

**The Paradox of Ambivalence and Agency in Colonial Self: Evaluating Discourses of Nationalism, Patriotism, and Civilization with Reference to Intimate Enemy**

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**Abstract**

Colonialism was a rupture in history of colonial societies where a linear historicist dimension of time and progress was introduced as a new episteme in colonial space. Colonizers not only occupied the territory but also possessed the minds of colonized who perceived themselves according to Looking Glass of Civilization. (Cooley) During the mirror stage (Flax) dependent development of a new identity for the colonized self took place in gaze of M/Other (the West). West sometimes defined the subject races as enemy of values (Fanon) and sometimes as a Child. (Nandy) Colonial relations were not simple master-slave relations where power was exercised from the top; rather these relations were dialectical in nature where both were synthesized in a new formation. In process not only the colonized were reshaped according to Western values but a homogenous west was also discursively constructed marginalizing many aspects of Western civilization. Resistance discourses also discursively constructed a new past exaggerating the masculine aspects of their culture to counter the West. The paper is an attempt to study the paradox of ambivalence and agency in colonial spaces by double reading Ashis Nandy's "The Intimate Enemy: The Loss and Recovery of Self", in light of psychoanalytical/postmodern theories of Cooley, Lacan, Guttari and Lyotard; and postcolonial thinkers like Frantz Fanon.

**Key Words:** Colonialism, Self, Looking Glass Self, Mirror Self, Hybridity, Westernization, Indian Civilization, Masculinity, Fertility, Fanon, Gandhi

**Introduction**

Modernity is the culture of Europe originating in Europe in response to parallel developments in political and economic arenas of life. The prime emphasis of modernity is on individual as thinking<sup>1</sup> being having agency on life. Change is the essence of modernity. "All is in flux, nothing stays still". The modern individual

transforms his self and restructures the world. (Nester 19-20)

In age of Enlightenment modern individuals broke the traditional authority and an intellectual, political and economic revolution sprouted in Europe. Modern minds questioned everything and this critical attitude in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century promoted a certain way of thinking, speaking and acting

hence prompting “certain relationship to what exists, to what one knows, to what one does; a relationship to society and culture; and also a relationship to others”. (Foucault 191)

Renaissance gave birth to episteme<sup>2</sup> of enlightenment and what was true in previous episteme no longer remained relevant. In words of Immanuel Kant, it was “man’s release from his self incurred tutelage. Tutelage is man’s inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another”. (Kant)

The downside of this development was studied by the Karl Marx, Nietzsche, Herbert Marcuse and Foucault who considered, man “alienated” from his “self”, and “spirit”, a “one dimensional” “hollow man”, trapped in institutions”, as a wealth producer. Sigmund Freud argued that “civilization itself springs not from noble dream but from the sublimation of humanity’s most base hungers”. (Nester 21) This unending urge led the enlightened Western man to expand its horizon in “age of sail” and reconstruct the “brave new world” according to its own image.

The two concept “*terra nullius*” and “*tabula rasa*” legitimized European occupation of territories belonging to “others”, and binding this “other” in tutelage of European authority. The literal meaning of the two terms “empty lands”, and minds as “empty slates” contributed in expansion of Europe not only geographically but also psychologically. The concept “*terra nullius*” legitimized European expansion in non Christian lands. “Whether it was a civilization thousands of years old or the

headman of a wandering band of hunter gatherers”, it came under sway. (Nester 28) As there was no concept of time in a chronological order and linear history in terms of past, present and future, in non European world; the history books registered the date of birth of these lands and people with the advent of Europe. As Human mind is considered to be a “*tabula rasa*” at birth (Majeed) Hence, the concept “*Tabula Rasa*” contributed in expansion of West as a psychological category and endo-colonize the colonial subjects in a way that “the west is now everywhere, within the West and outside, in structures and minds, and this colonization survives the demise of empire. (Nandy xi)

The paper is an inquisitive inquiry into subtle psychological processes that made the colonial self, by re-reading Ashis Nandy, “*Intimate Enemy: the Loss and Recovery of self*”. The two essays that comprise the book, i.e. “*The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age and Ideology in British India*” and the “*Un colonized Mind: A Postcolonial View of India and the West*”, according to Nandy are “alternative mythography of history”. (Nandy xv) The paper will analyze the themes discussed in these essays, in light of psychoanalytical theories of self given by Charles Horton Cooley (Cooley), Jacques Lacan(Flax), Michel Foucault (Foucault), Jean Francois Lyotard (Lyotard), and Felix Guattari (Guattari). The paper is divided in four sections.

