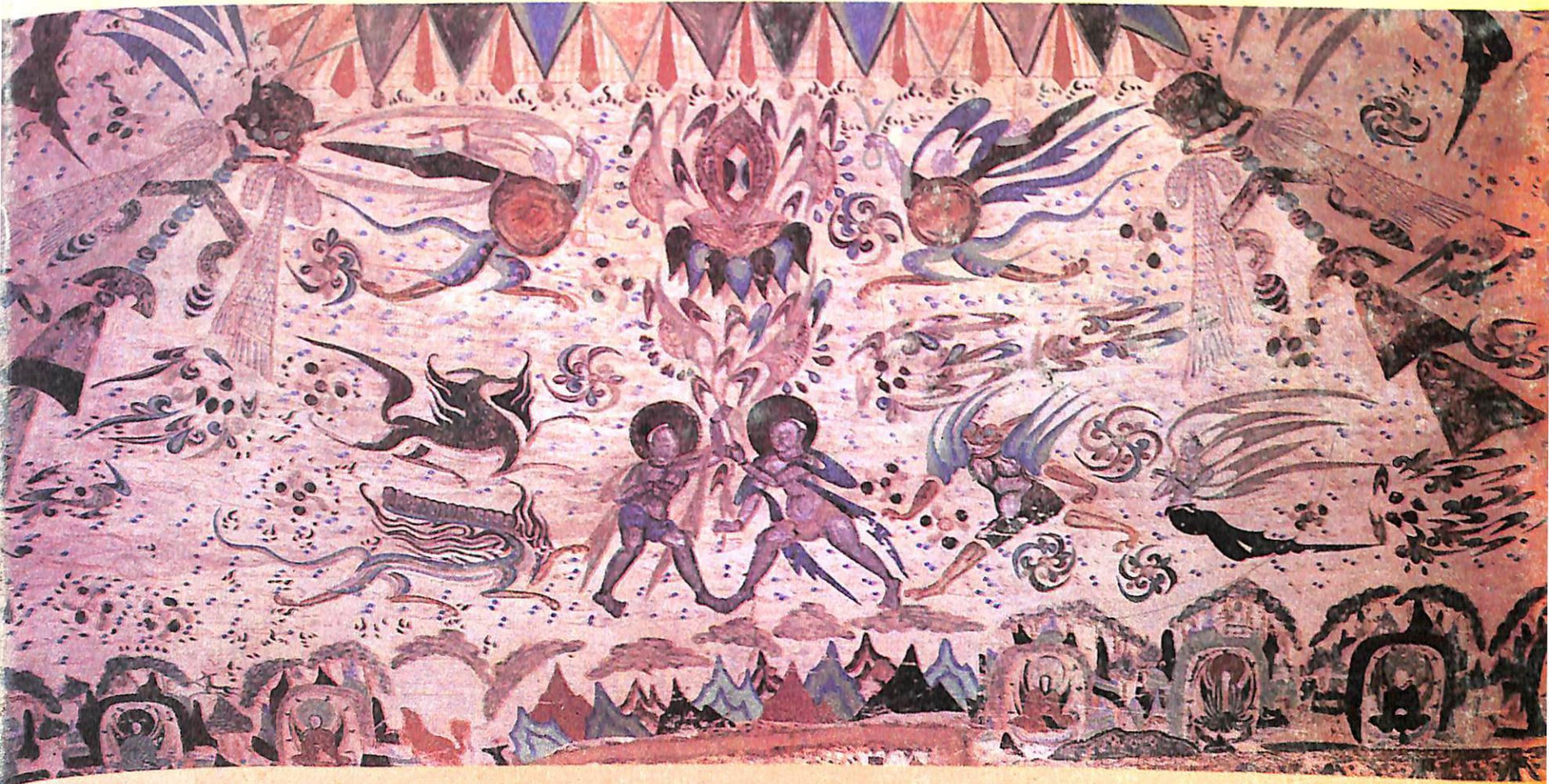
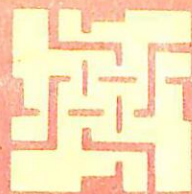


ACROSS THE HIMALAYAN GAP

An Indian Quest for Understanding China



Editor : Tan Chung



INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE ARTS

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An Indian Quest for Understanding China



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Co-Publisher



GYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE



INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE ARTS

**DEDICATED TO
GURUDEVA RABINDRANATH TAGORE**

Pioneer in modern times in strengthening cultural ties between India and China.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When we first conceived this volume two years ago we had no idea that the baby would have been so fat as it is now. The two years of delivering it has taken off an extra ounce of fatness from all of us. It has been a long course of soliciting, praying, hoping against hope, ecstasy of receipt of intellectual properties, and, then, reading, typing, keying in, translating different software systems into our Apple Mackintosh (of which the spell check fails), checking, re-checking, re-re-checking, editing, discovering errors and unifying Chinese spellings, etc. Being its editor, I truly realize how limited is the capacity of one individual. It is only through collective hard work that such a fat baby can be born.

I have a very long list to offer my gratitude, but if I spell out, this page of "Acknowledgements" would become a thick "Who's Who". The readers have a chance to come across the names of all the contributors in a number of places so that I may be excused for not thanking them one by one. Here, I wish to say that only after we fail to obtain valuable writings from some eminent people did we treasure our success from other eminent personalities. "Time is money" that is why it is so difficult to have it dropped on one's begging palm. I would put more emphasis and say: "Time is gold". The value of gold that we are denied makes what we hold doubly treasurable. Many of the articles enshrining this volume belong to the "to be chewed and digested" category of Francis Bacon's classifications. As we do not have the resources to pay, we get them as labour of love. And love is what no money can buy. To be loved by so many is an immense reward to our own labour of love too. The book will perpetuate this noble love story.

