THE NEW LANKA

A QVARTERLY REVIEW

Vol. VII. APRIL-JULY, 1956 Nos. 3 & 4

ROUND THE WORLD
BASIL DAVIDSON

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THE HUMANITIES IN A MODERN CONTEXT
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THE SINHALESE: THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
THE REV. FATHER V. PERNIOLA S. J.

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G. L. Cooray
Editor.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

BASIL DAVIDSON: Author and Journalist. On 'European' Staff of *The Times*, 1945—49; thereafter made study of colonial and especially of African Affairs; frequent contributor to *The Statesman and Nation: is* now *Daily Herald's* special writer on world affairs. Books include *Report on Southern Africa, Daybreak in China, The African Awakening* * **The Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT SOULBURY** P.C., G.C.M.G., M.C.: Governor-General of Ceylon 1949—1954 * **Sir IVOR JENNINGS,** K.C., L.L.D., D. Litt.: Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; First Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon. * **Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN:** Scholar—Statesman; Vice-President of the Republic of India * **F. L. WOODWARD,** M.A.: Principal Mahinda College, Ceylon 1903—1918; died 1954. * **Dr. J. BRONOWSKI** M.A., Ph.D: a former official of Unesco is the author of several scientific works, of which *The Common Sense of Science* is the best known to laymen * **E. F. C. PEREIRA** B.A. of the Royal College, Colombo; Secretary of the Classical Association of Ceylon * **The Rev. W. L. A. Don PETER,** M.A.: Rector, St. Aloysius Seminary, Colombo * **HUMAYUN KABIR** is Educational Adviser to the Government of India and Chairman of the Indian National Commission for Unesco. * **The Rev. CELESTINE FERNANDO,** B.A., B.D is Anglican Chaplain to the University of Ceylon * **Sir CHARLES WOOLLEY:** a former Governor of Cyprus, was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service *E. G. TURNER: Professor of Papyrology * **YIGAL ALLON:** Brigadier-General in the Israel Defence Army, commanded the forces on the Southern front and defeated the Egyptians in Israel's war of independence * **K. SARWAR HASAN:** President of the Pakistan Institute for International Affairs * **TUNKU NONG JIWA:** a nephew of the Sultan of Kedah, was for sometime an unofficial adviser in the Chinese Affairs Department * **Dr. WINBURN T. THOMAS:** Field Representative in Indonesia for the National Council of Churches of Christ since 1951. Dr. Thomas served as Reconstruction Secretary of the World Student Christian Federation; he convered the Bandung Conference for the Christian Century * **Dr. LUCIAN De ZILWA,** M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.O.G: Books include *The Dice of the Gods* and *The Chandala Woman* * **Dr. ARGUS TRESIDDER:** Now of the American Embassy, Ankara, was Public Relations Officer, American Embassy Ceylon * **ALAN BIRD:** Chancellor's Gold Medalist for English verse, Cambridge; writer, critic and broadcaster * **L. W. De SILVA:** Barrister-at-law; Commissioner of Assize; a former President of the Classical Association of Ceylon * **The Rev. FATHER V. PERNIOLA** S.J: now of the Undergraduate Department, St. Joseph's College, Colombo; former Rector, St. Aloysius' College, Galle *SIRIPALA TILAKASENA: Sub editor, Lankadipa, Colombo * **A. M. K. CUMARASWAMY,** B.Sc.: now of the Jaffna College, Ceylon; first Registrar of the University of Ceylon.

ROUND THE WORLD

Cyprus—French North Africa—Middle Eastern Troubles—
China Revisited—*Changes on the Land—Changes in Trade—Sinkiang*

THE deportation from Cyprus of Archbishop Makarios has greatly sharpened the trouble in Cyprus, as everyone knew that it would. That the British authorities were willing to deport the Archbishop, knowing as they did what the reaction would be not only in Cyprus but also in Greece, is some measure of the importance they attach to the island as a "reserve base" for the Middle East and North Africa. The argument is that unless we "hold Cyprus firmly in our hand", we shall not be able to reinforce, rapidly and effectively, the various air and other bases we now hold in the Middle East

Cyprus, it is argued, fulfils the one-time role of Suez. Troops from Cyprus can reach Jordan, Iraq and points east within a few hours of "trouble" breaking out.

To this argument the critics of Government policy—daily more numerous—reply in two ways. The first point they make is that the British could very well have given Cyprus self-determination—and yet retained the Cyprus base. On this point an important letter appeared in THE TIMES

of March 21st from Captain Cyril Falls, until lately the Military Correspondent of that newspaper and subsequently a professor of military history at Oxford. His letter is worth quoting at length, for it represents what many good Conservatives are thinking:

On the Cyprus issue, writes Captain Falls, "we stand condemned on the over-riding moral principle. We have no moral right, in face of our professions, to hold in thrall a people who resent our rule, as though they were our property. A (Turkish) minority in Cyprus opposes liberation. There is generally one in such cases. Even there our cause is weak. We have used the Turkish opposition to hamper the struggle for freedom. And opposition from Turkey itself has had to stimulate that of the Turkish Cypriot community.

"To my astonishment, my friend Alexander Papagos (when Prime Minister of Greece) told me before he had made his statement in the Greek Chamber, of his offer that, in the event of union, he would be ready to extend base facilities beyond Cyprus. "To the mainland?" I asked. "Yes." You speak of the "precarious security" of bases without sovereignty. I cannot see that bases maintained by force against hatred can be safer than those maintained by agreement. The United States would have few were sovereignty a necessity.

"I hear it said that compromise now would involve loss of prestige. This argument will not suffice to condone repression, but in any case such effects are brief. France is applauded for restoring an exiled Sultan. I hope that even now we shall have the moral courage to go back on our tracks."

In other words, those who have argued that if the British should give freedom to Cyprus they would forfeit their military base do not have any real grounds to stand on.

But there is another and, in the end, more powerful argument used by critics of Government policy on Cyprus. This is that the times are past when a military base can have any real value and significance in the eastern Mediterranean. Colonialism is in full retreat in that region: those who wish to retain influence and prestige there will do well, it is argued, to find other means than the threat or use of force.

As it is, every day that British troops remain in Cyprus under existing conditions strengthens the hatred of the Greeks against them—and by extension against everything

that this British Government wants. It is a self-defeating and therefore stupid policy. It is also an immoral one.

French North Africa

Both Morocco and Tunisia have now secured the greater part of national independence from the French. Both lose their "protectorate" status. Both are to have complete control of internal affairs, foreign affairs, and—though this is not yet certain—of their armed forces. The French are still hoping to retain a paramount "friendly" position in each of these newly-liberated Arab countries; and, with tactful behaviour in the future, they can probably secure this.

There remains Algeria. Here the war continues. French reinforcements continue to flow in. A reorganisation of French tactics promises to give the rebels a stiffer fight in the near future. But for all this the rebels still retain the initiative. They have now secured more or less complete control of important hill sectors back from the coast; and in some of these they have set up their own local administration, established courts, fixed taxes, begun some dividing up of big estates, and generally prepared themselves for participation in Algerian government later on. Their military units are tough and aggressive. There is constant fighting both in the Constantine and Oran provinces and lately rebel units have penetrated as far as Algiers itself.

What the French Government and military command now have in mind is probably no longer any thought of annihilating the national liberation movement and its rebel army. They are thinking much more of establishing themselves in as powerful positions as possible—mainly by flooding the country with troops—and then of negotiating from as much strength as they can assemble.

So far the rebel political leaders have shown a good deal of skill—almost as much as their military commanders have shown. They are in a strong position. They can afford to wait for French offers. On both sides of them —in Morocco and Tunisia—the situation has moved very much to their advantage since they first declared war on the French in November 1954. At worst they can hope for French offers which give Algeria a wide measure of self-government: at best they can hope to secure, in the end, that full measure of independence now secured by Algeria's two neighbours.

It is hard to see how the French can do more than retain in Algeria the shadow of political influence and the substance

of certain big economic interests: they will be lucky to retain the second. Even if they are lucky, the situation in the Mediterranean will have changed in a revolutionary sense. A closely united Arab League will stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to Arabia. Colonialism will have taken another body blow.

Middle Eastern Troubles

Hostilities between Israel and the Arab countries are freely forecast for the next few weeks or months. Mostly they are obvious propaganda by one side or the other. My own belief is that the Arabs do not want to start a war, and that the Israelis will not dare to; and that the quarrel will go bickering along until both sides are willing to settle.

Meanwhile the traditional British positions in the Middle East are once again reduced. After losing Suez, we are on the way to losing—" losing ", let me explain, in the imperial sense!—Jordan as well. An ill-judged attempt to bribe Jordan into the anti-Egyptian Bagdad Pact has ended in the expulsion of Britain's experienced commander of the Jordan army, General Glubb. This means that the British can no longer rely on the Jordan army's "doing what it is told." Jordan steps nearer to Egypt: further from Nuri-Said in Iraq. This is still another shattering proof of the stupidity of relying on the old imperial system of bribes and bases: the thing simply wont work any longer.

The British Labour Party has now come out in more or less forthright condemnation of the Bagdad Pact—the basis of the Government's policy: in this they have put themselves into line with Pandit Nehru, who long since pointed to the Pact's lamentable consequences. Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the Party's new leader, has also called for talks with the Soviet Union on an all-round settlement of Middle Eastern difficulties.

Kashgar. Sinkiang. June 14, 1956

China Revisited

Revisiting China after an absence of four years, I find that nearly all the information that I came with was out of date. It had seemed to me then, four years ago, that the period of reconstruction and of early transition from an impoverished and semi-colonial economy must endure for quite a long time. The old ramshackle structures of Kuomintang misgovernment and misery had been swept away, true enough, by 1952: over most of China peasants had taken

part in the greatest process of land redistribution ever witnessed in world history: here and there one could see signs of new industries, and the old industries were changed out of all recognition: already it was clear—from housing, sanitation, education, transport, expanding employment—that the Chinese people were living differently from before: differently and far better.

Even so, it seemed to me then that long years must probably pass before there could be an adequate economic and social basis for further revolutionary advances. And in defence of my own judgment, it may be added that it certainly seemed like this to many Chinese with whom I talked four years ago. The number of producers co-operative in the Chinese countryside was insignificantly small; and everyone seemed to think that it would remain small for a long time. What has happened in China, I remember thinking in 1952, is very good indeed: but it would be foolish to think that such tremendous handicaps from the past can be quickly overcome.

This was wrong. The facts today are quite different from what I could have expected them to be, four years ago: China today is already several long steps towards an entirely new kind of society. The pace of advance has been much quicker than most people had thought possible. Rather than slowing up after the great revolutionary years after 1949, it seems to have gathered new momentum. At no time in history can so many people have changed, so quickly and so much, the way in which they live and think and act. All the old laws of social and economic development that are so much beloved and honoured in the capitalist world have been set at naught. In this brief interim report I want to refer to three of the changes that have occurred since 1952, the date of my last visit here.

CHANGES ON THE LAND

Four years ago—and I choose that date merely because it marks the period of my own observations—there were very few producers' co-operative in the Chinese countryside. There were, however, many million "mutual aid teams" in Chinese villages—a primitive form of working-together that involves no loss of identity of land or other property. By the Spring of 1955 a great many of these "Mutual Aid teams" had grown into co-operatives of a relatively simple type: payment still took account of the size of individual land holdings. Yet it was an important advance: about

16 million peasant households were working together in a total of about 650,000 of these simple co-operatives. These acted as powerful persuasive agents: they showed an average additional production, on previous years of individual cultivation, of between 10 and 30 per cent according to the regions involved. The ground was prepared for the necessary advance to a higher form of co-operation in which identity of individual holdings would finally be lost; and the path thus made smooth for large-scale mechanisation. By the early months of 1956 no fewer than 106 million Chinese peasant families were members of relatively advanced co-operatives. And by the middle of this year, it can be said, the Socialist mode of production is overwhelmingly dominant throughout the whole of China.

