postcolonial emphasis is shared by a number of theorists, among others: Bhabha (1994), Spivak (1988:197-221), Ashcroft et al (1989; 1995), Sugirtharajah (1996:1-5; 2001), Dube (1996, 2000); Segovia (2000:11-34) and Punt (2001, 2003).

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It must, however, be understood that anti-colonial movements are not uniform, as many of them are contextually confined, although drawn together, their heterogeneous principles form a postcolonial theory. Young (2003:1-8) provides clear pointers with regard to what postcolonial theory is and what it is not. Postcolonial theory "is not in fact a theory in the scientific sense, that is a coherently elaborated set of principles that predict the outcome of a given set of phenomena." Rather, postcolonial theory encompasses a set of viewpoints, which are against one another.

It is also obvious that disciplines do overlap and contradictions cannot be escaped. This is particularly so when postcolonial theory draws more of its material from other disciplines and activities within a given context and its environment (see Segovia 1999:111-113; Sugirtharajah 1999:3-5). As it has been noted above, imperialism penetrates post-colonialism and posit in new form. But Young (2003:7) is convinced that the language of postcolonial theory is uncompromising. "It threatens privileges and power" by refusing and challenging the superiority of the cultures over others. Its priority is to administer equality and justice to people.

According to Young (2001:383-426), postcolonial theory as a "political discourse" emerged mainly from experiences of oppression and struggles for freedom from the "tricontinental"[29] awakening in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the continents associated with poverty and conflict, once referred to as the "continents of the South", or the "Third World." Postcolonial criticism focuses on oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world (cf Young 2001:11). The philosophy behind this theory is not one of declaring war on the past, but against the present realities which, implicitly or explicitly, are consequences of that past. In so doing, the attention of the struggle is concentrated on neo-colonialism and its agents (international and local) that are still enforced through political, economic and social discrimination in postcolonial nations.

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[29] Young (2003:16-29; cf 2001:57-58) defines the origin of the tricontinental concept.

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Interest in the oppression of the past will always be guided by the relation between the history of that past and the present as a new direction and a warning system[30] for a better future. For example, in Exodus (12:14-28; 22:21-22; 23:9) God instructed the Israelites to regularly celebrate the Passover as a reminder of their liberation from Egypt. God warned them not to neglect the poor and the aliens amongst them because they themselves had once been slaves. In that sense, postcolonial theory will always seek to develop new forms of engaged theoretical work that contributes to the creation of dynamic ideological and social transformation.

2.3   Development of postcolonial theory

2.3.1   Humanitarian justification

Postcolonial theory has a long history[31] but most theorists in this field take it for granted as if the origin of the theory is well known to all readers. Among postcolonial theorists, Young (2001, 2003) managed to trace origin of postcolonial theory through history. He introduces a historical beginning by showing how postcolonial theory is a product of anti-slavery activists and anti-colonialists in the eyes of the West. Young (2001:74-112) draws three perspectives in which postcolonial theory emerges, namely humanitarian (moral), liberal (political) and economic. The contradiction of this early development was that imperialism was never emphasized in the same way. While humanitarians and economists staged anti-colonial campaign, politicians (liberals) supported colonization as a means of civilization of the heathens by all means, including force.

According to Young (2001:75-82), the first example of anti-colonial campaign is attributed to Bishop Bartolomé Las Casas (1484-1566) of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain in

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[30] Reconciliation week (14-20 March) is celebrated annually in South Africa and is an example of national transformation, whereby issues of apartheid are raised, not for the sake of vengeance, but as a lasting call for unity, forgiveness and collective participation in building a new future together.

[31] This is a very wide and complex field, which cannot be exhausted in this brief section. The intention of this section is only to give an overview of how the postcolonial theory came into being. Young (2001) deals with this development at length. However, for the sake of this study, Young has also two shortcomings. One is that he does not deeply discuss the role of religious movements in support or against colonialism. Second, he does not include struggles of local peoples (particularly from African continent) against slavery and colonialism before 19th century, although, he does acknowledge it (see Young 2001:163, 217).

1542. Driven by pastoral obligation, the Bishop drafted his contribution, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies,* in which he informed the world about "the genocide that had been practised" under the blessing of the Spanish king and through him, the pope had initially permitted missionaries from Spain and Portugal to undertake expeditions to America. Las Casas questioned the moral and legal grounds of Spanish occupation of America. This was fifty years after the expedition of Christopher Columbus in 1492 to the "new world" and his argument was that the "papal authorization of the expeditions was concerned only with conversion rather than conquest."

 In his protest against colonization and killing of Indians, Bishop Las Casas made three propositions (which are but somewhat contradictory to modern anti-colonialism campaign): (i) Indians had become subjects of Spanish king, must benefit the "rights and forms of protection as Spanish subjects at home." (ii) Politics of assimilation in which the colony is "simply made into a part of the home country" with all legal benefits accruing to it (this mode of colonization was later adopted by France). (iii) The legal basis of European rule was questioned and in doing so he "endorsed the legitimate basis of resistance to it". This anti-colonialism campaign of Bishop Las Casas, was taken up by Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) at the beginning of nineteenth century in South America.

Young (2001:75) argues that "Las Casas's affirmation of the full humanity of the Indians and his denunciation of the 'social sins' of the conquistador rule, has led Gustavo Guitierrez (1993) to identify him as the originator of twentieth-century Latin American liberation theology." Bishop Las Casas's campaign was eventually, joined by other European anti-colonialism activists and by the eighteenth century, his sermon had been "developed into a fully-fledged political discourse of theories" of equal rights that formed the basis for anti-colonial sentiment within Europe.

French philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire (Hoffman & Filder 1991; Voltaire 1994), among others built upon the writings of Bishop Las Casas and engaged in the campaign of anti-slavery. As Young (2001:76-77) explains, at this time, the belief in equality of human beings "became a more powerful argument." In Britain, the church also played a

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prominent role in the anti-slavery movement. The anti-slavery campaign developed on accounts of humanitarian and economic objections, where Protestant missionaries (Quakers, Methodists, Anglicans and Baptists) played a role in the West Indies (Nöthling 1989:312-315) and became actively involved in a resistance campaign against plantation owners.

It is important to note that there was a difference between anti-slavery and anti-colonial campaigns, especially in Britain. Slavery, and not colonialism, according to Young (2001:77), constituted the object of the moral critique and provided "an analogy that was then subsequently applied to liberal arguments regarding the position of women, factory workers and child labor." It is as if, the British people, although they were becoming anti-slavery, they did not want to break the flow of trade either.

Nonetheless, colonization could be transformed into requirement of a moral duty towards native peoples (Young 2001:77) or in the French politics of *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) (see Young 2001:29-31). This view of socialist colonization was supported by many socialist liberals from Germany, Holland and Britain. This was the case of protection of the people of Fiji from settlers (see Porter 1968:18-25). Or the transfer of Congo from being the Belgian king private property to the Belgian government, after the horrible abuse and genocide were disclosed (see Schuyler 1962; Porter 1968:239; Hochschild 1998; Nzongola 2002:13-60; Dunn 2003:50-59).

In contemporary situation in which international humanitarian intervention is expressed can include Somalia, Kosovo, Burundi, Ivory Coast, the DRC, Sudan. However, the other side of it, is that these intervention have been criticized due to other political and economic interests and abuses that jeopardize the moral and goodwill of interventions. Rwanda, Somalia, DRC and Iraq are cases in focus. Nevertheless, this is a long trodden road of postcolonial theory that comes from a long tradition of moral and political anti-slavery and anti-colonial campaigns which began with Bishop Las Casas.

2.3.2   Economic justification

Young (2001:82-87) has indicated how economic objection to colonialism has developed. Karl Marx argued that the motive behind colonization was economic. Adam Smith (1723-1790) (see Smith 1952), a church minister, was among the first to challenge British imperialism on the ground of economic interest and became sympathetic to colonies. Smith's argument in his book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) is that colonies were not a product of good planning "wisdom and policy" of European colonialists, "but rather as effects of their [greed] 'disorder and injustice'" (Young 2001:82). Smith's intervention was not against colonization as such, but the way colonies were governed, despite benefits that the colonizing countries were getting and the increase of European industries and expansion of markets. According to Smith (quoted by Young 2001:82-83), the monopoly of trade by colonizers made "the increase of production smaller and less abundant". Smith's concern is applied to economics of slavery as well.

Smith opposed slavery, not necessarily on moral grounds, but particularly because slaves were becoming expensive to maintain and were thus less efficient. Smith proposed to his government to "voluntarily give all authority over to her colonies" so that they can develop and manage the expenses of "their defense and local administration." By this, Smith hoped for the day when colonies will economically be stronger and that "'inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at the equality of courage and force which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the right of one another.'" Even if the primary motive of economic objections was to safeguard the economic interests of the metropolitans, the anti-colonialism campaign was nevertheless boosted. Karl Marx also contributed greatly to the economic objection, although, he was not anti-colonialist *per se*, only when colonialism touched or interfered with economics.

Marx's anti-imperialist theory was developed around capitalism. As Young (2001:101-112) notes, Marx discussed colonial expansion in relation to the economic effects of capitalism, but with no "emancipatory programme" for colonial revolution. In other words, Marx's preoccupation with the anti-colonial struggle was not so much seen from the plight of the

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colonized, but from economic consequences at home which interfered with the feudal system.

2.3.3   Political justification

Liberal anti-slavery and campaign developed along side moral and economic objections. By the end of eighteenth century, anti-colonialism campaign had focused its expression in legal matters challenging imperial rules at home. Edmund Burke (1729-1797) is one of the famous campaigners of equal rights in colonies and was viewed not as "a defender but a reformist of liberty". He also addressed his critiques towards "abuses of power and intolerance towards the norms, social practices and institutions of other cultures" within British colonies. This received support from French Revolution when "principles of liberty, equality and fraternity were theoretically extended by its proponents to all races" (Young 2001:79-80).

In 1793, Bentham (Harrison 1983) challenged European countries to liberate their colonies. According to Young (2001:85-87), Bentham supported Smith's argument that "profits from colonies were at best illusory, given the expense of protecting them and the cost of the international conflict that they provoked". Bentham combined both economic and political arguments to challenge colonialism. He called on France to give the colonial countries "the rights of liberty and equality that they had achieved for themselves."

The courage and determination of Bentham to challenge the interests of his own country for the sake of the colonized were highly valued. His commitment was later converted into a "credo for colonial liberation" by the Americans and the French who adopted it as a "discourse of universal rights." Equality, liberty, the rights of man, and national self-determination, eventually enhanced "the justification and very foundation" of the anti-colonialism struggle. It was later endorsed by Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 shortly after the Word War II.

The applicability of this human equality still faced, throughout the struggles of independence, a psychological barrier based on racial superiority and capability, which is

still haunting the world today. It is also believed that no matter how good theories can be the will to change must prevail if any concrete and positive action is to take place. Despite declarations on equal rights, in practice/in everyday life inequality, oppression and economic exploitation still prevail in today's world.

2.3.4   Religious justification

Throughout the history of slavery, colonialism and even conventional wars, Religious institutions and individuals have been accused of complicity,[32] especially that religion went hand in hand with colonization. Nevertheless, religious institutions and individuals often made untold sacrifices for the sake of justice and righteousness as part of campaigns against slavery and colonialism (cf Oliver and Fage 1972:137). In this section, I want to focus on few examples of tricontinental religious figures whose contribution can be regarded as a stepping stone in formative postcolonial theory.

As was previously mentioned, Bishop Las Casas' legacy, inspired many Latin American church leaders and theologians to revolutionize the course of their time. The emergence of liberation theology in Latin America, Asia and Africa made enormous contributions in the struggle against all forms of oppression, from slavery and colonialism to postcolonial dictatorial regimes. Along with Las Casas the name of Antonio de Valdivieso, Bishop of Nicaragua should be mentioned. In the 1540s he refused to keep silent over the brutality of the Spanish colonialists against the Amerindians (cf Ferm 1987:4). He died for his efforts and courage which posed a challenge to the dehumanization inflicted on natives by colonialists.

In the 1550's, Ferm (1987:4) notes, Juan del Valle, Bishop of Popayan in Colombia dedicated himself to preaching equality and challenged the oppressive regime forced upon the people of Latin America. The Bishops, thus mentioned, are amongst many examples of those who did not have a regard for their own lives but rather stood up for others. Las Casas' preaching of "evangelism without arms" was later emphasized by the liberation theology as

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[32] See section 2.6.1 below.

the struggle for humanism in favor of the oppressed, the poor, the victims of gender and racial discrimination, the displaced and the homeless (cf Comblin 1981:51).

After five hundred years of suffering (Kiogora 1998:338-340), Latin America gave birth to a number of sons and daughters who pursued the task of preaching equality and justice. According to Boff (1989:9-10), Latin America witnessed a colonial Christendom from 1492 to 1808, followed by a time of new Christendom from 1808 to 1960. While the period between 1960 and the 1980's represents "the new Christendom in crisis and the emergence of a church of the people." In his motivation for this classification, Boff states that during first two periods, the church "had concern *for* the people, but it never produced activity *with* the people *as* the people would desire." In other words, the planting of churches was only one of the objectives of religious colonial enterprise, the essence of which was to propagate "the faith and the Empire."

According to Ferm (1987:6-7), despite outstanding figures in the Catholic Church, the institution's official position was compromised and judged by what it owned in terms of properties, land and estates, which also belonged to bourgeoisie. Second problem was insufficiency of trained and ordained priests in rural areas. Consequently, the lay people assumed positions of leadership in local churches and sought to apply biblical teaching to social reality. However, from 1930s to 1960s, the Catholic Church experienced a revolution on behalf of the poor.

Two important elements are of great importance as far as Latin America Roman Catholic Church is concerned: Vatican II and the conference of Medellin (cf Flannery 1975:971-972; Fern 1987:7; Boff 1989:10-28). *Gaudium et Spes* in the Vatican Council (Flannery 1975:971-972) emphasized the Christian responsibility towards those who are poor or in any way afflicted. The Vatican supported the engagement of the church in demanding justice and fair treatment of the poor. As Ferm (1987:10-11) observes, tricontinental Conference of Bishops (from Latin America, Africa and Asia) in 1967 issued a message to the people of the three continents, in which they stressed that "revolution can be an appropriate means to overcome injustice".