But, I shall fail my duty if I do not thank Dr. Karan Singh who has never withheld a "yes" to my demand. He inaugurated our Seminar on "India and China Looking at Each Other" held in September, 1996, and sent us his "Preface" just by the asking. Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan is always a friend, guide and philosopher to me. It was her inspiration that has created this book. Kapilaji, as the Academic Director of The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, has given us enormous moral and material support to our endeavour. Besides, we have also got an article in her name with her approval.

I should also thank Dr. Ravni Thakur for coming to our rescue when we were behind schedule. She is a China scholar and fluent in English. As Assistant Editor, she did free me from a lot of burden in proof reading. Besides, she also made editorial touches to some of the articles to enhance their quality. Because of time constraint, we could not implement many of her good suggestions.

Last but not least, I want to register my thanks to my colleagues of the East Asian Programme (EAP) unit of IGNCA. Dr. Radha Banerjee and Ms. Sudhanshi Vasudev have helped me in doing almost everything: from getting the intellectual properties to processing them including proof reading. Ms. Rajni Adlakha, my secretary, was very cooperative and uncomplaining when I involved her to share my over burden. We also had an excellent and dedicated helper in Mr. Dharam Vir Pandey. We depended on him for not only keying materials into the computer with great speed, but also for putting all materials into page-maker, etc. It was his unbounded zeal and many a sleepless night that have prevented this book from further delay.

FOREWORD

Prof. Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University was here in India last year, and many of us had pleasant interactions with him about the civilizational discourse which we, in India, have been very much concerned all along. The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA), in the 13th year of its youth now, is an institution specially dedicated to culture and art, i.e. the best part of human civilization. As we take a holistic view, we not only treat different civilizations as various manifestations of a whole—the human civilization, but also do not endorse the “Us and Them” proposition as discussed in Huntington’s world-famous book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. “One harmonious world”, to the Indian cultural mind, is no euphoria, but a dedication and commitment. To us, nothing is more important than the realization of the “Universal Civilization” in which each component is treating the other as an equal with respect and affection.

The East Asian Programme in our IGNCA was first called the “cell of Sino-Indian Studies” when it was started by Prof. Tan Chung in 1989. Even after this name-change (which means the expansion of its scope), Tan Chung and his colleagues in this unit still work on Sino-Indian Studies as the most endeared field—if not an obsession. For more than two years now the unit has undertaken this project of “India and China Looking at Each Other”, and the present volume is the first fruit of this project. My congratulations to Prof. Tan Chung and his colleagues—those who have helped in bringing out this volume. Perhaps, never before has there been any work like this, and in the present volume readers can have a good view of how Indian intelligentsia have looked at China and what have been their concerns. I very much wish that this volume is circulated among the Chinese intellectuals, academicians experts and politicians so that they will gain a correct perspective about the “Indian perspectives” on China. Prof. Tan Chung, with cameras at the ready, is eager to capture the Chinese responses so that he and his team will produce a companion volume to this with a sub-title of “Chinese quest for understanding India”. I wish him success in these discourses which, I venture to think, would help remove the apprehension in some quarters about the future clashes of civilizations. As Tagore, Nehru and many other Indian savants have said, if India and China can establish an ideal relationship of indepth understanding of each other, they will play a great role in promoting universal amity and harmony. For, our two countries not only have two-fifths of the world’s total population, but these two human communities have carried with them two ancient civilizations and a thick cultural sediment of noble spirit and mental wisdom that would help to overcome the obstacles in the way of creating the Universal Civilization.

The present volume has an impressive list of contributors, some life-long China experts, others with immense information and insight about China. I welcome their contributions and thank their labour of love. Many of them, perhaps, have not had interactions with IGNCA before. Now that we have established our associations, I hope they will return to us again and again, and take interest in what we are doing in IGNCA. I also hope that this volume can attract many more readers who have never read our publications so far. Though in name ours is an institution of “arts”, but it should be understood in the widest sense of the term. Our activities cover creative and critical, written and oral literatures, the oral, written, and visual traditions of a civilization, lifestyles and the interface between material and spiritual cultures. Our focus, of course, is on India, on all what she has achieved in the long history of her civilizational existence, but we always pursue an open-door policy, and go out and out to appreciate the cultural achievements of other countries and other civilizations on the one hand, and welcome with open arms input from individuals, institutions and other quarters outside India on the other. We have already started some contacts with China, with her culture and art, with her traditions and lifestyles, but we want to enlarge these contacts. Perhaps, this volume will bring us many more friends from India, China and other countries to help strengthen our activities in IGNCA in its multifaceted dimensions. In this volume, strategists and ex-diplomats focus their attentions on Confidence Building Measures and constructive cooperative relationship. To my mind, the best mutual understanding between different peoples and cultures does not crystal in the mind, but springs from the heart. Only when

PREFACE

India and China between them represent the two oldest continuing civilizations in the world, covering more than one-third of the entire population of Planet Earth. This fact alone highlights the tremendous importance of inter cultural visits and studies between these two nations who have been neighbours ever since history began. Unfortunately, as a result of Western dominance, the ancient links gradually disappeared causing a vacuum which now needs to be filled. The seminar organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts recently was a welcome step in this direction, and the present volume will certainly be an important contribution towards developing a closer understanding between India and China. Hopefully it will be followed in due course by a companion volume entitled "Chinese Perspective on India".