That this enormous step forward could be taken with such little apparent difficulty and such little inconvenience is of course a tribute to the skill, foresight, and patience of the Chinese communist party. Behind it lies the work of innumerable men and women who have spent months and years in explaining and educating the most numerous peasantry in the world. What seems miraculous is really the genius that comes from an infinite capacity for taking pains, from an infinite readiness to listen and explain and then, if necessary, listen and explain again, and to go on explaining until all is clear.

Another important point is that this is no patchwork change showing a big advance in one region and little or none in another. It happens that I am well placed to know that the change covers even the most remote parts of China. for I have just spent weeks in wandering through Sinkiang. And I have found co-operatives of an advanced type—and others of a simple type preparing to go on to the advanced type—in places as far from the beaten track as the little oases of far western Sinkiang, across the desert to the south of Kashgar.

Let me quote one case from the big oasis of Yarkent (sometimes written Yarkand, but the latinised spelling is what you will, for the Uighut people write in an Arabic script). Here I had the chance of looking at a co-operative farm of an advanced type, with 688 peasant families working about 2,000 acres of intensively irrigated land; and preparing, as their next being step, for the tractors they are to receive in 1957. They are eliminating old demarcation lines, unnecessary paths and ditches, and generally reorganising their

land so as to give machinery the best play possible in the circumstances. Now this co-operative grew out of a little "Mutual Aid Team" that was formed in 1951 with seven rather worried and sceptical families. In 1952 this group had managed to expand only to nine families. But then, in that year, land reform was carried through in Yarkent, and a new life began for these peasants.

Even so, things went slowly. By 1953, when land reform was completed, the group still had only twelve families in its membership. The difficult and delicate task of explaining and discussing went on all this time and in 1954, after a year of land reform, it began at last to show results. Twenty-seven families agreed to go into a simple-type co-operative. They prospered. Working together, they found, was better than working apart. By the end of that year they had crops that were obviously far better than those of their individually-working neighbours. The lesson was plain enough; and by the end of the following year this co-operative had expanded to eighty families. Eleven other co-operatives had got going at about the same time and in February of this year all twelve of these decided to band together in a co-operative of an advanced type. And yet these peasants, less than seven years ago, had never so much as heard of co-operatives, or dreamt of book keepers, or imagined such a thing as tractor on any land of theirs.

Changes in Trade

Another great example of peaceful change towards higher and more efficient forms of social and economic organisation can be seen in the transformation of millions of small businesses and small shops from purely private ownership to what is called "joint State-private" ownership.

Anyone familiar with China knows what a Chinese shopping street looks like. It is a maze of tiny shops. What is to become of these little shopkeepers and traders, once China is launched on the road to socialism? Merely to "nationalise" them by a stroke of the pen, and by force, would not only solve nothing: it would commit a gross injustice, and at the same time deprive countless millions of Chinese people of the everyday convenience of shopping. China has found its own skilful solution to this problem.

At the end of 1955, it was estimated there were about four million shops and small businesses in China. By the spring of 1956 nearly all of these had gone into partnership

with the State. They had become partly capitalist and partly socialist; but the socialist part was certainly the more important. Once again, as in the case of individual peasant farming, a seemingly insuperable barrier to socialist organisation had been removed; and peacefully removed.

To the European eye, familiar with the conservatism of shopkeeper and their kind, it looks like a miracle. And since we know that miracles do not happen, it looks at first sight as though these shopkeepers had in fact been pushed and bullied into partnership with the State. But this was not so. The only force that was used was the force of circumstance, gently and patiently and intelligently applied. And once again, as with the peasants, there were several gradual stages of advance before the big change—the qualitative change—became possible. In the first place, the new State acquired, thanks to good government after 1949, a stable currency. Its people then began to live better. Demand for goods went up. The State used every means it could both to produce and to circulate goods to meet this demand. A great many businessmen began to make a great deal of money and not a few of them, true to the nature of their being, began to skimp on materials and steal the highest possible profits wherever they could. In 1952, to show them that they would be tolerated but not cosseted, the State organised a nation-wide campaign against all sorts of peculation, petty theft, and so on. These business men saw that they would have to obey the rules if they wanted to go on making profits; and the rules were that the Chinese people should have as many goods as possible as cheaply as possible and as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile the State had also nationalised all really big businesses and had gone into wholesale trading in a big way. By 1955 it could be said that the State had practically monopolised wholesale trading. It was signing contracts with private manufacturers by which it provided raw materials and took back finished goods. It was opening big department stores in the main cities. It was developing co-operative supply—and—marketing organisations with tremendous energy. It controlled credit.

It was against this background that these millions of shopkeepers early this year, went over to "joint State-private" ownership. Forms of transition have varied. But in most cases where shopkeepers were in a very small way—and most Chinese shopkeepers could barely scrape a meagre

living—it has followed the method of turning the shopkeeper into a manager. Most of these shopkeepers have estimated their own capital (their figures being publicly checked by their neighbours) and have made this over to the State. In exchange they receive a small interest (less than one per-cent in most cases, though sometimes more than this, depending usually on the man's previous record of profit-making), and a regular monthly wage. Usually they are together now in groups of six or a dozen shops in the same line of goods. Their turnover is higher—thanks to cash advances from the State, to ability to stock greater varieties through trading with State wholesale agencies, and to China's expanding economy—and their security is greater. Much of China's shopkeeping in the past, after all, was a form of half-concealed unemployment, or chronic under-employment It is that no longer. From a wider point of view, this change means that the State can now reorganise retail marketing so as to produce a modern system; and it can do this without hurting the myriads of little shopkeepers who must otherwise have gone to the wall in isolation.

IN SINKIANG

I want to say a little about China's traditionally colonial and backward areas. There an about 40 million non-Chinese peoplė in China. Little was known of them by the Chinese or by anyone else. At the time of China's liberation from the misery and oppression of the Kuomintang regime, it was found that these hitherto ignored and despised minorities were in many stages of development. The Yi of Yunnam were still taking slaves. Others, like the Tibetans of Chinghai, were labouring under a peculiarly decadent form of feudalism. Others again were subject, like the Uighurs of Sinkiang, to a Chinese form of "indirect rule" which was evidently a good deal worse than some British examples one can think of.

Liberation for China has also meant liberation for these minority peoples. In weeks of travel through Sinkiang—a country of about a dozen non-Chinese nationalities, with the Uighurs in a big majority—I have seen how these peoples are also emerging from their wretchedness. In Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang—which is now an autonomous region with far-reaching powers of self government—I have seen new secondary schools, university colleges, medical institutes, and training establishments for a host of professions that are vital in the modern world.

One could quote a host of examples of the practical effects of this. The director of the hospital at Yarkent, for example an Uighur called Dr. Habibullah Tadayev, told me that when he came down from Kashgar in 1949, to take over medical duties in Yarkent, he found the hospital in a frightful state of disuse and its tiny staff entirely demoralised. In all Yarkent, a big oasis of nearly 700,000 people, there were only two medical assistants. Today this oasis has eight fully qualified doctors and six assistants, as well as a great quantity of nurses and dispensary workers. It is not yet enough but it is almost infinitely more than before.

Preventive medicine was practically unheard of in Sinkiang under the old regime. Today its traditional scourges —smallpox, typhus, cholera, measles, syphillis—are under control or else eliminated. Whole oasis populations have been innoculated or vaccinated, or both.

In 1949 the number of children in Sinkiang primary schools was fewer than 200,000, a percentage which compared unfavourably even with most African colonies. Yet by 1955 the autonomous government of Sinkiang, with continual financial and technical aid from the central Chinese government, had managed to double this figure; and the rate of improvement is to increase over the next few years. Secondary education has expanded in the same period from about 8,000 pupils in 1949 to about 38,000 in 1955 and here too the numbers will considerably increase in the near future. Of higher education there had been none in Sinkiang that was worth the name: now there are several thousand Sinkiang students at Sinkiang colleges.

Out of great impoverishment and oppression these non-Chinese peoples of China are thus rapidly emerging into the world of equality of rights and equality of opportunity. The old colonial attitudes of imperial and Kuomintang China have given way to new attitudes of common effort for common ends. This is not the least of China's many achievements during the past few years of great change.

THE CROWN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

"THE Confederacy is made up of many races; all the representatives have equal votes, and press their several interests. There follows the usual result that nothing is ever done properly. For some are all anxiety to be revenged on an enemy, while others only want to get off with as little loss as possible. The members of such a Confederacy are slow to meet, and when they do meet, they give little time to the consideration of any common interest, and a great deal to schemes which further the interest of their particular State. Everyone fancies that his own neglect will do no harm, but that it is somebody else's business to keep a look out for him, and this idea, cherished alike by each, is the secret ruin of all."

The above quotation sounds like a rather acid appraisal of the proceedings of the League of Nations between the two world-wars. It is, in fact, part of a speech delivered by Pericles to the Athenians on the eve of the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta in 432 B.C., and nearly 2400 years later we find the late Field-Marshal Smuts addressing the Empire Parliamentary Association at Westminster in these words:

"It was largely because in the League of Nations we did not recognise the importance of leadership and power that everything went wrong in the end. What was every-

body's business in the end proved to be nobody's business. Each one looked to the other to take the lead, and the aggressor got away with it."

Whether Smuts had Pericles' speech in mind when he spoke these words I do not know, but there is considerable similarity between his views on the League of Nations and the views of Pericles on the Peloponnesian Confederacy.

A study of the many attempts made during the last two thousand years to induce different races and communities to take common action in self-defence makes painful reading. History is strewn with the records of unsuccessful and short-lived alliances, treaties, covenants, confederacies and leagues designed to preserve the contracting parties from the depredations of their neighbours. Two such confederacies are still in being; the United Nations Organisation and the Commonwealth of Nations.

How far do the criticisms of Pericles and Smuts apply to them?

Earlier in his speech Pericles declared that the Peloponnesians were incapacitated from carrying on a war by the want of a single war council necessary for prompt and vigorous action. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has gone some way to remedy that defect, but, what about the leadership to which Smuts referred? Leadership has always been a very personal thing—so personal in fact, that in olden days when Kings commanded in battle, the death or capture or flight of the King often led to the dispersal and disintegration of his Army. We all know how the Greeks fared while Achilles sulked in his tent.

That sort of thing does not happen nowadays, but during the last war every soul in Great Britain experienced the effect of a great man's personal leadership. The result of that war might well have been very different if we had been deprived of the services of Sir Winston Churchill.

But there are substantial limits to leadership when it comes to uniting in a common cause a number of nations differing in race, religion, history, tradition and culture, and those limits are more pronounced in time of peace than in time of war.

The Roman Emperors in the age of the Antonines got as near to unifying a considerable part of the civilised world as any leaders have done since. The person of the Emperor meant a great deal to everyone from the Euphrates to Newcastle. No doubt the deification of the Emperor helped,

and of course compulsion was always in the background. Later on European society was held together for a time by a Universal Church and the Holy Roman Empire, but by the 16th century Nationalism had begun to rear its head and become a powerful solvent of international unity. It still so remains, and is indeed becoming more powerful.