The first section of this study will focus on Construction of homogenous Western Civilization; that itself was a myth. The Eurocentric world order, was based on a multiplicity of superior-subordinate

relations, i.e. “the absolute superiority of the humans over the nonhuman and subhuman, the masculine over the feminine, the adult over the child, the historical over the ahistorical, the modern or progressive over the traditional or the savage”. (Nandy x) Hence the process of writing western codes on non western mind was not a simplistic procedure. In process, West constructed itself as a homogenous entity repressing and marginalizing the other aspects of its culture.

The second section will trace the resistance discourses that highlighted the similar aspects of non western tradition to counter the West. In process the resistance discourses also internalized the dominant values of west. The psychoanalytical theories of Cooley, Lacan, Foucault and Lyotard will provide an insight into the making of colonial subject.

India was a civilization far greater than the one that conquered it. Nandy believes that the Indian civilization was neither pre-modern nor anti-modern, but non-modern; a unique entity by itself. (Nandy 74) The civilizational imprints were deeply engraved on Indian mind; India also penetrated deep in the psyche of western people, who lived it. The third section of this study will deal with the paradox of ambivalence and agency in colonial subjects at the same time tracing the imprints of India on Indianized Westerners like Kipling, Orwell and people like Annie Basset; the Westernized Indian like Aurobindo, the reformists and a huge multitude of middle class Indians.

The fourth section will focus on resistance to colonization discourses and will to regain

the lost self especially emphasizing on strategies provided by Frantz Fanon and Mahatma Gandhi.

### **I. Eurocentric Universals and Construction of homogenous West**

Nandy historical exploration reveals that in nineteenth century dream of one world re-emerged in European thought. Colonialism generated the prospects of a fully homogenized, technologically controlled, absolutely hierarchical world with defined polarities between west and non west, “like the modern and the primitive, the secular and the non secular, the scientific and unscientific, the expert and the layman, the developed and the underdeveloped, the vanguard and the led, the liberated and salvable”. (Nandy x)

Conquest and territorial annexation remained a permanent feature of human history as “bandit kings robbed, maimed and killed but they did so without a civilizational mission”. (Nandy xi) Authored by the liberals, modernists, and believers of science, equality, and progress the European conquest and colonization was comprehensive and total in nature as it did so with a civilization mission, and colonized societies had to change their cultural priorities.

According to Ralph Fox, “India had been conquered many times before. But this conquest differed from all those preceding in that it was made by the people possessing a higher civilization, based on a higher system of production than Asiatic feudalism”. Colonialism was a rupture from the past, a shift in all modes of living. Fox calls it a revolution that introduced Western

capitalism in feudal Eastern society, eroded old social forms, created new classes, saved peasantry from feudal exploitation and established order. (Fox 12-13)

Image of India; that persisted in European imagination for centuries, was that of a fabulous land of untold wealth, and mystical happenings. (Thapar 1) For utilitarian thinkers like J.S. Mill, the story of economic riches of India was the creation of British aristocracy, to justify Britain's role as an imperial nation. Mill is of the view that the notion of cultural richness of India was also a myth constructed by Orientalists to conceal the actual backwardness of India and avoid the tiring business of reform. To Mill, there could be "no reason to hold India other than the desire of a grand utilitarian experiment" to create a new type of society in colonies. Mill maintained that "past had no relevance for defining cultural identity". Indian historical records and poetry was described by Mill as the "offspring of a rude and ungoverned imagination". (Majeed)

The views to transform and restructure Indian society according to universal logical principles of enlightenment were also shared by the humane socialists. Karl Marx being the protagonist of Historicist thought believes that transformation of Indian society was a historical necessity. "The question, is can mankind fulfill its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she the unconscious tool of history". (Said 153)