It is well known that Buddhism, which was born in India, became the major cultural link between the two civilizations. China already had a flourishing Confucian tradition with which Buddhism interacted in a positive and non-confrontational manner. Among the many persons who carried the message of the Buddha to China was the famous scholar Kumarajiva who came from my home state of Kashmir. While it is generally known that the Buddhist influence spread from India to China, there is an inadequate appreciation regarding what we have received from China. Tea, porcelain, silk and printing are among the great gifts of China to world civilization.

We are shortly entering the third millennium A.D. For us in India and China, whose civilizations go back much further in time, the event may not be as exciting as it is to the West. Nonetheless, it does mark an important milestone in modern history. If the 19th century has been described as the century of Europe, and the 20th as the century of America, it is possible that the 21st century will be described as the century of Asia, in which China and India will inevitably be major players. A creative interaction between the Indic and the Sinic civilizations will be a major factor in this process.

It is my sincere hope that universities and other academic institutions in India will begin paying closer attention to India-Chinese relations—political, economic and cultural. The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts has made a useful contribution in this direction.

Karan Singh

New Delhi
1st December 1997

INTRODUCTION

This book partially fulfils the target of our two-year old project entitled "India and China Looking at Each Other". The inspiration behind this project is the now well-known idea propounded by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Academic Director of IGNCA, in the fall of 1990 at the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang, China, that Indians and Chinese stopped trying to know each others country's, politics, culture, history, society, etc. through the prism of the Western Hemisphere. Instead, they should look at each other directly. At that time, the learned circles in India had very little access to the Chinese scholarship particularly in the field of her culture and arts. Under the vigorous drive of Dr. Vatsyayan, IGNCA brought the Director of the Dunhuang Academy, Prof. Duan Wenjie, and his senior colleague, Prof. Shi Weixiang, to India, utilized their presence in New Delhi to hold an international seminar on "Cave Art of India and China" in 1991, and mounted an impressive exhibition of the Dunhuang paintings in the premises of IGNCA in 1991-92. Subsequently, we brought out the book *Dunhuang Art Through the Eyes of Duan Wenjie* in 1994 which has helped Indian scholars to peep into Chinese scholarly efforts in studying the marvellous Dunhuang art treasure.

Quite some water has flowed down the Yangtse and Ganga since Kapila Vatsyayan made the *looking-at-each-other* call eight years ago. However, academic endeavours are always behind the rapid changes in the world scene. Today, not only the India-China relationship has entered a new phase of constructive cooperation, but the international development portends an urgency that the two ancient and modern civilizations of India and China become more pro-active in uniting Asia, if not the world, in their endeavour of building up a harmonious and just world order while humanity marches into the 21st century. With such a situation in view, we launched the project of "India and China Looking at Each Other" to help accelerating the process of promotion of mutual understanding between India and China. We held a four-day seminar in November, 1995 on "India and China : Looking at Each Other", and a one-day seminar in September, 1996 on "Indian Diplomats' Reminiscences on China". The present volume can be viewed as a harvest-gathering — not only of crops sowed by these two seminars, but much more gleaned from the vast intellectual fields of a total of 40 Indian scholars and experts.

I must hasten to add that much as we would like to bring out a book which should represent the pinnacle achievement of Indian research on China, we know our limitations on two counts. For one thing, to do an extensive research on the past and existing Indian studies on China would take considerable time (at least a couple of years) which will unduly delay the publication of this book, and deprive us the advantage of timely gathering feedbacks—like the Chinese saying goes: without erecting the pole you won't see its shadow. Another factor is our mixed experience in knocking at the scholarly doors — and many, many times at some of these doors — to beg for treasurable intellectual properties. What is brought out before our readers is the maximum extent to which our persuasion has reached. Apart from such handicaps, we also wish to make the present volume a basic reference book so that it presents, in a nutshell, various dimensions of Indian scholarly interest on China. Thus, our emphasis is on inclusiveness, not selection and elimination. The immediate need in India and abroad, we think, is an overview about the Indian studies on China. The reference value of this volume has been strengthened by the important speeches made by Indian government leaders in China, by excerpts from the writings of the past Indian savants who have said many important things about China, all these which may not be readily available to the interested general public and research scholars. So, this volume has become a kind of parade, a kind of monitor about India's researches, perspectives, opinions, etc. on China. To both the Indian and foreign readership this volume might provide a mirror of the Indian thinking from various angles about her most important neighbour — China.

But, this volume is more particularly targeting at the Chinese readership. Presently, there is an increasing number of Chinese intellectuals who can read English. When there is something informative or worth telling the Chinese public, there will be interested experts to render them into Chinese and place them under the purview of the wider readership in

Samuel P. Huntington. Further more, human resources have become more precious than money and machine. Far-sighted seers have begun to attribute non-materialistic elements, like spiritual culture, ethos, dedication, morale, purposiveness, the spirit of sacrifice, and other qualities of the people as vital inputs to progress and economic growth. Considering all this epoch-making development at this crucial juncture of century/millennium-turning we must ask the questions: where will India and China stand? Any new challenge and new roles for the two nations to play on the global stage in the coming years?

When we stand at the threshold of a fast moving world we are reminded by what Jawaharlal Nehru said in 1952 that we should "look at the long perspective of history and try to peep into the future, ignoring for the moment our present discontent," and, then, see "the importance of India and China functioning with a measure of cooperation". This volume has provided us with an opportunity to review what Tagore and Nehru have said about the future development of humankind. Our contributors, particularly those who look at India-China relations from a global and futuristic perspective, have echoed in their writings that a new era has dawned in the horizon. Those who have focussed attention on historical developments have also shown a dynamic spirit, and we see their observations vibrating with excitement, reflecting a yearning for new concepts and refreshing perspectives. All this becomes a clarion call to us not only to partake in the excitement and ecstasy of threshold-entering, but to contribute our mite in fuelling a refreshing perspective on India-China relationship.