The fact that in many countries to-day the masses are the eventual arbiters of policy, fortifies Nationalism, and so far as foreign policy is concerned it is by no means certain that the cause of peace has benefited thereby. For hearts tend to govern heads and emotion takes the place of reason. Politicians find that a larger dividend in the form of popular support is paid by appeals to local pride and prejudice, and racial and communal sentiment, than to concepts of international co-operation however eloquently expressed. It is true that cliches like "collective security", "the rule of law" and so forth have been successfully employed to elicit some degree of enthusiasm for joint endeavour, and various 'isms' such as Imperialism and Colonialism can be relied upon to promote inflammatory responses. Such terms and phrases have an emotional content, provided that they are not subjected to definition and analysis—and they seldom are.

But the problem now is, how to foster a core of mutual attraction in the hearts of the members of a multi-national organisation and produce a central figure which will transcend national and parochial loyalties.

Smuts held that the League of Nations failed for lack of leadership and power. The United Nations Organisation has power, but where is the leadership?

For the masses leadership means a personal flesh and blood leader upon whom the emotion of loyalty can be bestowed. It is not easy to be loyal to an abstraction. The man-in-the street is unlikely to cheer a convenant, and I doubt whether a procession of the representatives of the members of the United Nations Organisation would evoke more than respectful acclamation from the onlookers.

In time of war, of course, there have been occasions when a number of allied nations have agreed to appoint and follow a leader chosen from one of them; for example Marlborough and Foch, and no doubt in the event of a third world-war they would do so again. It would, however be a confession of failure to rely solely on war to overcome the centrifugal influence of Nationalism and find a personage

acceptable to all. But where can such a personage be found in time of peace?

The United States of America will follow its President, and the United Kingdom its Prime Minister, and other countries likewise, but I cannot envisage the United Nations Organisation as the source of a leadership which will command the loyalty and unite the support of all its member nations.

What about the other organisation, the Commonwealth? It is of course much the smaller of the two. 60 nations are members of the United Nations Organisation and only 8 of the Commonwealth, though they comprise about one fourth of the world's population, and it may not be long before Rhodesia and the West Indies take their places as free and independent members of the Commonwealth, to be joined, I hope, in due course by others *e.g.* Malaya, Singapore, Nigeria, The Gold Coast, until much of what is now termed the British Empire will consist of self-governing states. Such a group will be no more racially or culturally homogeneous than is the United Nations Organistion, but it will possess what that organisation lacks, a centripetal influence, embodying in the words of Sir Oliver Franks, "the principle of continuity and unity within the Commonwealth and as such accepted by all the partners." That influence is the Crown.

But I shall no doubt be reminded that, as stated earlier in this article, it is not easy to move the masses to be loyal to something abstract, and that the Crown is an abstraction. Technically that may be so, but it is an abstraction which its wearer, the reigning Sovereign, transmutes into reality and endows with life. In Her broadcast message at Christmas 1953, Her Majesty the Queen said that she wanted to show that the Crown was not merely an abstract symbol of the unity of the nations of the Commonwealth, but a personal and living bond between Her and Her people.

That bond was made abundantly evident during the Royal tour of the Commonwealth last Spring. I cannot speak of Australia and New Zealand from personal observation, but I can speak of Ceylon, for I was the Governor-General of that country during the Royal visit.

It is impossible to exaggerate the spontaneous warm-hearted fervour with which the Ceylonese greeted the Queen —their Queen— the Queen of Ceylon—so entitled by an Act of the Ceylon Parliament. They were moved not only

by loyalty to their Sovereign—the latest in line of a succession of Kings and Queens of Ceylon that can be traced for over 2000 years—but by an almost mystical reverence for a supremely exalted person. As an old man—a Buddhist—from a remote country village put it: "Clearly I have earned great merit in my previous life to have been privileged to see The Queen in this one."

On the evening of the day of her departure the late Prime Minister of Ceylon fittingly summed up the feelings of his countrymen in these words: "Our Queen has come, has moved freely amongst us, and has gone, leaving behind a trail of happy memories, and millions of joyous hearts and smiling faces." It implies no reflection upon the popularity of the political leaders of Ceylon or of any other Commonwealth nation, to say that not one of them could evoke for themselves anything approaching the devoted enthusiasm which their peoples lavished upon their Queen. For tradition plays a large part in human thought and action. Mankind has had a much longer experience of monarchy than of any other institution, and no form of government has realised more completely than a monarchy the continuity and unity that have always been the objectives of a civilised state. And, as an English historian has observed: "It is far easier to arrive at the notion of sovereignty, if it is seen to be vested in a single person, than if it belongs to an assembly." Lord Elton was not altogether fanciful when he wrote in his book: "Imperial Commonwealth" that "the Indian masses have always preferred a person to a system, and had there been a Disraeli at hand to advise, George the Fifth might conceivably have been a second Asoka to the Hindus of India, another Suleiman the Magnificent to the Moslems." Moreover, though the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings has long ago been outmoded, I believe that there is still felt in the human heart—and perhaps more deeply in the East than in the West—a sense of the "Divinity that doth hedge a King." But be that as it may, the Commonwealth possesses in the Crown a centre of loyalty and a focus of personal influence, which no other confederacy of free and independent nations has ever enjoyed.

Each nation in the Commonwealth accepts the Queen as the symbol of its free association and independence, and as such the Head of the Commonwealth. In that capacity the Queen is recognised by all its members, six of whom also recognise Her as their Queen.

India and Pakistan however, have adopted the status of a Republic and Ceylon and South Africa may follow suit. It is not very easy to appreciate the advantage to be gained by becoming a Republic within the Commonwealth. There is no peculiar magic in the word Republic, which is indeed practically synonymous with the word Commonwealth. Pakistan is at present a free and independent member of the Commonwealth and intends so to remain; the status of a Republic will not make the slightest difference to her freedom and independence. She is now and will be as completely self-governing as any of the sister nations. But it may make a difference in the attitude of some of them towards her, for—quite frankly—they are not likely to feel the same regard for a people which no longer recognises, as they do, the Queen as their Queen. That may not be to the advantage of Pakistan.

Incidentally, a popularly elected Government is less powerful under a President than under a Governor-General. The latter can be recalled or removed at any moment by the Queen on the advice of the Prime Minister which she is constitutionally bound to accept but a President is usually elected for a term of years and, if the Government finds him non-co-operative or inefficient, is much more difficult to get rid of.

Presumably Pakistan's decision is partly due to the precedent set by India, and partly to the conception of the Crown recalling bygone memories of subjection and dependence. No doubt in the past Britain made many mistakes in her administration of that part of India which is now Pakistan; no nation in the world has an unsullied record in its dealings with other nations. Nevertheless it is a mistake to be hag-ridden by history, and wiser to relegate past grievances to the limbo of "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago."

In contrasting the United Nations Organisation and the Commonwealth it must not be inferred that they are rivals, and no invidious comparison should be made between them. Their functions and constitutions are fundamentally different. And the Commonwealth is in no sense a bloc, for its membership does not involve any political or economic exclusiveness. Nevertheless the Commonwealth is a unique institution, for unlike the members of the United Nations Organisation, its members have become the members of a family. The meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers

resemble family gatherings, at which questions of common interest can be discussed with the utmost frankness and in complete privacy.

The Queen, as the Head of the Commonwealth, is the Head of this great family, this "immense union of nations with their homes set in all the four corners of the earth." She is the centre of a connection between those nations, which legally and in various ways differs from their connection with other nations, for just as there can be no foreigners within a family, no one citizen can be foreign to another citizen of the Commonwealth. That relationship is the basis of its organic unity, of which the Crown is the symbol, and The Queen is, as she said she wished to be, "a personal and living bond between Her and Her people."

POLITICAL EMOTION

MY last lecture in Peradeniya, which will, I hope, be remembered by a few, dealt with the subject of political emotions. It was a successful lecture in two respects. First, it was heard by more than half the students in Peradeniya, many of whom talked about it for weeks afterwards. Secondly, it was a scientific experiment which "came off."

Nearly twenty years ago I began to read for a book on Party Politics which I have had on my mind ever since. It has proved a difficult book for two reasons. First, it was impossible to find a break in the political tradition which would justify beginning at any later date than 1640. Secondly when I began to write in 1949 I found that, like most of my generation, I had been too much influenced by the economic determinism of the nineteenth century, to which Karl Marx (among abler theorists) had contributed. It is helpful to seek for an economic motivation, particularly in terms of class, because politicians do appeal to the cupidity of the electors. They do, for instance, demand more and better social services, lower prices for rice and sugar and so forth, because they believe that donkeys like carrots. Moreover, one can often find an inarticulate economic motivation. Cromwell's Ironsides were drawn mainly from prosperous East Anglia, and it is possible to explain the Civil War as a conflict between the new middle class and

the relics of medieval aristocracy. Similarly, linguistic nationalism in Ceylon was clearly a phenomenon of the lower middle class, the product of a conflict between the English-educated and the Sinhalese-educated. Even so, one must hedge. Man is not wholly an economic animal. In particular, it has to be remembered that politicians usually seek not profits but power and prestige. "Jobs for the boys" is a powerful slogan, as the recent success of the lower middle-class in Ceylon has demonstrated—though in fact all the best jobs will have to go to the English-educated. Nevertheless, the politicians often have the backing of powerful groups which seek not pay, profits and pensions but power. The history of Europe is full of the ambitions of the Christian churches, which certainly wanted to protect their property but also wanted power. It may be true in Cyprus, as it has often been alleged, that the Ethnarchy wants to play a more powerful political role on a wider stage. Similarly in Ceylon, the "political bhikkus" allege quite openly that they want to restore the political power which the Sangha held in Sinhalese history, at least as written by the bhikkus. This search for power and prestige is not necessarily a search for pay and profits.

When this theory, even so expanded, is applied to British political history it soon becomes obvious that it is inadequate.

One cannot, for instance, give a complete explanation for the Civil War in terms of power politics or economic motivation. It is easy to be misled by the fact that the areas which rose against the King were for the most part those which had profited from Tudor economic development. The detailed analysis made by the modern historians shows that the causes were much more complicated. Whenever one gets down to human beings one finds them divided. The Long Parliament, for instance, did not divide along economic or class lines. Nor, for that matter, did Trinity Hall. As the country's main source of ecclesiastical lawyers, one would assume that a majority of its members would go with the bishops and therefore with the King. On the other hand, there was a strong minority for the Parliament, and eventually the Master himself joined them. More important is the fact that one cannot possibly explain the zeal of the Puritans in economic terms. Nor can one explain the broad toleration of the eighteenth century, the nonconformist conscience, the imperialism of the nineteenth century, or the crusading zeal of the Fabian socialists, in

economic terms, except by the sort of falsification of history to which the communists so often resort in order to prove Marx and Lenin to be right when they were obviously wrong. Tawney made a gallant attempt to explain the Reformation in economic terms, but he failed to explain the Protestant aversion to the Church of Rome. No doubt Calvinism suited the new middle class, but Lutheranism did not, and it was backward Scotland not forward England which went Calvinist. It was never a ground of complaint that the Roman Church supported class privilege, and yet England was anti-papist from Elizabeth to Victoria. In this and every other case in which I have sought to find the *causa causans* one reaches eventually some strong emotional factor whose origin is extremely complex.

