Theology of D.S. Amalorpavadass Aiming at Building Human Community

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I Part[2]

Introduction

D.S. Amalorpavadass[3] (1932-1990) is acknowledged for the tireless efforts he made to pave the way for imparting a radical renewal in the life and mission of the Indian Church in the post-Vatican II era. His theological reflections were directed towards changing the colonial face of Christianity into an Indian image based on the teaching of the Second Vatican Council and on the spirit of Indian Nationalism in India's post-Independent period which is considered as the period of cultural awareness. Remarkable changes have taken place in democratic India since its political independence in 1947. More particularly during the last 20 years Indian realities have been in flux and reflux. New realities have been throwing up new challenges to the present generation. Today the pressing challenge that hits the nation and the Church is the question of identity: who is Indian in the context of cultural-religious, regional and linguistic pluralism? These issues have been under discussion and the subject of debate at the core of politics due to the contradictory forces and contrasting ideologies that interpreted Indian-ness by holding different convictions about Indian nationalism. Especially the extreme and exclusive arguments of Hindu nationalism that "identify anything Hindu as Indian and anything Christian as foreign"[4] disturb and endanger the pluralism and secularism of India. Amalor was aware of the initial stages of

Hindu nationalism which was in a seminal phase and probably not as acute in his time as it is now. Critically revisiting Amalor and re-reading his theology will help the present generation to meet and respond to the emerging challenges of religious fundamentalism and political communalism.

Three Different Trends of Indian Nationalism and Identity-Politics

The very idea of Indian nationalism that emerged and sought to define Indian unity and Indian identity during the era of colonialism became in the course of time the cause of many contrasting ideologies that have given rise to religious conflicts in Indian society. In the beginning, the political movement called the Indian National Congress headed by Gandhi represented the Indian nationalism or Congress nationalism that searched for political freedom with a secular identity for the nation. During this time, Ârya Samâj, a religious movement set up by **Dayanand Sarasvati in 1875** emerged with a view to the revival of Hinduism. The nationalist feeling given by this movement urged Hindus to discover Indian identity by being Hindu. Ârya Samâj identified the 'nation' and the 'national culture' as basically Hindu, as deriving from Vedic times, and as fundamentally a creation of the Aryans.[5] Accordingly it called on people belonging to the different religious traditions to go 'Back to the Vedas' and this is described by S.M. Michael as the beginning of the process of *'Aryanization* or *Brahminization'*. Ârya Samâj criticized Islam and Christianity for their foreign origin and for not being culturally rooted in India. Further, it considered Christianity as an agent of westernization and modernization that disturbed and questioned the existing Indian social set-up and status quo that was constructed in accordance with the Brahmanical world-vision of the caste system. It launched a conversion-

movement called *suddhi* that had the mission of reconverting those who had already crossed over to Islam and Christianity and whose cardinal objective was to establish a Hindu nation by establishing one religion and one culture in India.[6] Inspired by the Ârya Samâj, Bal Gangadhar Tilak looked for Indian nationalism on the basis of Hindu categories and Hindu-ness.[7] This led to a division within the Congress in 1919.

In the course of time, a number of Hindu movements emerged with the same intention of establishing Hindu pride and they are called *Sangh Parivar* (Family organisations)[8] whose ideology is 'Hindutva'. Subhash Anand describes Hindutva as an upper-caste 'Brahmanical nationalism' whose aim is to build an Indian society in accordance with the Vedic age and with the Vedic dharma of karma, i.e., caste-based Hindu society. According to Sunil Khilnani, this project of building "Hindu rastra" is called 'Indianisation' in the political agenda of the BJP that has dedicated itself to this process by the forging of 'one nation, one people, one culture'.[9] Stanislaus considered this process as a 'Brahmanization' process[10] that brings dalits and tribals into the caste hierarchy of Hindu society where they become another low caste.[11] For the Sangh Parivar 'culture' means Brahmanical culture and 'dharma' means accepting the right of the Brahmins to rule over others.[12] Savarkar's famous slogan "Hinduize the Nation, Brahmanize Hinduism and militarize Brahmanism" witnesses to the Brahmanical version of Hindu nationhood.[13] This process excludes and eliminates all the identities other than that of Hindus. In the view of Gail Omvedt, Hindu nationalism in essence is aimed at strengthening Brahminical supremacy in post-colonial India. The ideologues of secular nationalism, which was based on the abolition of class like that of Hindu nationalism, also belonged to the upper-castes and were myopic to the dalits' tribulations.[14]