Secondly, as Ambassador Ranganathan has written in this volume, there is "need for Indians to develop the habit of an independent assessment" while we study China, "rather than depend on borrowed judgements made from different strategic viewpoints." Those of us who teach China or guide research on China in India have long felt the inadequacy of the international scholarship which was dominated by the US campuses. We were yearning for alternative perspectives and also started nursing them. Experience shows that apart from bias and prejudice (which have always been more developed in the developed world and stronger in the strong Western powers than in other countries and areas), it has been disadvantageous to look at Chinese developments from the Western cultural viewpoints than from the Indian.

While doing this volume we are all the more convinced that the time has come for us to develop either an Indian perspective or a Sino-Indian perspective in studying China. By Indian perspective we are translating Kapila Vatsyayan's advocacy into practice, we are taking a direct flight to China, not travelling via the Western Hemisphere. That is to say, we don't carry the extra burden of prejudice emanating from other quarters. This should not be construed as an anti-Western attitude, nor do we intend to exclude the Western Hemisphere from our academic pursuit even if it deals only with India-China interface. The Western Hemisphere has been, and will always be a great source of information and wisdom in all branches of scholarship, not excluding Chinese studies. This proposition, however, does not preclude establishing an Indian perspective on China. The absence of such a perspective, so long, has not only weakened an in-depth Indian understanding of China, but also hampered further promotion of mutual understanding between India and China.

In conceiving and delivering this volume we have already experienced the birthpang of creating the Indian perspective on China. We already see Indian scholars, like Prasenjit Duara and his contemporaries in the USA, and Manoranjan Mohanty and a number of others in India, taking a lead in building up the Indian perspective — or a refreshing perspective with a dynamic Indian mind behind it. Prasenjit, in fact, is in an avant-garde position, and he has many decades to shape himself as a new tide in Chinese studies. His writings are an inspiration to those of us who have taught him at Delhi University, and will always be a guiding light and landmark for the younger generations of Indian (also foreign) scholars.

I have used the term "Sino-Indian perspective" which has found echo in this volume from other contributors as well. Readers may discover that when terms such as "Indian perspective" and "Sino-Indian perspective" enjoy limelight, there is always the "Western perspectives" lurking in the dark. Never mind the misnomer of "Western perspectives", its presence here as a kind of whipping boy only shows how eager on our part to blaze a new trail in Chinese studies in India. The whipping boy should not have figured if it had not come in our way. I have no intention to cast any aspersion on Western or US scholarship on China. If there is a situation of someone more equal than others, the others should be equally blamed than someone. Learning from other quarters is not the same thing as surrendering one's own judgement and, worse still, getting into the straitjacket laid by others. Indian scholarship on China can never prosper if it remains a faded carbon copy of the Western scholarship.

By "Sino-Indian perspective" we mean to take cognizance of the Sino-Indian interface from a holistic perspective. Jawaharlal Nehru has reminded us that even when Sino-Indian relations are not what they should be we still should see the "golden links" lining up the Indian and Chinese civilizations through history. Had such a Sino-Indian perspective commanded the governments of India and China and their ruling elites in the past the deterioration of India-China relations in

and humanity as a whole. It is all the more reason that this book should be read by all sensible and forward-looking Indians and Chinese who will, then, turn this spark into a prairie fire—in constructive sense.

If the book can be likened to a feast, it is served in 8 courses. In the first course we have reproduced the three speeches made by different Indian leaders in different Chinese universities: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's at Qinghua University, Beijing, in 1988; Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's at Beijing University, Beijing in 1993; and Vice-President (then, and now President) K.R. Narayanan's at Fudan University, Shanghai, in 1994. I need not remind our readers that, like other such speeches delivered in India and abroad, these contain a large dosage of input from the Ministry of External Affairs, thus reflecting the Indian government's policies vis-a-vis China. A careful reading of them will get an insight into the basic attitude of the Government of India towards China: harking back to historical amity and cultural intercourses between two great civilizations, and looking forward to the days of future interface and synergy. Students on India-China relationship can read these speeches along with what Jawaharlal Nehru had said about China (which are quoted quite substantially in the second section of this volume) and see that India-China relations have been guided by a friendly approach, by and large, while the border dispute, the 1962 war, and the post-1962 India-China unpleasantry look like just an aberration.

In the second course, we try to exhibit the gems from the wisdom of India on China. Due to the constraint of space, the quotations are far from exhaustive, and what we have gleaned are titbits from the ideas of only six famous persons: Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948), Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), A.K. Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), and P.C. Bagchi (1898-1956). These six savants either had a keen interest in Chinese history, culture and modern developments, or played a role in promoting India-China understanding. Many of the observations of these savants are sagacious and insightful. We have served on a silver platter the chopsuey of delicacies which are not available in ordinary restaurants.

Rammohun Roy's satire about "three Chinese converts" is pungently delicious. It was written apparently with a caricature of the want of sophistry on the part of Chinese intellect, but, after reading it carefully, one finds it, in reality, a sharp exposure of the Western prejudices against the Eastern peoples. While an angry Christian missionary calls names such as "astonishing depravity", "the depth of Satan", "benighted creatures", a smiling Chinese coolly quotes Confucius to teach the learned Westerner that "bad temper always turns reason out of doors". The concluding paragraph brings out the Chinese (and Eastern) contempt on the ideas that the bearers of White Man's Burden wish to impose on the oriental minds. Rammohun's satire, thus, has a close reference to the ideological encounter even today.