One can never hope to find a complete explanation, and the best that could be done in Peradeniya—where in any case there was little time to sit and think—was to put a few tentative conclusions. It seemed worth while to make the attempt. Unless the value of Peradeniya is destroyed by some such policy as the adoption of an immature medium of instruction, it ought in a century or two to become a source of ideas; and even the Master of a College founded *ad commodum regimen et directionem reipublicae*, and therefore more concerned with training people to do a job of work than with contemplation, might leave behind some particle of the Cambridge tradition. The students had heard so much politics from power-seeking politicians, and had talked so much immature politics among themselves, that it might be helpful to treat politics as a vulgarisation of broad ideas. In any case, a lecture could be used as an experiment in popular reaction. Some explanation could be given of other political emotions, and two were taken from the United Kingdom; but Ceylon nationalism was another political emotion, strongly in evidence in Peradeniya, so that if a calm analysis were made of the students' loose and undigested ideas there ought to be a strong emotional reaction. There was: the experiment "came off."

Nationalism is a policy which cannot be defended on rational grounds unless it is so tempered that it becomes something different, a tolerant and critical patriotism. Nationalist politicians of course attempt to find a material justification, and superficially this is easy so long as some of the jobs which might go to "the boys" are held by expatriates and some of the profits which might go to the proletariat

are transmitted to England or India. The fact that there are more expatriates holding jobs in the United Kingdom and more profits leaving it than in all the colonies put together is of course irrelevant; what is sauce for the goose is not necessarily sauce for the gander. What proves difficult is the rational justification of such aspects of nationalism as a nationalist language policy. If what Ceylon seeks is material advancement, intellectual and spiritual development, or increased political power in a competitive world, nobody would advise her to substitute some immature language for English in higher administration and higher education. What was wanted, as the nationalists themselves agreed in 1912, was English, more English and better English. Fervent nationalists of some intellectual capacity have made quite fair attempts at advocacy on rational grounds, but they do not persuade those whose emotions are not engaged. Indeed, their foundation in emotionalism is usually made evident by the use of such phrases as "foreign", "imperialism", "colonialism", "national self-respect", and so forth.

Emotions of this kind are of course transitory. Normally, for reasons which I need not pause to explain, they last for three generations. This is not, however, a clearly defined period, because the generation to which each person belongs is echeloned in relation to those of his fellows, so that three generations may be longer than three lives. Moreover, the generations may be different in different classes. Thus nationalism infected the English-educated section in Ceylon before it infected the lower middle-class; and, of course, the nationalism of the Sinhalese-educated class tends to confuse with communalism.

If this was correct and if as I assumed, nationalism in Ceylon was nearing its peak, there would still be some young men and women in Peradeniya, particularly those who were in the first English-speaking generation, who would react violently to an unemotional appraisal of their ideas, especially if a few quips like the story of the Victorian nightshirt which became a "national costume" were brought in. On the other hand, there ought to be some evidence even in Peradeniya —there would be more in the University in Colombo—of a decline in emotional fervour, something like the cynicism evident when an intelligent Indian, not talking to a Congress wallah, refers to "our cultural heritage." As in India, many of the politicians had jumped on the nationalist bandwaggon and were angling for the lower middle-class vote

(which, it was assumed, could carry the villages also). In the usual run of politics, aversion to the "old gang', now represented by the United National Party, would become aversion to the "old gang's" slogans. The old flag under which the old gang had fought strictly metaphorically ought to be getting a little frayed about the edges.

Not having tape-recorders about the University Park, it was not possible to assess conversation with any scientific accuracy, but it did seem that the forecast was correct. The extreme wing, led by the Faculty of Oriental Studies, was indignant, and was constrained to be polite only because of my impending departure. There was, I was told, an irruption of "national costumes" in a demonstration which was lost upon me because I did not see it. There was, on the other hand, some support in the Faculty of Arts for my thesis, though not many, I think, fully understood it. That, too, was to be expected. Nationalism, or indeed any other strongly emotional idea (unlike a rational notion which was open to argument) would appear to be a natural phenomenon like sunrise and sunset. Its tendency to disappearance would be evident not through agreement with my thesis in all its implications, but through agreement with some of its incidental observations. The flag would not be overthrown, it would merely be frayed. It would in due course fade away slowly like the Gandhi cap in India, which is becoming more and more the badge of a professional Congress-wallah. In short, it was an interesting experiment, well worth trying; it was, too, amusing to be a silent witness, completely detached from the emotions which were running so strongly.

Cambridge is more sophisticated than Ceylon, but there too one finds the same phenomenon, exhibiting itself in a rising conservatism based upon a rather diffused religious revival. The Church, as one of the Trinity Hall bishops recently put it, has turned the corner; I should prefer to put it that it has passed the bottom of the curve and is now on the way up. The bottom, I suppose, was reached in the 'thirties, when Burgess was at Trinity and Maclean at Trinity Hall, and when most of the communists and ex-communists outside the Soviet bloc were students. Now we are beginning to wonder when seats in chapel will have to be reserved like seats in the theatre, and how soon we shall get "House Full" notices printed. The verdict on Billy Graham was adverse, but that was a reaction to American snob religion,

and there were long queues for seats in Great St. Mary's. True, the congregations for University sermons are still small, but a highbrow sermon on Sunday afternoon has no emotional appeal. How this is going to affect politics can only be guessed. It may, however, be suggested that we are in for a long period of liberal conservatism. This does not mean that there will be no Labour Governments, but the pendulum will swing, against the law of gravity, with a bias to the right, as it did a century ago. The long rise of the Labour vote is already ended, and after the last election the party correctly diagnosed that it had lost the support of the majority of young electors. The party experts thought that the bias could be corrected by better organisation. I do not think it can, but it is easier to diagnose than to prescribe.

THE BASIC TEACHINGS AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE BUDDHA

If there was ever a rationalist, it was Buddha. He did not want to accept anything on authority.

> "Test my statements. Do not accept them on account of your regard for me. Put everything to the test of logic and life and whatever is able to stand that test, demands acceptance. Whatever is not able to stand that test, deserves to be rejected".

In other words, he appealed to the voice of reason in human beings, and it is Reason that announced to him as soon as he looked at this world that everything in this world passes away. When he met a sick man, an old man and a dead man, he said,

> "Is that the lot of all humanity? Is this going to be the meaning of life or has it any higher progress than this round of birth and death? Is that all? Is that the significance of this life or is there something beyond it?" And his answer was, "If this were all, suffering would be the final state of the world. It is because this is not all, it is because this world is passing, is not to be regarded as the final culmination of the universe—It is because a man can outreach this world, can transcend Time, can annihilate

Time and become the conqueror of Time—It is because of that there is hope for the world. This world is not all gloom and menace. It has also got the hope of victory and Buddha is the enlightened, the man who rose from the plinth of this world, from this Sansar and attained 'nirvana'."

When he said that he was not asking us to accept anything on trust, he merely asked us to look at the fact of change and find out that behind change there is something which is unchanged, something which is unborn, uncompounded. Because it is that, it is possible for human beings to rise from this world of change to the world of eternity, of changelessness or timelessness.

There again, there is nothing of dogma. If you look at the world,if you look at the way in which there is Niyama or order in this world, if you look at a way in which one thing leads on to another, that there is a law of causality, when you look at all these things, you will discover that this is not chaos, this is not disorder, caprice is not king, there is something else which presides over this world.

'Dharma'

There is such a thing as 'Dharma'. The way to gain enlightenment is the way of Dharma. We have said, from 'Asat' we must reach 'Satya', from 'Mritya' we must reach 'Amrita' what is the way to it? Dharma, a life of compassion. The Upanishad tells us the thunderclaps giving us the three sounds of Da Da Da, Daya, Dama, Dana, these are the things which we are called upon to accept or practise.

The same principles are formulated in the eight-fold path of the Buddha, and they are the principles which ought to guide us in this world. Life is intended to be the pursuit of Dharma. Ashwaghosh tells us that we must beat the drum of Dharma, hoist the flag of Dharma, blow the conch of Dharma, and be performers of Dharma, so far as this world is concerned.

Not A Dogmatist

Buddha was not a dogmatist. He never believed in doctrines. He made out that the truth is to be realized. It is not a logical exercise. It is a spiritul insight. It is not by talking about it, not by but by the realization by your ownself, that you can reach it. He refused, therefore,

to tell us in what the nature of reality or ultimate Nirvana consists. He also told us, there is nothing which he does not reveal. He is not one possessing a closed fist. He is one who reveals everything but he tells us that, if I tell you that this is the secret of reality, and you accept it, you will be accepting it on hearsay, because you have faith in me. I want you to read the path and see for yourselves. The Buddhas teach the way, each individual will have to swelter at the task. So this realization of the Supreme is a personal achievement. It is not a thing which can be gained for us by others.

So he insisted on the pursuit of the ethical path, by the human individual, by which he can reach, attain "Nirvana". The nature of it, he refused to disclose, because if he disclosed it, we may be accepting on authority and if we accept one thing on authority, there is no reason why we should not accept another thing on authority. So he refused to depend on authority; decree or doctrine, is something which he refuses to indulge in.

"The Middle Path"

You find, therefore, that he was one who took his stand on personal experience, a reasoned view of things, disclosed to him the fact of change and also the reality of something unchanging. The possibility of the human individual rising to that realization by the pursuit of the ethical path, "The Middle Path" as he called it. These are fundamentals which nobody can question. Unfortunately, as in all systems of religion, doctrines developed, differences arose, metaphysical subtleties, scholastic controversies, bred ill-will, hatred etc., and thus the original dynamic vigour, the purity of the teaching of the Buddha got lost in all sorts of controversies.

THE BUDDHA AND THE BARBER

(And a certain poor man, of mean birth and occupation, one Upali, who was a barber, saw the Lord pass by, and ran after Him and being spoken to became an Arhant there and then. *Buddhist Legend*)

As I plied my task in the shop one day the Lord of the World passed by.
So I up and out and after Him, altho' I knew not why.
(After the Lord, Upali the barber, I!)

And He turned and stood and waited for me—the Lord, He waited for me.
"May I have word with thee, Lord?," said I. "Say on," said He to me.
(Said the Lord of the World,—to Upali the barber,—Me)

And I said to Him "Lord, it is this. Is Nibbana for such poor men as I?"
"Have faith, Upali" he answered me. "Nibbana is very nigh"
(Nibbana is for Upali, the barber,—Ay!)

"When may I follow thee, Lord?" I asked. "Altho' you never knew,
You have followed me long, Upali,—and I,— 'tis I who have followed you."
(I followed the Lord,—He followed Upali too!)

"May I be near to thee, Master?" I asked. "You are near to me now" said He
"For I am with you always, Upali; and you—always with me."
(The Lord of the World and Upali—I and he.)

"And how shall I see always, Lord?" I asked. And He said "You see,
Who sees me seeth the Truth, I declare; who seeth the Truth sees Me."
(We are one and the same, Upali,—I and He.)

"May I touch thee, O Lord?" I asked, and lowly before Him bowed my knee.
And He smiled and said "Ay, you may touch." So I touched Him,
and He touched me.
(I touched the Lord—just a man like you and me)

"Abbhutam! Acchariyam! A marvel! The Light burst in! I was free.
Run is the weary round of lives. There is no more Upali to be.
Done is my task. There is no more birth for me!"

Mahinda College Magazine, March, 1947.

E. F. C. Pereira

THE HUMANITIES IN A MODERN CONTEXT.

