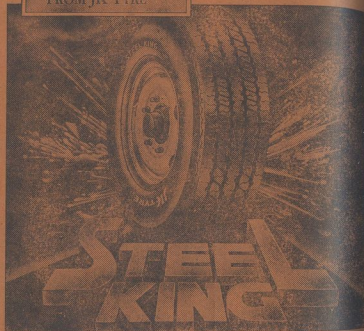


YET ANOTHER FIRST  
FROM JK TYRE



## STEEL BELTED RADIALS FOR LCVs. ONLY FROM JK.

JK, the company that ushered the radial era in India with the introduction of Steel Belted and Fibreglass Belted Radials for cars, now introduces Steel King, JK Steel King—the only steel belted radial tyre which brings the strength of steel to your light commercial vehicles.

The JK Steel King has been subjected to the most gruelling road tests, for four years. On all

kinds of terrain. In all kinds of weather.

Not surprising, considering what the strength of steel can do for your vehicle:

- \* Upto 40% extra mileage, proven by actual road tests.
- \* Wider tread pattern.
- \* Upto 7% fuel saving.

- \* Low heat build up.
- \* Greater puncture resistance.
- \* More protection for your suspension.
- \* Better road grip.
- \* Easily retreadable.
- \* Retreading facilities

available nationwide. Now you know what the strength of steel can do for your LCV on the road.

So get yourself JK Steel King Radials and experience the benefits yourself.

Get the full story on JK Steel King LCV tyres in the last edition.

**JK TYRE**  
THE TRACKS OF THE FUTURE

# Manthan

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

Vol. IX

No 8

August 1989

निर्मगधमतन्त्रिता: (श्रीमद्भागवत 8-6-23)

Churn on diligently

Chairman  
Nanaji Deshmukh

Editor & Publisher  
K.R. Malkani

Deendayal Research  
Institute  
7-E, Swami Ramtirath  
Nagar, Rani Jhansi Road  
NEW DELHI-110 055

Phones : 526735, 526792

## CONTENTS

1. Muslims must join the 'Majority'  
and not get marginalised  
*By : Dr. Jay Dubashi* 5
2. Economic Depression : Is it Good  
or Bad 13
3. Tribal Renaissance in India  
*By : Dr. G. P. Singh* 21
4. China Wants 'Mr. Socialism' and  
'Mr. Democracy' 43
5. "An Inside View of Japan" 55

## Subscription rates

Life Member : Rs. 1,000

Single Copy : Rs. 5

Annual : Rs. 50

Foreign (Air) : £ 15

ro \$ 25

With Best Compliments From



## Modern Surfaces & Insulation Ltd.

8/1, Chowringhee Lane,  
Calcutta-700016

Tel. : 244653-245049  
Telex : 021-5481 MSIL-IN

Bombay Office :  
9, Wallace Street  
Bombay-400001  
Tel. : 2049351.

## Nationalism & Communalism

### Muslims must join the 'Majority' —and not get marginalised

By : Dr. Jay Dubashi

On July 28, BJP organised a symposium on 'Nationalism and Communalism' in New Delhi. The participants included Sarva Shri Cho Ramaswamy, Aroon Shourie, Sikander Bakht, Jay Dubashi and Malkani.

Shri L.K. Advani presided.

Dr. Dubashi and Shri Malkani presented papers. Here we publish the paper of Dr. Dubashi—Ed.

TO BEGIN WITH, we should distinguish between nationality and nationalism, and between community and communalism. A nationality can consist of many communities as it does in most countries; on the other hand, several nationalities can come together and form a community as they are trying to do in Europe. However, nationalism and communalism are incompatible with each other and cannot go hand in hand. A nationalist, as I shall try to prove, cannot be a communalist, unless he is dishonest with himself and with others. At the same time, a communalist, no matter what he calls himself, cannot be a nationalist. The title of this article should have been nationalism *versus* communalism, because they are two incompatibles and therefore a contradiction in terms.

Let us first define nationalism in the *modern* context of the term. "Nations", said Oswald Spengler, are "neither linguistic, nor political nor biological but spiritual unities." Are Jews a race, a culture, a nation or a civilisation? They are all of that and much more, just as Hindus are. There is a still more famous definition by Ernest Renan: "What constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past and the wish to accomplish them in the future." Nationality is the sense of community which under historical conditions of a particular social epoch, has possessed, or seeks expression through, the unity of a state. The most important thing here is the sense of unity: those who question the very unity or have been responsible in the past in subverting it cannot, almost by definition, be a part of the nationality.

This is a definition of nationality. But how does one define nationalism? One must distinguish between the narrow popular usage of nationalism, meaning patriotism to denote national pride, and the usage

of nationalism in a larger sense to describe the motive force that impels societies to define and assert their identity in relation to a particular historical environment. In Asia, nationalism can be best understood as the aspiration for greater equity in relation to the West. It is not an accident that the first modern political institution in India, the Congress, called itself Indian National Congress, not just Indian Congress.

Nationalism is essentially concerned with nation-building, and there can be no nation-building without modernisation. Indian nationalism measures itself against the more advanced countries of the West, which happen to be western countries. Indian nationalism is therefore *outward looking*, progressive in economic as well as social terms and is motivated by a drive towards modernisation. The moderniser does not wish to abandon his own national identity but to redefine and adapt it in order to confront the West as effectively as possible. He tends to pick and choose, taking those things from the West that fit most comfortably into his indigenous value system. Modernisation is not westernisation, and though Japan is a prime case most often cited, India is a much better case.

The indigenous value system in India is Hindu, make no mistake about it. You cannot compartmentalise a nation's history; you cannot say, you start from here and forget the past. You cannot compartmentalise a society either. So the value system continues, no matter how the society has changed under the impact of modernisation. The main thing is that the more we change, the more we remain the same. This is not true in other countries which, under the impact of modernisation, have gone to pieces. If India has not gone to pieces, and is not likely to, it is because it remains a Hindu society, a Hindu nation. The innate Hindu values are so strong and powerful that no amount of modernisation can destroy them.

Japan is another example of cultural strength amidst change. The Japanese still retain their Japaneseness after more than a century of selective borrowing from the West. The Japanese are even more aggressive as businessmen than the Americans. Starting from scratch after World War II there is not a country in the world without a Japanese factory, or other economic presence. But Japan has refused to be another western country, which it would have been by now, but for the strong sense of nationalism which marks every Japanese activity. The importance of the nationalist element in the Japanese success story should not be minimised.

Since nationalism is concerned with nation-building and since there can be no nation-building in the modern sense without modernisation, the latter thus becomes a key element in nationalism, along with modern

institutions. We can thus define the principal elements in nationalism as: NATIONALISM=MODERNISATION+DEMOCRACY, in which modernisation is the main impulse and democracy is the framework of operation. Nationalism thrives best in a secular atmosphere which is why I have said that communalism has no place in modern nationalist society.

Communalism is exactly the opposite of modern nationalism. Communalism measures itself against other communities within a given system, not outside the system, as modern nationalism does. It is, therefore, inward-looking, not outward-looking. The Modern Indian wants to be accepted by modern people everywhere as one of them. In India, the Parsis and the Christians are not considered communal because, unlike Muslims, and like Hindus, they are outward-looking. The Muslims, on the other hand, are all the time measuring themselves against the Hindus and find themselves wanting in every respect. Hence their resentment against the Hindus and it is this resentment and the consequent inferiority complex which is at the bottom of their communalism.

### *A nation is a spiritual entity, and Indian value system is Hindu...*

The Hindu-Muslim problem today is not a religious problem or a problem between two religions, although it may have been so at one time. In the modern context, it is a problem between modern nationalists—which is what Hindus are—and old-type communalists—which is what Muslims tend to be. The nationalists are in favour of every centripetal force, the kind of force that brings society together and the kind of institutions that makes for modernisation—common civil law, equality of opportunity, separation of religion from the state. The communalists are in favour of centrifugal forces, the kind that divide society—one law for themselves and another for others, separate laws for even men and women etc. This is true not only in India but in most of the so-called Islamic countries. The entire impulse of the communal mind is against modernisation, against science and technology, against equality, and against secularism.

I do not believe that the British were responsible for the partition of India and for the Hindu-Muslim divide. The British may have exploited the situation but the main responsibility for the partition devolves on us,

the Hindus and the Muslims, Gandhi and Nehru on one side and Jinnah and others on the other. India is today a different country from what it used to be, but the Hindu-Muslim divide continues. The Hindus have grown out of it, for reasons I have explained, but the Muslims have not. Those who think that the problem can be solved if only the Hindus are nice to Muslims, are living in a fool's paradise. It is the Muslim mind-set, a communal and anti-nationalist mind-set, that has to be corrected, and that can be done only by the Muslims. Many are doing so but, by and large the communal mind is stuck in old grooves and refuses to be modernised.

The Muslim minorities are at odds with their fellow citizens in every country of the world, wherever they have been able to attain what I call a *critical mass*. In Soviet Russia, there are large Muslim as well as other minorities (as in Baltic States) but you have violence only in the former. In Bulgaria, which was at one time a part of the Ottoman empire, there is a Turkish ethnic minority with a population running into millions that has been causing trouble and is now being expelled from that country. They have been there for 500 years but they have not found it possible to assimilate themselves with the local Slav population. In Britain, there is a place called Bradford where there is a large Pakistani population. This was the first town to stage violent anti-Salman Rushdie riots. But the Rushdie book was not banned by the Thatcher government and the community was warned it would have to operate within the laws of England if it wants to live in England.

In India, of course, the Congress politician and other so-called secular persons are all the time appeasing the communal minorities. First, there is the question of votes. That is the reason why even Vishwanath Partap Singh who has been a Congressman all his life goes with Haji Mastan on his left and the Imam of Delhi on his right. Since he is being 'nice' to Muslims, he can claim to be a secular person, which, in Indian terms, means basically a person with an anti-Hindu mind-set. What the Muslims do not realise is that they are being exploited for their votes, and that it is in the interest of the politicians to keep the Muslim minority vulnerable, so that it can be exploited.

What the communalists, which in the Indian context means mainly Muslims, do not also realise is that India is changing so rapidly that it will have no place for communalists, except as a nuisance. India is no more an agricultural country it used to be. According to the latest estimates, the country derives more income from Industry than from Agriculture—32 per cent from Industry as against 30 per cent or even

less from Agriculture. Ten years from now, the share of Industry will increase to 40 per cent while that of Agriculture will go down to, maybe as low as 20 per cent. This has happened in all countries and it is happening in India. And the consequences of such a massive transformation can be lethal as far as communal minorities are concerned.

These minorities, that is, the Muslims, have contributed virtually nothing to industry, which is the most rapidly growing economic activity in the country. You can go over the list of the top fifty hundred business families and you will not find a single Muslim name. You can also go through the list of top 100 or 200 companies and you may come across may be one or two Muslim names. There are Parsis—the biggest business house in the country is Parsi—there are Christians, but no Muslims. They seem to have shut themselves out from this modern and secular activity, as if they consider it as un-Islamic. But the fact remains that India is today among the top twelve industrial countries of the world; fifteen years ago, it was ranked as No. 16. There is no activity more secular, more national, than industrial development, which is basically the application of science and technology to human skills. And on this front, there has been virtually no Muslim contribution at all.

## *What Indian Muslims can learn from American Jews*

The communal leaders, the kind who stage noisy demonstrations and rallies, and pass resolutions, will say that the Hindus have monopolised the nation's finances and commerce and are not allowing others to use the same. This is not true. Tatas are not Hindus and they are the biggest Industrial House, and have grown as rapidly as any other business house. Nor are Godrej or Bombay Dyeing. They have gone ahead and seized the opportunity while the Muslims have sulked in their tents. And in the end they have suffered.

The Jews are an excellent example of how a religious minority can, and does, rise above its limitations, if it wants to. The Jews were not a wealthy people when they first came to the United States. But they did not sulk in their tents. Like other American minorities, they went ahead and made money in whatever profession or professions were open to them and helped contribute not only to their own development but also to the development of the United States. The Jews of America are an integral part of their nation, though they remain a separate community. On the other hand, the black community in the United States, could not play its



part in nation-building, though their numbers are much bigger than those of Jews.

The Jews did not ask for separate laws for themselves, separate constituencies, separate schools or colleges, or reservations in services. Yet they are prominent in all of these, in media, in education, in business, in arts, in science and technology, and in civil services. There are more Nobel Prizemen among the Jews than in any other community. The key to their success is that they tried to assimilate themselves with the society and became its integral part. The Muslims on the other hand, have always tried to behave as if they were not an integral part of the Indian society and have asked for special favours, including a separate country.

The onus for integration lies with them, not with Hindus. The Hindus have their problems and have no time for others. It is for the Muslims to shed their separatist complex and divisive attitudes. It is in their own interest to do so, for the world does not wait for anybody, and it will not wait for them either.

The world, as I said, does not wait for anybody, and it will not wait either for Hindus or for Muslims. Development is a tough task-master and it is getting tougher every day. As far as the modern nationalist is concerned, he considers development and the prestige that it brings, as the main challenge before him, and the sense of equality with the West which is the main impulse behind modernisation. The world is getting more and more competitive. The days of Hindu Chai (tea) and Muslim Chai are over, for you can now be in business only if your products and commodities are good and competitive. This will be even more so in future as the markets open up and competition becomes more intense. In such a competitive situation, there is no place for communal differentiation, for jobs will go to those who deserve them and who can deliver the goods, not on the basis of so much for this community and so much for that. The idea of reservation of jobs on the basis of communities is absurd and will play havoc with the economy. And the Indian society will simply not accept such a basically impractical and perverse demand.