Subsequently, in Latin America, church leaders and lay persons alike, became convinced that to remedy the desperate poverty and injustice suffered by the masses, meant "to eliminate political and economic domination" by US imperialism and its local agents. This view was supported by the Medellin Conference (General Conference of Latin American Episcopacy - CELAM) held in Colombia in 1968 (Boff 1989:13-17). This conference focused mainly on "pervasive human injustice and oppression" (Ferm 1987:10-11) and resolved to follow the route of liberation, whatever sacrifice it meant.

According to Boff (1989:13-14), CELAM confirmed three options: the church for the poor, the church for their integral liberation and the church as a base church community. The conference became known as a revolution within the church. It challenged the old paternalistic view, in that, with all "its mercy and generosity", this view "failed to respect the poor". It failed "to acknowledge that [the poor] were historical agents capable of making their voices heard". Moreover, the old church perspective refused "to acknowledge the justice of their claims and struggles." The new revolutionary reading of the church was made "from a locus in the base of the society." The poor were given a preference in reading the Bible in their own context.

Ferm (1987:12) is convinced that liberation theology emerged from the lives of the poor and oppressed, in particular from "the lives of Christian communities of the dispossessed"; those minorities who sought to relate their Christian faith to the plight of their daily lives. José Miguez Bonino (2004:16-43), exposes important moments of their struggle from colonization to post-independence in Latin American history. The strategy to work with the peasants, the poor was also to some extent motivated by the politics of Che Guevara.

Church leaders and figures such as Gistavo Gutierrez (1974), Camilo Torres (Gerassi 1971), Dom Helder Câmara (1974), Oscar Romero (Sobrino &Martin-Baro 1988), Juan Luis Segundo (1976), Leonard Boff (1989), José Miguez Bonino (2004:16-43), Elsa Tamez (1982), to name but a few, can be regarded as the militants of a theology that liberates. According to Radu & Tismaneanu (1990:16-19), these church leaders became involved in

active revolution which gave rise to "social qualifying classes". In this instance, liberation means deliverance from economic, political and social oppression; it also means self-determination whereby people take control of and participate in their own destiny; it is deliverance from sin and finding new life in Christ Jesus.

In Africa, even before the emergence of liberation and black theology, prophet Simon Kimbangu [33] (1889-1952) led the way against Belgian colonialism in the DRC. A former local Baptist church evangelist, he had a revelation in which God was going to liberate the Congo and black people from colonialism. His ministry started early in 1921 in his home town of Banza Ngungu. His ministry was all about preaching and healing the sick. Within a short time, Kimbangu had a huge following and became a popular "Black Messiah". By June 1921, workers in colonial companies deserted their jobs and joined the movement.

However, Kimbangu's popularity and teaching drew him into conflict with both white missionary churches (Protestant and especially Catholic churches) and the colonial administration. Kimbangu was accused of preaching heresy and inciting people against the colonial power.[34] Kimbangu was arrested in November 1921 and sentenced to death. His followers compared his trial before colonial judges to that of Jesus before Pilate (Mt 27:11-26). As for his sentence, King Albert of Belgium commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment. Kimbangu was found dead in his cell in Lubumbashi in 1951 (see Martin 1975:61-64).

During the trial (Kalu 2005:338), when Kimbangu was asked by the judge to explain why he thought of himself as a prophet, he replied by quoting Matthew 11:25. When asked to substantiate "these things" in his citation, Kimbangu quoted the Decalogue. His movement became a big Kimbanguist church which attracted many people from around the continent

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[33] See M-L Martin, *Kimbangu, An African prophet and his church*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975; E Anderson, *Messianic popular movements in the Lower Congo*. Uppsala: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensa, 1958.

[34] According to Martin (1975:62 n30), Kimbangu was falsely accused and convicted on three accounts: (i) *Rébellion contre l'ordre établi*; (ii) *atteinte à la sûreté de l'Etat*; (iii) *outrage à un fonctionnaire dans l'exercice de ses fonctions:* (i) Rebellion against the established order; (ii) threat to the security of the state; (iii) contempt against an officer in his official duties.

and beyond. The Kimbanguist movement was an apocalyptic movement which believed that the world was coming to an end and that the present order and oppression inflicted on the people by Belgian colonialism would be destroyed and replaced by God's kingdom. One of their songs affirms this "*Nous serons les vainqueurs envoyés par Toi. Le Royaume est à nous. Nous l'avons. Eux, les Blancs, ne l'ont plus*."[35]

Kimbangu was not a politicians, but "posed as an undeclared opponent" (Kalu 2005:338). From the movement's resistance to colonialism through songs and preaching, Belgians charged him with treason. After his death, his sons inherited the ministry. It should also be noted that the campaign against anti-colonialism and atrocities in the DRC was started by E D Morel, a British young man, alongside white missionaries (Slade 1962:178-192; cf Nzongola 2002:6; Dunn 2003:51-59). They protested against taxes, torture and killings of millions of Congolese in the rubber industry (Hochschild 1998) in the interest of the Belgian kingdom.

In Southern Africa, African Independent churches and other religious movements also played a great role in fighting colonialism (see Banana 1996:69-76; Daneel 1998:27-72). Liberation theology and Black theology (see Maimela 1998:111-119) were characterized by the struggle against class domination, oppression and apartheid. The experiences of Latin Americans and African-Americans against social injustice and racism, in which Martin Luther King and Malcolm X stood on the side of poor (see Cone 1993:1-11), encouraged South African and other African Christians across the continent to engage and challenge apartheid and other dictatorial regimes (see Stinton 2004:105-136). Although Blacks, Whites, Asians and coloreds were all once colonized by the British, the independence of South Africa soon created the apartheid regime in which Blacks had no rights.

The Dutch Reformed Church was accused of supporting the ruling party, thus compromising the redeeming mission of Christ through the Church. At the same time, other churches in South Africa and across Africa aligned themselves on the side of the oppressed (cf *The*

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[35] We shall be conquerors sent by You. The kingdom is ours. We have it. They, the Whites will not have it anymore (literal translation, mine).

Bishops Speak 1981-1985); the *Kairos Document* produced in 1985 enhanced the spirit of freedom (Phiri 2004:137-162). Figures like Steve Biko (Moore 1973); Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1982), Allan Boesak (1977), Beyers Naudé (Ryan 1990) among others, deserve mentioning. Similarly, Steve Biko's "Black Consciousness" (Hopkins 1991:194-200; cf Ryan 1990:124:148) cannot be ignored.

It developed within biblical perspectives and noted that the Christian gospel will find God of the Blacks through Jesus Christ siding with the racially oppressed. The National Council of Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches too played a big role, lobbying at local, national and international levels (see Balia 1989; Banana 1996; Denis 2000).

2.3.5 Feminism and anti-colonial movements

Women's involvement in anti-colonial movements, in the West and particularly in the three continents context, is somewhat overlooked. What has often been said is that feminism has never been anti-imperialism, because through it, feminism is able to fight its own battle against masculinity at home (cf Young 2001:360-382). In the case of Western feminism, anti-slavery (cf Young 2001:77) was supported by women in as much as they identified slavery with domestic affairs where they also fought for equal treatment from patriarchal societies.

Although women in Third World countries played a significant role in anti-colonial campaigns (Jayawardena1986), their contribution has never been regarded as equal to that of men. They always remained on the periphery as "helpers" and not as full participants. Once victory is achieved, victory and leadership become patriarchal. However, Jayawardena (1986) presents a comprehensive account of Asian women's involvement in freedom struggles. Using the example of Vietnam, Jayawardena (1986:196-212) demonstrates the long tradition of women leading local and national revolutionary movements against foreign occupations.

Among the most outstanding are the "famous Trung sisters" who in 43 BCE led an army with women generals against the Chinese invasion. The same spirit is also seen in a nineteen year-old girl in 248 CE who led a successful revolution against the Chinese. Throughout centuries that followed, Vietnamese women were always at frontline defending their nation. For instance, during the French occupation in 1880's, many women participated in resistance movements against the French war.

Young (2001:140-157) gives an account on how women increasingly made inroads into international and communism movements. Since 1905, women staged their struggle against social inequality, and it was from socialist women that this campaign evolved. Supported by Bolshevik revolution and following women demonstration on 8 March 1917, the question of equality for women was made a priority both at national and international levels. Young (2001:361-382) analyses different levels of female involvement in anti-colonial movements. He also explains the low-profile of women's interventions in terms of limited access they had to education, their limited international contact; limited or no access to political institutions and limited involvement in public spheres.

Although women were less visible in terms of their public profile, they played an important role in anti-colonial campaigns and in various revolutionary movements in Asia (see Jayawardena 1986:94-105). In Africa for example, Kenyan women were involved in the Mau-Mau guerrilla war against the British (see Furedi 1989:103-125). As Nkrumah (1957:89-90) confessed, women despite being involved in freedom struggles never reached the level of revolutionary leadership, but acted as local activists. However, the unmistakable contribution of women in liberation struggles, which indeed constituted the backbone of those struggles, cannot be overlooked. The weapons they used ranged from strikes, street demonstrations and singing, petitions, all of which functioned as empowering statements of solidarity with the cause of freedom.

In Kenya where the use of forced labor and hut taxes affected women more than men, women organized strikes and work stoppages, and became the target of indiscriminate British brutality (Kenyatta 1968:32; Furedi 1989:102-125; cf Waruru 2005:23). During the Mau-Mau military

campaign, women were involved in spying missions and distribution of food, medicine and ammunition supplies to the fronts (cf Maina 1987:123). South African women (Mandela 1994:257-260) played a very important role in the anti-apartheid campaign. The first visible manifestation started with the women's protest led by Mrs. Molisapoli in Bloemfontein in 1913. By 1920, the ANC[36] had recognized the importance of women and an integrated women's league in its ranks. Strategies of women campaigns worked "from below rather than from above" which drew popular support from ordinary women, and proved to be effective even when the ANC and the Women's Federation were banned in 1960, as resistance of women continued (cf Young 2001:369).

As Young (2001:369-370) points out, feminism is among the most international political discourses, but as a political movement, feminism is not "intrinsically anti-imperialist". Whereas communism was initially conceived as a political ideology, feminism's objective was mainly focused on achieving gender equality, whatever the form of political system might have been. For feminism, both colonial and patriarchal systems were oppressive. However, for many women regarded anti-colonial campaign and national liberation as a priority which they were all to engage along side other activists, hoping like other freedom fighters, to gain their equal rights from patriarch domination. After independence that is when they realized that they have been duped, and that national liberation is a betrayal not only to women but also to the fact that most postcolonial governments have failed to fulfill the "promise of freedom."

2.4   Tricontinental approach

2.4.1   Introduction

The term "third world" has been widely used to differentiate developed and the undeveloped continents. For some anti-colonial and post-colonial theorists the term itself is colonial, and

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[36] African National Congress.

thus inappropriate to be used, and tricontinental is preferred instead. Young (2001:57-58; 2003:16-20) discusses origins and usage of these two terms.[37]

The Havana Conference of 1966 used the momentum of a growing consciousness against colonialism and imperialism, which found early expression at the Bandung Conference. It was at this conference that Latin America had joined forces with Africa and Asia to form a tricontinental bloc. The Havana Conference established a journal which was called *Tricontinental* and brought together anti-colonial and postcolonial writings of people like Frantz Fanon, Amircal Cabral, Ernesto Che Guevara and so on (cf Young 2003:17). With reference to this event Young (2001:57-58) says that postcolonialism "combines the epistemological cultural innovation of the postcolonial moments with a reading critique of the conditions influenced by postcoloniality."

The Afro-Asia Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (OSPAAAL) made a substantial contribution, putting together thoughts, strategies and writings that formed a political and cultural unity, and which subsequently provided "the theoretical and political foundations of postcolonialism" (Young 2001:213). This section will give an account of how anti-colonialism movements developed within the three continents and how they interlinked in their efforts that gave rise to postcolonial theory. When necessary/warranted the focus will fall on individual contributions.

2.4.2   A Latin American perspective

Despite bishop Las Casas having drawn attention to the anti-colonial campaign, Latin America remained one of the places where foreign politics and religion effectively collaborated to oppress natives for about five hundred years. Wickham-Crowley (1992) and Young (2001:193-203) provide an overview of the situation in terms of which Latin America

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[37] The term "Third World" came from the "model of the Third Estate of French Revolution" when the world was divided into two political and economic systems: capitalism and socialism. It was at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the non-aligned countries (largely the newly independent nations) of Asia, Africa found themselves in an independent power bloc, which could eventually form a new world system, a "third world" perspective. Unfortunately, this third way, rather grouping, was "slow to define and to develop itself" into a competitive system in political and economic priorities. Thus, the term created instead a "gap" between developing and developed worlds. Despite the creation of economic and political inequalities, tricontinental cultural power and knowledge have greatly influenced the world.

achieved its independence. Although Latin America got its independence from Spain and Portugal remained subject to economic, military and political dependency of the United States of America (USA) since 1823.

South America experienced colonial bourgeois revolutions in some parts which were carried out by European settlers, but these were not in the name of nationalism, as Young (2001:194) notes. Eventual political independence, however, did not change the lives of indigenous people and for the past two centuries, peasant revolutions have become a constant feature of Latin American history and to this day it continues to be the case throughout the continent. The success of the Cuban revolution relied heavily on peasantry organized support in *foco* theory[38] (Wickham-Crowley 1992:215, 313-314).

At this point, it is also important to mention that though the USA was busy infiltrating South American territories, anti-slavery movements and struggles for equality of black people were taking its course. Although Marxism was introduced in Latin America after the Russian revolution in 1917, Latin America was not regarded as a "prospect of major significance." As Young (2001:195-197) observes, this could be attributed to internal division, factionalism and opportunistic changes of policy. Amidst controversies and lack of national vision of many activists of socialist parties in Latin America, the rise of the Peruvian José Carlos Mariategui in 1930 is significant.

Mariategui's strategy of developing Marxism in conjunction with particular conditions of different cultures, learned from Lennin, Mao Tse-tung of China, and Italian Marxist group of Gramci and Palmiro, was later followed by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. This innovative form of Marxist theory was primarily "focused on the role of peasantry" in revolutionary struggles. Young (2001:197) describes Mariategui as one of the most nuanced and revolutionary "Marxist political and cultural theorists of his time" who formulated and addressed the issue of cultural and economic dependency in Latin America. The strategy was

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[38] The *foco* strategy is a small rebel guerrilla group which would operate in the mountains among the peasantry who would slowly join them. During Che Guevara's (2000) intervention in DRC, villagers of Nganja used to call Cuban soldiers *Abafoko.*

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to develop a "strong, revolutionary consciousness as the basis for class struggle" (Mariategui 1971:51-81).

President Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevera, undoubtedly followed the footsteps of Mariategui. Their determination grew from self-consciousness to actions which revolutionalized their continent and beyond. Young (2001:205-216), mentions two political approaches that these men used, in fighting against imperialism and cultural dependency. One was the contextualization of Marxist theory of socialism to specific cultural conditions on "dialogistic and popular forms." Second approach was importance and establishment of economic and institutional transformation. Che Guevara was the strongest activist of his own theories as Waters (Guevara 1994:15) notes, in her introductory remarks: "Che Guevara was one of the most authoritative representatives of the socialist revolution in Cuba… His understanding of the world and his capacities as a working-class leader were forged through the Cuban revolution."

Moreover, Che Guevara (1994:17) repeatedly taught that the socialist revolution in Latin America must expand through workers' participation in order "to advance the economic organization of the society". The Cuban Revolution is largely seen as a break with orthodox communism controlled by the Soviet Union, and which was criticized as being bureaucratic. By contrast, the revolution in Cuba achieved "a new form of socialism" founded on the participatory agency of peasants rather than the urban elites. Young (2001:207-11) describes Che Guevara as a man of the people. His belief in moral values and compassion for ordinary people provided human equality and justice in his revolution.

The economic justification of Che Guevara's (1996:156) struggle against imperialism was based on humanity. The concept of economic underdevelopment was explained through "an image of a human being whose growth had been deformed by deprivation and distorted diet." Che Guevara's understanding of revolution and struggle against imperialism was through people and a society built on human values. Che Guevara's policy was to restore human consciousness and self determination in their struggles, for which they had to appropriate themselves to the revolution.

This self-consciousness gave rise to "a new man" philosophy which in the Cuban revolution not only campaigned for the rights of the poor, but also for gender equality. According to Che Guevara (1987:252)**,** the essence of socialism was to be found in the solidarity within the community and by engaging active participation in social creativity. This revolution brought man to the center of action in order to participate in the making of his/her own destiny. Guevara's (1987:252) conviction from his revolution was to create a "new man" agency, in which a person had to express himself/herself and become a part of social organism.

Che Guevara's (1995:20) revolutionary motto was that "the world must not only be interpreted, it must be transformed" and that a man ceases to be "the slave and tool of his environment and converts himself into the architect of his own destiny." For Castro (Mandela & Castro 1991:64), the solidarity in revolution was to be extended to all suffering people at home and beyond borders. He justly said "[w]e live in the world that was given to us and we are fighting for a better world… where men act as brothers to each other rather than preying on each other like wolves."

One of the difficult situations that Latin American politicians and theorists of Marxism encountered was that of tribal integration in Bolivia, Mexico and Peru. For instance, the status Indians enjoyed was always that of the marginalized. Mariategui, unlike Che Guevara, was very sensitive to the issue and made an effort to solve it. Mariategui said that it was a mistaken revolution which left the Indians on the periphery of the revolution itself. "The existing Peruvian economy, the existing Peruvian society, maintains the original sin of the conquest, the sin of having been brought forth and formed without and against the Indian" (Mariategui 1971:59).

His criticism was directed at the class division that existed between the aristocracy and the peasantry. Mariategui rejected this state of matters on the ground of socialism convictions and characterized the Indian exclusion as purely socio-economic, rather than cultural, racial

or moral. He then argued that the "problem of the Indians is rooted in the land tenure system of our economy" (Mariategui 1971:22).

As Young (2001:199) observes, Mariategui was convinced that Latin American socialism would be a combination of a "common colonial culture with radical, moral and indigenous tradition" that would fuel a "spontaneous revolutionary consciousness." This tradition would not be a "native" option, but a continuing culture that was "absorbing socialist ideas" (Mariategui 1971:81). One the other hand, Che Guevara, in his anti-racial campaign and struggles against imperialism, underestimated the problem of ethnic identity and its power of resistance to any other form of identification (cf Guevara 1994:295). In his tribute speech to Guevara, Castro (Guevara 1994:58) said "Che did not outlive his ideas; rather he fertilized them with his blood."

2.4.3   An Asian perspective

Indian legacy[39] in liberation struggles is well known through the icon it has given the world in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Political writers and historians have argued that Indian liberation was unique (cf Guha 1997; Young 2001:308-309). Liberation movements were individual, but the cause of freedom "remained unique in its operation as well as in the ideological range of its participants." The creation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 after the uprising of 1857 provided a firm ground for their non-violent campaign.

Young (2001:308) singles out two factors which distinguish the Indian liberation campaign from others. (i) The properly structured Congress Party provided organizational structures, political skills and the ability to control its members which "deprived the Communist Party of an advantage which elsewhere it used to maximum effect"; (ii) The profound leadership provided by Gandhi and the role he played within and outside the Congress Party could not be easily challenged by new emerging parties. Within the philosophy of a non-violent movement, the National Congress Party was not completely opposed to British rule, until it was challenged by its radical members who combined religion with militant activism. This

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[39] For the purpose of this study, Asian perspective will only take into consideration Indian experience as a case for anti-colonialism movement.

radical approach sought "to turn the Congress into a genuinely anti-imperialist instrument". Subsequently, in 1907, the Congress adopted the "self-government" rule (*swaraj*) within the British Empire.

The turning point in Gandhi's politics came from his long sojourn in South Africa during the Afrikaners' war against colonialism (Pretorius 1985). Gandhi was a diasporic product and learnt about and understood his own culture through the lenses of foreign realities both in Britain and in South Africa, which developed in him a national consciousness (Burton 1998:73). While in South Africa, Gandhi had launched the National Indian Congress in 1894 in order to fight for the rights of Indians (Gandhi 1950). Gandhi's unique attitude to racial discrimination is remarkable. He did not want to be called a colonial subject but wanted to be known as an equal British national. This self-consciousness is culturally revolutionizing and for this reason he demanded equal rights for Indians as well as for other citizens in South Africa (cf Guha 1997:43-47).

Gandhi was fighting alongside British colonialists against the Afrikaans. But at the same time he built a philosophy of resistance against racism and western capitalism (Young 2001:318). Gandhi was also inspired by Irish anti-colonial struggle combining both a "campaign for Home Rule with a cultural revival" in which he subsequently "foregrounded the operation of cultural nationalism as a major strategy of anti-colonial resistance." In the knowledge about anti-colonialism combined with Hindu values and morality, Gandhi built his anti-colonialism theory.

Alongside the adoption of national self-rule and cultural consciousness, Gandhi developed and introduced the idea of "self-reliance, known as "*swadeshi*", for the Indian economy. According to Young (2001:320-321), Gandhi did not invent these concepts, but found them operational in the "nationalist politics of the freedom struggles." Gandhi's difficult task, however, was to maintain unity in India with its multi religious and political factions. In order to be more inclusive, his argument almost diverged from nationalism and he argued that "India was not so much a nation as a civilization, and to that degree, he was able to

incorporate diversity and multiplicity", even though this did not help him much to win support of all groups.

Gandhi's approach to violence and non-violence deserves mentioning. Young (2001:323-325) sees Gandhi as a non-violent political theorist and activist who combined both "non-violent non-cooperation with a more widespread psychological resistance" which were to be implemented as civil disobedience. He argued that they were more effective and more ethical than any kind of resistance and violence.

2.4.4   An African perspective

African struggle against slavery and colonialism would require a whole research itself. But as an overview of how Africans went along with these struggles is the concern of this section. Thompson (1987:107-130) gives an account on African resistance against slavery in western Africa in 1560s. This according to him was during the "second slave-trading voyage" of John Hawkins in Sierra Leone.

Young (2001:253, 274) makes a distinction between roles played by the anti-colonial activists within African regions. The Anglophone anti-colonial activists focused their activities mainly on "the objective realm, the realm of history, economic history, sociality and materiality", while the Francophone activists were devoted to the subjective realm, to aspects of "history of oppression and exploitation with a concern for human attitudes towards them." The aim of this approach was to articulate "the cultural and psychological effects of colonialism as they were experienced by them" (Du Bois 1989:1).

African anti-colonial movements were both local and diasporic, which involved Africans in Africa, the Caribbean Islands and in North America. The establishment of the Pan-African Association in 1920s provided a platform which developed African nationalism, theories and strategies for their struggles. From a general point of view, three main factors, namely African solidarity across the world, African socialism and an African consciousness about the pain inflicted on them, all contributed to the African anti-colonialism movements.

Regarding African solidarity across the world, the first conference of the Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1900, laid its claims of equal rights for Africans both inside and outside of Africa. The conference of Versailles in 1919 demanded rights of education and equal treatment and political participation in the state. By 1945, the Pan-African Congress had grown and was influenced by many anti-colonialism activists. As a result, the Pan-African Congress held in 1945 clearly formulated a demand for independence and self-determination for Africa (cf Nkrumah 1957:44).

As Young (2001:217-219; cf Nkrumah 1957:47-49; 1968:i) observes, African nationalism and consciousness were distinguished by their internationalism outlook. Those living outside Africa, "whether diasporic or in exile" managed to remain in touch with black political organizations in Africa. Thus African liberation took on a form of an international movement and never operated in isolation from United States of America and Caribbean involvement. The creation of African solidarity was tested and found to be amazingly effective during the invasion of Ethiopia by the Italians in 1935 (cf Mazrui & Tidy 1984:9).

After World War II, the liberation of Africa and activities of anti-colonialism movements worldwide increasingly became key issues in African-American politics. The freedom struggle of "Negroes" in North America no longer was isolated, but became an integral part of anti-colonialism, be it in Africa or in Asia. Young (2001:223) emphasizes Walter White's declaration that this was a turning point which "gave African-Americans a sense of kinship with the oppressed, colonized peoples of the world."

The second factor in anti-colonialism movements in Africa is African Socialism. Young (2001:239-242) makes the point that African socialism developed a "common commitment" to anti-colonialism and self-determination. It was also committed to retrieve and to revalidate the African cultural inheritance through which African cultural unity was to develop. Pursuance of this goal, however, became somewhat disjointed, with the rise of African balkanization which was the result of political independence, left Africa as a "collection of separate states." African nationalism and Pan-African unity that were

developed during the colonial time found themselves operating within the confines of the Berlin decision of 1885.

The third factor is a consciousness that combined the African culture and the pain of oppression. The involvement of political and religious movements, indigenous women and youth associations at grassroots level all found themselves rising to the revolutionary call as the only alternative to rescue Africa from the bondage of colonialism.

From George Padmore to Nelson Mandela, a list of exceptional heroes is endless. But only few cases will briefly cited here. Nkrumah of Ghana was influenced and helped a lot by Africans of Diaspora such as Padmore, Du Bois and others from Black Atlantic affiliations, including economists and politicians (Young 2001:219). Nkrumah's conviction was that socialism was a solution to African situation, in that, socialism was not to be imported as it was conceived in European societies but to be reworked in the African context.

Nkrumah once said "our philosophy must find its weapon in the environment and living conditions of the African people" and that "the restitution of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society requires socialism" (Nkrumah 1970:77-78). He was joined among others by Léopold Sedar Senghor (1961), Julius Nyerere (1968), Jomo Kenyatta (1968), Kenneth Kaunda (1967), Patrice Lumumba (1962) who all emphasized the contextualization of socialism and political equity in Africa. Nyerere's (1968:1) *Ujamaa* (communalism) philosophy was pragmatic in Tanzania. His definition of socialism,[40] which

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[40] Listening to various African politicians, it would appear as if European Marxism or socialism was not necessarily espoused as a political alternative. When during his trial in 1964, Mandela was accused of being a communist; he refuted the accusation by stating "I am not a communist". He emphasized the objective of the ANC as wanting "to win unity and full political rights" for African people (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:91-92). In Angola, speaking on behalf of the Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1972, Agostinho Neto said that the party was not Marxist, although it "follows the socialist line with justice for everyone," because "[n]ot all our people are communists" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:100). Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) had a more rigorous reply in 1970 and questioned the sincerity of European Marxists who wanted to see African political, economic and social views "through the perspective of their own countries" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:102). According to Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, speaking on behalf of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1971, had this to say "Some people think that since we receive help from socialist countries, we will necessarily have to follow the policy of one or another socialist countries. But this is not correct, because since we fight for our independence, we fight for the free choice of our way of life, of our relations, and of our actions" (quoted in De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:103). The above political expression is indicative of the reality of African politics, which has constantly failed to define itself. Therefore,

he described as being similar to an "extended family", was focused on creating a new nation, based on African values of mutual support and that of a caring environment. Nyerere argued that African communities were communist before the advent of European communism.

Nyerere was convinced that it was only through education and re-education that African socialism could regain "an attitude of mind lost under the deprivation of colonialism" (Young 2001:247). According to Nyerere, economic reforms were to be nurtured through small-scale projects which would give peasants self-reliance, certain abilities and the motivation to improve their social and economic situations. This contextual approach was espoused by Kaunda (1967:5-6) who defined African society as "a mutual aid society", which was an accepting and inclusive community. For his part Kenyatta (1968:36), defined his understanding of political equity by emphasizing political representation of Africans by Africans. "We have demanded not representation by white men, but the right to be represented … by Africans. Until this representation of Africans by Africans is justly settled, there can be no peace or prosperity in Africa."

Figures in Francophone and Lusophone Africa (see Young 2001:253-292) who have dominated anti-colonialism movements and who are honored for their remarkable contribution to these movements are among others, Léopold S. Senghor of Senegal, Tovalou Houénou of Benin and Tiemoho Kouyaté from Mali, Amircal Cabral from Guinea-Bissau and Frantz Fanon from Martinique (Mazrui 1993:60). The colonial approaches of France and Britain slightly differed.

According to Young (2001:254), the British system was "loosely based on a notion of empire moving towards a federation of independent domination", while the French system was based on the politics of "assimilation", which meant that the whole empire was seen as "an intrinsic part of mainland France." In terms of the French system the people of its colonies were, from a constitutional point of view, considered to be citizens of France, and

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African politics finds itself in a state of "permanent of dislocation" (Van Aarde 2004:11). It is neither purely European nor purely African. This also applies to the so-called multi-party politics (democracy), which has reached the peak of tribalism inasmuch as it applies to political ideologies and development.

some of colonies (such as Senegal, Martinique) were eligible to be represented in Parliament. Consequently, the French colonies produced a different style and approach to the anti-colonial campaign.