In this situation there was also a third trend that was primarily subaltern insisting upon societal freedom from the inequality prevailing in society in the name of caste and gender. While the upper caste Hindus identified "nation" and "national culture" as basically Hindu, as deriving from the Vedic times, and as fundamentally a creation of the Aryan people, Jotiba Phule, E.V. Ramasami Periyar and Ambedkar, with many others throughout India envisaged a non-Aryan and anti-Brahmin and low caste vision of Indian nationalism.[15] For example, Ambedkar, the champion of the dalits, formulated an alternative form of nationalism popularly known as 'Dalit-Bahujan-nationalism'[16] that on the one hand constructed an anti-Hindu and anti-Brahamanical discourse of Indian nationalism and on the other envisaged a novel vision of the nation based on humanism, equality and human dignity. For Ambedkar, social tyranny was more oppressive than political tyranny and he was therefore more concerned about social equality than political freedom. He considered Hinduism a synonym for Brahmanism and casteism.

Amalor's Theology in the Light of Indian Nationalism

Amalor was aware of the three trends of ideologies (secular, religious and societal/subaltern) that interpreted Indian-ness and Indian identity from their respective convictions. He was probably the pioneer in treating inculturation in terms of nationalism in a socio-political perspective along with a spiritual outlook. Hence he went on insisting on the "entering into the mainstream of its national life."[17]

Amalor's treatment of national issues in the inculturation project was criticized by Paul Hacker as a "nationalized trend of adaptation and repaganization."[18] Hacker was totally against Amalor's theology of inculturation because "his modern indigenization was clearly an outcome of Indian nationalism."[19]

Paul Hacker was scandalized by Amalor's Indianisation because he thought that there was a kind of supernatural unity between the gospel and Greco-Roman civilization and so considered anything other than western as pagan.[20]

Paul Hacker's critique on Amalor is somehow helpful here in understanding how far Amalor broadened the meaning and exigencies of evangelisation in and through the act of Indianisation. His project of Indianisation was not limited to religious or cultural realms but carefully included the national and social issues connected existentially with the life of the people. Moreover, it took into account not only the relationship between gospel and Indian religions or Indian cultures but also national interests. Therefore Indian sociology and anthropology are the tangible bases for his Indianisation. His concept of inculturation was also at times named after the process of socialisation of the gospel. He stated that "the Church evangelises by socialisation and inculturation."[21]

Further, Hacker criticised Amalor for having "domesticated or nationalised the gospel". In fact Amalor's inclusive attitude and wide vision broadened the space of the gospel and included even the categories that were once stigmatized as pagan and diabolic. He broke the idea of domestication of the gospel and the tendencies that tried to claim an exclusive monopoly of the gospel that was identified only with western or religious categories.[22] So much so that he considered the gospel as anthropological theology and theological anthropology.[23] This also broke the traditional idea about 'christianization' that meant westernization in terms of socio-cultural life. Its consequence was the alienation of Christian people from their own culture, social milieus and religious traditions, evasion from their people's historical adventure and drifting away from the mainstream of national life.[24] According to Hacker civilisation

meant only western civilization, and must precede christianisation. Amalor's theology of inculturation changed radically the above interpretation of christianisation; it was no more westernisation but Indianisation of Christianity in a nationalistic sense. Accordingly the theology of Indianisation attempted to view the gospel in the light of the Indian religious and cultural traditions. Thus Amalor broke the fixed idea that Christianity had anything to do with Indian culture or religions.[25]

Amalor's theology of Indianisation can be situated not only in purely ecclesiastical issues but amidst national and social issues, especially in the context of social injustice and inequality. The dynamic process of encounter between gospel and culture is, for Amalor, inculturation or Indianisation. Gospel encountering culture implies dialoguing with cultures, religious traditions and other scriptures, dealing with the problem of caste discrimination and poverty, fighting against injustice and struggling for liberation. While Amalor considered all these issues as the loci and sources of inculturation, it is worth noting that he conceptualized, constructed and developed some remarkable paradigms of inculturation, namely pluralistic, inclusive, secular and human, by inculcating the very Preamble of the Indian Constitution. These paradigms are viewed as inspired by the God of the Bible.