India will be faced with a minority problem as long as there are people who consider themselves as minorities, and who will not shed, for political or other reasons, their ghetto mentality. The advice that Hindus should be nice to Muslims and everything will be all right, is ridiculous. Why should the Muslims depend on the charity of Hindus, to be what they should be in their own right? Why can't they come forward with their own programme for integration with other communi-

ties, no matter what the Hindus do or do not do? It is for them only to decide whether they want to join the mainstream or stay aloof watching the fun. It is they who have to take the initiative, irrespective of what the others do. It is they who must come forward and set up companies and enter business; it is they who must undertake a massive education programme to teach women and children; it is they who must help students to get into colleges and universities, instead of exploiting them. The Muslim community has been receiving funds in large quantities from their friends in the Gulf and other regions but the funds are being used in putting up new mosques and for other non-secular purposes. Are mosques so high-up in the Muslim scale of priorities that they should use up all the funds? Surely, it would have been much more useful both in long-term as well as in the immediate future if the bulk of the funds were diverted to education and business, particularly the former. This upside-down scale of priorities indicates why the Indian Muslims have remained backward, while the rest of the communities are forging ahead.

What the Indian Muslims do not realise is that they will not progress unless they become secular, and unless non-religious activities receive

### *Muslims must modernise or they will get increasingly marginalised*

their proper importance in the scale of priorities. The Jews again are a very good example. The Jews are a minority community in every country, excluding perhaps Israel. But they have not allowed this minority complex to undermine their secular activities, with the result that they have been successful in preserving their identity as well as their position in the social and economic and intellectual life of the countries they live in.

But the initiative for action must come from within the community, just as it has done in other minority communities in the country. They cannot hold the Hindus responsible for their plight, firstly because the Hindus are not responsible for their plight, and secondly because the Hindus are too busy with the challenges they face to pay much attention to the problems of others. I hate to quote Nambodiripad but sometimes you have to quote even the devil. Nambodiripad told Shahabuddin after the latter's *tamasha* in Delhi that there was a simple solution to his problems: The minority should join the majority.

And that is the only solution, no matter what the past history may indicate. Past history is irrelevant in India, for we are a new nation. It

does not matter who did what fifty or a hundred years ago, whether Partition was inevitable or could have been avoided, and which Muslim said what to which Hindu leader. When I speak of nationalism, I speak of modern nationalism, a nationalism which speaks in the modern accents of progress and development, of science and technology, of wealth and plenty, the kind of nationalism that has created modern America and Japan. In the present circumstances, everything else is irrelevant. Unless the minorities realise this truth and join the majorities, they will be marginalised, as indeed they have been marginalised in history. Hindu nationalism is modern nationalism and cannot be communal. The minorities should shed their communalism and join the nationalist stream, which is the mainstream, for the good of the nation, but above all, for their own good. If they do not, they will be the biggest sufferers, for there will be nobody to help them, as the British have left, and they have now to deal directly with the modern Hindu nationalists who will take no nonsense from anybody.

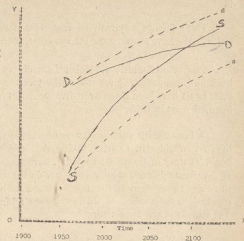
(B-1/3, Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi-110029)

*Deendayal Research Institute*  
invites you to become a  
*Life Member*  
of  
**DRI**

*on payment of Rs. 1,000 only*

7E, Swami Ramtirth Nagar,  
Rani Jhansi Road,  
NEW DELHI-55

**Economic**  
**Depression:**  
**Is it**  
**Good**  
**or**



**Bad ?**

*Dotted Lines indicate artificial Demand and supply; The other lines indicate natural Demand and Supply.*

Prajna Bharati, a forum for nationalist intellectuals, had a 2-day meeting of its States organisers in Nagpur on July 15-16. It was inaugurated by Dr. M.G. Bokare, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University. Dr. Bokare, a long-time Marxist, is now quite disenchanted with Marxism. In his talk, he foresaw Depression and welcomed the prospect. We give below a synopsis of his talk—and a comment on the same.—Ed.

**F**IRST LOOK at the Graph. The dotted lines show the artificial demand and supply. The normal lines show natural demand and supply. We must identify the natural and the artificial economy in life.

The simple question is : Do people like the price of goods and services moving downward? All of us would agree that people like prices moving downward. From time to time, there are agitations against rising price level.

Shukraniti says : "The state should not allow the purchasing power of money to fall". In other words, that state is good wherein the purchasing power of money increases historically. The state should, therefore, ensure that the purchasing power of money should increase over a long period of time.

Prof. Paul Einzig of London, an authority on monetary economics, in his book on 'Inflation' (1952), has his second chapter on "Four Thousand Years of Rising Prices".

This reference is greatly relevant because of our consciousness of history. We have to overcome the weakness, if any.

Prof. Paul Samuelson, Nobel Laureate in economics, in his text book on 'Economics', gives the price levels of Britain and America. Price levels have been rising over five centuries in England and over two hundred years in USA,

All economists were in favour of downward moving prices before the first world war. Charles Gide and Charles Rist of France, in their book, 'History of Economic Thought', have made the statement that prices used to move downward after each war during the last century, that is, there was Depression. In the text book on Economics, Charles Gide has reported on the conflict of interest between industrialists and farmers. The remedy is also suggested.

Kunt Wicksell of Sweden has described the economies of Europe during the latter half of the last century.

Plentiful supplies were experienced by the people.

Lord J.M. Keynes advised arresting the Great Depression of 1929-39. He prescribed measures to artificially increase the demand, and reduce the supply. He advised even wasteful expenditure. Economy of warfare has been shaped in capitalist economies to boost demand and keep prices high.

The capitalist economy has its own institution of shares and stock exchange. We had the Wall Street crisis of 17th Oct., 1987. Government should not interfere when the stock market is bearish, that is when share prices are falling.

Prof. Pen of Denmark advocates the Keynesian view. He says if we want to preserve the modern industrial civilisation, which we have built over the last two hundred years, we must arrest depression.

Do we desire that the modern industrial civilisation that has been developed in Europe and America—and which is now being developed in India—to disappear? My answer is YES ! I would welcome it.

Who arrests depression? The state invests money through its financial institutions and the banks. Unproductive and wasteful expenditure is encouraged. Instalment buying, loans, discounts, etc. are given in

the market, to encourage sales. At this rate the state itself will become sick. Debt traps, local and foreign, are now fully known to us.

The state also has a vested interest in rising prices. If the price level moves downwards, the refund of the public loans would amount to returning money with higher purchasing power.

But the question is can we, after all, arrest depression? Some day stock exchange crisis is inevitable. Reasons :

- (a) The increasing role of insiders;
- (b) Dealing in shares outside the official hours and place of stock exchange;
- (c) Fraudulent practices of brokers and jobbers;
- (d) The stock exchange functions on the reliability of financial data published by the listed companies. Currently all over the world, financial statements of profit and loss accounts and balance-sheets are becoming more and more unreliable.

*'Shukraniti' says the value of money must not be allowed to decline*

(e) The government in India is itself becoming a kind of insider as well as the biggest share-holder. This feature is undesirable even in the theory of stock exchange.

The National Commission on Fraudulent Financial Reporting in U.S.A., popularly known as Treadway Commission, studied more than eight thousand companies. The Audit-Director should inform the shareholders: this was its recommendation. But the recommendation was not approved by the Stock Exchange Commission of U.S.A.

Just consider the connection of timing. This Commission report had been published early in October 1987; and the Wall Street crisis was recorded on 17th Oct., 1987 !

Marxists oppose depression on the plea that they want to protect the interest of workers, as a class. Their opposition to depression and the Keynesian theory to arrest depression has resulted in Marx being Keynesised, and Keynes being Marxised.

Acharya Rajneesh has observed in his theorem on Socialism that socialism will automatically emerge because our economy and, for that matter, any capitalist economy, is increasingly being socialised because of the State following the Keynesian prescription.

Some day, somewhere, depression is inevitable. This will be an irreversible depression. After the irreversible depression, the economy will manifest itself in the paradigm of decentralised economy and its own contour of economic development.

Lord Keynes wrote in 1930 an essay, "Economic Possibilities for our Grand-children".

He said that if there was no war in the next hundred years, the economy will manifest itself in plentiful supplies. "For the first time since creation man will be faced with this real, permanent problem—how to use his freedom from pressing economic cares, how to occupy leisure..." He added: "Assuming no important wars and no important increase in population, the economic problem may be solved."

The phrase "economic problem" is emphasised by Keynes himself in the original.

Prof. Samuelson has gone one step farther. He has captioned one of his analyses as "Law of Scarcity". It is this Law of Scarcity which governs the theorems of economics, he informs scholars. He also records in his text-book if there is no scarcity, there will be no economic problem.

Lord Keynes has warned that if ever such a situation becomes a reality, there would be *nervous breakdown* (emphasis in the original).

The substance of these observations of great scholars in economics should be fully recognised. If supply exceeds demand, prices will move downward. That is Depression. If Depression overtakes the economy, the stock exchange gives the signals of the collapse of the capitalist economy. Seething depression culminates in the crisis of stock market. The stock exchange has been described as an ideal architecture of capitalism. This architecture collapses, when the newspapers report depression, great depression, Wall Street Crisis, Dalal Street Crisis.

A survey of the capitalist economies will reveal that their markets are experiencing stock-piling and seething depression. Indian economy can be closely observed. We should carefully examine the advertisements.

Discounts, instalment buying, loans etc. should be studied from the standpoint of looming depression. The final bell is tolling for the stock exchange.

This analysis is not specifically with reference to India. The globalisation of monetary resources has manifested itself in the stock exchanges all over the world.

Securitisation of international money through various institutional forms is now an ubiquitous phenomenon. NRIs, multi-national corporations, foreign participation as per collaborations, agreements, etc. have been fully discussed in the literature on economic development.

The global situation will globalise stock exchanges. The crisis of stock exchanges anywhere would trigger crisis everywhere on the stock exchanges. One government may be able to regulate effectively its own market. But similar efficacy may not be possible everywhere.

## *Keynes was Schizophrenic : he was for Depression in 1919, against it in 1929 !*

Many economists have expressed themselves in favour of depression. It disciplines the company management by removing excessive expenditure. Schumpeter, Hayek, Robbins are a few names in the long list of economists who favour depression. Their views, however, are myopic. They think that depression is easily managed.

I hold the view that depression should be allowed to run its course. No authority should try to arrest the course of a depression. Depression is a natural course of economic development. The syndrome of going through the period of depression is the real problem. We have lived in the history of rising price level for the last four thousand years (Paul Einzig). Our thinking process and our consciousness cannot easily liberate us from the fixed ideas of economics.

We study the economics of scarcity. If there is abundance, it will have its own economics. Abundance will manifest itself in different paradigm of the theory. We are likely to be schizophrenic. We want to produce more and accomplish abundance. In real life, when the situation of abundance is accomplished, we again feel nervous. We have to decide, whether we desire to live in scarcity or in abundance. (P.T.O.)



## God Save us from Depressions !

**D**R. BOKARE makes the interesting point that a Depression is necessary, desirable and, indeed, inevitable. I submit that it is neither necessary, nor desirable, and certainly not inevitable.

Dr. Bokare starts with the assumption that we all like prices to fall. We don't ! All of us would like the price of goods and services *produced by us* to rise—so that we earn more ! And all of us would like the price of goods and service *consumed by us*, to fall—so that we have to spend less ! So it is not only Keynes who is schizophrenic—in wanting prices down after World War I and wanting them up during the Great Depression of the Thirties—we *all* are schizophrenic—in wanting different things at different times and in different situations. Nobody who remembers the Depression years of 1930-39 will welcome it back; it caused much more suffering than high prices do today !

Keynes was not for wasteful expenditure; all that he said was that it was better to provide work—any work—for the workless (even to build Pyramids) than to let them starve and die. Of course even Pyramids are not useless; they are a work of art—and science. It is possible that even if all humanity is liquidated by a nuclear holocaust, the Pyramids would still be standing !

However, no country has surplus enough resources to build 'Pyramids' just like that. All countries need more houses, more schools, more roads, more bridges—and more teachers, more doctors, etc. All that Keynes said is that when the market is down, governments should try to buoy it up by spendings on public works. And that is as it should be !

To say that Depression is good for the health of the economy is like saying that fever is good for the health of an individual. While a brief fever is no doubt a 'curative crisis' in 'Nature Cure', we all take potions and injections and tablets to end the fever !

Stock exchange malpractices are of course obnoxious; and they should be exposed and curbed. But we can't welcome a Depression to put the share markets in their place; that would be like cutting off a head, to cure a headache !