The idea of time, unfolding in successive, progressive stages on a deterministic path is at base of European modernity. Dipesh

Chakrabarty is of the view that, historicism posited in the way is a "measure of cultural distance", presumed to exist between the West and the Non-West. It legitimized the idea of civilization in colonies. (Chakrabarty 7)

This cultural distance was measured in terms of material progress and achievement. Edward Said reading of Carlyle and Caussin shows that cultural heritage of India and Orient ignited an anxiety in Western mind but they camouflaged this nervousness with the claims of achievement. "Orient need not cause us undue anxiety, so unequal are Oriental and European achievements". Same stereotypical sentiments about India were expressed by Macaulay in his famous "Minute" of 1835, where he asserted that our native subjects have more to learn from us than we do from them". (Said 152)

According to Nandy the will to reform and engineer Indian society on British patterns also affected the British internal culture. It limited the cultural role of women, and femininity declaring the softer aspects of human nature as irrelevant to public sphere. The Social Darwinist concept of survival of fittest marveled the norms of competition, achievement and control. It created a "false sense of homogeneity in Great Britain, discouraging the cultural criticism, and suppressing sub-national and class divisions". British society was culturally dominated by a small class of ambitious elites with no place of dissenting views contrary to nationalist sentiments.

Counting on James Morris Nandy draws inference that, dominant narrative of imperialism displayed that "British

genuinely believed they to be performing a divine purpose....in name of God and the Queen". In mayhem of achievement, the instrumental rationality of colonialism games of truth<sup>3</sup>, ignored the "tragedy of Colonialism". It was the tragedy of the "etceteras of Britain", i.e. the younger sons and women. Morris in Farewell the Trumpets: An Imperial Retreat writes that, "nobody who wandered among the imperial gravestones, though pondering the sadness of their tragedies, could fail to wonder at the waste of it all, the young lives thrown away, the useless courage, unnecessary parting, and the fading image of the empire, seemed then to be hazed in the mist of tears". (Nandy 30-34)

The phenomenon of territorial expansion was not new. Nandy laments that "the ancient forces of human greed and violence, found a new legitimacy in doctrines of secular salvation, in the ideologies of progress, normality, hyper-masculinity, and in theories of cumulative growth of science and technology. (Nandy x)

The colonialism was not a simple hierarchical relation of oppressor and oppressed; a metro pole and colony; Great Britain and India. The untold narratives of British marginalized classes highlight the suppression and violence inside the hegemonic Britain too. The same process of endo-colonization was replicated in India as well. Colonialism according to Nandy is a state of mind that starts with the sharing of codes between the ruler and the ruled. It alters the cultural priorities on both sides and brings to center certain values while recessing the certain others. (Nandy 2) The general attributes of subordination in South

Asian Society are expressed on similar patterns of class, caste, age, gender and office, creating a hierarchy of colonized within the colony. (Gandhi 1) "Britannia not only ruled the waves, it also ruled the future of human self consciousness".

## **II. Looking Glass Self/ Mirror stage and Construction of Colonial Self**

Nandy is of the view that some sections of Indians are the sole surviving British in the world. (Nandy 35) Simplistically Indians embraced British Self. In words of Nandy non-west is the creation of west. He pays homage to victor who possessed the "Other"<sup>4</sup>, gazed it and recreated it. But how and why, it was made possible? Two possible explanations of this process of acculturation can be provided by psychoanalytical and sociological theories of self.

- i. West created the non west as half-savage half-child, as an anthropological category to be known.
- ii. Non-West accepted the looking glass description about it(self) and embraced west as M/Other in mirror stages of its development

### **i. Non West as an Anthropological Category**

Talal Asad constructing his argument on Foucault famous dictum power/knowledge<sup>5</sup> maintains that enlightenment reason is pretentious to the truth about the reason of non European tradition. West's knowledge about the non western world is at the same time disciplinary and disciplining. Language games played through western disciplines are historicist and therefore ideological

matters<sup>6</sup>, hence in need of deconstructive investigation. (Hirschkind 1)