The Pluralistic Paradigm of Amalor

Amalor constructed a pluralistic paradigm of inculturation by looking at a 'pluriformity' in the depth of the religious, cultural, regional and linguistic diversity of India, a 'pluriformity' underlying and connecting them all and making a basic and dynamic unity.[26] Since pluriformity and its salient features are the prime social facts, they become the first and foremost avenue for inculturation

endeavour. For Amalor therefore this pluriformity was a basic necessity for being Indian. Especially in the Indian context, the unifying force that could web all the diversities together at a converging point of a unique composite cultural tradition was 'Indian Nationalism,' said Amalor.[27] Just as they do today, the challenges that struck the Church in India were the forces of homogenisation that attempted to reduce the pluralistic nature of India within a monolithic cultural mode.[28] Consequently, in the process of homogenisation, these forces denied the right of 'the Indian identity' to the Christians.[29] In such a situation, Amalor called for "self-preservation and maintenance of one's identity that is also a basic human need both at personal and social levels. Any possible threat to it or loss of it may cause fear which inhibits freedom and growth, openness and acceptance."[30] He was fully conscious of the minority character of Christians in India: "Being less than 2% we are certainly a minority. As a minority we will be concerned about our security and identity."[31] Hence he insisted upon preserving their identity.

To avoid the possible loss of Christianity's identity and to prevent syncretism in the process of Indianisation, he demanded both Christianity and the Indian religious and cultural traditions to maintain their personal identity and articulate their uniqueness.[32] He therefore asserted that "our true and full identity is 'Indian-Christian' or 'Christian-Indian'.[33] This implies that Christians in India have a double heritage and double fidelity; they are Indians and Christians, for they are heirs to both Indian culture and the Christian faith and they are to be loyal to the nation and faithful to their religion. Amalor thus arrived at an essential aspect of Indianisation by saying, "Fully Indian and Authentically Christian."[34] That is to say that each human being in India possesses and carries more than one identity.

Until 1970 Amalor had the idea that the whole Indian Church was local and that it had one and the same national identity from the background of the global scenario. In this context he chose the predominant Brahmanical culture as the national culture. For him Indianisation referred to the theological project which was meant for the whole of India in a nationalistic sense, a sort of inculturation designed in a universal outlook in the pluralistic Indian context. Since his concern was inculturation for the nation at large, he chose popular Hindu culture in general and the Brahmanical or advaitic tradition in particular to begin with for his project. While his choice of such a dominant culture is under critical study, what is more important to be noted here is that Amalor in no way generalized Indianisation as the only norm or ideal pattern for inculturation in India; that would be a gross misunderstanding. But his very attempt and efforts were watered down and narrowly understood by many. If he had clung to only one pattern of Indianisation, his project could have been criticized as an attempt towards homogenization of inculturation, but he did not stop at that.

In the late 1970s Amalor began to ask what Indian culture actually was. Was there a specific culture known as Indian? – was the question. His answer was that Indian culture was not one but multifarious; cultural differences varied from region to region. In this context his question was: which of these cultures would the inculturation process take into consideration? In response to his own question, he passionately called for the indigenous culture of every country and region to be permeated by the spirit of the gospel, purified, enriched and fulfilled by the gospel values and incarnated in the people belonging to these cultural groups.[35] Realizing the pluralism in religion, culture and language, he opted for theological pluralism in inculturation and thus in ecclesiology. Being aware of the content and orientation of the concept 'Indianisation' which

reflects the Indian character of the Indian Church, in his last article on 'theological Reflection on Inculturation', written in 1990 just a few months before his death, Amalor proposed the necessity for pluriformity of inculturation based on social, cultural, religious and theological pluralism. He often reminded the Indian Church to seek inculturation with reference to multiple Indian cultures.[36] Basing his views on the anthropological fact of pluralism, he advocated ecclesial pluralism and consequently urged that ecclesial pluralism should lead to pastoral pluralism.[37] For Amalor inculturation was the incarnation of the gospel in different cultures and, at the same time, the introduction of these cultures into the life of the Church and in this way the universal capacity for unity in diversity was to be made true. It was in and through the affirmation of the pluriformity of ecclesiology that the universality and catholicity of the Church could be realised and concretised. And this is how equally pluriformity is celebrated as worthy to be approved and cherished through the task of inculturation.[38]