Government of India has become the biggest share-holder in India—through nationalised banks and insurance. This is unfortunate because it is mis-using all this economic power—to favour some businessmen and

August 1989

19

to frown on some other businessmen—and, generally to reinforce the political power of the ruling party. Communists had welcomed this "nationalisation" of banks and insurance in the booming name of 'socialism'; but all we got is governmentalisation—and State Capitalism. However, this is a different issue, and it has nothing to do with 'Depression'.

Marxists are quite right in viewing Depression as hurtful of Labour. Too many people are left unemployed by a Depression. The only people who profit by a Depression are those with a well-paid job, carrying a good fixed salary, while prices tumble all round, enabling them to save money !

Since resources are limited and human desires unlimited, there will always be a tendency for demand to exceed supply, pushing up prices. Unless, therefore, human nature is further humanised, prices will keep rising. And that will render inflation, and not depression, inevitable !

Dr. Bokare mentions 'Debt Traps'. These traps have nothing to do with Depressions. Debt Traps are created by governments spending well beyond their tax revenues. The remedy lies in spending less—or raising revenue by taxing the rich more and not in borrowing money from the rich on interest, as, for example Reagan did in the USA.

As for the poor countries, encouraged to borrow money from rich countries—and then made to spend the same in these rich countries—it is a racket called "Aid". The poor countries, if they have the sense, will one day break this trap by refusing to repay the "loans". And they will be in excellent company in doing that.

USA built its vast railway network with borrowings in Europe. And then it refused to return the money—on the ground that Europe was now getting its grain cheap from USA ! After World War I, UK, France, and Russia refused to repay war loans to USA, on the ground that their men had died for Democracy, so dear to Americans ! Debt-trapped poor countries can also take the position that, by spending the loan money in the loanee country, they had helped the economy of the lending country !

'Shukraniti' says Government should not allow the purchasing power of money to fall. That's fine : prices should be stable, and the value of money should *not* fall. But that is very different from a Depression, when prices just collapse !

What we need is neither inflation with high prices, nor deflation with falling prices but, in the expressive expression of Winston Churchill, 'Flation'. That would mean prices rising very slowly—say, 1% a year—to encourage production—and so not hurting anybody !

Dr. Bokare's statement on natural demand and supply and artificial demand and supply go beyond economics, to the realm of values. He is very right that needs should be kept in check. As Gandhiji put it, there is enough for man's needs, but there can never be enough for man's greed. Simple living for all, would mean abolition of dire poverty and obscene wealth alike. But, for that, we need a Moral Revolution, and not an economic theory for, or against, depressions. What the world needs is a New Buddha. Failing that, we can only have a rat race for more and more goods, leaving billions of people poor and unhappy—the earth pillaged and the air and water poisoned! (M')

## Deendayal Research Institute Offers You Its Choicest English Publications

- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| 1. The Russian Revolution & Its Impact on the World Seminar Papers & Discussions         | Rs. 60 |
| 2. Politics of Conversion  | Rs 150 |
| 3. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya : A Profile (by Shri Guruji. Nanaji and others)            | Rs. 40 |
| 4. Destination : (Impressions of Deendayalji by J.P., Morarjibhai. Balasaheb and others) | Rs. 20 |
| 5. Gandhi, Lohia & Deendayal : A Comparison  | Rs. 20 |
| 6. 'Manthan Special' on Rural Reconstruction   | Rs. 20 |
| 7. Manthan Bhakti Special  | Rs. 10 |

Friends ordering copies of ALL THE

SIX BOOKS can have them for a total price of

Rs. 200

All Prices are inclusive of postage charges.

**Order your copies today with Payment  
by Draft or Money Order :**

Note : Books from Serial 2 to 5 are available for Rs. 50/- only  
Manager

**Deendayal Research Institute,  
7-E Swami Ramtirth Nagar  
Rani Jhansi Road, NEW DELHI-110055.**

## Tribal Renaissance in India

By : Dr. G.P. Singh, Shillong

*The following article is primarily an account of the reawakening of the Khasi and Jaintia tribes in North-East India. It shows how, in the nineteenth century, missionaries started converting people to Christianity in the name of spreading education. Towards the end of the 19th century and in the early decades of the present century, the tribes found out that missionaries' basic purpose was to root out the native culture, bring the tribes under western influence, denationalise them and thus to place British rule on a secure footing. This set off a chain reaction by way of rediscovery of their own socio-cultural roots as well as the religio-cultural tradition on the plains of India where a new awakening was then evident.*

*The author follows it up by brief accounts of the uprisings of the Nagas in Manipur and Mundas in Bihar and fleeting references to the awakenings among the Santhals, the Mizos and some tribes of the present-day Arunachal Pradesh and in Gujarat, Rajasthan and South India. Detailed accounts of these will be welcome.*

—Ed.

THE early part of the 19th century marked the opening of a new chapter in the religious and cultural history of the tribal people of India. The rise and expansion of the British rule in general and the introduction and growth of western culture and civilisation in particular had a disastrous and paralysing effect on the indigenous socio-economic, political, religious and cultural systems of the tribal people of India. It was a period of struggle between the process of westernization and de-tribalization on one hand and the rediscovery of indigenous tribal culture on the other. The tribal reactions to the process of conversion as resorted to by the missionaries found popular expressions in the form of various socio-religious reform movements, as a result of which the tribal language, literature, arts, crafts, religion, culture, education etc. entered upon a new phase of orientation.

### Resurgence in the North-East

The Khasi-Jaintia tribes of the present Meghalaya state played a conspicuous role in the history of this renaissance. After the partial annexations of both the Khasi and Jaintia Hill in 1833 and 1835 respectively, the British started encroaching upon their social customs, religious practices, politics, political system and other traditional values. As a matter of fact, after the acquisition of Assam in 1826, the British colonial rulers started making serious attempts to capture the Khasi Hills, but Tirot Singh who is still venerated as a freedom fighter, strained all his nerves to resist and defy the British authority. He fought relentlessly and

incessantly from 1829 to 1833 against the British and sacrificed his life at the altar of his motherland in Dacca jail sometime during 1840-41. His purpose in starting the anti-British movement was not only to throw off the iron-yoke of colonial rule but also to preserve the traditional Khasi culture, religion, customs etc. He wanted to maintain both the political and cultural identity of his people.

### Missionary Beginnings

After the fall of Tirot Singh, the Missionaries started making vigorous efforts to preach Christianity which led to the destruction of not only the political system but also the traditional religion and culture of of the Khasis. The proselytising activities of the Serampore Baptist Mission, the Welsh Presbyterian Mission and the Roman Catholic Church in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills brought the indigenous religion and culture of the tribal people almost to the brink of extinction. Actually the process of conversion in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills began from 1810 when the Rev. Krishna Mohan Pal, the first Bengali convert of the Serampore Mission was sent by William Carey to preach the new Gospel to the tribal people of the Eastern Frontier of Bengal. During his eight month's stay at Panduah at the foot of the Khasi-Hills, he was found actively engaged in preaching Christianity among the tribal people. Ultimately he succeeded in baptising seven persons at Panduah in 1812, two of whom were Khasis, named 'Dewan Khasee and Dona Khasee'. Six hundred Khasis along with eight *Siyems* (Rajas) are said to have attended this conversion ceremony. He also established a Mission centre at Cherrapunji in 1812 with the help of some Bengali-knowing Khasis. Between 1813 and 1816, attempts were made by British official of Sylhet and Serampore Mission to obtain the services of the Khasis to translate the Bible into Khasi language written in Bengali script. In 1817 the Gospel of St. Matthews and between 1827 and 1831 the New Testament were translated into Khasi with the help of the Bengali script. The Baptist Mission was established at Cherrapunji which started its Missionary activities under the guidance of Alexander B. Lish who belonged to the Serampore Mission. In 1833 he opened three Elementary Mission Schools at Cherrapunji, Mawmih and Mawsmal. Laithah, a Khasi proficient in Bengali, extended his patronage to the missionary activities of Mr. Lish. However the Mission was able to continue its activities only upto 1830. In fact, the process of conversion was very slow upto 1838. The real progress was made in the following years.

The real missionary zeal began with the arrival of Rev. Thomas Jerman Jones of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission at Cherrapunji in 1841. The Welsh Mission sent Rev. Thomas Jones to Cherrapunji

to bring the tribal people within the fold of Christianity by conversion. The immediate concern of the mission was the substitution of Bengali by Roman alphabet for the Khasi language. The composition of text books and the translation of the scriptures were replete with biblical or theological doctrines for the purpose of propagating Christianity. W. Pyre's *An Introduction to Khasi language* (1855), Huge Robert's *Anglo-Khasi Dictionary* (1878) and *Khasi Grammar* (1981), the translations of *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Scripture History* (1857), Gospel of St. Mathews, Four Gospels and the Act, Old Testament and New Testament, the codified edition of the Holy Bible in 1899, the opening of English Normal School (1867) and a Theological Institute (1887) at Cherrapunji are some of the visible manifestations of the various ways and means adopted by the Mission for converting the poor, innocent and uneducated tribal people. This Mission translated Khasi vernacular into Roman characters replacing the Bengali script. From 1841 the Khasis adopted the Roman script. *U Nongkit Khubar* and *U Nonglalam Kristan* two christian journals circulated from 1894 became the mouthpieces of the new doctrines propagated by this Mission. Besides, the church centres were also established at Cherra, Shella, Shillong, Jowai, Nongkhlaw and Nongstoin States, Mawpiang, Shangpung and several other places

### *The western model of society is most ruinous for tribal systems*

in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills between 1841 and 1880. Many schools were also established in various parts of the British portions of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills between 1842 and 1887. These schools were started 'for religion and not for education'. This fact also must be recognised that the missionaries were imparting education solely with the object of christianising the tribal boys and girls. By 1890 evangelization brought the greater part of the British portions of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills within the pale of western civilisation.

From 1890 the Roman Catholic Church started its activities in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills under the pretext of educational advancement and the charitable and humanitarian works. Like Presbyterians the Catholics paid more attention to the educational programme and started various schools, convents, technical institutions and colleges between 1890-1937 as centres of learning. The Catholic Sciesian Mission undertook the proselytisation work and conversion. A large number of the Khasi-Jaintia tribes have been converted to Christianity by the Catholic church. Many other churches and missions of various other denominations made appearance in the Khasi-Jaintia hills in the twentieth century

and carried on their activities for disseminating their ideas and propagating their thoughts. As a result of the new changes, the tribal way of life, thoughts, manners, customs, traditional institutions, religious and other indigenous practices were greatly transformed.

#### Reaction sets in

This stirred the conscience of both the tribal populace and potentates and created a strong sense of urgency for starting the reform movement. Khasis adopted hostile attitude towards the British and made all possible attempts to oppose the propagation of Christianity. Their vehement opposition to the spread of Christianity is evident from the social apathy towards neo-converts to Christianity. All the converted Christians who started despising their old Khasi religion and culture, were not only contemptuously looked down upon by the non-Christian population keen to maintain traditional Khasi culture but were sometimes subjected to harassment and untold misery also. They were also opposed to the new system of western education imparted by various missionaries. The non-Christian enlightened Khasis, who were always conscious of their glorious past and deteriorating present aroused the people in Khasi-Jaintia hills from lethargy. In 1862 U Kiang Nongbah, another reformer and liberator started socio-politico-religious movement in the Jaintia Hills against the pernicious British attempts to encourage the activities of Christian Missions and their interference with the traditional values, social customs and religious rites. The noble examples set, sacrifices made and the blood shed by such martyrs became the fountain-head of inspiration for posterity. When the unwanted interference of the British with their ceremonies, rituals, beliefs, usages, traditional system of inheritance, customary laws and mode of succession reached a climax in the eighties and nineties of the last century, the non-Christian majority felt it was time to resist the onslaught of Christianity and western civilization for maintaining their cultural tradition and heritage. The life and activities of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekanand and others, who were foremost among the notable personalities of 19th century Indian renaissance, constituted the source of inspiration for the intellectuals among the Khasis. The Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and Hindu Mission greatly attracted the Khasi and Jaintia tribes to their folds. Various socio-cultural organisations appearing as a prototype of these also flourished and gave fillip to the socio-cultural awakening.

#### British Census Policy

One of the laudable and worth-mentioning features of this tribal renaissance is that when the Assam Provincial Hindu Mahasabha com-

menced work amongst the aboriginal tribes in 1926 to stem the tide of conversion to Christianity, the success was phenomenal. Between 1926 and 1930 sixty thousand tribals including the Khasis, Garos, Kacharis, Mikirs, Lalungs, Miris, Mishmis, Lushias, Rabhas, Santhals, Mundas and Oraons were absorbed into the Hindu fold. The border line between animism and Hinduism was removed. A good number of tribes voluntarily came within the fold of Hinduism. Simple rites were introduced amongst the people and the vice of untouchability removed, as evidenced by the Census Reports of 1921 and 1931. This miracle took place when more than 50 missionary societies coming from different countries of Europe, America and Australia with vast resources at their back were actively engaged in spreading Christianity amongst the simple tribes in the hills and plains of Bengal, Bihar and Assam. The alarmed missionaries made all-out efforts to help census officers in enrolling the tribes as animists and not as Hindus against the wishes of the tribals themselves.

### *Missionary education was aimed at strengthening foreign rule*

Babu Jeeban Roy (1838-1903).