The colonial power structure made the colonial subject an “object of study”. Colonization made the object accessible and observable in close proximity. It also made possible the intimacy and human relations required for anthropological fieldwork. But asymmetry in dialectics of power assured that intimacy to be one sided and provisional. (Asad, Anthropology and Colonial Encounter 17)

Leela Gandhi maintains that power is the gap between those who have it and those who must suffer it. Power designates the imaginative space to be occupied, a cultural model to be intimated and replicated. (Gandhi 15)

The idea of a homogenous uncontested Europe remains a silent referent of all historical knowledge(s). Even the Subaltern studies can be evaluated as a variant of master narrative i.e. “the history of Europe”, from the stand point and position of subject. (Chakarbarty 27-28) As Fanon puts it that the “colonized intellectual learned from his masters that the individual must assert himself. . (Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth Translated by Richard Philcox 11) Subalterns studies presume subalterns as self-determining historical agents, who challenged, resisted and attempted to liberate themselves from the oppressive structure that inhabit them, but desire to discover or recover agency according to Wilson is itself part of Eurocentric narrative of historical change. (Wilson 181) Nandy acknowledges that westernization is more subtle than it appears as it not only produces

the models of conformity but also models of dissent. Anti-colonial is also promoted and specified by modern world view of rationality. Hence the dissent remains controlled and predictable within the limits set by the Western disciplinary norms. (Nandy xii)

#### Looking Glass Self of Non-West

Fanon is of the view that, in order to assimilate the culture of oppressor, and venture into his fold, the colonized subject had to pawn some of its cultural possessions. He has to assimilate the way colonial bourgeoisie thinks. To engage in dialogue, he turns into a kind of mimic man, who nods his assent to every word. (Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth Translated by Richard Philcox 13)

Nandy, being the psychoanalyst seeks answer to why question, in western conception of linear progress and stage theories of human and societal development. According to this doctrine of progress the childhood is no longer, a happy, blissful prototype, as it used to be in peasant Europe, it looked like a blank slate on which adults might write their moral codes, an inferior version of maturity. Counting on Weberian analysis of Protestant Ethics, it is the responsibility of adult to save the child. (Nandy 15)

In Lacan theory, the M/Other and other are confounded. The “Other” operates as an independent force, and its effects on the subject have no dependence on the interactions of the child’s relation with actual others. The infant recognizes its dependence on her. Dependence induces a crisis of self esteem or loss of perfection. To

Lacan this dependence is self created, because; if something is not self created it remain alien and alienating. (Flax 95-96) By creating such dependence on alien/external, and Other the aliens break in deep in the self. Lacan believes that subject transforms, when it assumes an image whose predestination is already indicated by the M/Other.

Lacan build his theory of mirror stage of development on Cooley idea of Looking Glass self. Cooley idea of self stands on two base principles.

- a. The imagination of our appearance to other;
- b. The imagination of Other's judgment of self appearance and some sort of feeling about self like pride or indignity based on the judgment of other.

Cooley believes that the thing that induces pride or shame cannot be a mere reflection of us, but an imagined effect of this reflection upon (an) other's mind. (Cooley 179-85)

Hence, the mirror stage of human development according to Cooley is the product of (mis)understanding, when subject is alienated from itself and introduced to an imaginary order. "No Self is an island", hence self, according to Lyotard exists in that order of relations and becomes a "nodal point" of a special communication circuit that informs self not only about its image but also about its desires. (Lyotard 15) Guattari believes that unconscious remains bound to archaic fixation that shapes his orientations towards the future. (Guattari)

Discourse of colonialism was a violence<sup>7</sup> that shifted the tectonic plates of

indigenous/native existence by transforming its vectors of subjectifications. Black man desires to be a white man (Fanon, Black Skin White Masks translated by Charles Lam Markmann) is not different from the desires of mimic "Brown Sahib".

### **III. Encounter with Other: The Paradox of Ambivalence and Agency**

In colonial space two cultures come in contact with each other. Nandy negates the established view that it was a zero sum game, ending in transformed cultural priorities of the one having lesser power. In a way Nandy, follows the Foucauldian approach to power that assumes power to circulate among social relations. It is not the prerogative of the dominant to exercise it actively upon a passive victim. It is rather exercised through and by the dominated. (Sheridan 139) Though the administrators of colonialism, created checks to maintain a provisional and limited interaction of colonizers with the subject races, but the two cultures came in contact with each other and translated the norms of "Other". The mode of cultural translation led to dissent on both sides of the binary.