The paradox in anti-colonial campaigns is about concepts of nationalism and political and cultural self-determination developed within Francophone culture. To an extent this development brought about the recruitment of colonial soldiers to fight alongside France in World War I under the pretext that they were her subjects. Cultural interface and exchange that took place between a colony and the imperial power, unwittingly "created a positive attitude towards modernity", which remained as their norms (Young 2001:254). As Miller (1998:3) observes, one could with a fair degree of certainty state that the African political and intellectual figures who emerged from Francophone colonies, are at best the authors of cultural hybridism (*métissage* and *créolité*), which suggests a cultural, intellectual and political continuity.

Léopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire articulated humanity to the oppressed and oppressors through literature and poetry as a means to express a collective subjectivity. On the other hand, Frantz Fanon chose psychology as his means of investigating the impact of colonialism on the colonized people. At the same time, psychology is used as a means through which they could resist and turn "the inculcation of inferiority into self-empowerment" (Young 2001:275).

Influenced by the experience of the Algerian revolution and his studies in Psychology in a metropolitan country (France), Fanon, unlike many anti-colonial non-violent campaigners from Gandhi to Mandela, developed the idea of active intervention (violence) as a response to colonialism. According to Presbey (1996:283-283), both Gandhi and Fanon agreed on one thing, namely the liberation of the colonized. But they differed in approach which to a large extent was the result of their different contexts. Mandela on the other hand took the middle way between the two approaches "stressing the importance of nonviolence while eventually turning to limited use of violence."

Fanon's psychological and moral support to FLN[41] military campaigns in Algeria testifies his position. Even when he was deported and relocated in Tunis, he continued being partisan of Algerian anti-colonial struggle. This also found expression in his newspaper's editorial policy which formulated and enhanced a socialist ideology that fuelled anti-colonial violence within the FNL. In this regard, Fanon was not a Pan-Africanist as was Senghor, because he was skeptical of Pan-Africanism and its guiding ideology of non-violent positive action (Fanon 1965:127-128). According to Fanon (1965:9, 13), "decolonization itself is always a violent phenomenon" and the origin of violence is colonization itself.

The creation of the *Ligue Universelle de Défense de la Race Noire[42]* in early 1924, the *Négritude* movement in the 1930s and the *Présence Africaine* (African Presence) in the 1940s, the cultural consciousness of Senghor and his company became a concrete manifestation which later on developed into anti-colonial tools. *Négritude* did not develop merely as a cultural movement, but was conceived in a political context of the Black people around the world. Acknowledging the origin of Negritude, Senghor (1988:136-140), gives credit to Alain Locke and William Edward Burghard Du Bois' innovative efforts of the "New-Negro."[43]

According to Senghor, in New-Negro's perspective, Negritude is a way to be human: "*c'est une certaine manière d'être homme, surtout de vivre en homme*."[44] Gradually, Negritude expanded in both political and social spheres to provide necessary cultural component, which would develop African socialist political philosophies, which subsequently challenged colonialism and racism. Sartre (1976:59) espoused the definition of Negritude as a cultural weapon against colonialism and racism,

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[41] *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front).

[42] Universal League for the Defense of the Black Race.

[43] Senghor refers to it as *Négro Renaissance*.

[44] [I]t is a certain way of being a human being, especially to live like human being.

> The Negro … creates anti-racist racism. He does not at all
> wish to dominate the world; he wishes the abolition of racial
> privileges whenever they are found; he affirms his solidarity
> with the oppressed of all colours. At a blow of the subjective,
> existential ethnic notion of *Négritude* 'passes' as Hegel would
> say, into the objective, positive, exact notion of the proletariat
> …. It is not by hazard that the most ardent of the apostles of
> *Négritude* are at the same time militant Marxists.

Senghor (1993:96), as well as his Anglophone African counterparts, defined Negritude in the light of African socialism and communal life, rather than in the light of class differences and exploitation: "*La Négritude c'est … l'ensemble des valeurs de la civilisation noire*,"[45] which includes his reactions to the material, psychological, natural and social environment. From a theological point of view, Maimela (1998:113) defines blackness as a legitimate form and value of human existence. The common belief of all Pan-Africanists, be they Anglophone or Francophone Africans, was that African socialism was as old as African societies. It was only its form that had been marred and destroyed by colonialism (cf Senghor 1964a:49; Césaire 1972:23; 56; Nyerere 1968:12).

Senghor emphasized humanism in "Negro Africans" (Senghor 1961:33) and coalitions of African continent amongst its various populations (see Senghor 1988:81). Senghor like Fanon was influenced by Sartre's Marxist and Hegelian thoughts (Kruks 1996:123) which emphasized the alienation of being. From the Hegelian point of view to be fully human and to attain full consciousness of the self, can only be achieved by recognizing the other. It is through such approach that Marxist social, cultural and political desalienation would emerge.

In his cultural explanation, Senghor goes further by giving a constructive critique of socialism in pursuit of "anxiety for human dignity and needs for freedom" (Senghor 1964a:75-78). Senghor rejected what he found to be European abstraction, including Marxist

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[45] Negritude is… the sum of values of the Black civilization.

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reasoning as a base for African socialism, but would still solicit the use of European reason as a metaphor in affirming the basis of African socialism. At the same time though, being influenced by politics of French assimilation, Senghor developed a culture from a dislocated reality by saying: "We must build our own development plan, based on European, socialist contributions and also on the best of Negro-African civilization" (Senghor 1964a:48, 67). Senghor's firm position with regard to a return to African realities was the most appropriate way of incorporating his two world-views into one through a process of assimilation, which is thought to be an effective method.

For Senghor (1964a:83), socialism is "a method to be tested in contact with African realities. It is basically a question, after choosing lucidly, of assimilating our choices. To assimilate is to transform foods that are foreign to us, to make of them our flesh and blood – in a word, to *Negrofy* and *Berberize* them." Senghor perceived African society as a mixed, hybrid society, which embodies European and African socio-economic and political substances. This mixture is to be valued positively as African socialism engages in the process of developing and producing its own mechanism to solve problems within African societies. That is why for Senghor (1988:157-165) Negritude on one hand, and *francité* (being French) and *francophonie* (being Francophone) on the other hand, were like two worlds in one. His assimilation theory was, however, challenged by Cabral (1969), while Nkrumah (1973:3) saw assimilation as a doctrine of imperialism.

From Lusophone[46] Africa, Amircal Cabral (1969; see McCulloch 1983; Chilcote 1972, 1991) was one of the most outstanding contributors in anti-colonial movement. Cabral together with Maria de Andrade and Antonio Neto of Angola formed the *Conferência das Organizaçoes Nacionais das Colonias Portuguesas* (CONCP)[47] in 1961. The objective of this organization was to facilitate a co-coordinated approach in strategies, plans, and analysis of activities in their struggle for liberation. As was the case with France, Portugal too practiced a policy of assimilation, but with some differences. Young (2001:284) notes that

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[46] Portuguese speaking people.

[47] Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies.

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one of the major preoccupations of the CONCP was the fact that the Portuguese had divided the Angolan people into "natives" and "*assimilados*."

The other problem was that Portugal was beginning to struggle economically at home and had to keep its colonies to survive. Cabral led his country, Guinea-Bissau, in the armed liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Cabral's theoretical formulation was based of cultural self-confidence. He argued that the military struggle (weapon theory) was part of the political struggle which involved social and psychological reconstruction. At the same time, he maintained that the struggle must be of the people, by the people and for the people (Cabral 1980:75).

For Cabral psychological and cultural assertion formed part of the national liberation struggle which enabled the marginal human beings who are the product of colonialism to recover their personalities as Africans (Chilcote 1972:375), was more than a mere local issue. Instead, it challenged foreign theories based on Marxism and eurocentrism. He eloquently, defined his revolutionary theory by saying "national liberation and social revolution are not exportable commodities." Rather, they are the outcomes of local and national fabrics, determined and formed by the historical reality of each people (Cabral 1969:74-75; 1973:5).

Furthermore, for Cabral, liberation was to be defined in terms of political exercise and through the effects of imperialist domination on social structures (Cabral 1969:75). Cabral's theory was mostly influenced by Latin American and Asian political theorists such as Castro, Che Guevara and Mao. He then reformulated his understanding of socialism to national liberation dialect. Cabral's definition of national liberation was not in terms of "political independence, not just as the end of colonial rule, but as freedom from foreign domination" which included cultural, political and economic aspects in the past and in the present. Thus, the main aspect of a "national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism" (Cabral 1969:83).

Various authors (Chilcote 1991:14; see McCulloch 1983:7) rank Cabral amongst other African revolutionaries of his time, whose respective roles are described as follows: Kwame Nkrumah: a visionary; Patrice Lumumba: a martyr and Amircal Cabral: a revolutionary. Similar to Fanon and *Umkhonto we Sizwe*[48] of the ANC in South Africa (see Preseby 1998:289-290), Cabral opted for a theory of the weapon. Liberation in Cabral's theory (Young 2001:286-288) involves two stages: firstly, a united struggle in which the nation forms a single class and secondly, the working class destroys the social and cultural creation of imperialism, in order to "create equality and true liberation from oppression."

Cabral takes an interesting and dynamic view according to which liberation is achieved. The struggle against foreign domination is led by middle class (petty bourgeoisie) people who more or less understand the need to fight against it. The middle class, in turn shares the vanguard role with working class, in this situation, though, the middle class is tempted to work in its own interest so that it can retain power that it has achieved, thus it betrays the *raison d'être* of national liberation.

For this trap to be avoided, the middle class has one choice and that is "to strengthen its revolutionary consciousness" by resisting the temptation of "becoming more bourgeois and identifying itself with the working class" (Cabral 1969:89). Cabral's (1969:89) remarks are of importance. In order to truly fulfill the role in the national liberation struggle, "the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class". That is one needs be reborn as revolutionary worker, "completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong."

Cabral's revolutionary thinking and practice make him a prophet in the true sense of the word and he has a wide following. Suicidal determination has a long history, but to recent example would be Nelson Mandela along with a number of revolutionaries who sacrificed their own interest for the sake of justice for all South Africans and Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, amongst others. On the other hand, Cabral's prophecy predicted the outcome in

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[48] A Zulu word, meaning "spear of the nation".

many African states since the 1960s – an experience of neo-colonialism – with the local agents who indeed betrayed and sacrificed revolutionary struggles for selfish ends.

Another important aspect raised by Cabral is the role culture played in the liberation struggle. Moral and political objection to colonialism involved not only the "concrete conditions of life", but also the fact that colonialism took from Africans their history. "Colonialists usually say that it was they who brought us into history: today we show that this is not so. They made us leave history, our history" (Cabral 1969:63). This return to this owns history is the reason for anti-colonial struggles. National liberation was made possible by "the endurance of culture" which is "the fruit of people's history and a determinant of history". Consequently, it was "the survival, and the reaffirmation of culture that provided the germ of the liberation struggle (Cabral 1969:41-43). Having come to this conclusion, Cabral's (1973:55) definition of liberation is about ending imperial domination and building a cultural renaissance, a "new fabric" through which the people will regain identity and dignity.

2.5   A psychoanalytic approach and liberation struggles

2.5.1   Self-consciousness

Development of colonialism and imperialism starts as an ideology that is developed into human attitudes before it can be translated into destructive actions. Fanon (1986:84) rightly said that the problem of colonialism "includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions but also the human attitudes towards these conditions." According to Nandy (1983:63), colonialism is first of all "a matter of consciousness and needs to be defined ultimately in the minds of men". The war against colonialism and any other forms of oppression must not be material only, but must equally engage the mental as well. For Fanon the use of psychology in anti-colonial struggle has a twofold mission: It investigates the inner effects of colonialism on the colonized, and it provides the tools of resistance "turning the inculcation of inferiority into self-empowerment" (Young 2001:275). Sartre's emphasis of the alienation of being as Young (2001:275) observes, does not start with the material, but

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with the mind. Consequently, the process of decolonization begins with a positive change of mind, a self-consciousness.

Tolbert (1995: 347-361) grapples with the issue of "Christianity, imperialism and decentering of privilege". Her attempt raises important points that deal with the mind of both colonizer and colonized in the process of decolonization. She highlights three discrete ways in which appropriate reciprocal participation can be achieved, namely listening, reflecting/analyzing and acting. Listening as Tolbert (1995:350) argues is a crucial step in "constructing appropriate forms of cooperation" that creates an opportunity of inclusive participation in the process. Although, this step may be difficult, but it is through the need to listen to others that one discovers his/her ignorance, and the "denial of that ignorance is an essential part of the ideology of dominance." By recognizing one's mistake does not necessarily disqualify him/her from pointing out the evil, rather, it makes culpable person more humble and leads him/her in the process of removing the "plank" from one's own eye before criticizing the "speck of sawdust" mote in the neighbors' eye (Mt 7:3).

Listening in postcolonial theory has to work at the conscious level of those engaged in and affected by imperialism and bring them to the level of responsibility and accountability. The next step involves reflection and analysis (Tolbert 1995:354-358). The common failure in dialogue between unequal parties is that the strongest dominates and it thus, results in a state of oppression and domination. In order to avoid this, contexts of both the colonized and colonizer need to be equally analyzed in light of those political, economic and social realities that have created privileges and marginality. These steps lead to empowerment. The more people work together in harmony and justice, the more they find comfort in their equality, and can abolish peripheries and centers that are exploitive. Therefore, the power is used not to suppress, marginalize, or to colonize but to decolonize and to "empower another" (Tolbert 1995:361) in order to construct a just world.

Self-consciousness can refer to a cultural revolution that refuses to remain in a state of subjugation. Consciousness informs about "desire", a spirit of longing, a spirit of want, or satisfaction (Isasi-Diaz 2004:340-354). Cabral's (1969:41-43; cf Bhabha 1994:171-197) "the

survival of culture" would refer to self-consciousness that is engaged in resistance to gain freedom. According to Bhabha (1994:172), culture does create a "symbolic textuality, to give the alienating everyday an aura of selfhood, a promise of pleasure."

For Fanon (1995:154), this inner built consciousness is nurtured not by the pain of oppression but by discovery beyond the "misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation, and abjuration." Self-consciousness goes beyond and contemplates a "splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others." Self-consciousness as a means of cultural and personal rebirth, is not ashamed of the past, but defies the oppressor's consciousness to see sameness and equality in the other, which henceforth acquires dignity.