The first visible embodiment of this movement was Babu Jeeban Roy (1838-1903), the spiritual father of the modern Khasis. He was the prophet of the new age and an apostle of Khasi cultural renaissance. His appearance before the public was destined to have a great influence on the future course of the new awakening. He tried to infuse into the new generation a sense of pride in its glorious past and cultural heritage; new faith in future and spirit of self-confidence and self-respect. He acquired proficiency in Bengali, Khasi and Sanskrit languages. He learnt the Persian language too. He was deeply influenced by the philosophical thoughts set forth in all ancient literary texts and treatises in general and the Hindu scriptures in particular. He was greatly moved by the teachings of Hindu classical literature like Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita, Upanishads, Vedanta and other instructive Sanskrit and Bengali religious literature. The study of the classical religious texts inspired him to defend the past, to check the denationalising effects of missionary activities and to bring the Khasi within the fold of Sanskritization. He preached the gospel of the fundamental unity of all religions and urged the cessation of inter-religious strife. He advocated all-round regeneration of the social and religious life and the acceptance of all that was useful for keeping the light of their traditional culture aglow. He played a notable role through his publications *mass-media* and non-sectarian educational approach for



arousing the social and religious consciousness in the hearts of his countrymen.

As a result of his untiring efforts, the Khasi religion, education, culture and literature entered upon a new phase of re-orientation. The first important step taken by him was that he vehemently opposed the English education or Bible education spread by the Welsh Mission, which had adopted education merely as a means of conversion by preaching the Biblical doctrines in the Khasi Jaintia Hills. All their text-books mainly dealt with the teaching of the Bible. There was only one M.E. School at Shillong and hence the doors to higher education were closed. Regarding upgrading of the M.E. School, the Rev. Thomas Jones of the Welsh Mission said, "We have come here for religion and not for education". As a befitting reply to this question, Jeebon Roy and his Bengali associates laid the foundation of the Shillong High School in 1878 for imparting the non-sectarian, secular and liberal education to the Khasi people. He had also started another Entrance School at Shella on the border of Sylhet which unfortunately succumbed to the devastating earth-quake of 1897. In the Brahmo Samaj Hall at Mawkhar (Shillong) he founded the Mawkhar Bengali Middle English School in 1899 for encouraging Bengali Education. This school went out of existence with the death of Jeebon Roy in 1903. He also encouraged the teaching of Sanskrit. Many Khasi people, while writing to the editor of "U NON-GI LAM KHRISTAN" pointed out that they did not want Christian education and that education should be available and acceptable to all Hindus, Muslims, Khasis, Bengali, Brahmo, Catholics and Unitarians.

Jeebon Roy also started "Ri-Khasi Press" in 1896 for publication of all those works which might help in arousing the consciousness for keeping the cultural heritage intact. He was not only a great advocate of the non-sectarian liberal education but also a true champion of the literary movement. To improve the literature of the Khasi as well as to inculcate moral values among the people, he composed several original works in Khasi and translated some English, Bengali and Sanskrit works into his own vernacular. By writing a book entitled "KA NIAM JONG-KIKHASI" (The religion of the Khasis) in 1897 he advocated the re-introduction of old religious beliefs, rites and rituals, festivities and ceremonies etc. His another book "KA KITAB SHAPHANG U WEIBLEI" (A book on one God) published in 1900 incorporated the monotheistic beliefs of theology. Moreover, he translated a number of sacred classical texts and scriptures of the Hindus into tribal languages. By translating "HITOPADESA" (1898-99), "KA RAMAYANA" (1900), "KA KITAB CHAITANYA" (1900), "BUDDHA DEB CHARITTA" (1901) and "KA HISTORY JONG KA RI INDIA" (History of India) in Khasi

(1900), he afforded a unique opportunity to Khasi people to draw inspiration from them for the sake of preserving and protecting their glorious past. He also translated some portions of "the KORAN" for the Muslims, but unfortunately it is not available. From some of his original works it appears that he greatly encouraged the teachings of Ramayana, Lord Buddha, Gauranga Prabhu Chaitanya, Hitopadesha and the Koran among the Khasis. He also advocated the abolition of the caste system which according to him proved detrimental to the unity of India. He believed in the fundamental equality of all religions. He extended equal respect to Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and Brahmos. Babu Jeebon Roy has been rightly described in the "Dictionary of National Biography" as "the most remarkable personality of nineteenth century Asia."

He died in 1903 just before attending the Delhi Durbar of Edward VII.

#### Seng Khasi

The establishment of the "SENG KHASI" -- a socio-cultural organisation on 23rd Nov. 1899, by Jeebon Roy, his son Chandranath

### *Jeeban Roy took Indian saints' teachings to the people and translated the Koran*

Roy (Founder Secretary) and other illustrious Khasis in order to preserve their traditional religion and culture, to undertake the welfare and development activities and to regulate the code of moral and social conduct, constituted a distinct and significant landmark in the revivalist movement of the Khasi-Pnars. This organisation urged a return to the original principles of the Khasi culture and stood for the total rejection of all the socio-religious impurities that had crept into their culture. This popular institution provided an excellent opportunity to the tribals in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills to understand and protect their traditional values. It is more or less like the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, which exhorted the people to hark back to Vedic culture. Babu Jeebon Roy, Sib Charan Roy, Rash Mohan Roy (First Chairman), Chandra Nath Roy, H.R. Diengaoh, Radhom Singh Berry, Hajom Kissor Singh and other prominent Khasis were actively associated with it. The aims and objects of this organisation find reflection in its permanent constitution. The journal "SENG KHASI" has been its mouthpiece and its flag, which is still being unfurled very high, reminds the new generation of their glorious heritage and exhorts them to raise its honour. By holding periodical discussions on Khasi religion and culture and publishing several booklets, pamphlets and monographs highlighting all the noble features of its

past history, religious beliefs, customs and traditions, this organisation has been playing a commendable role in the socio-cultural renaissance of the Khasi and Jaintia people since its inception.

One of the notable features of the organisation is that it organises "Shad Suk Mynsiem" or 'Thanks giving Dance' in the month of April for three days every year, as a symbol of the continuity of ancient Khasi culture. "We must know that although the dance is organised and managed by Seng Khasi, it is actually the dance of the whole Khasi nation which we hope will further the preservation of our customs, usages and culture and which will be held annually". In 1912 the Seng Khasi, clearly spelt out the purpose of this dance 'to advance the culture of the Khasi race and to reveal our gratitude and joy to God, the Creator, that He has protected and taken care of us during the year and that He has provided in abundance to meet all our needs.' Through this annual dance the Khasis foster among themselves a sense of unity and take pride in their religion and culture which was abhorred by the Christian missionaries. The Christian missionaries saw in this dance as in other religious, social and cultural activities of the Khasis, a major impediment in their proselytising activities. Jones Herberts Roberts and Lord Cloyd described the music of the Khasis as 'barbaric and unearthly' and the joyous shouts of the multitude as 'the baying of dogs'. In 1912 all the European residents of Shillong attended this dance but the missionaries and their Khasi followers kept away because a Khasi dance was degrading to them. The missionaries defended their action by publicly declaring, "..... it is one of our bounden duty to condemn not only this art of the Khasis but also their religion and the rites thereof." The comments made by the editor of the Khasi Christian paper "Ka Pateng Christian" provide an eloquent proof of missionary attitude.

The Seng Khasi valiantly preserved their traditions (including the matrilineal family pattern) and arts despite opposition from the colonial government. Even today they continue their work through education, cultural celebrations and social service activities. The aims and objectives of the Seng Khasi include 'to foster a sense of brotherhood among the Khasis who still retain their socio-cultural and religious heritage, to work for the advancement of education, to encourage national sports like archery, cultural dance and other social festivals, to undertake such welfare and development activities as maintenance of cremation grounds for those who dispose of the dead bodies according to traditions and religion.' The Seng Khasi organisation right from its birth till today has been playing a very vital and praiseworthy role in preserving the indigenous culture, by organising different programmes and conducting various intellectual activities.

### Unitarian Movement

Hajom Kissor Singh (1865-1923) started another religious movement known as 'Unitarian' in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills for the spiritual and moral development of the people. The Orthodox Calvinist Mission had converted him to Christianity in tender age. But after coming in contact with Brahmo Samaj in his twenties and going through the liberal religious views of various scriptures he decided to break away from Christianity and to start a Unitarian movement based on the monotheistic principles of the Khasi religion. He raised his voice against the rigid and sectarian principles of the Calvinist Mission. He named his new movement 'Ka Niam Mane wei Blei' i.e. the religion that worships one God. He declared the unitarian character of God as the antithesis of the Trinitarian character of God as propagated by the foreign missionaries of Calvinistic Methodist faith. The teachings of great men including Raja Ram Mohan Roy and selected passages from the Bible and other scriptures greatly moulded his thoughts. He maintained frequent contacts with the Unitarians of Bengal, Europe and America. He said "There is only one God-Father and Mother of Humanity.... All religions are equally good because God reveals His truth to Christianity in the same way as

### *To missionaries, Khasi music was 'barbaric' and Khasi dance, 'baying of dogs'*

to Unitarianism, to Hinduism, to Islam, to Judaism, to Buddhism, to Zoroastrianism as well as to Confucianism.... Jesus was not the only son of God. Krishna, Mohamed, Chaitanya, Confucius, Zoroaster, Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekananda, Guru Nanak were all sons of God...." He drew inspiration from the universal aspects of Vedanta. Nilmani Roy, a Bengali Brahmo of Shillong and other Brahmo Sanyasis who preached the teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the seventies of the last century greatly influenced his religious thoughts. Between 1887 and 1900 he achieved remarkable success. A good number of the Khasi-Jaintia and Mikir tribes joined his Unitarian movement. In 1936, Miss Margaret Bar came from England, joined this movement and rendered very valuable services to the tribals in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. It is worthy of note that various talented Khasi scholars of great excellence through their writings and movements of varied nature not only postulated the basic doctrines of religion or preached and popularised the old religious beliefs and customs but also proved to be a moving force in reviving the old glorious past and thus saved the Khasi race from cultural extinction.

### Sib Charan Roy (1862-1952)

The revitalization movement started by Jeeban Roy was carried forward by many other prominent contemporary non-Christian Khasi

writers and reformers belonging to the traditional school of thought representing serenity and syncretism. The name of Sib Charn Roy (1862-1952) figures prominently in this galaxy of Khasi reformers. Like his father Babu Jeeban Roy, he was also the defender of rich cultural heritage of the Khasi-pnars. He was determined to resist the denationalising and proselytising activities of the Christians. He also acquired proficiency in the Sanskrit language. His monograph entitled 'Ka Niam Ki Khasi' (1919) a book on religious philosophy about one God and man helped the people to know about their religious doctrines and philosophical thoughts. The two monthly journals 'U Nonghirar' (Watchman or Caretaker and 'U Nongpynim' (A Saviour) started by him in 1903 and 1928 highlighted mainly those aspects of the tradition which were misinterpreted and misrepresented by the missionaries. In his celebrated work 'Ka Jingsiaky-siew' (1903) he made sincere attempts to trace the linguistic affinity between the Khasi, Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi and ultimately proved that the Khasi rites, ceremonies and rituals are based on the Vedas and Shastras to a considerable degree. His 'Ka Chanakya Niti Darpana' (Translated into Khasi in 1902) deals with the basic principles of the ancient polity as enunciated by Kautilya or Chanakya. His famous work 'Ka Bhagavad Gita' (Translated into Khasi in 1903) a *magnum opus*, proved to be a treasure house of spiritual values, knowledge and wisdom. He earnestly appealed to all the youths and elders in the first decade of the present century to learn the teachings of the Gita, which exercised tremendous and persuasive influence on the minds of the people. He was profoundly influenced by the ideals of Rama, Krishna, Arjuna and Buddha and the teachings of the Mahabharata, Vedas and of 'Satyarth Prakash' of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in which a critical and comparative analysis of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam has been made. He was the Vice-president of the Shillong branch of Brahmoo Samaj too for some time. He always stressed the fact that "Khasis are free people. They need no religious despatches from foreign lands....."

#### Other Reformers

Rash Mohan Roy (1872-1962) as one of the mighty pillars of the Seng Khasi organisation gave fillip to the socio-cultural renaissance of the Seng Khasi. As the education imparted by the Christian missionaries was opposed to the fundamental ideas and primary objectives of the Seng Khasi organisation, he started Seng Khasi Free Morning School in 1921 to impart such liberal education which might help people in protecting the indigenous religious and cultural traditions. Since 1924 the British government started making every possible attempt to stop the grants-in-aid to this school in order to stem the tide of the progress of this move-

ment. In 1925 Rash Mohan Roy issued an appeal for some donations for the smooth functioning of this school and furtherance of its objectives. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and many other persons and organisations responded to this appeal. Some extracts of a circular issued by Shri Roy published by Gandhiji in "Harian" of 9th March 1940 are reproduced below "...the Missionaries printed Text-books for school according to their likings and choice viz. History of Jesus, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and so on and so forth. They translated the Bible into Khasi language and made it a text book for school. Fortunately for the Khasis, some pure Khasi gentlemen of hallowed memory took the initiative of providing national education for the Khasi children...with a view to preserving Khasi National Culture..." Gandhiji commented "...surely he has every right to object to the teaching of proselytising literature prepared by the Missionaries..." Shri Rash Mohan Roy's books —'Ka Damayantibad 'UNOL' dealing with some stories from Hindu mythology related to Goddess Kali and 'Khasi Hynd a' (the Khasis in the past) profusely dealing with some aspects of the traditional Khasi religion and culture—contributed a great deal to the socio-cultural awakening of the Khasis. Once he had remarked "...There is no poverty of religion

### *The Khasis are free from caste system, purdah and untouchability*

among the Khasis and they do not stand in need of embracing religions dispatched from foreign lands and become blind believers of those creeds and dogmas. The Khasis are free from all sorts of prejudices and absurdities—caste systems, untouchability, purdah and so on ..."