#### **i. Ambivalence towards India in West**

Nandy notes four ways the west translated the Indian norms and society.

Rudyard Kipling when gazed his image in the looking glass of European civilization, he disowned that aspect of his self that identified with his Indianness because it invoked a feeling of victimization in him. He identified himself with his British self celebrating the valor of empire. (Nandy 37-38)

George Orwell work is opposite to Kipling. He was capable of understanding his image as imperialists in the eyes of subject. He dealt with the anxieties and fears of colonizer. He believed that British colonialism has created a demand for a “mother culture”, which created a distance not only between the imperialists and subjects but also induced the colonizer to embrace a hyper masculine trait not to be ashamed in eyes of subject races. Orwell, being a reluctant imperialist, is representative of critical morality and concise of west, who dissented from the imperial norms. Orwell laments the “suppression of one’s self for sake of an imposed imperial identity”. (Nandy 39-40)

Third response was dissent inside the Britain and limited to spaces like Oxbridge and Bloomsbury, represented in writings of Oscar Wilde, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Foster etc. Their writings are a protest against the colonialism and views associated with this. It was a voice of dissent to protect the more feminine aspects of British self. ”. (Nandy 42)

Last response was from a numerical minority who opted for an Indian self. India to them was an alternative vision of an ideal society outside the instrumental, rational modern Britain. India offered them a vision of religiosity, knowledge, and an image of British suppressed self. They fought for the cause of India, and preservation of what was unique to India. The people like Sister Nivedita, Annie Besent, Mira Behan recognized the superiority of Indian tradition and unselfconsciousness. (Nandy 36)

Dissent in India to Corroborate with Western Norms

The trend to recognize the cultural superiority of West was more common in Indian educated middle classes. Nandy takes the example of Aurobindo Ackroyd Ghose, whose middle name was given by the Anglicized father at birth. The father wanted his son to embrace west completely suppressing his Indian genes. Nurtured in English manners he was sent to Darjeeling with his English governess, where majority of students were of British origin.

Later he was sent to Cambridge, where rebel inside him came out. He got him disqualified in ICS by not appearing in riding tests, delivered nationalist speeches in Indian Majlis, and joined a secret group fighting for Indian cause. On coming back he learnt his mother tongue Bengali along with Sanskrit, Marathi and Gujarati. Aurobindo became a principal of a nationalist college as well as editor of a nationalist periodical.

Since Darjeeling days Aurobindo was passing through spiritual experiences. His spirituality was rooted in Indian tradition. He saw India as a powerful mother *Sakti*, being oppressed by the West and had to be liberated through blood sacrifice. He was arrested on charges of sedition in 1909, and have to move to Pondicherry (a French Colony) in 1910.

Aurobindo Indian self came in conflict with his Western self till the time he met Mira Paul Richard a 37 year old French women. According to Aurobindo he and Mira were working together since the dawn of history. The Aurobindo Ashram gave Mira the titles



of Sri Ma, the Mother. Aurobindo accepted Mira as his Sakti (force). Like any M/Other in Lacanian way, Mira operated independently while tightening her grid around Aurobindo. Relation with the powerful committed women from Europe symbolized by the Mother led Aurobindo to draw conclusion that East was incomplete without M/Other West and “his West was partial without her East”. M/Other became Sri Aurobindo’s force. He gradually discovered East inherent in his “self”, and then permanently lost this “east in west, to find out the last stage of perfection; that came through complete surrender to divine mother. (Nandy 93-96)

Aurobindo surrendered to West, but translating the cultural norms of India in terms of rationality was also the objective of Indian political, social and religious reform movements of 19<sup>th</sup> century aiming an Indian Renaissance.