According to Fanon (1995:154), in the sphere of "psycho-effective equilibrium", self-consciousness brings about change in "the native" and in the oppressor alike. Nandy (1983:63; cf Young 2001:340) emphasizes the psychological effects of colonialism in both colonial and colonized cultures. Gandhi's (1924) nationalist manifesto *Hind* S*waraj* (self-rule) is firmly rooted in his political strategies. Self-consciousness is a reciprocal revolution that goes from colonized to colonizer and vice versa (Nandy 1980:99-111). Inspired by Gandhi's work, Nandy (1983: xvi) has outlined some features that are important in the field of postcolonialism: (i) psychology of resistance, (ii) the problem of resisting through ideas and strategies drawn from the very culture that is being resisted, (iii) the gendering of the ideology and praxis of imperialism and of resistance to it, (iv) the possibility of hybridization as a central intellectual and political strategy drawn from the anti-colonial and postcolonial experience.

2.5.2   Self-determination: Violence and non-violent approach

From Du Bois' (1989:3), Fanon (1956),[49] to Steve Biko (1970) emphasis on self-determination and consciousness is important. Both Cabral (1969:89) and Guevara (1998:172) stressed the importance of self-sacrifice in liberation struggles. In a

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[49] See also S O Gaines, "Perspectives of Du Bois and Fanon on the psychology of oppression" in R L Gordon, D T Sharpely-Whiting & T R White (eds), *Fanon: A critical reader*. London: Blackwell, 1996, pp 24-34.

psychoanalytical approach, two dimensions can be discerned based upon the way in which they have been used by theorists and political practitioners. These two approaches, non-violent (passive resistance) and violent (active resistance) are usually regarded as opposites that rarely occur concomitantly. Nevertheless, over the years, they have been interchangeably used in conflicting situations, that is when one approach does not work, the other is switched on, a dilemma that Wink (1992b:133-136) and Horsley (1993) deal with. Mariategui (1996:49) said "the renunciation of violence is more romantic than violence itself…. Unfortunately, a revolution is not made by fasting."

Anti-colonial struggle is about violence and it is hard to find any other dialectical discourse to define it. Derrida (1978:30) argued that colonial violence was carried out in the name of pacification, while postcolonial violence is carried out in the name of degradation. This infinite passage through violence is what is called history. Fanon argues that colonial violence is a reciprocal dialect that works at the level of history and the individual. That is, the agent of violence becomes subjected to it as much as the violated recipient and no one can escape its impact. In other words, violence (Gordon 1996:304) is "broader than bullets, knives, and stones". Fanon was thus convinced that it is through decolonization that a new humanity comes into being (Presbey 1996:292).

In 1961, the African National Congress' manifesto (Mandela 1994:325-328) enacted the use of force as an alternative in the freedom struggle. In this instance *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (the Spear of the Nation) was to carry on the armed struggle. Mandela**,** on that occasion said "we have been conditioned to our attitudes by the history which is not of our making … Government violence can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence." None of the heroes of liberation movements was pro-violence, but contexts forced them to resort to violence. Nkrumah (1957:92) who followed in Gandhi's footsteps of a non-violent approach, eventually had to lament that freedom had never been "handed over to any colonial country on a silver platter, it could only be owned after bitter and vigorous struggles."

Self-determination is determined by the language best understood by those involved in the conflict. Gandhi (De Brangança and Wallerstein 1982:42) had to renounce his position,

when the ANC chose to embark on the violent means of a freedom struggle. Gandhi said "'[w]here the choice is set between cowardice and violence', I would advise violence … I would a thousand times prefer violence than the emasculation of a whole race". While Mandela defended the action of ANC during the Rivonia trial in 1963-1964, saying that it would be "unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force," Kaunda's (1982:75) position against colonialism in Zimbabwe was that "If questions of justice, legality and morality can be swept aside, it seemed clear that if it was right to use violence to defend such a state, it could not be wrong to use violence to destroy it."

All these statements are but confirming Fanon's position on violence (Presbey 1996:292-294). According to Fanon, violence functions as a means "creating self-respect and hope" or as psychotherapy for the oppressed. Revolution sets a ground of freedom for those who cannot get it otherwise. Although the option in favor of violence is understandable, Jesus' philosophy for the church is non-violent (see Wink 1992:102-125).

Forms of non-violent resistance to colonialism and other forms of oppression are numerous. Allen and Barbara Isaacman (1976:97-125; Vail and White 1991:41) analyze various forms of local resistance and their *modus operandi* before the advent of independence movements: (i) day-to-day insubordination, including cultural practices; (ii) resistance through withdrawal and migration; (iii) social banditry; (iv) peasant revolt. As Young (2001:358) points out other forms of resistance and protest are to be found in the songs, song-dramas, women's protest songs used in many parts of Africa. Song was an important weapon, not only by stimulating the consciousness of the oppressed, but also by sending out a clear message of resistance to the oppressor. Amongst many examples of songs from Kenya,[50] South Africa,[51] Zimbabwe,[52] and Rwanda[53] can be cited. Connor

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[50] One of the Mau Mau song goes "God makes his covenant shine until it is brighter than sun, so that neither hill nor darkness can prevent him coming to fulfil it, for God is known as the Conqueror…. When the European came from Europe they said they came to give us learning and we accepted them gladly, but woe upon us, they really came to oppress us" (Finnegan 1970:286-287).

[51] In one of the South African songs said "Africa rise! And seek the Saviour. Today our sons and daughters are slaves" (quoted from Sundkler 1961 by Finnegan 1970:283).

(1996:107-128) provides a good example of African-American songs that in a Christianized manner have been used in the struggle against slavery and racism. According to Connor, the songs "reveal features foundational to the form as it functions to advance a postcolonial discourse."

Whereas Fanon was to move from an analysis of the disabling effects of the "psychological violence" of colonialism to advocating the use of military intervention against colonial regimes, Gandhi combined non-violence and non-cooperation with a more widespread "psychological resistance" (Young 2001:323). Young (2001:323-334) analyses Gandhi's psychological force as follows: Gandhi was opposed to violence and gradually developed the practice of *satyagraha* (truth force) as an accompaniment to his moral critique. He developed means of political protest such as fasting or hunger strikes, which were adapted from Irish nationalists and British suffragettes. Like the refusal of communication through silence, fasting exerts a form of pressure and even power. As a strategy it "discomfited and embarrassed the colonial authorities," taking the form of a private protest that "they were unable to control or repress," which nevertheless also worked very effectively as public demonstration (Sunder 1993:87).

Self-determination stimulates moral regeneration of the oppressor and the oppressed. As Young (2001:325-331) observes, Gandhi's defiance method sets the moral high ground in his

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[52] An example of Zimbabwean songs of liberation is:
Mbuya nehanda kufa vachitaura sure kuti tichatora nyika ino.
Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza tora gidi uzuitonge.
Sekuru kaguvi kufa vachitaura sure, kuti tichatora nyika ino .
Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza tora gidi uzuitonge.
(The spirit is speaking that surely that we will take this land [Zimbabwe].
The word that she left for us is to take the gun and fight for our land.)
The song is taken from a discussion with Zimbabwean students at the University of Pretoria led by D Muchawaya on 1st of May, 2005, explaining the Chimurenga, the Zimbabwean struggle against colonialism.

[53] Ben Rutabana is a Rwandan singer, and in one of his songs in early 1990s criticised colonizers who came hiding behind religion and divided Rwandans.
Baje bambaye amakanzu agera kubirenge... (The came wearing long robes….)
Badupfukamisha imbere ya rutare ngo dusenge tubamenere ibanga tubabarirwe ibyaha... (The instructed us to kneel down and tell them the secret that our sins may be forgiven….)
Baje bihinduye intama, tutazi ko ari amasega...(They came in sheep clothing while they were wolves)
Bafata bamwe mu Rwanda, babatoza ironda koko, urwango ruragwira... (They manipulated some in Rwanda and taught them about ethnic difference, hatred was multiplied….)
Afrika warakubititse (Africa you suffered).

objective of "achieving the moral regeneration of his British opponents." Fanon also argues that the damaging psychological effects on subjectivity, identity and sexuality that colonialism produced in the colonizer and colonized, it was the colonizer "who was degraded in moral and ethical terms by the precepts and practices of colonial rule." Resistance through gender equality (feminization – "soul power" against masculinity), manner of dress, the media and the introduction of psychology as a weapon of the weak, clearly demonstrate Gandhi's self-determination in his struggle against colonialism and modernity. The alternative language (Nandy 1983: xvii) which needs to be developed in this instance is not an easy task. Ghandi's non-violent theory and practice in a multi religious and multi cultural diversity is an example of this translation process.

Taking Gandhi's example further, hybridization or alliance starts at home as various cultural and religious beliefs (Hinduism, Christianity and Islam) through psychoanalysis and spiritual energy are molded to form a resistance theory. At the stage of engaging colonial rule, Gandhi uses the local alliance of the east to face colonialism and modernity of the west, but in the east. Hence, it is interesting to note Nandy's argument of "non-complicit innocence". The "Innocence of non-violence" subsequently, produces its own effective means of resistance.

On the other hand, Fanon (1965:49) was against non-violent approach because it was in itself a colonial concept and only favored colonialists and the bourgeois elite. Nandy concedes that the problem of conventional forms of resistance is that they are built from structures and rules of colonial rule. As a consequence, the deconstructive mode is the best option in such circumstances. "The most cunning and effective move can be to adopt different rules, outwitting the colonizer, disorienting him by playing his own game differently", by changing the norms, by appealing to or challenging other parts of his own ideology (Young 2001:343-344). This leads to the inescapable issue of hybridization which is the making of the history.

2.5.3   Hybrid identities

Postcolonial theory is developed from anti-colonial philosophy, which in itself is a hybrid[54] construct (Bhabha 1994:112-116; Young 2001:69; 2003:69-90). The mixture of concepts from the past and the present has set forth a new foundation for socio-political identities and objectives, from emerging voices of historical struggles against colonialism and imperialism. As a result, postcolonial theory unfortunately does not reproduce the old native culture, nor does it bring a totally new culture, but it produces a dislocated culture, a mixture of worlds – a "fragmented and hybrid theoretical language" – the Creole, within a "conflictual cultural interaction" (Young 2001:69; cf Loomba 1998:15).

Postcolonial culture is an "inevitably a hybridized" phenomenon (Ashcroft et al 1989:195) that involves a dialectal relationship of the "grafted" Western cultural systems and a native ontology, which (re)creates a new local identity. Since it is difficult, if not impossible to rediscover the original pre-colonial indigenous culture, the construction of a new identity is based on this bitter reality of interaction between the colonialist hegemonic system and the colonized perverted peripheries.

Young (1996:8; see 1995:1-28) defines hybridity as a mere product of "disruptions and dislocations" of any system. The term hybridity or *métissage* in Francophone African literature is invoked alongside the *Négritude* philosophy (Senghor 1964a:45-83; Sartre 1976:11). Moreover, the term has been expanded and popularized in many fields (cf Young 2001:337-359; 2003:69-92; see Young 1996:78-82). Discussing *Négritude* as a turn in culture within Francophone Africa, Young (2001:265-274) demonstrates how the issue of *métissage* could not be escaped. Instead, Negritude is seen from the hybridized eyes of its author and the reader as well.

Indeed, the tools used to construct Negritude were provided by the metropolitan culture. Negritude thus, became a derivative discourse, which Sartre (1976:59) calls a "dialectic" to

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[54] Homi K Bhabha (1994:112), defines hybridity as "the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority)". It is "the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects".

enable both Negroes and Whites to read equality and sameness in races. In the minds of Senghor and his colleagues, as Young (2001:266) analyses it, Negritude was to forge a third option, a new way, a new society in which "the antithetical values of racism and anti-racism [would] produce a society without racism and a new humanism" in which human black, white, red and yellow would be at last universally defined.

Hybridity emerges within a context of compositions of "fluid and shifting mixtures" that undergo their own initiation of reciprocal translation. According to Young (2003:138-147; Van Aarde 2004a:11-12), translation means to "carry or to bear across". Translation can be applied to any form of material from social, political, economic or academic. The original material is carried across to another place where its copy is established. However, the reproduction will "differ from the original" because of the mixture of new local material with the original.

This mixture of two original, yet different materials becomes a new material in itself, failing to identify fully with either though. This form of production is known as *akamecerane,*[55] *métis*, *mestiza* or *colored*. A colony begins as a "translation" in which the original is carried across from one place to another to reproduce a copy of the original. In this case, colony is seen as a metaphor. Furthermore, translation can be regarded as a form of "metaphorical displacement of a text" from one language to another. To translate a text from one language to another is "to transform its material identity" which is the case with colonialism.

Following Young's discussion (2003:139-146), colonialism like translation, invades other territories, other cultures and imposes its meaning to dominate new landscape, thereby "changing things into things which they are not." The indigenous person and his whole environment are forced into a subordinated culture of colonial rule in which aspects of the original culture have to be "reconstructed, operate as process of translational dematerialization." The colonial language becomes culturally more important and powerful, "devaluing the native language as it is brought into its domain." Nevertheless, the process of

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[55] The word for hybrid in Kinyamulenge.

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colonial translation is always reciprocal and most of the time, the damage caused through the translation process is mutually shared.

Young's (2003:141) example of travelers and local interpreters is very important in understanding this phenomenon. According to Young, false translation is considered under the framework of "Orientalism", where it involves a "representation of another culture without reference to the original." According to Bhabha (1994:66, 93-103), stereotyping[56] can easily force one (the traveler) into creating an image of what to expect on the other. These are often carried out "as subtle everyday forms of resistance" by the "lying native", who translates him/herself into "the dominant culture by means of a mimicry[57] that undoes the original."

If as Young (2003:141-142) argues, translation involves "the power structure of acts of appropriation", it can also "invoke power through acts of resistance". When a native culture, territory or basic rights are being invaded and appropriated by another cultural domination, "the necessary, traditionally lamented failure of translation becomes a positive force of resistance, resisting the intruder."

Another type of intruder in the translation process highlighted by Young, is the migrant (Young 2001:142; cf Bhabha 1994:139-145), which is also called the diasporic (Segovia 1995b: 303-330; 2001) or the dislocated (Ashroft et al 1989:9), the displaced and refugees (Young 2003:9-16), creolized (Young 2003:142) and expatriates. These migrants can be migrants of choice or could be exiles due to political or socio-economic circumstances. Whichever the case may be, they found themselves disconnected from their habitual setting. They come from the periphery to the centre where "translation becomes central". Having been translated, migrants meet other dislocated people whom they share their stories,

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[56] Stereotype is defined by Homi K Bhabha (1994:66) as a "discursive strategy" in a form of "knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.…"

[57] According to Bhabha (1994:86), mimicry is "constructed around an *ambivalence*, and it emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal." It is therefore, "the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power."

nostalgia and experiences of anguish and agony to form a new language of desire and affirmation.