The Secular and Humanistic Paradigm of Amalor

Amalor's search for genuine Indian identity did not stop at the pluralistic paradigm but went forward to reaffirm the reality of unity in diversity by the secular and humanistic paradigms. First of all he appreciated the secularism of India because it expresses a concern for the human person, his being and becoming, his milieu and society, his history and life. Therefore, for Amalor secularism was not an anti-religious, irreligious or non-religious attitude but the most religious attitude or the expression of the universality of religions. Against this background he situated the forces that cried out for a religious society or a theocratic society. Amalor alerted his listeners to the danger of a religious society or a theocratic society because it led to religious fundamentalism, intolerance, fanaticism and communalism. In such a society, the forces of

fundamentalism attempt to measure the relevance of everything by the yardstick of religion, whereas in a secular atmosphere man is the measure of everything and the norm for every class or group if they want to be relevant.[39]

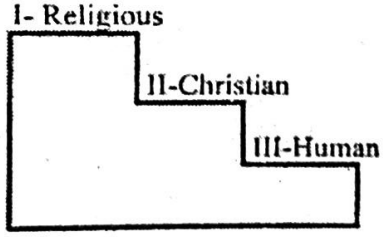
Secondly, Amalor developed his theology of Indianisation based on the Preamble of the Indian Constitution that openly declares, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic".[40] He found five values namely equality, justice, freedom, fraternity and dignity enshrined in the constitution.

> Look at the five values enshrined in the constitution, egalitarian, justice, freedom, fraternity and dignity (who is sitting, human being sitting upon human being). Can there be a national integration, social cohesion between the various ranks of the people where the disparity is everyday on the increase among the various sections whether they are social, economic groups, political or ideological groups, of various types, in the rural, urban areas and so on. Keeping that in mind we can ask ourselves what is the problem of India?[41]

Multiculturalism and religious pluralism are realities that are not unique to India but are found in many countries. Likewise poverty is not exclusive to India but is a global reality. But the reality unique to India is the dehumanisation of the vast masses by caste discrimination. Amalor stressed the five values of the constitution to answer this unique problem of India and he developed each value in a theological ambit to respond to the dehumanising forces. Accordingly, for him, the word 'justice' connoted economic, social and political dimensions; 'freedom'

ensured a five-fold freedom such as freedom of thought, freedom of conviction, freedom of expression, freedom of religion and freedom of worship; 'equality' concerned both status and opportunity. It implied that status-wise and opportunity-wise everybody is equal; 'fraternity' called on all Indians not only to be citizens but to be brothers and sisters. It aimed at creating a family relationship; and finally the term 'dignity' demanded dignity for each individual person because every individual is a 'human person'. When all the five-fold freedoms are actualized in their day-to-day life, the people who are marginalized, powerless and voiceless are liberated from the hegemonic forces and they are thus humanized.

Though in the beginning Amalor stated, "Fully Indian and Authentically Christian"[42] on the basis of the pluralistic paradigm to safeguard individual identities, in the course of time he realized the importance of humanness in the pluralistic situation where humanness and dignity are under peril due to religious and caste factors. Therefore Amalor finally placed 'human identity' as the essential for being Indian. He explained this with the following diagram of a victory-stand. With the illustration of the victory stand Amalor exhorted the clergy and the religious who were always preoccupied with religious problems and consequently did not pay attention to their human and Christian aspects. This could be applied to people of all kinds who are unconcerned about their fellow men.



> "Third prize is being just human. Everybody is human, nothing wonderful, I am somebody unique. Then you become a Christian, immediately you are much better than others, you are not like the ordinary people, that means we are extraordinary people (false identity)...Basically, fundamentally essentially we have to be human beings."[43]

Accordingly he stated that "when one is really human and fully so one is really Christian. The more human we are, the more Christian we become. To be a Christian means and includes to be fully human" says Amalor.[44] Thus he added the human aspect to his former dictum which gradually became "Fully Human is Fully Indian". This must be applied to each person who carries a religious identity, that is to say fully human is fully Hindu, fully Muslim, fully Sikh, etc. In the context of religious and cultural pluralism, the point that unites all diversities is 'human' for it surpasses all the narrow religious and caste categories and avoids conflicts that emerge from the claim of superiority and primacy of any particular religion and caste. Amalor believed that 'human' was the unifying thread that created the fabric of human communities. While the communal and exclusive forces were aimed at creating division in society, Amalor's eyes were fixed on the elements that promoted unity and integration.