The war oriented Ksatriyahood was celebrated to be the icon of true Indianness. In efforts to corroborate with Western norms, religious reformists revisited religion. Nandy reading of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, writing “Meghnadvadh Kavya”, reveals that he reversed the roles of Rama and Ravana, in direct response to colonial situation. He admired Ravana for his masculine vigor, warrior hood, his commitment to secular, possessive, consumer lust for life. He “gave Ravana a new stature as a scientific, learned, modern Ksatriya king, fighting the non- secular, anti-technologism of a banished pastoral prince”. (Nandy 19-20)

Modern Europe not only delegitimized feminity but also childhood. (Nandy 16) To Nandy the religious reformists like Bankimchandra Chatterjee, essay on Krsna, caricatured a self, consistent, self conscious and moral Krsna according to Western norms, in place a soft, childlike, playful god. Nandy criticizes that Chatterjee converged Krsna into a didactic, hard, non pagan god meeting the requirements of Christian and Islamic god. (Nandy 23-24)

Nandy is of the view that reformists owed the colonization as a result of loss of masculinity. To them cultural regression of Hindus was due to loss of original Aryan values that Indians shared with Westerners. The reformist saw a renaissance in revival of Aryan values. Hence the rationalist reformers like Swami Dayanand named his church as Arya Samaj.

The search for martial Indianness to compete the British motivated the semi westernized, middle class urban youth of Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab. They sought to redeem Indian masculinity by defeating the British. (Nandy 7-9) It was clearly the mode of violence that was advocated by Fanon but denounced by Gandhi. Nandy sees the philosophy of Gandhi as the preservation of true Indian self.

### **Preserving the Unique Indian Self**

Based on Nandy’s commentary in previous section, we established that Indian corroborated the Western norms of hyper masculinity in hyper Ksatriyahood to counter, resist and defeat west. It was not an anti thesis to colonial ideals rather a validation of Western ideals to dominate and

subjugate. The real anti thesis was presented in Gandhian idea(1)s.

Gandhi tried to be the living symbol of the “other” west. (Nandy 48) His ideal was antithesis of the English imperialism but not the anti thesis of what was latent in English tradition. Gandhi cut across the cultural barriers between Britain and India. He tried to rediscover the softer side of human nature, the non masculine self that was relegated to a marginalized status in western orientation of self. (Nandy 48)

Gandhi was the advocate of *Naritva*<sup>8</sup>. He rejected history and affirmed the primacy of myth. He presented an alternative to uni-linear historicist history alternatively constructing the concept of multi linear history<sup>9</sup> affirming the primacy of myths (Nandy 56) Gandhi’s creative politics was the “acceptance of suffering”. (Nandy 106)

Gandhi gave society and average Indian, an option to choose their future, without heroes, without high drama, without a search for origin and ambition for the final victory. (Nandy 62) But Gandhi himself derived this vision from average Indian who remained a survivor for centuries; “The Indian who lived with the awareness and possibility of long term suffering, always seen himself protecting his deepest faith with the passive, ‘feminine’, cunning of the weak and victimized, surviving outer pressures, by refusing to over emphasize his sense of autonomy and ego”. (Nandy 111)

This average Indian is the one hated most by the colonialists who celebrate the martial races of Indian, who fought and lost. Resistance mode and action politics of this

average Indian is best reflected in Satyagraha.

#### **IV. (Non) Violence: Gandhi and Fanon**

Leela Gandhi analyses of strategies of (Non) Violence given by Gandhi and Fanon reveals that both are contrasting and the difference between the two is self evident yet both strategies are similar in many respects, based on collective communal action and solidarity amongst the weak. (Gandhi 20)

The two concepts provided by Mahatma Gandhi as strategy of liberation were, *Satyagraha*, and *Ahimsa*. Satyagraha was “not mere passive resistance...but an intense political activity, by large masses of people. It was a legitimate, moral and truthful form of political action by the people against unjust rule”. Ahimsa the “celebrated” notion of Gandhian ideology was complementing strategy to Satyagraha. “It was not much about resistance, as about the modalities of resistance...about rules of conduct, strategies and tactics” using the moral force of soul”. The both concepts were about saying “No”, to unjust laws, at the same time abiding the laws. (Chatterjee 103, 107) Mahatma the Socrates of India, motivated by the idea of eternal truth, and a “religio-political vocabulary”, obeyed the laws of colonial state, showing the world, the oppressive side of the regime.<sup>10</sup>