According to Young (2001:266), with Senghor and his company being diasporic, the search for affirmation created Negritude. Negritude was actually initiated by "fluid and shifting mixtures of African-American nationalism and anti-colonial" socialism as they looked for a new third space free of racism. "Creolization" (1995:25) in Caribbean, is also another example of translation. Young's (2001:266) analysis is that "creole" implies displacement, "the carrying over and transformation of the dominant culture into new identities that take on material elements from the culture of their new location". Both sides of the exchange become "creolized", get translated and become transformed. In postcolonial theory, this process is very important as it is "the one-way process by which translation is customarily conceived, can be rethought in terms of cultural interaction" and, a space of empowerment.

Subaltern is another area which needs to be considered in this section. According to Young (2001:352; cf Loomba 1998:231-245), subaltern studies owe much to the contribution of Ranajit Guha's work in the early 1980s in the company of other "Bengali Marxist intellectuals" in India (Guha 1982a; 1982b; Spivak 1988:197-221). The study of subaltern as Young (2001:352-359) analyses it, is but another form of raising the consciousness of the marginal, to bring him/her to the attention of the centre. In terms of this definition, subaltern is presenting the overall position of peasantry, the underclass people, people whose voice is silenced.

According to Spivak (1988:215:221), and many other feminists, it is appropriate to extend "subalternity" to women. According to Young (2001:354), the great strength from a tricontinental perspective of the concept of subaltern, is that "it provides a social category and power structure a good deal less restrictive than that of class and enables attention to be given to groups whose forms of resistance and struggle had been ignored by other forms of anti-colonial movements such as nationalist and Marxists."

The significance of subaltern studies, especially for Indian historians such as Guha (1983) according to Young (2001:354), is that it has revolutionized the revolution itself by bringing to the surface the "spontaneous resistance" of the people. Guha, as Young remarks, used the concept of subaltern "to rewrite [the history] of the Indian freedom movement so that the primary history of resistance to colonial power" is to be found in the movements of "peasant insurgency" which was at work long before the political elites took over. Using India as an example, it is noted that most of the successful anti-colonial movements were those in which the subaltern or peasantry had full participation, and where it was not a case of their voices being exploited.

This highlights one of the critiques feminists have with regard to subaltern studies, namely the sincerity of anti-colonial strategies vis-à-vis gender issues. It is in this regard that Spivak's (1999:307-310) argument that the subaltern cannot speak (see Loomba 1998:199, 231-245) should be seen. The history of women's activism in anti-colonial movements can in many ways be compared to the history of the resistance of peasants, natives, tribes and nomads. These small-scale forms of resistance were intended to deal with local forms of oppression, but eventually joined the larger movements.

From Lenski's (1966:243-282) social stratification study, the subaltern can be considered in the same way as the peasants, the unclean and degraded and the expendables of the first century, who found themselves in a state of marginality. Duling's (2003:14) definition of marginality fits the context of subaltern, if not in the same words. Duling defines structural marginality as "structural inequalities in the social system that puts some persons in the center and some on the periphery." From this perspective, "those on the periphery are mainly, although not exclusively, the socially and economically disadvantaged or oppressed."

The importance of such understanding of stories involving peasants in freedom struggles is, as Young (2001:357-359) points out, that they do challenge "the conventional, large-scale accounts of the liberation struggles." They also have implications for "the forms of

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historiography itself" and thus, setting up possibilities that consider the writing of such peasant history in the history of anti-colonialism itself.

Subaltern studies, by claiming equal treatment in society, pose a challenge to any measures of exploitation in a postcolonial setting. In the case of women, it contests the gendered values built surrounding the history of masculinity. Through this process postcolonial theory can retrieve the silenced voice of the subaltern. In the process, social classes are translated into a new mixture of high and low classes, or in the case of gender translation, into a mixture of masculinity and femininity.

The other interesting literary development Young (2001:383-426) deals with, concerns colonial discourse,[58] which is also a part of hybridity. As he concludes his introduction to postcolonial theory, Young discusses the works of Said, Derrida and Foucault. This illustrates that colonialism did not only operate as a form of military and economic domination, but "simultaneously as a discourse of domination" which is Said's (1978) contribution to the literary world, *Orientalism* (Young 2001:383-384). Young finds this achievement both "enabling and theoretically problematic." But the concern of this study is not to become involved in the debate between Said and Young, but to see how colonial discourse can boost the formation of postcolonial theory. Said (1978:3) defines Orientalism in the following manner:

> Orientalism is something more historical and materially defined …,[it] can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.

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[58] According to Castle (2001:502), colonial discourse refers to "aggregates of texts, documents, art works, and other means of expression that relate directly and indirectly to colonial territories, colonial rule, or colonized peoples." It includes every colonial material such as legal documents, memoranda, newspapers, novels, telegraphs and poetry.

According to Said, it is not possible to understand how European culture was able to manage and produce the Orient in all spheres of life during colonial period without examining Orientalism as a "discourse". Dealing with issues of power and knowledge, Said (1978:20) introduces the methodological devices of "*strategic location"* (the way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the material he writes about) and "*strategic formation"* (the latter being a way of analyzing the relationship between texts and the way in which group texts acquire power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large).

The Orient can thus be represented and its emphasis is placed on "evidence" which is invisible for such representation as *representation*. Young (2001:389-392) raises a number of objections to Said's Orientalism, the issue of representation being one such objection. According to Young, colonial discourse that examines linguistic evidence concerns itself with analyzing "the forms of representation, how they are structured." The discourse does not ask questions pertaining to accuracy, because representation is not investigation. According to Bhabha (1994:66), political discourse is dependent on the concept of "'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness" that is found in the "representation" of cultural, historical and racial difference.

The concept of political discourse analysis is derived from Foucault's (1978) definition of discourse itself. Young (2001:399) analyses it as follows: Primarily, discourse is "the way in which the knowledge is constituted as part of a specific practice whose knowledge is formed at the interface language and the material world". But generally, this knowledge "is not contained discursively, but exists at the edge between language and the rest of material reality."

Furthermore, Young continues to say that discourse is seen as a border concept, "a transcultural practice that crosses intellectual and physical boundaries". Because, in practical terms "knowledge in discourse will be part of everyday practices" and "material conditions will also operate on the conceptual formation of knowledge." Thus, since knowledge operates in the intersection of the contact milieu between concept and materiality, "the

difficulty – and but also the value" of Foucault's analysis is bound up with the desire "to characterize discourse as a material, historical entity". Thus discourse "works in the realm materiality and the body, in the domain of objects and specific historical practices".

At the same time, Foucault uses other terms to substantiate what discourse is and what it is not, which Young (2001:400-403) analyses as follow: The terms are "discursive formation, statements and enunciations, discursive practices, the archive, and archaeology." Whereas Foucault defines discursive formation as "the 'principle of dispersion and redistribution' of a group of statements 'that belong to a single system of discourse'" but not homogeneous; statement (énoncé) is not simply a "text or a piece of language." It constitutes "a specific material event, a performative act or a function, a historical eruption that impinges on and makes an incision into circumstance." Consequently, a discourse is made of "statements that are both events and things, as well as pieces of languages".

The question then is, when does a discourse become colonial and how is it treated? For Foucault (1978:100), "we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one, but a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies." As Young (2001:406) argues, discourse to Foucault does not represent "'other voices.'" Discourse is not about "the direct representation, or misrepresentation, of experience." Rather it represents a directly "antithetical strain to the assumption and endeavors of postcolonial writing that posits a subjective voice of the colonized against the objectified discourse of the colonizer."

At this point, as Young (2001:407) explains, the notion of power is involved and, according to Foucault, power has no compromise, "neither intentional nor fully realized", never stable but "'a field of force relations'". It is suggested that power is repressive, rather than restrictive and that it breeds a proliferation of discourse and therefore, colonial domination does not silence anyone, but produces "a proliferation of subaltern discourse." Again, the sites of "enunciation and forms of discourse" would be different from that of colonizers and in anti-colonial case; it would work as "a counter-discourse." Therefore, "the subaltern

cannot but speak" either within the terms of a discursive system where certain subalterns can speak, or within discourses that may be operating elsewhere.

However, there are some difficulties of interpretation with regard to Young's (2001:407-408) understanding of colonial discourse[59] The problem is that an analysis of colonial discourse takes the discourse itself as "its primary object of analysis", instead of using the discourse as a means of analyzing "a particular practice – in this case colonialism." Colonial discourse should therefore not involve colonialism "predominantly as a structure of knowledge and representations." Nevertheless, colonialism should be analyzed according to its "discursive formations" within its "historical practice" such as political activities of domination and exploitation.

It is with this conjectural analysis that Derrida's (1976; 1978 cf Young 2001:411-426) deconstruction[60] approach emerged from French colonial violence and acts of injustice towards the Algerians as a procedure of intellectual and cultural decolonization. As Young explains, Derrida's (1978:282) deconstruction was based on the "problem of status of a discourse which borrows from heritage the resources necessary for the deconstruction of that heritage itself."

The final hybrid identity that needs to be mentioned is the notion of nationalism.[61] Nationalism as Young (2001:172) observes is "a kind of language", a form or a strategy, rather than "a substance." The ideology often connected to this strategy, especially during anti-colonial struggles, is for example the issue of land rights which directly involves not

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[59] According to Castle (2001:502), colonial discourse refers to "aggregates of texts, documents, art works, and other means of expression that relate directly and indirectly to colonial territories, colonial rule, or colonized peoples." It includes every colonial material such as legal documents, memoranda, newspapers, novels, telegraphs and poetry.

[60] Deconstruction has been widely used, not only in literature but also in many fields of humanities. Derived from Jacques Derrida's work *Of Grammatology* [1967], trans by G C Spivak, Baltimore, VI: John Hopkins University Press, 1976, it refers to a mode of analysis by which one seeks out the 'blind spots' in a text, the moments in which the text seems to say something contrary to its manifest content (see also Castle 2001:504).

[61] Furedi (1994:21) defines nationalism as "an independent variable, but rather a form through which a variety of responses, aspirations and interests are expressed. Its force is not internal but depends on the intensity of sentiment of various social groups."

only political activists, but also peasants and workers. The urgent issue that brought different tribes, ethnic groupings and cultures together was the issue of securing the land from grabbing settlers. If nationalism could incorporate a diversity and multiplicity of cultures and tribes for a cause, then it could build a sense of nationhood after independence.

However, two major problems are associated with nationalism (Furedi 1994:21-22). The first problem is that the geographic boundaries of nations and their legal and political structures are the product of colonialism. These boundaries are continually contested, either by political institutions, indigenous groups or by what Young (2001:59) calls "fourth-world groups."[62] Examples of contests pertaining to border disputes are manifold: that of the Ethiopian-Eritrea, Cameroon-Nigeria, DRC-Rwanda, India-Pakistan borders, the border between Israel and Palestine and that between Poland and Germany at the end of World War II. Secondly, nationalism lacks charismatic leadership. Most of those who fought for independence did not live long enough to see the fruit of their toils. Thus, political powers are often transferred to native bourgeois elites, produced by neocolonialism. Many a times, they mistake tribalism for nationalism; private enterprise for national heritage.

2.6   Postcolonial theory and biblical reading

2.6.1   Postcolonialism and biblical criticism

Over the past decades, theologians and exegetes have cautiously started to explore a political hermeneutical avenue by using post-structural theory (Moore 1994), postmodern theory (Adam 1995, 2001; Van Aarde 2004a) and feminism reading (Wire 1991:87-121; Fiorenza 1993, 1995, 1998; Wainwright 1994, 1995, 1998; Levine 1996:379-397; Ackermann 1998:349-371; Kaene 1998:121-135; Levine & Blickenstaff 2001; Jackson 2002, Schroer and Bietenhard 2003). As postcolonial theory is used, essays ranging from theoretical to practical case studies from biblical texts, as well as contemporary cases are on the increase.

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[62] These are people who are still colonized within decolonized countries, such as the Ainu in Japan, or the gypsies in Spain.

Sugirtharajah's edited work on *Voices from the Margin*[63] is widely recognized as a platform for postcolonial theory in biblical criticism.

Researches and essays that appear in the edited work of Segovia and Tolbert (1995)[64] and in two volumes in *Semeia* 75/76, (1996), 78 (1997) as well as in issues of the *Journal for the Study of the New Statement* (*JSNT*) 73 & 75, (1999), Segovia (2000), Sugirtharajah (2001), Moore (2001), are some examples of the growing interest in this field. From a Southern African perspective, Dube (1996:111-129; 1997:11-25; 1999:33-53; 2000), Mosala (1996:43-57), Jeremy Punt (2001:129-145; 2002:259-274; 2003:59-85) and Van Aarde (2004a) are among those who have shown an interest in and who have contributed to the study. In learning and academic institutions, the study field is increasingly attracting more interest from feminist and tricontinental readings.

Segovia's (1999:103-114; cf 1995a:1-17) initial difficulty was to identify with the "postcolonial studies" in biblical criticism. He rather opted for "cultural studies" and preferred diasporic studies (Segovia 2001:11-34) within a postcolonial framework. Punt (2001:130-131) sees postcolonial biblical criticism as having "a different focus and purpose, rather than a different hermeneutical method". In other words, postcolonial biblical criticism is a "form of ideology criticism, which considers the socio-political context" and goes even further to address "the silencing of the voice of the Other through the colonial strategy" (Punt 2003:63) in a postcolonial setting. It focuses on national issues such as race, gender, class, tribe, citizenship and the construction of political powers within sociological and geographical settings.

Sugirtharajah (1999:3-5; 2001:250-259; cf Punt 2003: 65-66; see Segovia 1995:1-17) as one of the main campaigners of this theory in biblical scholarship, states that postcolonial criticism as a biblical hermeneutics, can help (i) to "revalue the colonial ideology, stigmatization and

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[63] Sugirtharajah, R S (ed), *Voices from the margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, London: SPCK, 1995.