Options for the Cultures of the Weaker Population Sectors

A profound study of Hindutva reveals its agenda of bringing about homogenized unity in India by creating multiplicity and fragmentation: in the name of religion people were to be homogenized and in the name of caste they were to be fragmented, stratified and multiplied. Amalor condemned both homogenized unity and multiplicity and at the same time promoted integration, fullness and wholeness.[45] To bring about "integration, fullness and

wholeness" in society, Amalor chose the values of secularism for India because they are at the service of creating a human and egalitarian society for which the visionary and revolutionary leaders like Ambedkar and E.V.R. Periyar fought. Inspired by these champions of liberation, he made a paradigm shift from Indian identity to human identity. That is to say that his theology of inculturation had in its essence the human values which were translated into the concrete action of liberation, christianisation and humanisation. For him, these three concepts were one and the same in their meaning, with of course some unique emphasis given to each concept. His human approach was oriented and directed towards humanisation and unfolded its true meaning when he dealt with the problems and issues of the poor and the oppressed.

A deep study of certain writings of Amalor shows that his project slowly began to challenge the dominating forces and also attempted to liberate the marginalized from caste discrimination and oppression and to give them a human face. In the history of the Catholic Church in India, Amalor was the pioneer who organised for the first time a National Convention involving all the churches at NBCLC in 1978 under the joint auspices of the Catholic Bishops' Conferences of India (CBCI), the National Christian Council of India (NCCI) and the Catholic Union of India for *Harijan* Welfare (CUI) to deal with "The Plight of Christians of Scheduled Caste Origin" who suffer from a double discrimination and are victims of a double injustice (religion and caste).[46]

In many of his writings, without mentioning Brahmanism, Amalor pointed out its dominating and hegemonic tendencies. Having known that Brahmins comprise only 4% of the population, he referred to them in all his writings either as a small dominant group or as the powerful minority. That is to say that the "majority

of the people are dominated by a minority, minority dominating the majority".[47] As the power holder, this powerful minority has the system of domination and enslavement, oppression and exploitation of the vast majority. It causes injustices and inequalities of all sorts. It depersonalizes and dehumanizes people.[48] The consequence is poverty and misery for more than half of the population and the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor. This status quo is justified and legitimized by the religious and ideological factors formulated by the Brahmins, and the ideology itself is nourished, supported, transmitted and perpetuated by cultures, religions and education.[49] In this view Amalor was bold enough to highlight the oppressive role of Hinduism along with its liberative role.

He felt that religious cultures in India in many ways remained a hindrance to social change, because religious taboos were sometimes used to legitimise structures of caste, untouchability and social inequality.[50] One of the ways of maintaining and justifying the social evils and status quo was through the distortion of facts and a biased interpretation of true facts. For Amalor, such an evaluation of the oppressed people by the oppressors was unfair and unjust and it was made for the rationalisation, justification and legitimisation of injustice, domination and oppression, discrimination and exclusion. He on the contrary encouraged the assessment made by the poor and the downtrodden, the powerless and voiceless and the victims of injustice and oppression, because their assessment would certainly be different from that of the rich and the dominant, the powerful and the influential.[51]

From the beginning Amalor opposed all the external and internal forces and factors that encouraged cultural alienation and domination, because the worst form of oppression and the deepest form of dehumanisation was cultural, because culture was at the

core of the human person. He perceived the danger of homogenization as a natural consequence of cultural domination. Homogenised cultural or religious unity was a threat to the weaker sections whose cultures were nullified and whose people lost their identity. In the early 1990s, Amalor deepened his social analysis and brought to light the social reality of domination and oppression carried out by the dominant groups consisting of the national elite at various levels who manipulate the various structures and control the systems to concentrate power in their hands, to have the largest share of national wealth and to enjoy a higher level of life. In so doing they are not only unconcerned about the lot of the poor masses but also dehumanise them. They impose their own value system and life-style on the dominated and gradually empty the latter of their cultures, value system, world vision and way of life. This amounts to cultural imperialism. Gradually the life-style of the dominant becomes that of the dominated.[52] Amalor considered it and condemned it as an act of dehumanisation by the dominant forces.