The quotations from Tagore are mainly from "Talks in China" in 1924, and the entire recorded speech that he delivered on the Bengali New Year Day, April 14, 1937 while inaugurating Visva-Bharati Cheena-Bhavana. Both his lecture tour to China and the founding of Cheena-Bhavana were great events in the annals of India-China relations. The importance of Tagore on India-China relations is not confined to what he said and wrote, but his spiritual influence on the Indian political leaders, particularly, Jawaharlal Nehru. When we review what Nehru said and did vis-a-vis China uptill the surfacing of the border dispute, we see unmistakable inspiration of Tagore.

"I consider myself a Chinese" said Mahatma Gandhi in 1947. Before he plunged into the Independence Movement in India he had been an active lawyer in South Africa, mainly taking up cases for Indians and Chinese against the apartheid regime. On the other hand, the name "Shengxiong" (literally "holy hero", the Chinese translation of "Mahatma") commanded universal love and admiration in China. A section of the Chinese political activists in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s might not approve Gandhi's approach of "non-violence" in the freedom struggle, but even they joined others to willingly receive inspiration from the Mahatma in their own struggle for a free and liberated China. Gandhi's preoccupation with the domestic affairs of India prevented him from paying more attention to China. As he himself often expressed: his fighting for the independence of India was also for the freedom of China, and a free India would do all she could to render help to China's freedom struggle. Gandhi would honour his promise under any circumstance. Unfortunately, things went out of his control at the crucial juncture and his life, his inspiration and promise were cut short by the assassin's bullets in 1948.

Yet, the Mahatma did have important interactions with the Chinese leaders and others. He and Nehru had separate important discussions when the Chinese head of state, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, visited India in 1942 with a specific purpose of talking to them. After the talks, Nehru and Gandhi discussed between themselves intensively about India's support to China in the latter's life-and-death anti-Japanese struggle, which resulted in Gandhi's solemn pledge to China (conveyed to the Generalissimo by his own writing) that even when he (Gandhi) was launching his anti-British agitations,

tions without sufficiently inhale the fragrance and fed with the beauty of civilizations. Today, humanity is trying to put the cold war discourses on the back-burner while the cold war mentality is hard to be laid to sleep. *There is a vacuum in the mind which should be filled up by the glittering gems of civilizations.* To reiterate what Kapila Vatsyayan has penned in her "Foreword", we cannot get international (particularly India-China) understanding crystallizing in our mind, if it does not "spring from the heart". And "culture and art" is a heart-warming course before practical issues engaging our minds.

Prof. M.C. Joshi, Member Secretary of IGNCA, is a depository of information of art subjects, and after his visit to China in 1996, has shown enthusiasm in comparing details between Indian and Chinese, particularly Buddhist art. This is his first attempt in comparing Indian art with its Chinese counterpart in a small way. The same is the case of Prof. M.N. Deshpande whose information and insight about art and culture are without match. He was very kind to let us have a short account of his impressions about China even when he had many other assignments. Prof. Lokesh Chandra who is a living monument of Sino-Indian studies and cultural contacts has honoured us with an article to let our readers have a glimpse of his profound scholarship. Then, we have Prof. D.C. Bhattacharyya's article on cultural linkage with profound discussion, while Dr. Arputharani Sengupta's piece on Chinese Buddhist art has covered a vast canvas, bringing the Chinese scene under the purview of an Indian Prism. We are also fortunate to include an article contributed by Dr. Priyatosh Banerjee. As an octogenarian he is academically as active as people several decades younger. Both Bagyalakshmi and Radha Banerjee are closely associated with the East Asian Programme of IGNCA. Bagya gives a summary of what she is currently engaged in — preparing a comprehensive book on Guanyin, the East Asian symbol of supreme power of *Karuna* (compassion). Radha's article unfolds a religio-cultural movement which, though died down in the Western Hemisphere in a course of three centuries, had not only gathered inspirations from Buddhism on its way from West Asia to China, but also integrated in the popular "struggle ethic" in coastal China for more than a thousand years until yesterday.

The fifth course in this volume falls into four sub-divisions. In the "Socio-political Institutions" section, we have Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty discussing a very important issue of the relative growth between economic development and political democracy. Dr. Kamal Sheel chooses to investigate into the Chinese social phenomenon of "guanxi" (connections) and its influence on Chinese politics. In the section on "Economic Development", we have two pieces by Prof. Utsa Patnaik, and Dr. S.P. Gupta, both knowledgeable about the Chinese economic development among our leading academia. Gupta's was the paper for our 1995 Seminar without updating, Patnaik's was originally a paper for a seminar in the Institute of Chinese Studies even earlier. But their basic perspectives and insightful projections are always valid and instructive. Prof. Patnaik's piece, in particular, echoes with Prof. Mira Sinha's discussion on Mao as a visionary. The two Indian academicians' great admiration for a past Chinese revolutionary is itself a significant international phenomenon judging the intellectual trend in China today, trimming short historical memories to an un-Chinese extent.

We have three pieces on the "Gender" issue by Dr. Ravni Thakur, Dr. Bidyut Mohanty and Dr. Shreemati Chakrabarty. The vitally important topic relating to the conditions and fate of one fifth of humanity, i.e. the total number of women in India and China, has been focussed upon in these three articles.