NEARLY 2400 years ago outside the little city of Athens amidst his fellow citizens stood her leading citizen, Pericles. It was at the funeral of those who had died in the first year of a war that was eventually to humble the pride of that great city, and it had fallen to the lot of Pericles, who had guided her destinies over the past four decades, to speak in praise of them. His speech as quoted by Thucydides is still regarded as one of the greatest speeches of all time, and rightly so; for it breathes the spirit of ancient Greece—of a culture and a civilisation whose equal has since not been. He said that it would be fitting, before he spoke about the men themselves, to say something of the city for which they died. The speech should be read in its entirety but it would be sufficient to say that it describes, in the proud boast he makes of Athens, the type of an ideal state—an ideal which was, at least in part, achieved in the greatest of Greek cities: "the law secures equal justice to all alike, but the claim of excellence is also recognised; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege but as the reward of merit. * * * we are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and we are lovers of wisdom without effeminacy * * * we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act, and of acting too, whereas other men are

courageous from ignorance, but hesitate upon reflection * * * Athens is the School of Hellas."

Nearly 500 years later we find a similar loftiness of outlook in Augustan Rome. Vergil, the accepted Poet Laureate of the court says:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Rome's special mission is to rule the world, to spare the vanquished and humble the proud.

His successor, Horace, more modestly puts it:

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua.
Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
In maius.

Force in itself is not corrupt—it fails only when used without wisdom.

There are many more instances one might quote to illustrate, imperfectly it is true, what is meant by the spirit of ancient Greece and Rome, but these will suffice to introduce it.

Our modern world is in many ways a continuation of the world of the Greeks and the Romans. We, here in Ceylon, are the result of a happy fusion of two streams of culture, one springing from the East and one from the West. We cannot with any justice repudiate our inheritance from the West; and yet, at one fell blow we are now being asked to do away with it. The West, we are told, is decadent; its spirit is utterly alien to us and our culture. We, who in most of our intellectual and spiritual activities are the "grandsons of Rome and the great grandsons of Greece," must surrender our birthright for a veritable mess of pottage. Our contact with the Western world has enriched our lives, if only we know how to use our wealth! We cannot move backward in time, and to seek to remove from our way of life a thread that has been interwoven into the very fabric of our life would surely weaken, if it did not destroy, it. There are, no doubt, other influences that have joined to make us what we are, but the stream that has its source in the civilisation and culture of Greece and Rome is still the strongest and the richest. The whole fabric of Western civilisation is built upon it and without it our own civilisation would not merely be different. It would lack substance and cohesion, it would be less aware of the beauty of life, and more materialistic. In fact it would be less worthy to

be called a civilisation because its spiritual achievements would be less great.

If ever we needed a definite philosophy of life we need it now. Intellectually we are adrift. We do not know what we want of life, because our beliefs are not founded on the basis of knowledge. That is why the world falls so readily a victim to intoxicating emotions like nationalism and communism, militarism and pacificism. Ultimately the danger to the world from these is far graver than economic collapse or even the disasters of war. Without a clear and accepted view of life, material resources are likely to be wasted and misused. We do not need to look very far to find examples of the truth of this in our own country. We have seen the failure of several enterprises and the cause of the failure was not lack of planning. We stand or fall by the goal we ultimately hope to reach. Unless our philosophy of life is established and firmly rooted in eternal and universal truth the good will and intelligence to be found everywhere in the world would be dispersed and wasted instead of being focused on a universal purpose. Without such a philosophy there can be no unity or common ideal for mankind.

This is discernible not only within the narrow confines of this country but all the world over. Governments fall and others take their place, war is an ever present fear. What we are witnessing is something more than the normal ebb and flow of conflicting political tides. It is rather the chaos wrought by the collapse of ideals. Doubts and fears have assailed and vanquished our belief in the eternal verities. Civilisation tends to unite men—every advance in communications brings men closer together; scientific thought and its creations are the common possession of mankind—every new invention or discovery makes for a happier and safer life for man; and yet there is far less real unity in the world today than there was, say, fifty years ago. Spiritual unity has been sacrificed on the altar of material progress. We need the single eye to see truth clearly and to see it whole.

If this is true of nations it is even more so of individuals. Our life is a restless seething mixture of emotions and desires, of opportunities and frustrations. We cannot pass through it safely unless we have as our guiding star such a philosophy. If "barbarism is the absence of standards to which appeal can be made," to judge by our films, our advertisements, and our daily newspapers we are living today in an age of barbarism.

The Greeks, and learning from them, the Romans created a noble and complex civilisation, which flourished for a thousand years and was finally overthrown by a long series of foreign wars and civil disorders, of epidemics and economic disasters, and of moral and religious catastrophes. But it did not entirely disappear, for systems of thought so great and works of art so profound do not, nay, cannot, perish unless their material vehicle is utterly destroyed. Neither do they atrophy or become fossilised, for a fossil is lifeless and cannot reproduce itself. But like a seed that awaits a fitting soil and clime in which to germinate and burgeon, wherever they find a mind to receive them, they live again in it and make it live more fully.

For a while the dark forces of barbarism caused their eclipse. But the Dark Ages rolled by and the mind of Europe was awakened, stirred, and stimulated by the rediscovery of classical civilisation. It eagerly assimilated the arts and ideals of classical Greece and Rome, and under the stimulus they produced, founded modern civilisation. No culture is pure bred—it is rather the resultant of a large number of forces. In civilisations as in human beings the present is the result of the past. Our age is like the earthen pot into which the waters of our culture have filtered drop by drop. The water has, in the course of time, acquired a peculiar and distinctive flavour from the sands through which it filtered and from the pot in which it was contained. In seeking now to eliminate this flavour we might well destroy the pot and let the water run to waste. However much we deny it, we cannot escape our debt to the past.

In politics it could be shown how democracy was invented and its essential powers and mistakes explored by the Greeks, and how these ideals of democracy were adopted by the Romans and how they were revived later in the democratic institutions of the modern world. There is hardly anything of our ideas about government, and the rights and duties of a citizen that does not stem directly from Greek and Roman thought.

In law, it would be easy to show how the central pillars of law all the world over, in Britain and in America, in France and in Holand, in Spain and Italy and even in the Catholic church, to say nothing of our own law, were hewn out by the Romans. Fertile as our modern civilisation is in many kinds of invention, to judge from our inability to create new artistic forms and new systems of philosophy, it is extremely

improbable that unaided we could have constructed any system of law comparable with the firm and lofty structure of Roman law.

In language and abstract science, in philosophy and in the fine arts, especially in architecture and sculpture, it could equally well be shown that much of the best we write and make and think is adapted from the creations of Greece and Rome. To ignore and forget such a debt would be churlish and discreditable to us. We had the freedom to select our ancestors in the life of the spirit and having selected the best we would deny them under the pressure of a narrow nationalism.

It is not generally known that Latin was currently spoken and written in modern Europe until at least the middle of 19th century. Milton, Landor, Newton, Copernicus, Descartes, and Spinoza, to mention a few, wrote some or all their best work in Latin. The fact that Latin continued to live so long as an independent language and, for some purposes, still does, is in itself a proof that classical culture is an essential and active part of our civilisation. The Greeks, small though their city states were, had developed a conception of what human existence should be, and part of the interest in Roman studies is to see how this practical people applied this ideal to the organisation of their great empire and to their own life. At its height illiteracy was almost unknown in the Roman Empire; law and order, education and the fine arts were widely distributed. It was joy in that day to be alive. And yet in a few hundred years, by 600 A.D., the tide of barbarism pushed civilisation back to what it had been before 1000 B.C. when writing was a rare and wonderful skill wrapped up with magic. The years that followed were not unaptly called the Dark Ages. Nearly 500 years had to pass before the lights of Europe came on again: centres of learning sprang up at Salerno, Bologna and Paris, at Oxford and Cambridge, at Salamanca, at Prague and Heidelberg, and in Colleges like Eton and Winchester. The standard of culture and scholarship rose and Latin became not a dead language but a living speech—the international language of the Middle Ages. It was used for philosophical debate and for science; it was the language of diplomacy and polite conversation.

Why, we may well ask, should any man of the 12th, 13th or 14th century have spoken Latin and written books in

Latin when he had a language of his own? The explanation is that the choice did not lie between Latin and a great modern language like English or French but between Latin and some little dialect which had a vocabulary for less rich, less supple and less extensive in connotation, and which was far less widely understood than Latin. If a medieval savant wanted to write a book, no single contemporary European language could provide him with sufficient words and sentence patterns and very few with an audience that was worth his while. The similarity to the situation in this country is too obvious to need elaboration. The problem of vocabulary in certain important fields of knowledge is likely to become worse and to this we should add the fact that our literature in these directions is deficient not merely in quantity but in quality as well. Our audience is a small one, confined to, perhaps, 8 million individuals so that our literature can reach the world outside only through translation into English or French or one of the other great culture languages. Local languages are useful to their own groups for the daily business of life, for their songs and for their folk lore—only the great languages can be used for the higher purposes of communicating thought and spreading knowledge throughout the civilised world. It is this vitalising stream of culture and knowledge that we are seeking to turn off and dam before it reaches the masses in our country.

Greek was spoken all over the eastern Mediterranean and spoken not only by peoples of Greek descent. It was used in Egypt and Palestine and elsewhere, where it was the standard language of intercommunication between countries which had their own languages. That is why the New Testament was written in Greek. On the other side of the Mediterranean, where Latin was similarly spoken, all the native dialects and languages of the conquered, like Carthaginian, and the languages of Pre-Roman France and Spain disappeared and Latin took their place. But at the height of its power the Roman Empire was not Latin Speaking only. It was bilingual. The Romans used the graceful and flexible language of Greece as a social and intellectual language. They did not, of course, abandon Latin but nearly all Romans of the Upper classes used Greek not only for philosophical discussion and in their literature but also for social conversation and even for love making. It is said that Caesar's last words spoken at the very moment of his murder, were Greek; the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius,

kept his spiritual diary—his Meditations—in Greek. French played a similar part in the court of Frederick, the Great; as was the case with Russia too in the 19th Century. It is significant that here in Ceylon, English, far more than Portuguese, Dutch or even Tamil, has a similar vogue.

In the 4th Century A.D. the Roman Empire split into two parts and Greek came to be sealed off in the Eastern half and its knowledge gradually declined in the West. The centre of the Latin Language was Rome, while Greek became the official and court language of Byzantium. This had its effect on the world as may be seen from the fact that the alphabet of Poland is derived from Latin while that of Russia has its roots in Greek. Emperors were called Caesar which became Kaiser in the West and Czar and Shah in the East.

Eventually, it was from Byzantium where Greek continued for many years to be a living though archaic language that there was to come the inspiration for the rediscovery of classical Latin and Greek that took place at that remarkable outburst of intellectual and spiritual activity, the Renaissance. It is a far cry from Byzantium to Ceylon but our ties with her are very close, for it is on the code of one of her most illustrious rulers, Justinian, that the structure of our own laws has been erected.

We may now ask the very pertinent question, why with languages of such vast intellectual and artistic appeal has the study of Latin and Greek waned today? The last 100 years have seen a remarkable acceleration in the tempo of life with the discovery and expansion of mechanical power and the gradual release of mankind from the bondage of toil. It is significant that it is precisely in these last 100 years, too, that the study of classics has declined. It seems more important today to keep abreast of material progress in the sphere of science and technology and for this the classical languages are inadequate. Scientific discovery and mechanical invention have made the world more manageable and man more powerful. Man has more leisure today than ever before, but he knows much less than his ancestors how to use it rightly. It is in just this aspect of our complex life, so vital to the sum total of human well being and happiness that the ancient classics, in particular Greek classics, point the way.