In the course of time Amalor responded to the problem of the cultural domination of cultural homogenisation that was consciously and systematically carried out by dominant forces like Brahmanism. The dominating process of the westerners is called westernisation whereas that of the Brahmins is called Brahmanisation or sanskritisation. The former is tolerable when compared to the latter. The cultural domination of Brahmanism is more cruel than that of the foreign colonizers, because Brahmanism intensifies and reinforces caste-based society and thus maintains the status quo. Imposing the cultural values of the dominant implies here depriving the vast masses of people of human dignity and pushing them to the sub-human condition. Amalor calls this trend "neo-colonialism and mono-cultural attitude".[53]

Being aware of the condition of the marginalised, in the early 1970s he posed the questions, "To whom should we give priority? Who should be evangelised first? tribals or hindus, harijans or caste people?"[54] Amalor was convinced of Jesus' option for the poor and the outcastes. That is to say that Christ no doubt loved all men and was universal in his saving action; but in this process he took a clear stand in favour of the poor and identified himself with the outcastes and the marginalised.

> "Is God really there? If we look at little by little, we realise God is where the poor are and therefore we have to shift God to the poor. God cannot be a partner to injustice, exploitation and consequently when you remove God, who are left there, only the rich and the religious."[55]

For Amalor, option for the poor is the meaning of Jesus' death and resurrection, the climatic event of his life![56] Following the footsteps of Christ, in the 1980s he openly declared the fact that by and large Christians are identified in most parts of India as belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the category of the poor and the marginalised in society. He felt that the Church's preference should obviously be for the poor and the down-trodden. However he was afraid that an almost exclusive identification with this marginalized group might constitute an obstacle for the other sections of Indian society and prevent them from appreciating the gospel and joining the Church. His preoccupations were the questions levelled from the high caste who often asked him whether we were not turning away from the bulk of Hindu society by making ourselves a tribal church, and whether the Church itself was not becoming marginalised, thereby losing its opportunity and possibility to preach the gospel in the mainstream of national life. In this critical situation Amalor

considered it as too delicate and complicated a problem to be solved immediately. Hence he left it as a subject to be studied![57] However he called on "the Church to have greater involvement with the oppressed classes: to struggle for the welfare of the *harijans* (dalits) and tribals, the marginalised groups".[58]

Nevertheless, in the early 1990s he strongly urged the Church, its institutions and its leaders to assume and adopt the life-style of the *harijans* (dalits) and tribals in order to identify with them and liberate them. Amalor appealed to her to give priority to the 80% dominated people, of whom 50% lived below the sub-human level.[59] He also openly acknowledged the fact that 60% of the people in the Catholic Church and nearly 80% in the Protestant churches belonged to the scheduled caste and the scheduled tribes. Hence he called on the Church, to adopt their life-style.[60] Moreover, he extended the horizon of inculturation still wider and proposed the importance of opting for the cultures of the weaker sectors in the inculturation project. It was thus, according to Amalor, that a plurality of expression could become possible in a genuine inculturation programme. He believed that only then would every section of the population feel at home in the various forms of inculturation.[61] For Amalor, inculturation in the perceptive of the marginal cultures meant not theologising on their issues and problems in a speculative manner but entering into their concrete life-situation, assuming their life and joining their struggle for liberation. To make this project concrete and true Amalor sketched out four criteria of humanization filled with exigencies and challenges.

Concluding Remarks

As this article is going to be completed in the forthcoming issue of Vaiharai, let me recall some of the main points I have

made by way of conclusion. This first part has dealt with some aspects of the theological methodology of Amalor, namely pluralistic, secular and humanistic paradigms. In fact, all these paradigms were his responses to the question of Indian identity in the context of identity-politics raised due to the different version of Indian nationalism. The second part will deal chiefly with Amalor's aim of building up human community. (N.B: This article will be continued and completed in the next issue).

(Footnotes)

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[2] The second part of this article will appear in the next issue of *Vaiharai* with the same title.

[3] Henceforth in this article D.S. Amalorpavadass is abbreviated to Amalor and to DSA in the foot-notes.

[4] DSA, *Main Problems in Preaching the Gospel Today* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1973), p. 24.

[5] S.M. MICHAEL, "The Cultural Context of the Rise of Hindutva and Dalit Forces", VJTR 60 (1996), p. 307.

[6] S. M. MICHAEL, "The Cultural Context of the Rise of Hindutva", p. 296.

[7] Sunil KHILNANI, *The Idea of India* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), pp. 156-158.

[8] *Hindu Mahasabha in* 1922; *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), in 1925; *Vishva Hindu Parishad* (VHP) in 1964; *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) in 1980; and *Bajrang Dal* (BD) in 1984.

[9] Sunil KHILNANI, "Who is an Indian?" pp. 151-152.

[10] L. STANISLAUS, "Hindutva and Marginalized Christian Response", p. 87.