In introduction of Frantz Fanon seminal work the “Wretched of the Earth”, Homi K Bhabha writes that, all aspects of life for the colonized including the “colonized body, soul, culture community, history”, are in a process of continued agony, on way to a total disappearance. Hence, *Collective*

*Violence* becomes a part of a struggle for psycho-affective survival and a search for human agency in the midst of agony of oppression; it is not a choice between life and death but life in death. (Fanon xxxvi) What motivates the colonized to violence is their ego. "Every time they hear themselves called an animal by the "other", they know they are not animals...and moments they discover their humanity they begin to sharpen weapons. (Fanon 11)

Both thoughts matured in third space, neither in Europe nor at home i.e. in South Africa and Algeria, passing through the same trauma of external rule and experiencing the similar agony suffered by their own communities. Both contributed to the cause of weak. (Gandhi 20)

Gandhi like Fanon was aware of the fact that colonization was total. Gandhi laments the ordeal of ambivalent colonial populace like this "that we want the English rule without the Englishman. You want the tiger nature but not the tiger" (Gandhi 21) As the "Black soul is a white man's artifact". "What does the black man want?...he wants to be white" (Fanon 16) Hence total liberation is which concerns all the sectors of personality. According to Fanon "what was the point of fighting, if nothing was really destined to change" (Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* Translated by Richard Philcox 35)

### **Conclusion**

The two concepts terra nullius and tabula rasa i.e. the territorial expansion to lands belonging to non Europeans and controlling the minds and transforming the subject into a mimic man were essential to colonial

discourses. Ashis Nandy makes distinct the two genres of colonialism. Bandit mode of colonialism was violent but transparent reflecting the self interest, greed and rapacity. The second one crafted by the rationalists, modernists and liberals with a claim to be the messianic harbinger of civilization was more insidious than the violent mode. (Gandhi 15) Leela Gandhi is of the view that Nandy's psychoanalytic reading of the colonial encounter evokes Hegel's paradigm of master slave relations. Each self has before it another self, and through which it secures its identity. Initially there is antagonism and enmity between these two confronting selves; both aims to cancel, murder and destroy the other. A temporary situation arises when one is merely recognized and the other recognizes. (Gandhi 16)

It was a great accomplishment of thinking, rational western being emerged from his self incurred tutelage of guardians to attain the status of guardian for the rest of mankind and domesticate them. This enlightened guardian was not different from the one he resisted and claimed agency. "The guardians have first made their domestic cattle dumb and have made sure that these placid creatures will not dare take a single step without the harness of the cart to which they are tethered". (Kant)

With its encounter with the rest, West restructured itself according to norms of hyper-masculinity, adulthood, historicism, objectivism, rationalism, and individualism and material progress. Dipesh Chakrabarty is of the view that "West is the name for a subject which gathers itself in discourse and also an object constituted discursively".

(Chakarbarty 1) Indian self being the victim of a culture of hyper masculinity, historicism and hypernormality, conformed to rules maintained by the language games of rulers.

Despite conformity to hegemonic norms Indian self according to Nandy is a survivor. It fought the aggressor through Satyagraha i.e., the perfection of weakness. It internalized the victor's values and resisted according to rules of the game. Internality according to Asad is not a modern phenomenon. For thousands of years various ascetic traditions has articulated reflexive subjectivities, by maintaining a boundary between what is internal to the person and a relationship of that inside to what is external in a different manner. (Asad, Responses

240) Indian self according to Nandi, with his non –heroic ordinariness is a survivor who makes all round compromises but refuse to be psychologically swamped. (Nandy 111)

Ashis Nandy's "commentary of commentaries" on colonialism creates a dialectics between inner and outer manifestations of power. Although it is not a detailed account but a crisp one that displays the constitution of Indian selfhood, the minds of the perpetrator as well as the colonized, at the same time focusing on the pressing issues of agency, resistance and ambivalence.(Deftereos 6) It's homage to victor as well as to the (dis)possessed charged with the responsibility to preserve the civilizational heritage of India.