Some other intellectual Khasis, who carried on the task of reviving the traditional Khasi culture with considerable degree of dexterity and success are also worthy of our attention. Babu Chandranath Roy (1873-1959) the founder secretary of the Seng Khasi was also one of the pillars of this movement. His great contribution was towards the literary and educational development of the Khasi people. In 1907 he, along with Rash Mohan Roy, Dohory Ropmay and others set up 'Synjuk Khasi—Synteng' ('Khasi—Synteng United Guild') a precursor of the Khasi National Durbar which was founded in 1923. Babu Radhom Singh Berry (1854-1904), a great poet, philosopher and original thinker by writing a book "Ka Jingsneng Jymmen" a classical work on moral code and composing songs for Brahmoo Samaj, Seng Khasi and Unitarians, played a very important part in this Renaissance. In search of truth he had embraced Christianity (Welsh Presbyterian) but reverted to his old faith, i.e. the Khasi religion. His book 'Ka Niam Wei Blei' proved to be the original

scripture of the Khasi Unitarians. He, as a close associate of Nilmani Chakravarty of the Brahmo Samaj, helped the latter in preaching the doctrine of the Brahmos in the Khasi Hills. Though after having accepted the principles of Khasi Unitarians, he was not actively associated with the Seng Khasi, he strove hard to retain some of the old Khasi religious rites, rituals and customs.

Another social and religious reformer U Rabon Singh, also played a considerable role in this movement (1910). In spite of being a Christian he never followed blindly the dogmas and creeds of the Christian faith. Nor did he ever accept any restrictions or prohibitions imposed on the cultural activities of his fellow Khasis by the foreign missionaries. He always raised his voice in support of the preservation of the rich cultural heritage of the Khasis. In his three valuable books 'Ka Niam Khein Ki Khasi', 'Ka Kitab Jingphawar' and 'Ka Kitab Jinguahkhana Puriskam' he threw a good deal of light on old religious beliefs, usages and practices, ceremonies, customary laws, rituals, code of ethics, sacrifices, ordeals, divinations, maxims, mythology etc. which contributed a lot to Khasi renaissance.

Hormy Roy Diengdoh, who was the famous editor of 'U Khasi Mynta' a monthly paper started in 1895, always inspired the people through his writings to preserve the traditional Khasi culture by checking the proselytising activities of the missionaries. In all his articles he focussed on the teachings of the forefathers. He strongly championed the cause of the renaissance movement and strongly advocated the similarity between the Khasi and Sanskrit languages. Homiwell Lyngdoh's classical works 'Ka Pomblang bad Thang Syiem' (1928) and 'Ka Niam Khasi' provided graphic description of the ceremonies, usages and rites, mode of worship of the deities, concept of divinity, duties of priests, belief in funeral rites and monuments, etc. Hari Charan Roy's 'Ka Savitri' and Dina Nath Roy's 'Ka Hok Lane' and a drama 'U Tipsngi' proved to be the sources of inspiration for the younger generation in defence of their past. U Soso Tham, the well known and popular literary figure among the Khasis, also projected the golden image of the past of the Khasis in his 'Ki Sngi Barim U' 'Hynniew Trep' and other poems.

#### Khasi Mass Media

It should also be mentioned that mass-media had its own share in providing momentum to this renaissance movement in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. When the Welsh Mission started its first paper 'U Nong Kit Khubor' in 1894 for the propagation of Christianity, H.R. Diengdoh started a monthly paper popularly known as 'U Khasi Mynta' (The Khasi Today) in 1895-96 to counter the propagandist activities of the Christian

missionaries. The Ri-Khasi Press set up in 1896 and the two Khasi Journals 'U Nongphira' and 'U Nongpyim' edited by Sib Charan Roy strongly championed the cause of the preservation and revitalisation of the traditional Khasi culture. Another journal named 'Ka Syngkhong Jingtup' started in 1937 at the behest of the Khasi Cultural Society, which was founded in 1936-37 by a group of talented and creative people, went a long way in preserving and consolidating the traditional Khasi culture and heritage.

#### Movements in Jaintia Hills

In the Jaintia Hills also remarkable progress was made in the field of preserving the traditional culture. In the whole of North-East India amongst the tribal people, the Jaintias alone succeeded in maintaining their Hindu-oriented traditional culture in all fields despite the British attempt to encroach upon their religion and set a living example of their affection for their glorious heritage. From the middle of the 19th century the missionaries started interfering too much with their old religious customs. The forcible conversion of the Jaintias also began. They were not allowed

#### *Hormy Roy Diengdoh showed similarity between Sanskrit and Khasi languages*

to worship their gods and goddesses in their own traditional ways. When everything went beyond the limit, U Kiang Nongbah started a political-cum-religious movement against the British Raj in 1862 in order to maintain the political and cultural identity of the people. He was hanged at Jowai by the British. In the early part of the 19th century, Saivism, Saktism and Tantricism also thrived well in the Jaintia Hills because of the Brahmanical influence on the Jaintia tribes. A socio-religious organisation known as 'SEINRAJ' was also founded in 1935 in Jaintia Hills with the prime objective of preserving, promoting and practising the old Jaintia religious rites, customs and festivals.

The Bengal Renaissance of 19th century left its indelible imprint on the tribal people of North-East India. Branches of the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Hindu Mission and Ramakrishna Mission were also established in different parts of the Khasi Jaintia Hills. Brahmoism or the Brahmo movement based on natural or universal theism became very popular in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.

A small Brahmo Mission known as 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj' set up in May 1878 here worked among the Khasis and Jaintias for a considerable length of time and drew within its fold many tribal people.



Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was mainly doing its work in Southern Khasi Hills, particularly in Shella and Cherrapunji areas, while the Adi-Brahmo Samaj was active in and around Shillong. From the 'Tattva Bodhini Patrika', journal of the Khasis was formed under the inspiring leadership of a big group of the Khasis was formed under the inspiring leadership of Babu Sib Charan Roy, Vice president of the Shillong local committee of the Brahmo Samaj. It made all possible attempts to stem the tide of the progress of Christianity and to preserve their own tribal religion and other institutions. Babu Jeebon Roy, Sib Charan Roy, Chandranath Roy, H. Kissor Singh and many other illustrious Khasis became close associates of Babu Nilam Chakravarti, the founder of the "Khasis Brahmo Mission" and took a leading part in the revivalist movement of the Khasis and Jaintia. For the first time a big compilation of Brahmo hymns in Khasi dialect was published. A good number of Brahmo Temples, Schools and Ashrams were founded at Shillong, Cherrapunji, Mawlong, Laitkynsew, Nongiri, Nongwar and Shella. According to Christian observers, 'The two socio-religious factors viz, monotheism and castelessness brought the Brahmos and the Khasis closer and provided Brahmoism an easy way of infiltration among the latter'. The census reports of 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921 bear glowing testimony to the fact that in Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills the number of the followers of this new faith was on the increase. Edward Gait in his Census Report of 1891 has opined that "Brahmoism is a modified form of Hinduism... There is however a small mission at work amongst the Khasis which is said to be meeting with fair success. Some tribes on the frontier were under the influence of Hinduism... Along with the Khasis and Jaintias many other tribes namely the Garos, the Nagas, the Kukis and the Lushais are also believed to be proselytized and admitted within the fold of Adi Brahmo Samaj".

The Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati also made its appearance in the Khasi Hills. In the twenties of the present century Lala B. K. Dey and some other intellectuals of Shillong started the Hindu Sammelan. Babu Chandra Kant Roy a noted nationalist and enlightened Khasi was actively associated with this Sammelan. Pt. L. N. Sastri, a Hindu Mahasabha leader, was also one of the patrons of this Sammelan. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, while visiting Shillong at that time, highly praised this movement. Many Khasis were attached to this movement. Besides, the Hindu Mission of Calcutta also started its branch at Shillong which later on merged with the Hindu Sammelan. The Hindu Mission is still functioning as a popular organisation in Shillong. Swami Vivekananda and Subhash Chandra Bose while paying visits to Shillong in 1901 and 1938-39 respectively, greatly inspired the

Khasis and Jaintias to pursue their movements for rediscovery of their roots.

#### Rama Krishna Mission

Among all the Hindu missions the Ramakrishna Mission achieved far great popularity among the Khasis and Jaintias. It is really very interesting to note that when Swami Prabhananda, popularly known as Ketaki Maharaj, was undergoing training at the Mission branch of Dacca and planning to co-operate with Gandhiji in the non-cooperation movement against the British Raj in 1920-21, some leading Khasi gentlemen invited him to establish the Ramakrishna Mission in the tribal areas and to work among them by starting schools in the hills 'to which they could send their children without any danger of being exposed to the propaganda of any sectarian religion as it happened in existing schools in their hills'. The Khasis gave much preference to Ramakrishna Mission over the Christian Missions which were already entrenched there, for the obvious reason that as a result of the work

### *Bengali Renaissance inspired the tribals of N-E India*

of the Christian Mission many of their children were converted to Christianity and a large number of them, though still nominally loyal to their own religious traditions, were getting influenced by Christian dogmas.

In order to fulfil the cherished aspirations of the Khasis and to save their race from Christian influence, Ketaki Maharaj reached Shella at the Southern Khasi Hills in 1924 from Dacca. His purpose was to spread the light of national and liberal education by upholding the cause for saving their culture from the foreign cultural conquest. The Wahdars of Shella, Gauri Charan Roy, Jogidhan, Joydhan and many leading Khasis like Satyendra Roy, Chaitanya Roy and others extended all support to him. Many Hinduised tribes, who had earlier come under the influence of Vaishnava preachers from Bengal, rallied round his banner for starting Ramakrishna Mission Schools. "He let every body know that he had come there without any ulterior motive, without even the motive of trying to Hinduise them, though it was true that if anybody having already been under Hindu influence wanted to study Hinduism further, he was ready to help him. It pained him to see that conversions often took place because the people were poor and ignorant. It pained him more when he saw that those who embraced Christianity became thoroughly denationalised." Soon the word spread to other villages

that a strange young man had arrived at Shella who was running schools without any attempt to convert the pupils to any particular religious beliefs and what was more—he was anxious, like the Khasis themselves, that they should preserve their ancient traditions while adapting themselves to the altered circumstances in which they found themselves as a result of the British conquest.

Ketaki Maharaj recalling the prophetic message of Swami Vivekananda...made them understand their real condition. He opened Schools and Ashrams at Shella between 1924 and 1925, in Nongwar in 1928 and in Cherrapunji and Shillong between 1933 and 1936. He wrote books like 'Ka Rukom Durga Puja', 'U Siva Ka Durga', 'Ka Saraswati', 'Ka Jingrawai India', 'Ka Jingrawai Kyresiew' and composed songs on Ramakrishna, Mata Sarada Devi and Vivekananda. He popularised Durga and Kali Puja. He also used to send Khasi boys and girls to Calcutta, Dacca and Belur Math to receive education and Diksha. He passed away in 1938.

A good number of Khasi men and women in the East Khasi Hills also extended their support to Jarini Kumar Purkayastha in starting 'New India Schools' and Ramakrishna Ashram at Sohbarneal Cherra in 1928 for receiving secular and liberal education. The Schools and Ashrams managed by Ramakrishna Mission helped the Khasis to maintain their traditional culture. The Khasis strongly protested against the establishment of Christian missions in their areas, opposed all the attempts of the British government to close down this school and from time to time organised the villagers to raise their voice against the British policy of encroachment on their traditional rights. They were great patrons of the Ashram. They believed in the harmony of all religions and were profoundly influenced by the philosophy of Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Vivekananda. Miss Margaret Barr of the Unitarian Church (1936-1973) also supported the growth of secular education imparted in the Ramakrishna mission schools and opposed the proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries in all these areas. Thus, with the help of the Ramakrishna Mission, a section of the Khasis were able to save their religious faith from the onslaughts of foreign missionaries.