[11] EBA Sunder RAJ and Sam THAMBUSAMY, ed., *Divide and Rule* (Chennai: Bharat Jyoti Publications, 2000), p. 36.

[12] Aleyamma ZECHARIAH, *Modern Religious and Secular Movements in India* (Bangalore: Theological Book Trust, 1994), p. 172.

[13] L. STANISLAUS, "Hindutva and Marginalized Christian Response", *Vaiharai* 6: 3&4 (2001), p. 94.
[14] Gail Omvedt, "The Dravidian Movement", in http://www.ambedkar.org/gail/Dravidianmovement.htm (Internet access on 10/12/2008).
[15] S.M. MICHAEL, "Cultures in Dialogue, Culture & Nationalism: Politics of Identity in India", *ITS* 39: 2 (2002), pp. 166-173. (150-185)
[16] Kancha ILAIAH, "Dalitism Vs Brahmanism: The Epistemological Conflict in History", *in Dalit Identity and Politics*, ed., Ghanshyam Shah (New Delhi: Sage, 2001), p. 109.
[17] DSA, *Towards Indigenization*, p. 16; DSA, *Gospel and Culture* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1978), p.11.
[18] Paul HACKER, *Theological Foundations of Evangelization* (Münster: Steyler Verlag, St. Augustin, 1980), p. 88. From 1955 Paul Hacker (1913-1979) was Director of the Department of Indology in the University of Bonn.
[19] Paul HACKER, *Theological Foundations*, p. 99.
[20] Paul HACKER, *Theological Foundations*, p. 98.
[21] DSA, "Theological Reflections on Inculturation", *ITS* 27: 3&4 (1990), p. 240.
[22] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 241.
[23] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 246.
[24] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p.11.
[25] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p. 14.
[26] DSA, "Indigenous Expressions in Cathedrals", *IJT* 24: 1 (1975), pp. 34-36.
[27] DSA, *Family and Culture*, p. 5. "But pluralism of cultures is no obstacle or danger to its unity. There is in fact a basic unity and dynamic core common to all forms and branches of Indian Culture, just as there is what is called Indian Nationalism. " See DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p. 21.
[28] DSA, *Family and Culture* (Madras: SRFAFC, 1986), p. 12.
[29] DSA, *Main Problems in Preaching*, p. 24.
[30] DSA, *Family and Culture*, p. 8.
[31] DSA, "New Theological Approaches in Asia", *Verbum* (1980), p. 290.
[32] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p.14.
[33] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p.17.
[34] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p. 17.
[35] DSA, "Indigenous Expressions", p. 34.
[36] DSA, "Indigenous Expressions", p. 35.
[37] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 243; DSA, *Joyful Response to the Challenge of Faith-Formation of Youth* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1981), p. 180.
[38] DSA, *Family and Culture*, p. 6.
[39] DSA, *Family and Culture*, pp. 22-23.
[40] DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, pp. 310-311.
[41] DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, p. 313.
[42] DSA, *Gospel and Culture*, p.17.
[43] This diagram was drawn by Amalor. See DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, pp. 303-305.
[44] DSA, *Vision of Religious Life in Future and the Future of Religious Life* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1980), p. 3.
[45] DSA, *Poverty of the Religious in the Indian Context and Biblical Tradition* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1982), p. 24.

[46] Background on the National Convention on "The Plight of Christians of Scheduled Caste Origin", P / CSCO / Doc. no. 3, NBCLC, Bangalore, 15-19 June, 1978 and also in Word and Worship 11:5 (May-June 1978), p. 206.
[47] DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, p. 316.
[48] DSA, *"Evangelisation in the Context of India"*, p. 109.
[49] DSA, *Poverty of the Religious*, p. 36.
[50] DSA, *Family and Culture*, pp. 17-18.
[51] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 252.
[52] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 232.
[53] DSA, *Family and Culture*, pp. 5-6.
[54] DSA, *Theology of Evangelization in the Indian Context* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1971), p. 14.
[55] DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, p. 330.
[56] DSA, *Vision, Thrust and Policy for Evangelization* (Bangalore: NBCLC, 1985), p. 18.
[57] DSA, "Evangelisation in the Context of India", p. 117.
[58] DSA, *Poverty of the Religious*, p. 40.
[59] DSA, *Vision, Thrust and Policy*, p. 16.
[60] DSA, *Atma Purna Anubhava*, p. 329.
[61] DSA, "Theological Reflections", p. 233.