Our world may be regarded as based on three underlying conceptions: science, technology, and a certain ideal of human nature and culture. The germ of all three is to be

found in Greek culture. They regarded science and technology, that is to say those applications of scientific knowledge that create a civilisation, as the basis of civilisation, and they had a clearer ideal of what life should be than ourselves. But unlike us, the Greek started at the bottom of the ladder. Unhelped by anything except his instinct and intelligence he created a civilisation based on the scientific attitude to life. No reference is here made to the scientific discoveries of the Greeks though they anticipate much of our knowledge today, for time antiquates all scientific discovery. The remarkable thing is that in the midst of superstition, ignorance, and savagery emerged that passion to know, that belief in Reason which marks the scientific temper of today. "I would rather," says Democritus, "discover one fact of science than be the King of Persia." "It is a sin," says Anaxagoras, "that Reason should be anyone's subject or servant: its place is to be ruler of all." Again, Epicharmus declares, "The price at which God sells us good things is Labour."

The Greeks, then, were the first to conceive the idea of civilisation, and of progress based on human effort and the advance of human knowledge. If they did nothing more, this was enough to earn for them their place in the history of the human race. They are unique, however, in that having thought of this first they later abandoned it as not being satisfactory. It was Socrates more than anyone else who shifted the balance from Nature to Man. He thought that the explanation science gave, at any rate, of human nature and conduct was unsatisfactory. It is as if some modern scientific genius suddenly felt that chemistry, physics and biology could not solve our difficulties and that the real solution to the problem lay elsewhere; as if he then abandoned natural science and attacked the problem using the same methods of intelligence, knowledge and concentration which he had used in his scientific studies. Socrates did not give an answer to the problem—if an answer were indeed possible. His disciples carried on his work and their quest led them farther on the way he trod.

"There are two kinds of Good Things," says Plato, "the human and the heavenly. The former are dependent on the latter. If a state receives the greater it acquires the lesser also, and if not, it loses both. First among the lesser goods is Health, second Beauty, third Strength in racing and in other bodily movements, and fourth Wealth—not

blind, but clear sighted, guided by Wisdom. Among the heavenly goods the first and foremost is Wisdom, second *sophrosyne* a reasonable habit of mind allied with insight, and third, resulting from the combination of these qualities with courage, is Justice." Many years later Aristotle with deeper insight said: "By human virtue we mean excellence of the Soul not excellence of the Body, and by Happiness we mean an activity of the Soul."

"Life is essentially a human problem." It is to the Greeks we owe the idea of an *arete*, that Best in things, that stirs the mind out of its sleep. If human nature has a 'Perfection' it is self evident that this Perfection must be desired and sought. And yet there is nothing static about it. The definition of human perfection expands with the growth of the intellect and rises as high as the imagination can take it. A life based on this conception must be rich and varied. It is an ideal that develops and makes supreme in man his highest capacities. Never, in spite of its material wealth and its knowledge of the secrets of Nature, did the world need the traditions of the Humanism of Greece and Rome more than it does today.

Dr. J. Bronowski

THE EDUCATED MAN IN 1984

THE education of the man of 1956 was largely formed twenty or thirty years ago. When we ask what to-day's education should do, the man we have in mind to inform and to form is the man of twenty or thirty years hence. Thus the year 1984, the year of George Orwell's book, carries a symbolism which our education ought particularly to keep in mind.

Education in schools and universities has many functions. I shall confine myself to two, both of them dominated by the skills which we need in order later to carry on adult life. Education in this sense is therefore learning to do something quite precise.

Even so, there are different things to be learned, or rather there are different purposes for which we learn things. The young man at night school learns book-keeping in order to keep books. An engineering student learns the calculus in order to become an engineer. A historian learns Medieval Latin in order to read documents. These are examples of education for a very specific purpose, and since this purpose often helps us to earn our living, I think of it as vocational education.

But I knew a man once, a schoolmaster who had just retired from teaching mathematics, who then learned Italian in order to read Dante. What he learned was indeed precise,

and the purpose specific, yet I cannot feel that this was vocational education. The learner was fitting himself to derive from the work of Dante a larger, deeper sense of the many-sidedness of human life than had reached him in translation. At the age of sixty-five, he was fitting himself not to make a living but to live.

This is the purpose for which we learn English and arithmetic and history at school, for these are subjects which do not stop at a single need, at writing letters and making out bills. They inform and hold together the fragments of society, so that they form and, in a sense, are its culture.

But my subject is science as part of culture, and a scientific education as a necessary part of our cultural education. Our society is divided between the past and the future, and it will not reach a balanced and unified culture until the specialists in one field learn to share their language with those in another. The scientist has much to learn still, in language and thought, from the humane arts. But the scientist also has a contribution to make to culture, and humanism is doomed if it does not learn the living language and the springing thought of science.

The syllabus of schools and universities is always in movement from vocation to culture. No doubt reading was first taught as a strictly useful skill; certainly Latin and Greek were first taught for clerical use. Some subjects in the syllabus remain vocational subjects: others turn out to have a wider range of uses. Men find that, whether they are farmers or mechanics or bank clerks, they cannot do without them. So in time these subjects cease to be the prerogative of specialists and become general needs.

Science was once the concern of specialists, and now enters into the life of everyone. The switchboard and the motorcar, the treatment of flour and of cigarette paper, the building of a creche and of an atomic pile are our daily concerns. We simply cannot dissociate ourselves from the hot-water system, the airmail, frozen food and the linotype machine. A nation where the screwdriver and the fusebox are still handled with suspicion is to-day a backward nation.

When a society is penetrated by technical skills and engines, the decisions of state cannot be taken out of the context of science. No voter can advocate a policy on myxomatosis whithout a general sense both of the ecology and of the economics of rabbits. And no member of parliament or minister can make intelligent judgments on such

a profound issue as the secrecy which surrounds fundamental atomic research until he is at home in the tradition of science since Giordano Bruno and Galileo. The fate of a nation may hang on a error of judgment here.

To make science familiar as a language, we must start in the schools. General science courses suffer from two handicaps: they have to be planned as part of the education of the scientist as well as the non-scientist, and they are tied to the rather dull resources of school laboratories.

Fixing our minds more especially on the non-scientist, I would propose less mathematics than he does now but more of a more practical kind. The language of mathematics is still taught as a dead language: there should be more translation from every day facts into mathematics, and back into the everyday. Statistical methods should be made part of the education of everyone in schools and universities, for it is only from statistics that the non-scientist can learn to use averages and approximations.

My second proposal concerns the teaching of physics and chemistry: I think that the atomic picture should be made central to both subjects much earlier than at present. The picture of the way atoms are assembled can be made real and exciting to the non-scientist because it lends itself both to geometrical and to statistical thinking.

My third plea is for more biological teaching: there is a wealth of natural material and natural interest in plants and insects and in animal processes which we allow to wither. Biology offers us a path into scientific thinking by way of the pleasures of collecting and of skill of hand. Liking to collect, to observe, to draw, to take apart and to put together —this is how many children and adults of little other education find their way into the arts, and could find it into science.

Fourthly, I think we need to teach science as an evolution of knowledge. For the evolution of science goes to the heart of the scientific method: it shows at each step how the logical deduction from what seems to lie behind the known facts must be confronted with experience. We make an induction, we put the deductions from it to test, and on the results of the test we base a new induction—this is the progress of science.

To these four general points I will add a fifth: that every boy and girl, every undergraduate, should do one small piece of personal scientific research. It can be as

simple as the pitch of an insect's wing beat, or the composition of a rock, or growing a crystal; but I believe that this small practical experience could change the light in which non-scientists see the long and unsung vigils of the solitary research worker.

Science must become part of our culture or we shall fail, not to train scientists, but to preserve our culture. It is certain that the educated man in 1984 will speak the language of science. Will he be a specialist, a scientist or technician with no other interests, who will run his fellowmen by the mean and brutal processes of efficiency of George Orwell's book? Or will he be a humanist, who is at home in the methods of science, but who does not regard them as mere tools to officiency? The choice between 1984 and an earthly paradise does not depend on the scientists, but on the people for whom they work. And we are all the people for whom science works.

H. G. Wells used to write stories in which tall, elegant engineers administered with perfect justice a society in which other people had nothing to do except to be happy. But a world run by specialists for the ingorant is, and will be, a slave world. By leaving science to be the vocation of specialists, we are betraying democracy, so that it must shrink to what it became in the decline of Athens, when a minority of educated men (who had to be paid to make a quorum) governed 300,000 slaves. There is only one way to head off such disaster, and that is to make the educated man universal in 1984.

CONFLICT OR CO-EXISTENCE ?

IF a future historian is asked to describe the central feature of our age, he will not refer to the social and economic upheavals, the wars and catastrophes which fill the headlines of our newspapers but will point to the growing unity of mankind. Whether we like it or not we live in one world and require to be educated to a common conception of human purpose and destiny. Peace is the main objective of nations in the East and in the West. Peace is not the mere absence of war, it is the development of a strong fellow feeling, of fraternal appreciation of other people's ideas and values. Distinctions of a physical character diminish in importance as the appreciation of the significance of the inner life of man increases.

Our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, made a confession some time ago that he was "a queer mixture of East and West out of place everywhere and at home nowhere." We must learn to be out of place nowhere and at home everywhere.

Mankind can realize this unity only by a scrupulous appraisal of the ideas and ideals of life underlying different civilizations and by the development of a world perspective, in which the different experiments of human life fall into their places. The general impression that the whole spiritual and material background of the East is so different from that

of the West, that neither can ever understand the other, is wrong. There are no fundamental differences in ultimate values, though there are significant differences of emphasis. The fundamentals of human experience, the data for philosophical reflection, are everywhere the same—the transitoriness of things, the play of chance, the emotions of love and hate, of fear and jealousy, anxiety to overcome the corruptibility of things. Regarding these, there is neither East, nor West. The two developed appreciably similar views in regard to the nature of reality, the concept of mind and the theory of knowledge. The causes which have split up the map of the world do not indicate so profound a division of mind and spirit as may be found in the members of the same family or in two citizens of the same country.

The world is unified physically but is mentally divided. We all live whether of the East or of the West in what has been called the "contemporary uproar." It is our task to produce normal, balanced individuals in whom the inner and the outer life are reconciled. When we reach difficult places, when we face hard problems which seem formidable, we get back to first principles and raise the question of the ultimate postulates of thought and life.

II

Today, when reference is made to East-West relations, often we do not have in mind the Orient and the Occident, Asia and Europe, but the political East and the political West of Europe. When Christianity was the prevalent religion of Europe, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant forms represented the West while the Greek Church and the Russian Orthodox Church represented the East. Even today in the elections to the Security Council, the seat allotted to Eastern Europe is being contested by Greece and Byelo-Russia. The split between the Communist East and the Democratic West is a split within the Western world.

The pedigree of Communism can be traced to Plato, the New Testament, the Levellers of Cromwell's day, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, Engels, Lenin. Some of the characteristic features of Communism are those of the West.

The Greek mind was of a dialectical order. It laid stress on the primacy of reason. Communism claims to utilize a scientific method and analysis. It is possessed of a sense of certainty, a sense of its own infallibility.

Humanism has been a character of Western thought from the Greek times. The Greeks concerned themselves with social conditions and postulates. The Marxists wish to bring about a perfect society on earth. They protest against the effects on the working classes of the industrial revolution, starvation wages, child and female labour, overcrowded slums, destruction of family life. In the name of social justice, they criticize the capitalist order.

The logic which drives a missionary cause to aggressive propaganda is nothing new in history. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

The law of contradiction lays down that contradictories cannot subsist together. The conflict between the Communists and the non-Communists is on the same pattern as the conflict between the Jew and the Gentile; the Greek and the Barbarian; the Christian and the heathen; the Protestant and the Catholic. This view is based on the philosophy of either-or. It divides the world into two opposite camps—the kingdoms of light and of darkness.