#### Naga Awakening

Jadonang (1905-31), a young Kabui Naga leader popularly known as 'Messiah' started a movement in 1920's in the Western Hills of Manipur. His movement aimed at introducing reforms in the political, social and religious fields. He began his career of a mystic and intro-

duced excellent reforms in the social life, religious worship and the practices of the Zeliangrong people. The proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries since 1914 had thrown a challenge to the very foundation of the traditional and religious beliefs of his people. In order to defend and preserve the traditional religion and culture, he abolished many unnecessary and irrational taboos and superstitions, simplified the worship of God, encouraged the construction of temples for giving religious sermons, composed many religious hymns and other devotional songs and integrated the three tribes i.e. the Zenis, Langmeis and Rongameis under the banner of Zeliangrong. Sir Robert Reid has called his movement 'semi-religious movement' because he was worshipped like a god. The British instigated the villagers to demolish his temple as it was against the tribal practice, but people refused to do so. The flame of this movement spread in the neighbouring areas also. Prof. Downs, a church historian stated: 'The cult was an organised anti-Christian movement with no parallel elsewhere in North-East India.' The reformed religion came to be known as the 'HARAKA' (Pure) religion. Graham Bower's view that 'this religion appears as a

### *Several tribes' devotion to Vaishnavism and old traditions withstood westernism*

splendid blending of Hinduism and Christianity' is not tenable. Mr. Johnstone has revealed that 'Towards the middle of the 15th century a great Hindu revivalist movement of far-reaching importance broke out in the North-East of India, particularly Manipur and Naga Hills. Conversion to Hinduism on the Eastern frontier from Sadiya to Chittagong was taking place. Hill tribes were admitted as Hindus by the Rajas and given the sacred thread of high born castes called 'Khetree'. Jadonang has appeared in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' as 'Messiah'.

#### Rani Gaidinlieu holds the torch

After Jadonang was hanged by the British on 29th August 1932 at Imphal, follower and disciple Rani Gaidinlieu, undertook the responsibility of continuing the movement, which aimed at both political emancipation as well as socio-religious transformation. As a reformer, she looked down upon the alien religion and made sincere efforts to preserve the traditional Naga culture customs and usages of the Zeliangrong people. Her followers believed in one Supreme God, prayers and sacrifice at the altar of God. Her movement was not a departure from the past but a reformed cult of the original religious and cultural traditions. The 'Haraka' Bhakti

movement was organised by her to save her race from the foreign influences and Christian dogmas. Through Zeliangrong, she was trying to raise her voice against western culture. Her mode of worship was like that of the worship of Goddess Kali. The cult of Haraka aims at setting up such a heavenly kingdom in which there will be no place for misery.

The western part of Manipur, Southern part of Nagaland and Burma Valley in Assam has felt the impulse of her movement. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, while visiting Assam in 1937, highly praised the activities and sacrifices of Rani Gaidinliu. To quote him....."India does not even know of this brave child of the hills with the free spirit of the mountains in her life. But her own people remember their Rani Gaidinliu and think of her with love and pride. And a day will come when India also will remember her and cherish her and bring her out of her prison cell..." In fact she should be assigned a place in the History of India by the side of Rani Laxmibai, Rani Durgabati and Mirabai.

#### Among Mizos

In Manipur the various cultural organisations of the Jhados, the Paites, the Hmars (all Kuki tribes) and other tribes have played a distinct role in the cultural development of the people. They published text books in their respective languages for establishing cultural superiority over the alien elements. In 1904 the "revivalist" movement percolated to Mizo Hills Via Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Mizos continued their movement upto 1937 with little interruptions for preserving their traditional folksongs, dances and music, customs and beliefs, spiritualism and Hymns etc. This movement spread in northern-southern and Eastern parts of the Mizo Hills. Sir Robert Reid has correctly observed that "The Lushais are religiously emotional. Anything like revivalism appeals to them ..."

The Kacharis, the Mikirs and other cognate tribes came under the influence of a Hindu priest, Sambhudan, a great social, political and religious reformer of North Cachar Hills. He started a movement in 1882 with the support of a good number of tribal followers for the preservation of their traditional religion and culture. A good number of the Kacharis the Lalungs, the Garos, the Mikirs, the Nagas, the Dasas and other tribes were re-initiated and salvaged into the Hindu fold, which was a great socio-religious change.

#### In Arunachal Pradesh

In North-Eastern Frontier Region (now Arunachal Pradesh) the attempts made by some of the tribes, notably the Itkas, the Miris, the

Mishmis, the Nootes and Wanchos, for preserving their traditional faiths are also of considerable importance. The Jogi Raja of Iika tribe, after becoming somewhat reformed, started propagating the worship of Hari amongst the tribal people. The Nootes and the Wanchos also took all possible steps for maintaining their cultural identity with special reference to their Vaishnava faith without breaking away from the past. The traditional tribal institutions of this region have throughout played a notable role in arousing a feeling in the hearts of these people for preserving, protecting and rejuvenating their traditional religion and culture. This revivalism became such a living force that it never faded away even in the face of the rapid westernization in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first and second quarters of the 20th century.

### Tribal Awakening in Other Parts of India

#### In Bihar

In Bihar, first of all, the 'Saphahor' Santhals started the religious reform movement which is popularly known as the 'Kharbar' or 'Khergar' movement. This movement was started by their Dharmaguru Bhagirath in 1871 as a result of which the tribals condemned the conversion activities of the Christian missionaries in Santhal Pargana and introduced some reforms for a better change. They abandoned the worship of many gods

### *Birsa Munda in Bihar, Jana Bhakta in Orissa inspired tribal renaissance.*

and goddesses based on polytheistic beliefs and started worshipping one God. They also gave up their superstitious belief in magic, sorcery, divination and witchcraft, stopped the practice of sacrifices and taking of liquor. They laid great stress on purity of life, moral code, Hindu way of life, adoption of indigenous clothes, worship of Lord Siva and goddess Durga. This movement spread in Dumka Rajmahal, Deoghar, Giridih and neighbouring areas and continued upto 1897. This movement inspired the Santhals to preserve the essentials of their tribal culture as well as to assimilate all that was good in Hinduism. Once the Santhals met Gandhiji when he visited Deoghar in connection with his Harijan movement and complained that the Christians do not allow them to enjoy complete religious freedom.

Birsa Munda started a social and religious reform movement in 1891 and continued it till his death in 1900. After coming into contact with his Guru, Ananda Pandey, in 1891 he decided to introduce social and religious changes. He was deeply influenced by the teachings of the Vaishnava school, the Ramayana, the Mahabharat, the Puranas and other Hindu scriptures. He raised his voice against the evil practices that had crept into his tribal society and superstitious beliefs. He denounced

Christianity which he had accepted earlier. He taught his tribal brethren to worship one God based on monotheistic principles, to abandon the superstitious beliefs in magic, witchcraft and divinations, to stop the slaughter of animals and other sacrifices, not to take liquor, to worship the cow, to maintain purity of life, to adopt the white flag which was a symbol of indigenous culture, to respect the elders, to maintain unity, to adopt the sacred thread of the Hindus, not to establish matrimonial relations with the Christians and so on. Birsu Munda was to the Munda tribes what Confucius was to the Chinese and Buddha to the Buddhists. This movement gathered momentum for some time.

The 'Jana Bhakta' movement started by Zatra Oraon in 1914 for social and religious changes was very successful. He inculcated moral values among the Oraons. He started movement against all evil practices and superstitious beliefs like magic and witchcraft, taking of liquor, system of sacrifices, etc. His disciples known as Jana Bhaktas started leading a pure life, adopting a new religious pattern with reference to the religious hymns and devotional songs. He strongly advocated the abolition of all savage practices in tribal society and for the reorientation of tribal culture. This movement continued up to 1940-41.

#### In Bengal & Orissa

The socio-cultural awakening of the Santhals in Malda district of West Bengal between 1927 and 1932 was also of great importance. Three thousand Santhals under their leader Jitu Santhal organised a movement simply for continuing the worship of Goddess Kali and compelled the British Government to withdraw the restrictions imposed on them to this effect.

In Orissa, Chakra Visoi of Khonda or Kandha tribe started a reform movement in 1850 against the Christian missionaries and continued it till his death in 1880. During his lifetime the missionaries were not able to spread Christianity. Credit goes to him for the abolition of human sacrifice among the Khonda tribe.

#### In Gujarat and Rajasthan

In Gujarat as a result of the 'Devi Movement', various cults of Bhakti or Spirituality flourished among the tribes of Surat and Balsad districts. Actually this movement was started in 1929 and continued up to 1947. The order of sanyasis was formed amongst the tribal people. They came under the influence of various gurus representing various cults. As a result of this movement the practice of sacrifice was put to an end. The concept of belief in one God, purity of life and eradication of all evil practices were propagated which provided a new outlook to the tribal people. In Rajasthan Govinda Guru started socio-religious reform move-

ment in 1880-81 in order to improve the social political and religious conditions of Bhils, Minas and Garasiya tribes living in 'Dungarpur, Banswara, Mewar and neighbouring areas. He set up one 'Sanmap Sabha' for preaching his ideals. He taught the tribal people not to take liquor, not to commit theft, to uphold the dignity of labour, to promote the growth of education, to believe in one God, to adopt indigenous clothes, to oppose the alien culture, etc. The Bhils also adopted some practices followed by the rest of Hindus. This movement continued up to 1908. The Bhils of West Khandesh also started social reform movement in 1938 under the leadership of Guta Maharaj which has been described by Thakkar Baba. It had a wonderful moral effect on the people.

#### In South India

In South India the movement started by Viroappa and Puttuvassappa in Karnataka, after the annexation of Coorg by Lord William Bentinck in 1834, for countering the British interference with the tradition, polity, religion, custom and usages of the tribal people. Besides, the movement of Talakkur Chandu between 1707 and 1805 to preserve and prospect the religious faith of the Kuruchia and Kurumar tribes of Kerala also deserve mention.

Any survey of the tribal renaissance in India will remain incomplete without discussing the role of Mahatma Gandhi and his disciple Thakkar Bapa in it. Thakkar Bapa as a life member of Gokhale's Servants of India Society made the beginnings of what could be termed as Gandhian efforts in this field. He founded the Bhil Seva Mandal at Dohad in Gujarat on November 5, 1922. A year later on Nov. 21, 1923 he opened Jhalod Ashrama. In 1926 he extended his activities to the tribal areas in Central Provinces, the Santhal Parganas of Bihar and Bengal and the hill districts of Assam. He popularised the worship of Ram amongst the tribals and founded a Ram temple at Jesawara. In 1927 Thakkar Bapa followed by seven other workers took a pledge at the Jesawara Ram temple to dedicate themselves in the service of the tribals for a further period of at least twenty years. Gandhiji not only blessed these efforts but gave them every encouragement. He raised his powerful voice against the religious conversion of innocent tribals by the foreign Christian missionaries. It was with his inspiration that an all India organisation named Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh was founded in October, 1948.

#### Conclusion

From the above treatment of the subject it can be plausibly concluded that several attempts were made by different personalities and through various movements in Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern parts of India not only for the preservation and revival of their traditional culture but also for the introduction of far reaching reforms in social, religious, cultural, literary and other fields which constitute the two corner stones of the Tribal Renaissance, which is a continuous process and is gaining in momentum day by day. □



The measure of a man.....

For any industry to be achievement-oriented' its people must value achievement as well. At Excel, we know that our organisation can be only as good as our people. We see them as an integral part of everything we do. For all innovations must spring from people, in order to be of value to people. And the worth of every breakthrough we achieve, is the measure of the people behind it.

## EXCEL—THE INNOVATORS

### Chemicals for Industry & Agriculture

## EXCEL INDUSTRIES LIMITED

184/87, Swami Vivekanand Road, Jogeshwari (West)

BOMBAY-400 102

Phone : 571431-5

## China Wants 'Mr. Socialism' and 'Mr. Democracy'

On July 7, the Bharateeya Vichar Kendra, Kerala, organised a talk by Shri A.P. Venkatesvaran on the "Current Developments in China", at Trivandrum.

Shri P. Paramesvaran, Director, B.V.K., introduced the distinguished former Foreign Secretary of India to the august audience.

Dr. Sambasivan presided.

Here is the text of Shri Venkatesvaran's scintillating analysis of the Chinese scene :—  
—Ed.

'Developments in China' are important not merely because India and China represent two of the oldest civilizations in the world; they are also important because they are the two most populous countries in the world. One in every five persons on earth is a Chinese; one in every seven persons on earth is an Indian. So whether we like it or not, the future of this world is going to be fashioned by these peoples, some time or the other.

First and foremost, let us look at the background to the events in China. Nothing happens by itself. There are always reasons underlying them. Now, everything which happens in China happens on a big scale, because of the size of the country and the number of the people. But if you look at the historic developments since China became the Peoples Republic, you will see that turbulence has not been new to that country. Ever since the revolution succeeded and Mao Tse-tung spoke from the walls of Jung-nan-hi and declared that China had stood up, every four or five years there have been tremendous changes. Some of them inspired by the party; some of them, programmes of the government; and some of them, due to the people, particularly the students. And the students of course represent what you may call *Avant-garde* because they are young, they have new ideas, new concepts, they have the energy to move around, and the capacity to express themselves.

So you first saw that in 1951 or 1952 Mao Tse-tung told the then capitalists in China that they could also work for the People's Republic and they would be allowed to keep their property other than the massive holdings of land. But within a year this policy was changed and all the entrepreneurs ran away. They had to run away to Hong Kong or Singapore or Taiwan, to save their lives. A little later Mao Tse-tung announced the 'Hundred Flowers' campaign—"Let a hundred flowers bloom and a thousand schools of thought contend." But when the intellectuals started

to express themselves, and their expression went against what the Communist party felt was "the truth", the heads of all those 100 flowers were cut off and the intellectuals were denounced as bourgeois liberals and capitalist agents. A tremendous toll was then taken, particularly of those intellectuals and academics who had some time or the other studied abroad or come back after visiting foreign countries.