Our sixth course on "History and Literature" is again divided into four sub-sections. First, there are two articles on "Tagore and China" by the Tagore Professor of the University of Delhi, Prof. Sisir Kumar Das, and myself. Originally, we were planning to jointly bring out a book on this topic. While that did not workout, we have this opportunity to put our writings together here which highlight Tagore's importance among Chinese intellectuals and writers. Tagore, as we have seen, is an inspiration to all of us who have adopted a Sino-Indian perspective in our discourses on India and China. The more Tagore is truly understood, the better will be the development of India-China relations.

In the next sub-section we have Prof. Giri Deshingkar's discourse on military strategy in the two countries, in addition to Lieutenant General V.R. Ragavan's rejoinder. The two pieces form a part of the proceedings of our 1995 seminar in which Prof. Deshingkar was the paper-presenter, and General Ragavan was the discussant. Since the philosophy of defence is almost absent in modern India (so also in China to a lesser degree), these two entries should arouse interest from more scholars and strategists of the two countries to continue this discourse.

In "Modern Chinese Literature", we have gathered two articles which are parts of the Ph.D. dissertations of Dr. Manik Bhattacharyya and Dr. Sabaree Mitra. Manik has initially given us a very long piece as he has had so much to say about Lu Xun, the cynosure of his eyes. Although he has to reduce the length after so much "ge'ai" (cutting off the parts which are endeared to himself), it is one of the finest appreciations and appraisals on Lu Xun which any Indian student of Chinese

diplomacy with special focus on the Beijing scene. It is a pity that none of them has brought out their memoirs to unfold the great treasuries of information and insight as the titbits of their reminiscences have assured us about this richness. Only Ambassador Ranganathan, has served the wrap-up of his tenure as the Indian envoy-extraordinary in China—a very fruitful fulfilment of diplomatic mission and India-China friendship and understanding with the crowning glory of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's historic visit to China. Incidentally, his was the first Indian embassy manned by 100% Sinologue officers in Beijing which is quite a record. There is another record created by him as the first Indian ambassador delivering a formal address in a Beijing conference (of the Chinese Association of Dunhuang and Turpan Studies) in 1987 in eloquent mandarin (and I am eyewitness to it). All in all, the historical value of these reminiscences will grow when their occurrences recede to the background in the passage of time. This, in turn, adds value and weight to our volume as a reference book.

We have designed our last section as the Finale which would have a couple of more contributions from eminent quarters had there not been circumstances in our disfavour. The ten contributions we have fortunately obtained are penned by two categories of authors: diplomats who have retired and strategists who never retire. To the first category belong Ambassadors V.V. Paranjpe, C.V. Ranganathan, Eric Gonsalves, Salman Haidar. To the second belong Major General Dipankar Banerjee, joined by his senior Lieutenant General Ragavan, Mr. Swaran Singh and Mr. Sreedhar, both from the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses. Last but not least, we have Prof. Surjit Mansingh who had a diplomatic career but is an academia now in a premier university specializing in international affairs including strategy.

Paranjpe is a retired IFS officer who used to do English-Chinese interpretation for India's first Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, when he talked to leaders like Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. This article of his was published elsewhere, but, on public demand, we have included it in our volume. It not only contains valuable historical information that has been left out by official documentation of both governments, but gives valuable tips about improving India-China understanding.

I am always tempted to quote the important episode revealed by Paranjpe about Mao's farewell words to Nehru in 1954. Seeing Nehru off to the car after treating him to a private dinner, Mao held tight Nehru's hand and quoted ancient Chinese poet, Qu Yuan:

*“O, sadness can't be sadder
Parting company in life time;
And gladness can't be gladder
Meeting with a new friend.”*

The two pieces written by Ambassadors Ranganathan and Gonsalves, are weighty materials that not only reflect the Indian perspective on China's development, but also the problems faced by the Government of India in dealing with China, pointing to the right direction for improving relations with China. Ambassador Salman Haidar's piece is the record of his talk to our 1996 Seminar when he was Foreign Secretary (the head of Indian Foreign Service). It is in the nature of spelling out India's policy by its chief executive, hence with self-explanatory importance. Both Generals Banerjee and Raghavan are ex-fighters in the China front who now turned into experts on Indian defence strategy including its China dimension. They have approached the topic from both a historical perspective and a future prospect.

Gen. Banerjee opened with a scene in the India-China front in the 1960s. “A blanket of snow covered the earth below my feet as I drudged slowly to the observation post,” he wrote. Today, the retired general sits in an air-conditioned office to offer advice to “sane strategic planners” while tranquillity prevails where the general's footsteps have been buried by snow for three decades. Swaran Singh's two pieces are related to each other which can help understand the India-China task in building up the CMB (Confidence Measure Building) pertaining to the treaties signed between the two governments. Sreedhar's piece voices a genuine Indian concern which, if brushed aside, would stand in the way in the long-term engagement between India and China. We would wish Chinese responses to the issues raised in this article. Prof. Mansingh has written the last word for our volume, bringing out the importance of understanding China on the part of Indian specialists and general public. She has correctly pointed out the deficiencies in India's Chinese studies along with suggestions on their improvements.

On this constructive note, we now leave the readers to leaf through the book. It is a big meal with uneven portions, some sweet, some sour, some easy to digest, some difficult to swallow, some tender gravy, some hard substance. The book has a vast coverage of time and space, different facets, various disciplines, inter-and cross-disciplinary narratives and discourses. It tries to address to issues, appealing to beliefs of as wide a range as possible, yet weaving around a central

INDIAN LEADERS' SPEECHES IN CHINESE UNIVERSITIES

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領袖的講演



PRIME MINISTER RAJIV GANDHI AT QINGHUA UNIVERSITY, BEIJING

(DECEMBER 21, 1988)

I am delighted at this opportunity to visit this renowned university. It is a symbol of what modern China has achieved, a symbol of the Chinese pursuit of excellence.