[64] Segovia, F F & Tolbert, A M, *Reading from this place: Social location and biblical interpretation in global perspective*, vol.2, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995. This is a compiled work of many views and practices of postcolonial readings, although the term as such is not implicitly used. Contributors prefer to use cultural studies and biblical criticism (see also Segovia 1999:103-114).

negative portrays embedded in the content, the plot and characterization." It entails looking for colonial intentions (be they political, cultural or economic), which informed and influenced the writer's context. (ii) It helps in "reconstructive reading" which enables the reader to see the concerns of liberation struggles of the past and the present. Postcolonial critique therefore is concerned with and interacts with circumstances such as hybridity (*mestiza*, *akamecerane)*, new identities, fragmentation and deterritorization. (iii) Postcolonial criticism interrogates colonial interpretation "to draw attention to the inescapable effects of colonization and colonial ideals." It investigates interpretations that "contested colonial interests". Such a view of postcolonial theory helps the researcher to look into both colonizer and colonized situations in order to produce a remedy, and a reconstructive approach based on justice for all.

There are, however, some moral concerns regarding who should be leading the way in postcolonial reading. Should it be the church and other religious institutions, or individuals? The other concern deals with the theoretical applicability of postcolonial theory itself. Segovia (1995a:1-17; 1999:111-113; 2000:30-31), Sugirtharajah (1999:5; 2001:271-275) and Punt (2001, 2002, 2003), all have reservations about the diverse nature of postcolonial theory. It is an amalgam of different methods, an interdisciplinary and a pluralistic approach in nature. Segovia (1995a:16) argues that cultural studies (postcolonial theory) in biblical criticism, allow "diversity of reading strategies"; it does not favor any strategy over another or a particular theory as the sole and appropriate "entry into the text to the exclusion of the others".

Sugirtharajah (2001:258) suggests that postcolonial theory stands for inclusiveness and is "attracted to all kinds of tools and disciplinary fields" as long as they investigate injustice, "produce new knowledge which problematizes well-entrenched positions and enhance the lives of the marginalized." Postcolonial theory as a heuristic tool in biblical criticism, confronts with a problem of consistency and focus. This argument is discussed in the next section.

Criticism has been leveled at the church and other religious institutions, such as Islam, for having consciously or unconsciously facilitated the colonial conquests and imperial establishment all over the world (see Mazrui 1980:84-112; Mosala 1996:43-57;

Sugirtharajah 1996:8-19; Donaldson 1996:1-4). Missionaries used mission schools, church pulpits and other public services they had access to, to propagate imperialism. In the case of the Great Lakes region: Burundi, the DRC and Rwanda, Longman (1998:54-57) is of the opinion that Belgian colonial administrators regarded the Catholic missionaries, many of whom were Belgian themselves, as "allies in the struggle to establish and maintain control" over the indigenous people. Colonial administration relied on and collaborated with missionaries to provide public services, such as modern education and health care.

In return for their support, colonial administration gave missionaries free access to the populations and cooperated with evangelical efforts. This tradition of church collaboration with imperial politics, the Catholic Church in particular, has been blamed for its failure or its complicity in the genocide in Rwanda (see Gatwa 2001) or in the red rubber carnage in the Congo under the Belgian King Leopold (Schuyler 1962:47-63).

In Guinea-Bissau, Cabral (Chilcote 1991:53) criticized both Catholic and Protestant churches and some Muslims for their complicit attitude shown towards colonialism. Only the African Independent churches were more committed to the struggle against colonialism. In an open letter[65] to the African Episcopal Conference from CONCP[66] leadership, signed by Uria Simango of FRELIMO,[67] Agostinho Neto of the MPLA[68] and Amircal Cabral of the PAIGC,[69] who criticized the position of the Catholic Church of Portugal, which explicitly supported colonialism in Africa. Cardinal Goncalvez Cerejeira, the head of the Catholic Church in Portugal, had said in 1967, that the day of peace declared by Pope Paul VI "should in no way be interpreted as being an invitation to pacifism in Africa, since that would mean an abject abdication of Portugal's sacred rights" (Simango, et al 1969). Yet,

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[65] The letter was written on 5 July 1969 and addressed to the meeting of the Episcopal Conference held in Kampala, Uganda.

[66] Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies.

[67] *Frente de Libertaçao de Moçambique*/ Mozambican Liberation Front.

[68] *Movimento Popular de Libertaçao de Angola/*Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

[69] The African Independent Party of Guinea and Cap Verde.

thousands of men, women and children, innocent people, were becoming victims of the war waged by Portugal.

During World War II, while Hitler led the campaign and the holocaust against the Jews, the church in the Germany was divided (see Bonhoeffer 1973; Ericksen 1985) between those who supported Hitler and those who condemned his war policy. However, in dealing with the impact of the African Independent Churches in South Africa, Mosala (1996:43-50) describes a political reaction or resistance to colonialism, which over the years has been condoned by Western missionary based churches, which presented the "religious ideology of the Western capitalist society".

The same challenge comes from Sugirtharajah (1996:7-10) who regards the work of Bible translation in India as "textual cleansing". He includes missionaries amongst the groups of people who distorted cultural values of the natives. "Missionaries promulgated descriptions of Hindus as barbaric, submissive, ignorant …Valorization of these differences allowed the imperialists to subjugate Indians and also to perceive themselves as beneficent agents of God's will." Gallagher (1994:3-33), acknowledges both the negative and positive effects of missionaries as they worked along with colonial structures of oppression. Her argument is that missionary institutions such as health centers and schools had a positive impact. "Despite its chauvinistic cultural limits, such education eventually provided the means by which significant indigenous leaders were formed." In contrast to this view is that of Donaldson (1996:3-4), who joins the above authors by saying that missionaries had indeed contributed to the dismantling of cultural values of the natives.

In reacting to Gallagher's argument, Donaldson maintains that even colonial schools contributed to the destruction of native values. "For example, one of the most effective strategies of colonization was the suppression of indigenous languages and the imposition of imperial ones – and the best means of implanting translation existed in the mission schools." Indeed, in these schools, pupils were punished for either speaking their native languages or failing to speak the colonial language properly. Donaldson (1996:1-2; see Connor 1996:107-128) refers to the passive position or complicity of the church in North America, Canada and

the Pacific Northwest region toward the treatment of natives and slaves. Donaldson (1996:2) is convinced that postcolonial criticism helps to fill the "intellectual and ethical void" and that requires not only "a systematic accounting of Christianity's participation in imperialism, but also that individual congregations actively become involved in the work of decolonization."

Dube (1997:11-25) expands on the question of what I would call "a question of legitimacy." She recalls memories of when all Whites (Westerners) were called "believers" or missionaries, while "pagans" referred to all non-Christian Africans. In images Jesus, his mother, his disciples and angels were all portrayed as Whites, while Satan, demons and evildoers were portrayed as Blacks. "The Western imperial readers of the nineteenth centuries wrote themselves into the text and characterized non-Christians as their pagan counterparts in order to validate the latter's subjugation" (Dube 1997:12).

This subjugation and alienation is a result of weak evangelism in Africa which was not a cultural exchange and a changing of belief, but that of cultural domination and assimilation (see Dube 1997:20). Dube (1997:15; cf Sugirtharajah 1998:19) is also disturbed by the imperial role that Christian biblical religion played "in the ancient and current times and over different people and different places." Thus, she sees the Bible as "a colonizing text: it has repeatedly authorized the subjugation of foreign nations and lands."

Talking from African perspective, Dube (2000:15-21) draws her critique against the misuse of the Bible by the Whites as they grabbed African land. She is convinced that "by implicating the Bible in the taking of the African black lands, biblical texts are marked as powerful rhetorical instruments of imperialism." Pui-lan (1996:213) adds that since biblical texts are products of colonial experiences, a postcolonial reading must "examine the cultural and historical processes that call them into being." Nevertheless, the fact that the Biblical texts are born "in an imperialist setting, they are postcolonial" (Dube 1997:15; cf Horsley 2000:153; Punt 2003:61-64); they contain a voice of justice and a call for liberation.

It should be noted that failures of the church as a human institution should not overshadow the anti-slavery and anti-colonial movements, mounted throughout the world by churches as institutions and also by individual churchmen. Yet, the attention must be drawn to how the church should focus more on and represent more and more the divine and universal mission of justice and righteousness, according to its calling in Jesus Christ.

The work of liberation theology, staging campaigns against poverty and social and political injustices in Latin America (such as the campaigns of Guitierrez, Bonino and Segundo and in Africa, particularly in South Africa (through the work of Tutu, Boesak and others), is indeed a noble achievement. Postcolonial theory is building onto these very campaigns to enlarge the scope of justice and freedom. A postcolonial reading of the Bible is a war against sin: neocolonialism, corruption and social injustices in every aspect of society, regardless of its agent. In this case postcolonialism "is not a discourse of historical accusations, but a committed search and struggle for decolonization and liberation of the oppressed" (Dube 1997:14).

However, what is challenging is that the Bible, as a text, was produced and circulated under imperial rule, to the extent of it being at the service of colonial expansion, as Punt and many others have argued (Punt 2003:71; cf Pui-lan 1996:212; Tamez 1996:203-205). For Pui-lan (1996:212-213), the introduction of postcolonial hermeneutics provides new avenues of interrogating the Bible as "a cultural product, the formation of canon, and the politics of biblical interpretation." Two issues are raised here.

The first one has to do with the question of biblical interpretation. Pui-lan challenges those who dominated biblical hermeneutics, as if the Bible was "a frozen artifact," whose meaning can only be activated or given by "the experts in the metropolitan centres … under the rubric of 'objectivity' and 'scientific inquiry.'" With this traditional and colonial thinking (see Tamez 1996:204), tricontinental biblical scholars cannot from their own cultural and contextual understanding have direct access to the biblical text.

This triangular hermeneutics (the Bible provides the text – the Western theologian produces the hermeneutics – the rest of the world reads) – needs to be reviewed in a postcolonial process. The idea is not to destroy the hermeneutical tools produced by Western theologians, but to recognize, to make use of and to expand hermeneutical principles that are being produced from tricontinental perspectives. Ukpong (2001:147-167) strongly emphasizes the need for "decolonizing our readings". Arguing from an African perspective, Ukpong (2001:158) says that if exegesis is to be truly contextual and African, "an ideological break with the western centrist ideology" is necessary. African perspectives and contexts must stimulate exegetes to formulate questions that are relevant to their own situations. "We must engage in serious and innovative research that will open up new vistas in biblical scholarship."

However, it is not sufficient to produce only that which is relevant to one's own context. My argument is that tricontinental hermeneutics must be relevant to tricontinental contexts, but also to the rest of biblical interpretation. The criticism of Schroer (2003:1-17) and Dube (2003:60-78) with regard to feminist hermeneutics is very compelling. Schroer (2003:13) directs her criticism on feminist exegesis at a defensive-type of theology or the "de-constructive" type of orientation which is not a competitive hermeneutical tool. Her challenge is that "constructiveness is an urgent appeal to feminist exegetes to transform creatively their important critical analysis so as not to remain merely de-constructive but to introduce orientation and constructiveness of their work."

Dube (2003:63) takes this argument further by saying that most of the time feminist reading highlights "the gender constructions" in a text and how they serve as "ideological tools" that challenge the subordination of women or even empower them. But highlighting a problem without advancing an alternative will hardly change the situation. This poses a valid challenge to postcolonial reading as well.

In Pobee's edited work (1992), the various contributors in their journey searching for an "Afro-Christology" grapple with meaning of Christianity. Pobee (1992:13-15) is convinced that Africa, having been invaded by foreign cultural influence and colonization, the "*homo*

africanus is now in a state of flux, if not confusion" and that articulation of "African anthropology as of now is a must." The tricontinental biblical reading development must be grounded in their own worldviews and contexts. Tricontinental biblical christology (cf Pobee 1992:6) must find its meaning in the Word – Life that became flesh and dwelt among the people (John 1:12;). Mofokeng (1992:85-94; see Kalilombe 1995:421-422) objects to a "cheap delivery" of hermeneutics "developed elsewhere in response to social and religious challenges of other social settings." Sugirtharajah (1995:459) refers to Western hermeneutics as "colonial tools".

These hermeneutics are inadequate and incapable of explaining the harsh realities of our world of inequality, oppression and exploitation. As long as the Christology of Jesus remains foreign, Jesus will remain unknown. As Mbiti (1992:28) puts it "His many faces are blurred till they find a focus on the Jesus of history and geography," not from a theoretical foreign interpretation, but from local context. So that the Word is understood, digested and becomes "flesh and blood" as Senghor (1964a:83) would refer to it, so as Segovia (1995a: 3-7) at a later stage. Tamez (1996:203-205) widens the spectrum of hermeneutics. From Latin American experiences, she indicates a "hermeneutical leap" which must be the focus of a postcolonial reading.

Moreover, Sugirtharajah (1995:1) is convinced that although there was a lack of interest to recognize the importance of "Third-World biblical discourse" in the past, today, it no longer is the case. Tricontinental biblical scholars must seize the momentum and use their common experiences of anti-colonialism and preach justice for all. These experiences of pain and long walk to freedom, and rich cultural diversity in songs, dances, dreams, and religious practices (compatible with the Word of God), must also be engaged in rebuilding a society based on justice and righteousness. This is the work of the deconstructive process through which a postcolonial reading lets the voiceless speak and lets the oppressed participate fully in the struggle for their deliverance (see Kalilombe 1995:421-435).

Tamez (2002:48-49) correctly emphasizes the point of hermeneutics that a "reading of the Scripture that truly liberates responds to the situation that has motivated the reading" and

that is how the Bible as the Word of God, that which liberates and revolutionizes, is constantly rediscovered. The meaning and the relevance of that Word – Life must be found in tricontinental anthropology, in the community of the poor, the marginalized, among the voiceless and the hybrids whose identity is constantly being contested. At the same time, this very Life is to change the lives of the colonizers by making them accept (in humility) their failures.

What is more challenging here, is to let the image of otherness in the other be recognized and fellowshipped, while those powers which had been used to dominate and to destroy are used instead to empower the other for God's sake and for the sake of a just world. It should be clear that the colonizer in this case can also refer to any oppressive powers in any society. Sugirtharajah (2001:250) argues that postcolonial theory must go beyond the binary notion of colonized and colonizer, and places the "emphasis on critical exchange and mutual transformation between the two."

The second issue in Pui-lan's critique (1996:213; cf 1995:289-294) is that of the Bible as a cultural product in space and time: both the truth and the authority of the Bible are questionable. Kunukawa (1996:123-125; see Sugirtharajah 1995:4-5; 2001:257-258) questions "religionism and absolutism" as opposed to "relativization." Her argument is that with relativization of the biblical texts they are turned into "one of the historical treasures in the world" and are acknowledged as a "human product with distinctive perspectives in one's own distinct contexts."