Then you had the 'Great Leap Forward'. This Great Leap Forward was an answer to the Soviets, because the Soviet Union was the country which had helped China the most in technology proper in the 1950's. It is acknowledged all round that the level of technology transfer, both in quantity and quality, which took place from Soviet Union to China in the 1950's has been unparalleled in this century. But the Chinese wanted more. And why was there difference of opinion? The difference of opinion was because Mao Tse-tung demanded that nuclear weapons technology should be given to the Chinese. Even earlier, the Soviets had been willing to give nuclear technology, i. e. how to build nuclear reactors, how to do nuclear research etc., but they had refrained from giving nuclear weapons technology, which is what Mao Tse-tung wanted. And when this was refused, it became the basis of the split between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese alleged that the Soviets wanted to keep them under control.

At that time the slogan in China was: "There is much disorder under heavens, the situation is excellent." Now Mao Tse-tung had a knack of making such slogans. So when you look at the slogan 'There is much disorder under heavens, the situation is excellent', it is a paradox. But what he meant, he explained in one of his meetings to a visiting statesman, was, "Even if there is a nuclear war (and at that time China's population was 600 million) 300 million people may die, but another 300 million people would live to build a more beautiful socialism than we have at present." That was the kind of thinking which characterised Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Anyhow, the Great Leap Forward was a failure although, at that time, many people abroad felt that making "steel in backyard furnaces" was something great. It was later ascertained that much of the steel could not be used at all. So it had been wasted effort. And today the Chinese themselves accept that the Great Leap Forward was the second biggest mistake of Mao Tse-tung. And what was the first biggest mistake of Mao Tse-tung?

That was the Great Peoples' Cultural Revolution. It started in 1966 and went on for 10 years and during these 10 years nearly 100 million

people were uprooted. These are all Chinese statements, I am not inventing these figures. A 100 million people were uprooted from their places of living and livelihood, husbands were separated from wives, brothers from sisters, parents from their children. And according to Chinese statements again, 20 million people lost their lives in that 10 year period, because of the Cultural Revolution.

So when you look at all these, what has happened in Tienanmen Square on June 4th is put in perspective. I am not trying to say that what happened on June 4 was something very minor; what I am trying to say is, in Chinese terms what happened on June 4 is not perhaps the most significant thing. The significance comes not from the blood-shed or the number of lives lost, the significance will come for other reasons which we shall discuss.

## *China has been rocked by massive demonstrations every few years*

What was the most unique characteristic of the developments of the last 2 months in China? Students demonstration. Students demonstrations, again, have been a common feature in China. In 1919 there was a very famous students' movement which demanded that "Mr. Socialism" and "Mr. Democracy" should come to China. These are the expressions the Chinese used. They may look very quaint and picturesque to us, but that is their sloganising. And even after the People's Republic was declared, there had been, every 3 or 4 years, students demonstrations. The major ones before the present one were as follows.

In 1986 you had a tremendous student upsurge which took place, as a result of which the then General Secretary, Hu-Yao-Bang lost his post and Mr. Shao-Chiang, who has now lost his post, took over from him. It is ironic that Shao-Chiang also lost his post as a result of student demonstrations.

Before 1986 you had also, in 1983-84, tremendous students agitations inside the campuses. This is not something new. In 1976 there had been tremendous student demonstrations too, when Chou En-lai died. But what is unique about the students' demonstrations which began on April 15 this year and which lasted till June, when the army put down the students brutally?

The main difference was that all the earlier demonstrations took place with the outside world knowing very little about them, whereas the

demonstration this year, the whole world saw, not merely read about. They saw it on their TV screens, thanks to satellite television. Millions of viewers all over the world saw it. Perhaps it is only in India that we were denied those TV pictures because instructions were given, I hear, to the Minister of I & B that only pictures shown on Chinese TV should be shown to Indians because we are not mature enough to see anything else. And so we did not see any of these, except towards the end, when they showed one or two shots about a train being burnt in Shanghai. But the rest of the world saw every day what was going on, from April 15 till June 4. That is a long period and what they saw was something that registered on their minds as totally different from what they had expected of China. So firstly, the main difference was that the whole world saw the demonstrations, and the repression.

The second main difference was that, for the first time, demonstrations had taken on Gandhian overtones. It was a passive resistance movement against the authorities. They were on fast. Two Thousand students started a fast and it lasted for 2 to 3 weeks. And none of the demonstrators had any violence in them. They did a *dharna*. They sat in the square and they said "We are demonstrating against the regime and we are demonstrating for democracy, for better facilities, for eradication of corruption, eradication of favouritism in the party" and so on. When you look at all that they have said, it is very clear that what the students were asking for was not bringing capitalism into China. They only wanted reform of the system as it existed. There was no opposition to the Communist party. There was opposition to corruption within the Communist party. There was opposition to nepotism and favouritism inside the communist party. Nobody said Communist Party should go and capitalism should come in. None of them said it. So to charge the students with counter-revolution is, I think, a travesty of the facts.

Another most interesting aspect of this demonstration was the immorality of the party and government. Faced with this sudden development, one would have expected an authoritarian government—which China is and which it has proved itself again to be very forcibly on June 4—to have done something about this crowd when they started to assemble and demonstrate on April 15th. Why was no action taken? The answer to this very clearly is another Chinese quality—factionalism.

Just as we in India are fissiparous, i.e., two Indians cannot get together, in China they form groups and these groups are loyal to one leader or the other, and they will manipulate, they will conspire, and they will plot against each other's groups, so that their particular leader comes on top. And this is something which is accepted, because even in the June 9th speech, that is 3 or 4 weeks ago when Deng Xiao-Ping spoke to the military commanders and to the party leaders, he specially emphasised

that there should not be little circles which should form in the leadership. That's what he meant, factions.

Now the other strange thing—and the last strange thing—which I shall touch upon is : why this force was used on June 4 when the students were already melting away ?

We know that the crowd had reached its maximum on May 15 which was the time when Gorbachev visited Peking. And it was mentioned more or less uniformly and unanimously by reporters from all over the world that the number of students in the Tienanmen Square—Tienanmen, incidentally, means 'Gate of Heavenly Peace'—numbered two hundred thousand students. And when they spoke about a million people in the Square what they meant was two hundred thousand students and spectators and other citizens who came to watch the 'Tamasha' like here also in India. If we have one man fasting, he may have a thousand people watching his fast. So this was the maximum crowd. But by June 3 the same reporters are unanimous that the students had started leaving

### *Students thought Government would never use the Army against them...*

in large numbers from somewhere around May 20 itself, when martial law was declared. And on June 3 there were only around ten thousand students in the square. So compared to two hundred thousand on May 15 and ten thousand on June 3, if the authorities had waited for another week, there is no doubt that even the ten thousand would have left.

So why was force used ? The only answer I can think of is: to assert the authority of the party and the government. This is a very important aspect and here the grave miscalculation occurred because the party and government had been so divorced from public opinion that they thought that if they went in now and sent the troops, the students would disperse, and they could then say that they dispersed the mob. But on the other hand, students had been standing there from April 15. Martial Law had been declared on May 20 and no force had been used against the students. The students were convinced that the Army would never use force. So it was a grave misunderstanding on both sides. On the part of the students, they were convinced that the Army will never shoot at the students. They even invented the slogan, "The People's Army will never fight the People." But, alas ! Armies are not made that way. So the Army went in, and the students, who were confident that force will not be used, did not disperse. And the army opened fire !

I am sure that a lot of soul-searching is going on amongst the party

leadership and the government leadership, as to how such a terrible blunder could have occurred. But it is too late. The thing has been done.

Now, why did this situation arise in the first place? I mentioned to you about corruption and nepotism. Corruption and nepotism in old civilizations is something endemic—let us face it. I am not justifying corruption and nepotism but we in India know what corruption and nepotism mean. And we also know how we criticize corruption and nepotism in the other man but we are not so quick to criticize it in ourselves. For every bribe taken, there is a bribe giver. Let us remember that.

The corruption in China had, of course, spiralled upwards since the so-called economic reforms were announced by Deng Xihou-ping in 1978. This decision to liberalize the economy immediately meant that many party cadres and Government officials had now the power to dispense favours. They had the power to import; they had the power to export. And this power, which Rajagopalachari described "Permit-Licence-Quota Raj", is Corruption Raj. This power went to their heads.

According to the Central Disciplinary Commission of the Communist Party of China in 1985—here again I am quoting an official document of the Chinese Communist Party, in the Island of Hynan (there is a small island in the South China Sea called Hynan—the population is not much, I think it is about 200 thousand)—the officials conspired. And according to the report of this Commission, they defrauded the Government of one and a half billion dollars in a matter of 15 months! That is, one thousand five hundred million dollars in the space of 15 months. I think it beats us in the race. Now how did this happen? It was not really stealing government money. What they did was, they imported all the luxury items which China did not have—motor cars, motor cycles, colour television sets, cosmetics, you name it, they imported it. Video machines and so on. And they sold it on the black market. Because there was a great variety of these items, they sold it for 5 to 6 times the price. And the balance they kept. So that was the cheating. They did not take straight-away money from the government exchequer. But this was described in the report of the CDC of the Chinese Communist Party, as having cheated the people of 1½ billion dollars. Now this could not have been done, unless the operations extended all over China, because Hynan Island itself had no capacity to absorb so many motor cycles, motor cars, television sets, and video machines. So it must have been a very large-scale operation. And it took them 3 years to find out what was happening. That again tells you how collusion can keep secrets. But when they found it out, they did take action. Which is more than I can say of our great country.

So corruption was something nasty. Students were living under very difficult circumstances and, as you know, students all over the world still retain a certain bit of idealism.

Which reminds me about what Clemenceau said about his son. Clemenceau was called the 'Lion of France'. He was Prime Minister of France during World War I. Somebody went and told him, "Sir, do you know that your son has become a socialist?" Now, to be a socialist at that time in France was considered to be almost obscene. So the father said to this man, "You know, if a young man is not a socialist in his 20s, it means he has no heart; but if he still remains a socialist in his 30s, it means he has no head." So these students around the age of 20 had an enormous amount of idealism and they opposed corruption.

Then they saw the party leadership indulging in enormous favouritism. Now with the same liberalisation policy there was a parallel policy of modernising technology in China. That meant you had to send your students abroad to learn in the West, in the USA, and you also had to receive experts from abroad to advise you on your modernisation of factories and so on. And that brought in nepotism. Every party official managed to send his son or daughter abroad first, including relatives in the politbureau—again another great quality of ancient cultures. And for every student who can go, a thousand cannot. So those who remained felt highly offended and affronted that they could not go. So there was an enormous upsurge and criticism of this.

### *...And Deng did not realise the world-wide damage TV coverage would do*

Then you had one very important fact developing; the population balance in China has changed. Today 55% of the population in China is below the age of 30. But the rulers remain on an average of 75. Deng Xihou Ping is 84. Le Xian is 62. Pung Chan is 82 and so on. So what can these 80 year-olds understand about the urges and hopes and aspirations of the 20-year-olds and 30-year-olds? But old men everywhere hang on to power. They can't release it. And this results in a tremendous sense of alienation.

And one of the things that the Communist system has done in China is, it has weakened family links; not as much as in the West, but it has weakened the family bonds. The moment the child can earn his own living, which is anywhere around 17 or 18 in China, the capacity to control the child is gone. Let us face it. Much of the so-called affection, filial affection we speak about, comes from economic dependence. I would like to see that affection, if it continues after the child has become economically independent. So in the communist system you had the children guaranteed a job. They went to work somewhere or the other and there was no longer that control which could be exercised.



And last but not the least, (and I am the Chairman of the Task Force on Tourism, so I wouldn't like you to take this too seriously, as far as Kerala is concerned) you had tourism. China has 14 million tourists every year and out of this 14 million, 3 million are foreigners from other countries. But 11 million are overseas Chinese. Now while the foreigners are kept from going into the remote areas of the country, the people of Chinese origin, who have relatives everywhere, are permitted to go and visit relatives and stay with them. And what do these overseas-Chinese bring with them? When they come to visit relatives, they bring gifts. Transistor radios, food stuffs—you name it, they bring it along. Then the cousin of this visitor who is seeing all this tells himself, "That fellow is a fool, I am intelligent in comparison. How is he earning so much when I am still suffering here, working hard and getting nothing?" Discontent is bred. In a way ignorance is bliss, you see. But here ignorance is removed. The man understands that for the same work, or even less work, this fellow is earning much more and can come and lord it over the family. But he, who is more intelligent, works better, more efficiently, cannot do the same thing.

So these were basically the things which fuelled much of the discontent and the opposition to what was happening.

I have already mentioned why force was used on June 4. In my opinion it was used to assert the authority of the Party and the Government. There was really no need to have used it. It was also a miscalculation, as I said. The government and party felt if they use it, the students will run away. But the students felt that force, not having been used so far, will never be used. But it was. And this use of force is what has now completely upse the entire applecart.