We shall have heresies and persecution of heresies so long as we have a sacred doctrine and an authorized body of interpreters. If dogmas are the expressions of final and infallible truth, we cannot escape from doctrinal controversies and inquisitorial methods. During the early centuries of Christianity, seven councils were held to define the true doctrine and pronounce against heresies.

The main, though not the exclusive emphasis of the West is on scientific reason, humanism, missionary propaganda and a division of the world into opposite camps. Communism exaggerates all these features. In his work on the teachings of Karl Marx (1914) Lenin writes that Marx, "was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity; classical German philosophy, classical English political economy and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines."

Not only is the creed of Communism a product of Western thought, but its propagation is also due to leaders who were trained in Western capitals, Berlin, Paris, Geneva. In the first world war it was the German High Command who put the future Russia into a railway coach, sealed it and sent it out to explode in the then Finnish station of

Petrogradt.[1] It is therefore somewhat strange that Communism should be treated as an Eastern doctrine, though it is now spreading in the East.

III

Eastern thought has been characterized by a different outlook. Its main features are faith in an unseen reality of which all life is a manifestation, the primacy of spiritual experience and anxiety to harmonize apparent opposites. This view of life awakened a large part of Asia to thought and art and influenced other parts of the world.

The real is the essence of the soul. The aim of human being is union with reality. This union is to be effected not by reason alone but by the whole personality. We must grasp the real not only by thought but by our whole being. It is not a question of entertaining ideas but of transforming the self, renewing our being. By contemplation we transform the whole man and assimilate him to the nature of the object.

Religious experience is a vision, an awareness, a release into boundless freedom. This awareness is what is called knowledge; its opposite is ignorance, confinement within the narrow bounds set by the mind and the senses. As religion is experience of reality, there is less concern with religious doctrine than with religious feeling, religious life. Religious conflicts relate to theories of the universe, to doctrines of God. Religious experience is not a matter of belief in a set of propositions but response of the whole self to the daily challenge of actual human relations. It is a way of living, of love and wisdom. This does not depend on theories. A sense of the mystery of God produces humility, which is a foe to all fanaticism.

Refusal to transgress the limits of the definable comes out in the teachings of the Upanishads and of the Buddha. The real is *advaita*, non-dual, *advitiya*, secondless. The Buddha who preached wisdom and compassion did not indulge in theories of reality.

"The Tao that can be expressed is not the eternal Tao; the name that can be defined is not the unchanging name."

Doctrines are necessary; we cannot think what we like. But they are all inadequate; we cannot enclose the

1. The British Foreign Office was certain that the Bolsheviks were the paid agents of Imperial Germany and Bolshevism was "a movement fostered solely for the furtherance of German ends."

truth within words and concepts. The language in which the truth is expressed consists of many dialects adapted to the needs of different peoples.

If conformity to doctrines is to be regarded as the final test, believers in different creeds will be profoundly alien to one another. If modes of life are taken into account, religious men can be said to be like one another. The view that our creed represents the truth and those who deny or dispute it are heretics is a dangerous one. India has been the home of different religions and the Indian attitude has been one of hospitality to other creeds. In consistency with this spirit, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution on 19th October 1951, in the following words; "It has been the aim and declared policy of the Congress since its inception to establish a secular democratic State, which, while honouring every faith, does not discriminate against any religion."

Dr. Karl Ludwing Reichelt in *Religion in Chinese Garment* says: "The Chinese are, at the same time, Confucianists, Taoists and Buddhists. This is given visible expression, not only in the circumstance that some of the divinities are to be found in all the religious systems, but also by the fact that in some of the smaller localities there are common temples, where the respective God-images of the three religions are enthroned in full harmony. While the daily worship is connected with the ancestral tablets of the home, the average Chinese likes to visit some temple on special occasions and whether it is Taoist or Buddhist makes no great difference. If you press him and question him more particularly about his philosophy of life as a whole, you are apt to hear many curious things: most often a loosely articulated system of thought, in which the old Chinese outlook, shaped according to Confucian pattern has been loosely combined with a Buddhist philosophy of existence."

This concept of man stresses the spiritual as the principal element, as distinct from the rational. Every individual has a spark of the divine. He is essentially subject, not object. If we attempt to possess him as flesh, as mind to be moulded, we fail to recognize the essentially unseizable. Man is not a product of natural necessity as he bears the image and impress of the divine.

While the unique value of the human individual is admitted theoretically, its implications have not been worked out in the social structure. There is more real democracy

in the West than in the East. That many men should, by the accidents of birth and opportunity, have a life of toil and pain, hardness and distress, while others no more deserving have a life of ease, pleasure and privilege, arouses indignation in sensitive minds.

Because of the latent divinity of all men, no individual, however criminal he may be, is beyond redemption. There is no such thing as "all hope abandon, ye who enter here." The spirit is in each one as a part of himself, as a part of the substratum of his being. It may be buried in some like a hidden treasure, beneath a barren debris of brutality and violence but it is there all the same, operative and alive. "The light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world" cannot be put out. Asanga tells us to have "compassion for the wretched, compassion for the hot-tempered, compassion for the angry, compassion for the slave of passion, compassion for him who is obstinate in error." Santideva asks us to "do good even to our worst enemies." Honen, the Japanese teacher (1133—1212) taught the worship of Amitabha, Infinite Light. "There is no hamlet so forlorn that the rays of the silver moon fail to reach it, nor is there any man who, by opening wide the windows of his thought cannot perceive divine truth and take it unto his heart."

These are the central principles of the Christian religion, whose heart is that of the East; whose brain—its theology, whose body—its organization, are Graeco-Roman. Jesus emphasizes the central simplicities of all religion. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God;" "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." We are called upon to develop the mind that was in Christ Jesus. The way and the truth are to end in life. Again "The Kingdom of God is within you." St. Thomas Aquinas says: "Great is the blindness and exceeding the folly of many souls that are ever seeking God, and frequently desiring God; whilst all the time, they are themselves the tabernacles of the living God, since their soul is the seat of God in which He continuously reposes." God is nearer to us than we are to ourselves. St. Augustine says: "When there is a question whether a man is good, one does not ask what he believes or what he hopes, but what he loves." "In my Father's house are many mansions."

Jesus asks us to love our enemies. The doctrine of eternal hell is inconsistent with the spirit of Jesus' teaching. "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." "For He maketh His sun to shine upon the evil and upon

the good and sendeth His rain upon the just and upon the unjust." The Psalmist says: "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there. If I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there also." If we do not see God everywhere, we see Him nowhere. The end of the world is the transubstantiation of all creation, the universal incarnation.

Dr. Walzer asserts about Al Farabi's views "There is one universal religion, but many forms of symbolic representation of ultimate truth, that may differ from land to land and from nation to nation; they vary in language, in law and in custom, in the use of symbols and similitudes. There exists only one true God for the philosophical mind, but He has different names in different religions."

IV

In a world filled with anger and hate, where we look in vain for a smile of humanity, for a sigh of understanding, we must turn back to that fundamental religion of spirit which is neither Eastern nor Western but universal, if we are to bring to our task a little hope, a little charity. "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it." Unless we have a sound attitude of mind, a spiritual philosophy of life, we cannot build anything that will endure. We must adopt the Eastern outlook on life with its faith in the divine possibilities of the human soul, unity of all life and existence and insistence on an active reconciliation of different faiths and cultures so as to promote the unity of mankind.

Man, as the object of scientific enquiry, as fully understandable in terms of race, or heredity, psychoanalysis or economic determinism is neither the true nor the entire human being. He has in him the element of spirit which gives him his uniqueness. No man is the duplicate of his neighbour; no one is a mere example of a class. He is more than the rational historical being. He is a vehicle of the divine. From the spirit in man, his powers and qualities fan out, like the spokes of a wheel to the rim which is his outward form. The closer any thought or action approaches to the centre, the greater is its intensity and the more closely is the diversity integrated into unity. The farther it is from the centre, the wider is its extension, and the looser its integration.

We should look upon apparently conflicting opposites as not fundamentally incompatible but as capable of reconciliation by mutual modification, if necessary. There are two ways of dealing with evil and error, the way of firm

resistence, a steady denial, negation; the other is the way of comprehension which enters into the mind of the erring or evil individual and transforms him from within. Psychological conflict as much as physical warfare darkens the mind both of those who use it and those against whom it is used. The whole history of Western development as of any other cultural growth illustrates how different currents have mingled their waters. Even the so-called heresies which were condemned and persecuted have become part of the Western heritage. Though Justinian closed the schools of Athens and did not desire any compromise with neo-Platonism, the latter entered into the stream of Christian thought. St. Augustine's deepest ideas on God and the world were moulded by neo-Platonism. In the Middle Ages, heretical and non-Christian Aristotelianism influenced Christian theology. St. Thomas Aquinas used the foundations of Aristotle for building his revealed theology. Gibbon saw in the history of the Crusades the world's debate, and yet the spirit of Islam has influenced the world's thought. Look at the devastating wars between the rival fanaticisms of Catholicism and Protestantism three centuries back. Their seemingly insoluble conflict has now faded away.

All this teaches us that our enemies are not as black as we paint them when our passions are aroused. Five years ago we hated the Germans and the Japanese. We vowed a Carthaginian peace. We were forbidden to speak even to their children. Now we are on the Rhine as guarantors and friends of the Germans. We have concluded a treaty with Japan. We are now prepared to welcome these "dangerous" people into the family of free nations and harness their dynamic energy for democracy. Suppose we win the next war for which we are making such vast preparations, are we sure that we will not be in the same predicament again with a change of partners?[2] History warns us that the present conflict between Marxist logic and missonary fervour on the one side and our zeal for God and man on the other, can also be terminated by a process of understanding and adjustment. If we know only our side of the case we do not know even that. Need we revert

2. "We might even say that if the whole of Russia and the entire body of her satellites were to be buried under the deepest oceans from this moment, something like the same predicament would still be with us tomorrow, though the terms of of it would be transposed by a regrouping of the remaining Powers." Herbert Butterfield : *The Scientific Versus the Moralistic Approach in International Affairs.* International Affairs (October 1951, p. 414).

to the ancient pattern of self-righteousness, dividing mankind into sheep and goats? Charity is the quality we need most. St. Paul's statement that "We are members one of another" is a true observation as well as a call to moral order. If we wish to achieve peace we should avoid the passion of self-righteousness which gives to every conflict a religious flavour. When a war is of "ideologies", we resolve to win the war even if, in the process, the whole world is ruined. When we fight for a piece of territory, the war will cease when the objective is achieved. If we fight for righteousness, we are dedicated to a war of destruction. The military methods involved in a new war are so disastrously dangerous and the economic, social and cultural consequences of a third world war would be so catastrophic that the winner would be left with nothing but uninhabitable ruins and unalterable misery. Any man in his normal state of mind will shudder at the prospect. We must save mankind from collective suicide.

Mankind is once again standing on the brink of an abyss the depth of which no man can presume to measure. There is a new sense of foreboding, a sense of fatality, of vast masses moving slowly and irresistibly towards a final collision. Let us dedicate our gifts to a reasonable objectivity and sanity in our thinking. Neither the political East nor the political West need imagine that they are the appointed educators of humanity. It is our task, as thinkers above the battle, to act as bridges—when all the bridges are down not ony between East and West but also between the partial and complementary truths buried under the warring philosophies. The spirit of religion is the essence of democracy. Appreciation of differences is a characteristic of both. Democracy functions where people differ and not where they agree.