Banana (1995:69-82) calls for a rewriting of a new Bible in order to liberate it from "culture-specific world views"; from constantly being used as "an oppressive instrument"; and from being "a property of an ethnic syndicate". This "multiscripturality" as Punt (2003:72) refers to it, does not only require the discovery and creation of new texts, but also to come to terms with other "religious texts." Tamez (1996:205) is convinced that "hermeneutical leap" within biblical reading, demands acknowledging that colonial elements were already present during the production of the text and transcending the canon. Thus, postcolonial or "grassroots"

hermeneutics must assume the task of "re-appropriating the biblical texts and re-reading them from a liberating perspective."

Sugirtharajah (2001:257-258) thinks that in the age of questioning traditional sources such as sacred text, the Bible among them, may not be the only avenues for answers. For this reason, he sees the aim of postcolonial reading not "to invest text with properties which no longer have relevance to our context"; not to rediscover the Bible as an alternative for a better world; nor to approach it for its "intrinsic authoritativeness"; but because of "thematic presuppositions of postcolonialism" that are influenced by cultural and psychological effects of hybridity and alienation caused by colonialism. The "truth of the text" is questionable here and Punt (2003:72) has right to be concerned.

> [I]f in the framing of the postcolonial hermeneutics it is in the final instance not concerned with the 'truth of text' but rather with the central issue of the text's promotion of colonial ideology… its usefulness on the African continent where the Bible is still highly valued for many reasons, become a concern. If the Bible is studied only for identifying 'those intrinsic textual features which embody colonial codes', and when the value of studying these texts for their own sake or for theological and spiritual inspiration are secondary at best, it remains a question whether postcolonial hermeneutics are not short-circuiting itself, in Africa, but also elsewhere.

Reading the Bible for the sake of hermeneutical rehearsal cheapens the *raison d'être* of the postcolonial endeavor. Okure (1995:52-66; cf Mesters 1995:407-420) highlights some of the difficulties associated with cultural criticism (postcolonial approach) as it deals with biblical texts. One of the problems centers on "the nature of the text itself as the life of a given people and as the inspired word of God." Another problem is "the right of an author to his or her meaning". Although the text is influenced by its context, the author, the interpreters and the readers of different audiences it encounters, in Christian communities, the Bible is the

inspired word of God and has canonical status. Okure's (1995:55) question, "how does one safeguard the authenticity of the meaning of the text and guard against subjectivism?" is fundamental.

Mesters (1995:415-416) has reason to argue that tools one adopts in reading the Bible are much more than a set of techniques. They must be able to express, actualize and transmit "a particular vision of the Bible and revelation." Segovia (1995b:327-330) outlines some of the reasons why the Bible must remain as an "effective weapon" and a "faithful ally" in the struggle for liberation, in this case postcolonial theory. Any method used to interpret biblical text must have real life and a community's faith as point of departure and must respect the text.

Whatever hermeneutical tool the reader is using, he/she is looking for only two important things in scriptures: to discover life and faith. Taking the example of Latin America in light of liberation theology, Sugirtharajah (2001:218) observes an important point. Ordinary people are looking for two important meanings in a text, namely "historical-explicit and implicit-prophetic" meaning. If postcolonial theory fails to channel its focus towards those spiritual and physical needs, it can easily end up re-colonizing the subject that it wants to decolonize.

Tamez's (1996:205) proposition is both interesting and challenging. Appreciation for other liberating forms of aura/oral religious traditions and even from other religious texts, songs and political discourses, not resulting in biblical texts, need not to be pushed aside or replaced. It is rather a case of interpreters and readers finding a common ground for dialogue in "a world where many worlds fit"[70] as long as it imparts life and generates faith and hope to challenge oppression, domination, exploitation and injustice committed against the weak and the poor in the community.

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[70] Tamez quotes the Mexican revolutionary movement's creed of the Zapatista with a perspective of a "house in which there is room for everybody."

2.6.2   Limitations of postcolonial theory

Postcolonial theory is a paradox exercise, especially when it deals with locations and specifics, in a world of generalization and globalization, by seeking recognition of an identity within a world of cultural diversities. Ivison (1997:154) laments that it is "extremely difficult to establish a general sense of postcolonialism", since it means different things to different people with different histories in different contexts. This is because of the continuity within the discontinuity of colonialism and imperialism in the postcolonial era.

As part of the social scientific method, postcolonial theory encounters some crucial translation problems as many theorists have warned (Riley 1963:704-716; Judge 1980:201-217; cf Van Staden 1991:166-117; Elliott 1993: 38, Craffert 1992:217-239; Esler 1994:4; Robbins 1994:277-279; Vledder 1997:22-23; Van Aarde 2004a:14-15). According to Riley (1963:704-707; cf Van Staden 1994:166-167), fallacies arise in research, either because "methods fail to fit model"[71] or "methods fail to fit facts."[72] Subsequently, postcolonial theory becomes vulnerable of ethnocentrism and an anachronism.

Using Judge's arguments, Craffert (1992:217) says that social theories cannot easily and safely be transported across cultures and centuries without verification. Social models that are defined in terms of other cultures are "imported into the world of the New Testament". The importation of cultures molded in terms of other cultures can easily cause frustration.

Van Aarde (2004a:14-15; cf 2002a:419-422) is wary of ethnocentrism. Since postcolonial biblical reading is concerned with cross-cultural dynamics of the culture of people in the biblical times and the cultures of the tricontinental world in a postcolonial era, "the hermeneutical 'fallacy of ethnocentrism'" is a real danger. Cultures are indeed not necessarily

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[71] The explanation given by Riley (1963:704) and Van Staden (1994:166) shows that this type of fallacy occurs when a researcher chooses a research case from a social system level that does not fit his conceptual model. If for instance, the model refers to individuals in roles, while the researcher bases his/her analysis on the group. This is called aggregative fallacy, while atomistic fallacy occurs when the researcher's model refers to the group, but the analysis of the researcher is based on individuals.

[72] From the same explanation as above, two other fallacies, namely psychological and sociological occur. In this instance, the method may fit the model, but fails to discover the relevant facts. Consequently, the group data alone may not adequately prevent a sociolinguistic fallacy even when the focus is on the group; nor can individual data alone prevent a psychologistic fallacy, even when the focus is on the individual.

the same, even if there are some similarities, they remain different. This cultural difference and distinction "function on a synchronic as well as a diachronic level." The first problem postcolonial theory faces, lies within its formation. Even cultures within a "contemporaneous time-span", e.g. Asian and African cultures, or to be more precise, the Banyamulenge and Babembe cultures within the same South-Kivu province in the DRC, are not similarly constituted.

Furthermore, postcolonial theory takes shape from modern industrialization and globalization influence after colonization. Consciously or unconsciously, this influence has left marks on native cultures from which postcolonialism emerge. Cultural distance is even more complicated in the case of ancient and biblical societies that are separated by so many centuries. As Rohrbaugh (1996:2-6) explains the use of cultural reading in the New Testament, a cross-cultural understanding can cause a culture shock, because the reader is cut off from those things that are familiar to him/her.

At the same time, using postcolonial theory to investigate both text and context of the ancient period, can result in an "anachronistic and historical" exercise, Gallagher (1996:230; cf Condran 1997:54) warns. Or it can lead to "a chronological mislocation of a historical happening". According to Moore (2000:185), postcolonial studies do pose a formidable "translation" problem for students of ancient literature (cf Gallagher 1996:230-233; Van Aarde 2004a:14). Harmony in construction of cultures between time and space is indeed a difficult undertaking.

A blending of natives' experiences of oppression with the colonial culture of excessive force within a postcolonial setting can never achieve equality. It can only be, however, a matter of desire. As has been seen on a political level, such amalgamation has produced neocolonialism (see Nkrumah 1965: xi; 1968:15) in the name of civilization (see Loomba 1998:184). Within this new breed, independent states have no control, but accept and "nativize" neocolonialism and in turn, it creates a culture of dependency (see Mazrui 1980: 84-112; Yansané 1980:3). Moreover, the use of power and dominance is not only between the colonizer and the colonized, but also between the postcolonial elite and the postcolonial subaltern. The

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reconciliation process of these "classes" in an egalitarian status is a process that never reaches its end. In other words the "post" in postcolonialism never reaches its end. Into the word of the Apostle Paul, it would be "Not that I have already obtained all this… but I press on …" (Phil 3:12).

For Gallagher (1996:235-239), this "social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation" which results in syncretism and hybridity. Postcolonial theory is not a ready-made theory; it constructs itself along generations, hoping for a historical, but slow transformation in order to impart life. Hybrid identities are, however, fragile and complicit. To some extent, this hybridization is seen as "raceless chaos" or a "radical heterogeneity, discontinuity, the permanent revolution of forms" (Young 1995:25). This becomes clear from examples of ethnic intermarriage between Hutu-Tutsi (in Burundi and Rwanda) or Hema-Lendu tribes (in Ituri, DRC) in Central Africa. Whenever there is a competition of power (conflict) or of any given interest, these half identities are constantly being victimized.

Often these people are included, yet excluded; they find themselves belonging, yet not belonging; they find themselves being the subject of constant suspicion. This also applies to African countries within the politics of economic globalization. During a church consultation on NEPAD[73] that was held in Johannesburg,[74] Mushana said "NEPAD faces two global realities: an asymmetrical global economy in which trade and finance practices favor rich nations and the quest for a just world in which all countries can benefit equally from trade and finance."[75]

The above examples raise a critical issue regarding the accountability and responsibility of national elites. In this regard, it is important to take note of Fanon's observation on national

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[73] New Partnership for Africa's Development.

[74] The conference was organized by the All Africa Conference of Churches, the South African Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches and was held from 23-26 March 2003 under the theme "Behold I create a new Africa".

[75] See summary report, p 6.

consciousness. Although neocolonialism will be blamed as a continuity of imperialism, little effort has been made by the elites to retain the spirit of nationalism. Therefore, both political and economic structures are strengthened through the participation of people from the top to the grassroots. Instead, nationalism was soon replaced by regionalism, tribalism and ethnicity (See Hameso, 1997). In other words, "nation is passed over for the race, and tribe is preferred to the state" (Fanon 1995:156). According to Fanon (1995:156), this is the result of "the incapacity of the national [elite] class to rationalize popular action". The weakness should not only be seen in a "mutilation colonized people by the colonial regime", it is also "the result of intellectual laziness of the national middle class [elite], of its spiritual penury…"

Having referred to fallacies associated with social scientific criticism, exegetes need to exercise caution when using postcolonial theory. It is commendable that they integrate "insights from social-scientific biblical criticism" (Van Aarde 2004a:14-15), that try to avoid these fallacies (see Elliott 1993:36-58); Van Staden 1994:166-168; Rohrbaugh 1996:2-6; Condran 1997:58-60). By avoiding the fallacies, the world of research becomes more meaningful.

2.6.3   Social scientific criticism

The apparent question to start with is: does postcolonial theory fit in models of biblical research? How can these models be drawn? Malina (1983:14; cf Craffert 1992:224-226; Elliott 1993:41), defines a model as an "abstracted simplified representation of some real world object, event, or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control, or prediction." Models can be viewed as part of human processes which facilitate an understanding of a given context being investigated (see Elliott 1993:42). In addition, Carney (1975:7-9; cf Esler 1995:4-8; Vledder 1997:25; Horrell 1999:19-20; see Van Aarde 2002b:419-439) makes the point that a model works as a "tool or speculative instrument" to used to transform theories into research actions. Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992:4-5) add that "people think with models in order to understand, control, and/or predict" and that they are "cognitive devices" to help "to unearth dimensions of a setting not at once apparent" and to develop "the ramification of such dimensions."

According to Elliott (1993:44), models "are used explicitly to articulate … theories and test their validity." According to Carney (1975:8), theory is defined as "a basic proposition through which a variety of observations or alternatively statements become explicable. A model, by way of contrast, acts as a link between theories and observation." In this case, a theory serves as a foundation on which models are built in order to produce a working methodology in a particular study.

Elliott (1993:34-59) emphasizes two types of models that are of interest to this study, namely sectarian and conceptual models. Sectarian models (see Esler 1994: 13-17) are applied in features such as communal identity, cohesion and ideological commitment. They are useful in explaining tension based on a binary concept or on cultural or identity differences such as insiders/outsiders, Jew/Gentile, colonizer/colonized, male/female, rich/poor, master/slave, etc. Conceptual models (Elliott 1993:44; cf Van Staden 1991:158) serve as "vehicles for discovery, trying out new points of view, asking new questions" but also provide explanations and information required "to articulate a working model."

From social and anthropological studies, Elliott (1993:38; cf Van Staden 1991:152-155) mentions two concepts by which information is conveyed: *emic* and *etic*. *Emic* identifies "information provided by 'natives'", as perceived and narrated or explained from natives' experience. It "describes *what* and *how* the native thought." *Etic* on the other hand, deals with "the perspective of the external investigator" as determined by the knowledge available to him/her. It employs cross-cultural comparison "by taking into account a full range of factors not mentioned or considered in native reports … They seek to explain *why* the native thought and behaved so and not otherwise."

Therefore, as Elliott (1993:37-38) says, a method of analysis can include both *emic* and *etic* concepts as "means for *distinguishing and clarifying the differences between the social location of the interpreter and the social location of the authors and the objects to be interpreted.*" This social location encompasses all aspects of social life such as social classes, gender, ethnicity, roles and status, nationality, occupation, education, group membership, political and religious affiliation, language and cultural traditions, location in time and space.

At the same time, Elliott (1993:61-62), explains that social environment can be directed to either "features of social system… [institutions] or features of the cultural system…[values]." Research can range from the macro-level to the micro-level of "social relations." In this case, *"systemic* analyses" deal with structures of the social system "as a whole and the interrelation of its constituent sectors." This ranges from the natural environment, resources, knowledge, and technology, economic and social systems and processes of organization and socialization; the political-military-legal system; personality structures, cultural systems, the relation of the social system to external factors and forces.

Consequently, these cross-cultural and social systems are relevant in applying postcolonial theory to reading the gospel of Matthew and in investigating practices of political occupation, oppression, discrimination based on gender, class, ethnicity or religious and political differences. This research argues that the Matthean community is a post-war community, thereby falling in a postcolonial context. This particular study engages the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7), in light of the core value of justice and righteousness in order to understand the teachings and acts of Jesus, with specific reference to the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28). Finally, the findings are also used in a cross-cultural test of relevance within the Banyamulenge community.