Thirty four years ago, my grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, came to China as a messenger of peace and goodwill and found here a spirit of both peace and goodwill. Between India and China the spirit is now being rekindled.

The coming together of India and China in the early fifties was a development of historical international importance. Not only did it presage friendship between the two most populous nations of the world, counting between them a third of all humankind, it represented what was for the time an almost unique example of two great nations, with two totally different economic and social systems, coming together to give a practical demonstration of peaceful coexistence among different systems. Placed in the context of the epochal change brought about in the world by the independence of India and the liberation of China, among the most important events of the mid-point of the twentieth century, the friendship which Jawaharlal Nehru sought with China was a friendship that could fundamentally affect the destiny of humankind.

Apart from the immense potential for world peace and cooperation implicit in peace and cooperation between India and China, there was also the imperative of facing together the common problems with which both countries were confronted. We were both ancient civilisations, with memories going back into the deepest recesses of the distant past, who had both undergone a prolonged period of national trauma caused by the strangling of our freedoms, the parcelling out of our economies, the stultification of our social and moral progress. We both saw the liberation of our nations not so much as the culmination of a struggle but as the beginning of an opportunity to serve our people, build our economies, transform our societies and take our countries forward.

Through the period of our struggle for freedom and your struggle for liberation, India and China viewed developments in each other's countries with deep sympathy and understanding. Our great national poet, Rabindranath Tagore, started a Cheena-Bhavana (the House of China) at his Universal University, Visva-Bharati, at Santiniketan, of which I now have the honour to be Chancellor. Our involvement in your liberation struggle found expression in the immortal mission which Dr. Kotnis led to China. Jawaharlal Nehru envisaged friendship between India and China as a major pillar of the post-colonial world order.

India and China worked together for peace in Asia and the world when they first emerged from the thralldom of imperialism. Together we saw that the world order was vitiated by confrontation, by a lack of respect for the sovereign equality of nations, by intolerance of alternative national systems for the organisation of political, economic and social life. We saw that our newly won independence would be secure only in a world which had liberated itself from the assumptions and prejudices of the past.

A striking example of the persistence of past prejudice was the refusal to recognise the People's Republic of China, the culmination of the great revolution which had swept China. India was among the first to recognise the great and welcome change that had burst upon your country. Those who refused to recognise that the China of the Opium Wars had been consigned to the

and assured by our democratic process to all minorities, religious, ethnic, linguistic. Our judiciary is independent of the executive. Our press is free to report, comment and criticise. We believe that freedom of expression and the free exchange of views are not only intrinsically valuable but have also promoted stability in our society by furnishing safety valves which forestall social and economic pressures before these trigger of an explosion. Democracy has enabled us to maintain a steady course through four decades of rapid change.

The second pillar of our State is secularism. It is a word with different connotations in different languages. We mean by secularism that the State in India does not interfere in the religious practices of its citizens, nor does it encourage the mixing of religion with politics. The State has no religion. At the same time, our State respects the religious sensibilities of our people, values the spiritual and cultural strength which religion imparts, and ensures full freedom of worship and propagation for all religions. Nearly twenty per cent of our population belongs to various religious minorities, the largest of these being the Muslims. All our religious groupings have a high and honoured place in our society, with the assurance that no section of our people will be discriminated against on grounds of religion. Special programmes have been put in place to assist minorities in need of special assistance.

Socialism in India is indigenous to our experience and our conditions. It is not a dogma. It is responsive to changing circumstances. It has had the resilience to develop with time. The focus of our socialism is the uplift of the poor, succour to the weak, justice to the oppressed and balanced regional development. To attain these ends, we believe the State must control the commanding heights of the economy, and that self-reliance should be the first principle of development. We stress that the pattern of progress must be so designed as to give all parts of the country equitable opportunities of growth and all sections of our people an equitable share of the fruits of development. Our emphasis on balanced regional growth and our accent on the reduction of social disparities have meant leavening the imperatives of growth with considerations of equity. Our socialism sees the thrust of the development effort as growth with social justice.

Our development strategy is one of planning for a mixed economy. The State sector is predominant in core and heavy industry and also in much of infrastructure, but most of light industry and all of agriculture is in the private sector. Our development objective is the modernisation and transformation of our economy with an overriding priority to the elimination of poverty. Planning in a democratic framework necessarily places great importance on evolving a consensus on goals and instruments. At times, this imposes constraints in the larger interest of democratic consensus and participation.

This strategy has served us well. We have succeeded in setting our economy on an accelerating growth path. Agricultural productivity and production have increased steadily and the vulnerability of agriculture to the weather has been reduced. Industry is now growing rapidly. We hope to accelerate our growth further in the next decade. Foodgrains output will be doubled over the next ten to fifteen years. Our Perspective Plan envisages the eradication of poverty and unemployment by the end of the century.

But many problems remain. Our rate of growth of population remains too high. While impressive increases in foodgrains production have been recorded in many parts of our country, the task ahead is that of spreading this Green Revolution to new areas and to new crops. We have to make our industry more efficient and competitive, with better products and higher quality. We believe that much sharper domestic competition is necessary to ensure this. It is also necessary, progressively, to open up our industry to the pressures of international competition.