What have been the consequences? First and foremost, externally, the whole world has been shocked. Our leadership has not been shocked obviously, but the whole world has been shocked. (In fact there are some leaders who go about and say that the Chinese did the right thing; and I say, in those states, for heaven's sake, they may do the same thing to you if you demonstrate). But the whole world was shocked. The Western world in particular, which thinks that keeping human-rights flag flying is their responsibility, have come out condemning the incident and they have also cancelled some of the aid, or frozen some of the contracts which they are supposed to have with China. So it is going to hurt the Chinese in their economic programme, the so-called liberalisation programme which is the pet project of Deng Xihio Ping himself.

Secondly, it has shocked the intelligentsia and the academic world. They are not going to see the China for quite some years in future, the

China which they had fondly hoped would come into being since 1978. And some of the animosity towards China which existed before the normalisation between China and USA in 1971, will re-emerge at least at the Government level and certainly in the academic and intellectual circles.

A side-effect of this could be that people (abroad) may look at India a little more kindly. I don't think we should be very happy about such a development but there will be a side-effect because people will say, "Look, these Indians may be poor, they may be this, they may be that but they don't at least shoot people in city squares." And I think this is what is working the appetite of some of our businessmen and economists!

What are the effects internally in China? The students in any country are a powerful force. So far students have not been subjected to this kind of treatment even in China.

*"If a man is socialist at 20 he has not heart; if he is still socialist at 30 he has no head."*

During the Great Peoples' Cultural Revolution, when it was coming towards the end-phase and there was total disorder all over China, there was the so-called 'Red Guards Movement'. These Red Guards were mainly school-going boys who had been encouraged by Mao Tse-tung to march up and down and humiliate their teachers and their elders, because Mao felt that their revolution must be perpetuated by instilling fervour into the youth. But when the time came for the Great Peoples' Cultural Revolution to be stopped, Mao Tse-tung himself ordered the army to put down the Red Guards Movement. I have no doubt that quite a few were killed at that time, but we don't know how many, because it was a closed system; except that we know the overall figure of 20 million, which the Chinese accept. But the whole population in China was happy when the cultural revolution ended. So the negative consequences of suppressing whichever students were acting like hooligans, would not have been there.

On this occasion, however, students were not acting as hooligans. They were very well-behaved. Everyone says that they were totally non-violent. So the negative effect of this would permeate the parents, the relatives and affect them negatively against the Government and the Party.

Another aspect of this is that the students, towards the end, were starting to get support from the workers and the bureaucrats in Beijing.

Perhaps this also was a factor which influenced the sending in of troops to send the students away, to disperse the students. If the workers had gone infected with the same dissatisfaction against the party, then it would not have been possible for the party to control it. Students by themselves could not do much; it was also easier to dub it as a 'counter-revolution', when the workers had not entered the fray. If the workers had entered in large numbers, as was threatening to happen, then this fig leaf of 'counter-revolution' would have been even more difficult to use. But to some extent, the workers have also been affected by what happened, you saw pictures showing how they had gone to the help of the students, how they had blocked the path-ways from the sub-way station. They had blocked the streets, telling the troops not to go and attack the students. You must have seen these pictures.

But the saving grace as far as the Chinese leadership is concerned is, that none of these infected the country-side. To use Mao's own famous dictum when he went on the *Long March* and was fighting to establish the supremacy of the Communist Party and to set up the Republic, he used the expression: "Surround the cities from the countryside". And since 80% of the entire population lives in the country-side, if the country-side has not been infected, I think the general situation of the Party and the Government is secure.

But inside the party itself, there must be many questions being asked. The question I have asked, for example: Why was force used when the students could have dispersed? You know that there were only ten thousand left and they were already leaving. Very difficult question for the leadership to answer.

I may mention here that the earlier occasion when Deng Xihio Ping wanted to teach a lesson was during the Vietnam War. The Chinese, as you know, invaded Vietnam. It was a cold, calculated invasion. Deng Xihio Ping had said during his visit to the US in February 1979 that China would teach a lesson to Vietnam. So when he came back he sent in the troops. But there again the calculations failed in a different way. The losses suffered by the Chinese army were enormous compared to the losses suffered by the Vietnamese. It is now known that the Vietnamese lost about six to eight thousand people in the battles but the Chinese lost about 60,000 people in that short war. The reasons were many. Firstly the Chinese Army has not fought a war properly since the Korean war. (I won't mention the war with India which really was not a war at all; we ran away at that time.) The Chinese had followed the tactics of human waves. Human waves are alright if the fire-power of the enemy is not high. But with modern weapons, the fire-power can be very intensive and this was the reason why there was a tremendous loss of lives to the Chinese

Army in the attack on Vietnam. Apart from the fact that the Chinese did not have proper maps, they were fighting in an unfamiliar terrain. The Vietnamese were defending their own country and they are not bad fighters either. We know that at that time Deng Xihio Ping had been criticised by the party and he had to self-criticize.

You know self-criticism. I don't have to explain it here. I suppose here also the leaders self-criticise themselves occasionally. Self-criticism is an accepted discipline in the Communist system. So I think Deng and Li Peng and others may have to self-criticize themselves and also to accept whatever decision the party may eventually give, when they do a proper analysis of what had happened.

## *One crore rich overseas Chinese, visiting China every year, fired local imagination*

The economic reforms will certainly slow down, whatever Deng Xihio Ping may say. Firstly because those who are giving the investment assistance are not going to give it in the same measure, and secondly because the technology transfers will come down steeply; maybe the trade patterns themselves may be affected. Thirdly, the factional in-fighting will increase. While Shao Chiang has been stripped of all his posts and sent into the wilderness, he still remains a member of the Communist Party. And the fact that punishment has not been more severe indicates that he has supporters too. The rift between the city and the country-side could grow. Some of the economic discontent in the city had been there because the country-side had become more prosperous under the economic reforms.

For those who may not have followed this, let me say briefly that the main reform which succeeded very well in Deng's package of economic liberalisation, was the so-called production-responsibility system. That is, he told the farmers and the peasants: This is the quota for your production; whatever you produce over and above that, is yours to keep, to sell, to process further, to do whatever you want with it. This had served as a tremendous incentive and food production in China over a period of 5 years had gone up from somewhere around 310 million tonnes to 400 million tonnes. Remarkable achievement. I think it has touched its peak now. But this meant that there were many mini-millionaires, who came into existence as a result of this. People who have fish ponds, for example, grow the fish and sell it or raise poultry. All this was not allowed before. Now it is allowed and it was this relative prosperity of the farmers as against the continued stagnation of the city-dwellers which had also been one of the bones of contention amongst the city-dwellers.

And all this had been topped by inflation. Inflation is today running in China at about 25 to 30%. The Chinese claim that it is less than 10%. It is not so. Those who stay there, and I had been there not so long ago, can vouch for that and the Yuan, which is the currency, which in 1984 was 2 Yuan to the US Dollar, is today more than 4 Yuan to the US Dollar. Which means a fifty per cent depreciation.

What has happened in China is of relevance to us and to the rest of the world. There is no point in getting vicarious satisfaction that China is in trouble. We can only hope that the situation will settle down, that the government on its part will see its way to taking a less restrictive approach towards the intellectuals and particularly the students, and that the opening which has taken place from 1978 onwards, does not suddenly end because of June 4 this year. And the inter-dependent world also means that if some side-benefits come to us they may not be of a permanent nature. I wish we should be very cautious in crowing about these things. I think that it is truly important that organisations like Bharatheeya Vichar Kendra organise more meetings of this type so that we can understand and discuss developments in other countries also and developments inside India. We are not in a very happy state ourselves, and so I think I'll end by saying the famous proverb :

"THERE, BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD, GO I!"

## "An Inside view of Japan"

*Dr. Suresh Jain who has spent some years in Japan, spoke on "An Inside View of Japan" in the Institute on July 24. Here is the substance of his talk :*

WHEN you first visit Japan, you are terribly impressed; everything is so neat, clean, accurate, precise. Here is a country 1/35 the size of India—and a population one-tenth that of India. But the whole world looks upon it as a miracle. Even Americans are discussing what they can learn from Japan. And all this transformation has taken place after Japan was atom-bombed and occupied by US troops.

For years after World War II, Japan lived in poverty. When children cried for an egg, they were served boiled rice in the shape of an omelette. Those who could not afford a pair of socks, shared one sock each, so that at least one foot would be warm. In 1963 they had a terrible earthquake.

The country has survived all this and grown very strong. What are the chief characteristics of the Japanese ?

Japan is an hierarchical society. Your senior is "Sanse" and you bow to him. All teachers are 'Sanse'.

Secondly Japan has a very strong group feeling. You are not an individual with individuality; you are always a member of a group. You are more a member of your office than of family. Indeed family life, as we know it, does not exist in Japan.

The Japanese male wakes up around 7 A.M. and at 8.25 he is already queuing up outside his office, which will not open before 8.30. These men are carrying their breakfast in their hand. There is lunch at 12 noon and tea at 4 P.M. Offices close at 5 P.M. But the Japanese male does not then go home. They all sit around in the offices, drinking and discussing that day's, and the morrow's, office work. Most of them then go to a night club and gamble on the pachinco. The room is noisy and smoky, but the Japanese are happy; they say they are "alone with their machine!" They dine with friends and go home after 10 P.M.

It is said that when the Japanese male goes home he speaks only three words : "Hulo" (I want to take a bath); "Nishi" (I have taken my food) and "Nero" (I want to sleep).

Married women don't work in Japan. Their sole job is to look after the children. Houses are small, with little privacy; and so a whole lot of "Love Hotels" have come up. These are patronised by young couples for a few hours at a time.

Everybody cleans his own room and bathroom. There is no domestic help.

The Japanese are not originators; but they are excellent imitators. And they are very particular about quality. Competitors like Hitachi and Toyota test each other's car models, to ensure perfection. And then they export goods cheap, and sell them dear at home. For example a Japanese colour TV will cost Rs. 22000 in Japan but only half that money in Singapore.

They are punctilious about every small little thing. If one of the fluorescent tubes has fused in your room, they will not give you a brand new tube, since that will not match with the other older tubes; they will bring an old tube from the store, to match the other old tubes in your room !

On all kind of occasions, you give and receive gifts. When you give a gift, you are profusely thanked. They will admire the packing, and they will not tear away the wrapping paper, (that will be awful bad manners); they will unwrap it nicely. They will then admire the gift and say they always wanted a gift just like that !

If you speak Japanese, young and old, villager and city-dweller, will admire it in exactly the same terms. Since, however, you can never speak Japanese like the native-born, they will all make fun of you immediately after, almost within your hearing.

Education is very expensive and very competitive. There are no scholarships—and private tuition is prohibitive. So only the bright boys of wealthy families can go in for higher education and take up the big jobs.

There is an acute generational clash of cultures. There are old men with pre-war, war-time and post-war memories; there are the middle-aged who have effected the Japanese miracle; and then there is the pampered young generation of today. The Japanese suffer from an acute inferiority complex vis-a-vis the Americans. They sweat and save, just to be able to visit USA—even if it is only Hawaii in mid-Pacific. They are all learning English. For a long time, their king was god for the Japanese; since he was defeated by USA, Americans have become the Super-God in Japanese consciousness !

It is very difficult to say what is their religion. You ask a Japanese what is his religion and he will say 'I don't know. Perhaps I am Shinto or maybe I am Buddhist or Christian'. Actually they follow convenience. Since birth ceremony is simplest in Shintoism, they observe that for birth. Since marriages are easiest by Christian system, they follow that for marriage. And since Buddhist cremation is cheapest, they all go in for it on death. Incidentally, marriage expenses are incurred by the young man and his wife, and not by their parents. Persons marrying Japanese can stay on in Japan, but they don't thereby become Japanese nationals. Even the children of these mixed marriages in the third generation are not accepted as "Japanese".

Although the Japanese are not family-centric, money remains with the wife. All that a man gets is 1000 Yen (about \$ 3) a day—for his transport and meals, etc.

It is a very different kind of society from ours. It is at once the glory, jest and riddle of the world.

WITH

BEST

COMPLIMENTS

FROM



George Williamson (Assam)  
Limited

4 Mangoe Lane

Calcutta 700 001

Registered Office :

'Looitsora'

Mahatma Gandhi Road

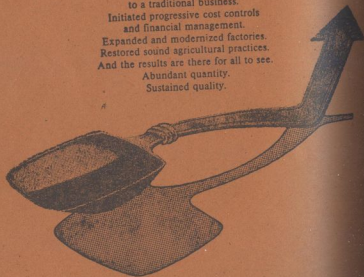
Guawahati 781 001

(A Member of the Macneill & Magor Group of Companies)



# Brewing success the Apeejay way

**O**ur blend is simple.  
We put the special entrepreneurial skills  
of the Apeejay Group to work.  
Introduced fresh ideas  
to a traditional business.  
Initiated progressive cost controls  
and financial management.  
Expanded and modernized factories.  
Restored sound agricultural practices.  
And the results are there for all to see.  
Abundant quantity.  
Sustained quality.



Assam Frontier Tea Limited

Edited, Printed and Published by K.R. Malkani for Deendayal Research Institute  
New Delhi-65, and Printed at Siya Ram Press, Delhi-110006

# Manthan

Vol. X No. 9

SEPTEMBER 1989

Concepts of Nationalism  
and Communalism

Improving Indo-  
Bangladesh Relations

Chemical Fertiliser-  
Avoiding Agriculture :  
US Academy of  
Sciences'  
Recommendations

Journal of Deendayal Research Institute