#### **Endnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on Enlightenment focus on Descartes' famous notion "I think, therefore I am". In his famous article of Kant that set the course of European history, "What is Enlightenment", he believes that Enlightenment is *sapere aude*. It is "the courage to use one's own reason".(Kant) The latter critiques posed by Nietzsche and Michel Foucault lament the individualism inherent to modern culture. Nietzsche focuses on the spiritual aspect of modernity and condemns the modern man for "death of God". Foucault is more subtle and mourns the death of "murderer of God", i.e., the Man (Nester 21) who in process himself is killed by the individualizing techniques and totalitarian procedures, making himself just a cog in a big totality, as a utilitarian wealth producing being. (Merquior 43) Happiness in the culture of modernity is the pursuit of material that caused an endless competition in name of progress.

<sup>2</sup> Foucault divides human history in three episteme (long periods), i.e. the Classic, Renaissance and Enlightenment. To Foucault Episteme is the basement of thought; a priori that makes thinking possible; a cognitive and mental infrastructure, underlying all strands of knowledge; a conceptual grid at a given age. (Merquior 37-38)

<sup>3</sup> Games of Truth, is a set of related activities that conceive and produce an intended outcome. The games of truth according to Foucault are based on true discourses and make them function as truth. These true discourses are disseminated by the political structures that articulate such discourses in concrete form into the social body

<sup>4</sup> Master-slave relationship is best described in Sartre existentialist philosophy. Sartre writes, "I am possessed by the Other; the other look fashion my body in its nakedness, cause it to be born,

sculptures it, produce it as it is, sees it as I shall never see it, the other holds a secret---the secret of what I am". (Gandhi 17)

<sup>5</sup> Foucault establishes that knowledge is not independent of working of power. The famous dictum power/knowledge coined by Foucault implies that power is dependent on knowledge. It creates patterns of domination that seems natural and normal. Foucault argues that modern society, through their claims to knowledge and expertise, have transformed unstable relations in general patterns of domination. To Foucault "we are subjected to production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth". (Philip 75)

<sup>6</sup> Historicism is the doctrine of history that aims at historical prediction. History is unfolding itself on a predetermined path. The idea of movement of history is the curtain raiser for the ideologies of social science that served as belief, i.e., the liberalism, socialism etc. The ideology behind colonialism is also the doctrine of linear progression to a determined destination for entire mankind.

<sup>7</sup> Discourse according to Foucault is a violence which we do to things. It brings to life new formations and generates a system of existence by establishing the system of relations. Human subjectivities according to Foucault are shaped by a holistic field of aggregate relations that shape individual identity, characteristics, aspirations and desires. (Foucault 201-202)

<sup>8</sup> The concept of *naritva* was stressed by Gandhi fifty years prior to inception of Women Liberation Movement in West. Gandhi owed this idea of *naritva* to Indian tradition of womanhood. It is a belief in a close connection between power, activism and femininity, a reverse to the western construct of power, activism and masculinity. Gandhi was of the opinion that the feminine principle is more powerful than male principle. He considered women power as mother superior to women as an object of sexuality. (Nandy 53-54)

<sup>9</sup> The Historicist linear history moves in a pre determined direction. Pre-History → Objective stage bound History → End of History. Gandhi conceives this view of history as ideology. Gandhi was the product of the society that takes past as means to reaffirm present. The multi linear historical path conceived by Gandhi is based on Indian myth. The multi linear progression goes like this. Past as a special case of present → Fractured Present → Remaking of present including past → New Past. History can follow circular paths and unfold in multiple ways.

<sup>10</sup> Salt March practically combined both the Satyagraha and Ahimsa. According to Ashis Nandy, behind the Salt March" lies years of patient preparation". The Satyagrahis were trained to obtain "strength through perfecting weakness". Gandhi himself renounced eating salt for six years. (Nandy 105) Ahimsa was a strategy to denounce economic exploitation as well by turning towards the tradition. "I do regard the spinning—wheel as a gateway to my spiritual salvation, but I recommend it to others only as a powerful weapon for the attainment of *Swaraj* and the amelioration of the economic condition of the country. (Chatterjee 108)

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