To tackle these problems, we in India have taken, as you in China have done, new steps and new initiatives in economic policy, while remaining true to our basic principles. We have embarked on a process of planned liberalisation giving much greater autonomy to our public sector enterprises and greater flexibility to our private sector to invest, expand and upgrade technology. Indian industry has reached a stage where it must increasingly integrate with the world economy in terms of technology, quality and cost competitiveness. We are encouraging foreign investment where it can help our efforts to modernise. We are also trying to decentralise planning and decision-making to secure better results. This is especially important for our strategies of rural development. A key element of this strategy is increasing people's participation in the planning process.

In this context, your own bold experiments in economic reform are of special interest to us. They have already produced rich dividends for China. We believe we have much to learn from your experience. Some of what we are doing in India may also be of interest to you. No two developing countries are more similarly placed than yours and ours. Despite differences in philosophies of planning and methods of management. India and China can give and take a great deal from each other. We believe you share this view.

endeavour to find such a solution in order to put relations between India and China on a solid basis. We are determined to move in this direction. It is important that while we search for a solution, peace and tranquillity are maintained in the border areas. I have every hope that during this visit we will, together with our Chinese friends, build a better political climate for the solution of the border question.

Cooperation between India and China should be expanded significantly. Trade between us is far below the potential of our economies. Cooperation in science and technology is still to take off. I believe that economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between the two countries will greatly contribute to better understanding between our peoples and our governments, and will indirectly help us in solving complex problems.

We are at an important juncture in world affairs. There is a palpable relaxation of tensions and evidence of dialogue replacing confrontation.

The people of Namibia are at long last on the verge of securing their freedom. Their struggle for independence has been a saga of courage and dignity. However, in South Africa, the abomination of apartheid persists. We demand comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against Pretoria under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, failing which we apprehend an unprecedented bloodbath in the struggle to end this iniquity.

There has been a radical turn of events in West Asia. A Palestinian State has been proclaimed. It has been recognised by both China and India and other peace-loving countries the world over.

We are glad that dialogue has begun between the United States and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. We extend our whole-hearted support to the three-point Palestinian Peace Initiative put forward by our brother, Chairman Yasser Arafat. The spirit of tolerance which he has evoked is in keeping with the traditions of Asia and the aspirations of our continent.

In Kampuchea, a solution appears to be emerging which could both end the conflict and forestall the resurgence of the forces of genocide. We would welcome cooperation among all concerned in fostering a just and equitable settlement in Kampuchea which will ensure the independence, sovereignty and nonaligned status of that country, free of outside interference and intervention.

In South Asia, a new dawn is breaking. South Asian regional cooperation has made a good beginning. Recent changes in Pakistan, with the emergence of a democratically elected government led by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, have opened up encouraging prospects for enduring friendship and goodwill between our countries, reflecting the natural affinities and affection which the people of India and Pakistan have for each other. In Sri Lanka, the Accord which I signed with President Jayewardene guarantees the unity and territorial integrity of that country and has brought respect, recognition and a meaningful devolution of powers to the Tamil minority. In the Maldives, our immediate response to the call for assistance from a friendly neighbour in his hour of need has ensured the triumph of the democratic will of the people of the Maldives against the forces of subversion and destabilisation. In Afghanistan, we are persuaded that strict respect for the Geneva Accords will lead to the emergence of a government based on national consensus, which can ensure the independence, integrity and nonaligned status of the country, provided only there is a complete cessation of all outside interference and intervention in the affairs of the country.

At this crucial turning point in contemporary history, we must assess afresh the work that India and China can do, individually and together, in fashioning the new world order which is emerging from the chrysalis of the old.

The two major nuclear weapon powers have agreed in principle that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru recognised this in 1945, in the immediate aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It augurs well for the future of our world that this perception has now gained wider currency. We are encouraged that this principle has received practical expression in the form of a dismantling of intermediate nuclear forces and the initiation of a process designed to secure strategic arms cuts.

The moot question before us is whether these first ever steps of nuclear disarmament presage movement towards the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Or do these steps merely presage a marginal adjustment in global strategic deployment, perhaps even the shifting of the nuclear arms race into new and ever more dangerous dimensions?

In answering these questions, the task before us is not just to wait upon events but to influence them. India and China can together do a great deal to ensure that the moves which have now been initiated proceed in the only direction which promises sustained peace and sustainable development. To this end, our first step must be to resuscitate and revitalise our decades-old commitment to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

of the advanced economies. Like the seas and the seabed, space too is a common heritage of humankind. It is a heritage which all of us must work together to preserve.

Between us, we are the repositories of some of the most significant treasures of human inheritance. We believe in international cooperation to preserve and promote the cultural heritage of humankind. When UNESCO came under siege, India and China were together on the same side in defending the organisation and asserting its vital role.

Now that the world is beginning to explore the possibility of coexistence in preference to deterrence, of cooperation in preference to rivalry, of interdependence in preference to beggaring the neighbour, of nuclear disarmament in preference to nuclear escalation, it behoves the original advocates of the Panchsheel — India and China — to set themselves up as an example to the world.

I see optimism in both India and China today; optimism about the progress our countries can make, optimism about realising our goals of development, optimism about the levels of cooperation we can reach, optimism about the work we can do together to restore our countries to their traditional position in the vanguard of human civilisation, optimism about the contribution we can make to rebuilding the world order nearer our hearts' desire.

We are summoned by our past to the tasks which the future holds. We have a mutual obligation to a common humanity. India and China can together give the world new perspectives on a new world order, which will ensure peace among nations and justice among peoples, equity for each and prosperity for all, freedom from fear and freedom from want, a world where we live together in happiness and harmony.

ISBN 81-212-0617-0



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NEW DELHI-110002