When the Soviet leaders speak of the co-existence of the two systems, they get behind their doctrinairism and adopt a view which brings them close to Eastern thought. In a lecture to communist leaders, Stalin once said: "If capitalism could adapt its production not to getting maximum profits but to the systematic improvement of the masses of the people, then there would not be any crisis, but then capitalism would not be capitalism." We need not quarrel with words. America, prominent among capitalist countries, is striving to improve the general welfare, not only of the Americans but of the whole world. With lessening of the general tension, the Soviet system itself may undergo radical

changes and become a true people's democracy where there will be the freedoms whose lack in Russia we deplore.

The Greek and the barbarian, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Moslem, the Protestant and the Catholic, the Allies and the Axis powers of the last war have now learnt to live together. It is a matter of no small importance for the peace and advancement of the world that the Communist and the non-Communist should learn to live in this world, if not in harmony, at least in reasonable mutual accommodation. Even in a family, if the husband and the wife cannot love each other, they learn to put up with each other. If we put up with people, it does not mean that we give in to people. If we have a little more charity, the possibilities of the future seem to be infinite, surpassing all hitherto known forms of adventure.

In this troubled age the responsibility, nay the opportunity, of the leaders of thought is great, for in the long run, ideas, not things, will determine the future of mankind. We have for our motto an ancient text which proclaims that truth will conquer. The spirit of man will prevail, the spirit capable of understanding, endurance and compassion.

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The Rev. W. L. A. Don Peter

THE MIDDLE WAY OF BUDDHIST ASCETICISM

THE aim of the historian is to know from reliable sources what exactly happened and why things happened that way.

A remarkable fact in the history of religion is the spread of Buddhism into so many countries in Asia. Whereas Hinduism (Brahmanism), an older religion of which Buddhism was but an offshoot, has scarcely spread beyond the confines of India, Buddhism has established itself firmly in nearly every country in the eastern half of Asia. We know that violence was not resorted to in propagating it. How then do we explain its wide diffusion in Asia?

One of the main causes was undoubtedly the patronage it received from rulers. It was in fact from the time that Asoka embraced Buddhism and took an active interest in propagating it that from a simple Indian sect it began to expand into a major religion. Following Asoka's example, other rulers, like our Sinhalese kings, patronized and promoted it, with the result that it spread widely among their subjects. As kings in those days were absolute monarchs, it is not surprising that their subjects were easily won over to a religion they patronized.

Another notable factor which accounts for the spread of Buddhism is that it advocated an ascetical way of life, but one free of rigorism.

I

Buddhism is predominantly a form of monasticism. This is particularly true of early Buddhism. The Buddha was more the founder of a religious order than of a religion. Buddhist philosophy, religion, mythology, literature, all these centre round the Sangha. The lay life is regarded as a lower and imperfect state. In the words of an authority on Buddhism, Professor G. P. Malalasekera, "The life of complete holiness, in Buddhism, involves withdrawal from the world; home and family must be abandoned; profession, trade and craft left behind. The detachment needed for the higher life can only be realized by the unflinching severance of all home-ties." [1] The Buddhist laymen, therefore, "did not aspire to win Nirvana in their present state, but improved their future lot by obeying the moral precepts applicable to them, by works of charity, and, above all, by gifts to the Buddhist Order." [2] The monastic life is thus presented as the ideal. Buddhist texts speak again and again of the incompatibility of the secular life with the quest for higher spiritual attainments, and dilate on the excellence of the monastic life.

In Hinduism, on the contrary, the householder was not reduced to a subordinate position. It was not required of him to abandon household life to attain salvation. Hinduism is a religion closely interwoven with the social fabric of Indian life, with caste as the dominant factor. It is a religion of the society, not of the monastery. Buddhism on the other hand aimed at weaning men away from the world to the monastery irrespective of caste differences. Hinduism became identified with a particular society; it became the religion of anyone born into that society, that is, of a Hindu. Hinduism became the religion of the Hindu. It became a restricted nationalist religion. It remained in India with the Hindus; it was taken to other countries by migrating Hindus; but it is seldom that we find it adopted by those not born Hindu. And little effort has been made to propagate it. Being identified with a particular society, it has remained with that society.

Buddhism on the contrary was not identified with any particular society. It focussed attention on monasticism without minding social, or caste, distinctions. "Just as,

1 G. P. Malalasekera, *Thus Have I Heard*, Colombo, 1944, p. 66.

2 S. Cave, *An Introduction to the Study of Some Living Religions of the East*, London, 1933, p. 109.

O monks," said the Buddha, "the great rivers, such as the Ganges, Jumna, Aciravati, Sarabhū, and Mahi, when they fall into the ocean lose their former names and gotras, and are known as the ocean, even so do the four castes of kshatriyas, brahmins, vaisyas, and sudras, when they have gone forth in the doctrine and discipline taught by the Tathāgata from a house to a houseless life, lose their former names and gotras and are known as ascetics, sons of the Sakyan."[3] Social differences did not debar anyone from the monastic life. Not being welded into a specific society, Buddhism was free to move into other countries and social systems. We find that in spreading abroad it has adapted itself to fit into varying cultural and religious patterns of each country and place, and manifested itself in a multitude of forms. Buddhism spread at the cost of being subjected to change. It has been said, in fact, that "neither Mahayana nor Hinayana satisfactorily expresses the original doctrine." [4] However, it was because Buddhism was prepared for adaptation that it spread so widely. It was so prepared only because it was not tied down to a particular society. And that resulted from its essentially monastic character.

The relation of Hinduism to Buddhism might in fact be compared with that of Judaism to Christianity. Hinduism being interwoven with the Hindu pattern of life remained with the Hindu, as Judaism with the Jew; but Buddhism, not being hindered by social restrictions, spread abroad, as Christianity did.

II

The predilection for asceticism is the most remarkable feature of Oriental religious experience. In the *Rg Veda*, the earliest religious text in India (composed between 1500 and 900 B.C.), there is mention of *Munis* (silent ones), who practised *tapas* (asceticism), and are said to have attained thereby extraordinary powers. [5] We find this word (*muni*) later applied to the Buddha and to other great ascetics.

Following in the wake of the *Rg-Veda munis*, more and more embraced the ascetical life, and by the time of the Buddha it was widespread in North India. Some of the ascetics lived solitary lives in the depths of the forests, like the Christian eremites of a later date; others lived alone on the outskirts of towns and villages. Some lived in groups

3 *Udana*, V, 5.

4 A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion* (Penguin edition) London, 1954, p. 165.

5 *Op. cit.*, X, 136.

under the leadership of an elder, or as the disciples of a teacher. Some wandered from place to place, alone or in groups, begging alms and preaching their doctrines. Of the many ascetical sects of the time two have survived and evolved into religions: one which had the ascetic Gotama at its head and is known to us as Buddhism, and the other led by Vardhamana (Mahāvira), which we know as Jainism.

In Buddhism it is the monk who lives the ascetical life in its fullness. His is a life of renunciation, detachment and privation. He renounces the world and its pleasures, following in the footsteps of his master, who, according to the traditional story, abandoned wealth and honours, home and family, wife and child, to become an ascetic. He shaves his head and puts on a yellow robe to be marked off from the rest of the world. He binds himself to keep the Ten Precepts (Dasa-Sila). The first five are the same as for all Buddhists: refraining from killing living beings, from taking things not given, from sexual misconduct, from lying, and from intoxicants—with the exception that in the case of the third he is required to observe absolute celibacy. The other five are to refrain from eating at forbidden times (i. e. after midday), from dancing, singing, music and dramatic performances, from the use of garlands, perfumes, unguents and jewellery, form the use of a high or broad bed, and from receiving gold and silver.

The last is analogous to the vow of poverty in Christian religious orders. It imposes a life of austerity. The monk is not expected to own anything more than his eight "requisites": three robes, waist-cloth, almsbowl, razor, needle, and cloth to strain water to save the lives of animalculae it might contain. He has to live on alms, begging his food from door to door every morning.

Based on these Ten Precepts are a number of rules and regulations (227 in all), which are listed and commented upon in the *Vinaya Pitaka*—the first of the three main divisions of the Canon. The *Vinaya* is in effect the Book of Rules of the Sangha. The rules lay down in detail what is permissible to a monk and what is not. They regulate the life he is to live in the monastery with his fellow monks. Their purpose is to maintain the ascetical life the monk is required to live.

The Buddhist monk is then an ascetic. This fact must be looked upon as the main reason for the respect and reverence the Sangha has always received from the Buddhist

public, and for the influence it has exercised over it. Although the way of salvation taught by the Buddha was of the ethical order, asceticism was a factor he could not afford to ignore. People in his day thought so highly of asceticism that a purely ethical religious system would not have appealed to them. This high regard for asceticism has remained through the centuries a conspicuous feature of Indian religious life.

How asceticism brought prestige to the Sangha and increased its influence, and consequently helped towards the spread of Buddhism, might be considered under various aspects.

(*a*) We are prone to appreciate and admire an achievement that is beyond the power of the ordinary man. That is a common psychological factor. To cut oneself off from home and loved ones, to renounce even the ordinary comforts and pleasures of life, and to embrace a life of abjection and austerity, is doubtless a thing that cannot be expected of ordinary humans. One who renounces the world to such a degree is certainly worthy of admiration. The regard shown to the Sangha springs mainly from this fact.

(*b*) Since Vedic times there has been a widespread belief in India that by the practice of asceticism one can acquire magical powers. It is said that ascetics could exercise such powers for the weal or woe of their fellow-men; that, if offended, they could cause famine, pestilence, or physical injury, and if respected, bestow health, wealth and prosperity. Stories of ascetics rewarding their clients, or punishing their enemies, are to be found in the popular religious writings of India.

Buddhism which has absorbed much from the current and later religious environment of India has retained the belief in psychic powers. Buddhist monks are said to be able to attain such powers (*iddhi*) by meditation and other ascetical exercises. There is a set of psychic powers mentioned in several places in the Pali Canon: the power to create images of oneself, to multiply oneself or become one again, to become visible or invisible, to pass through walls and mountains or dive through the earth, to walk on water, to fly through the air, to touch the sun and moon, and to reach the heaven of Brahma. [6] There is also the mention of super knowledge (abhiññā) attain-

6 See, e.g. *Digha*, III, 112.

able by the monk. It is the power to hear sounds celestial and human; to read the minds of others; to know one's former births; to know other people's rebirths and destinies; and to reach the certainty of one's attainment of Nirvana.[7]

Speaking of *iddhis*, the editors of the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* (T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede) point out that there is no valid evidence that any of them actually took place. "A few instances are given," they say, "but all are in texts more than a century later than the recorded wonder. And now for nearly two thousand years we have no further instances." [8] But the belief in the possibility of monks attaining such powers persisted through the ages. The monks, on their part, made their position secure by laying down a law, attributed to the Buddha, which made it an offence for a monk to display psychic powers before the laity. The monks, therefore, who were credited with the possession of such powers, although forbidden by the rule to display them, began to be treated with awe and reverence.

(*c*) As an ascetic the monk is a much closer follower of the Buddha than the layman. As we have noted, the status of householder is regarded as inferior to that of the world-forsaking monk. It is the monk who follows the teachings of the Buddha in their entirety. Being the more perfect imitators of the Buddha, they are looked upon by the laity as his image, and are venerated accordingly. "The yellow robe, the symbol of the Buddha, finds veneration, respect and honour wherever it is seen amongst the Buddhist community." [9] The monk receives, as it were vicariously the people's veneration for the Buddha.

Asceticism is thus a characteristic of Buddhist monasticism. It was because the monks were ascetics that everyone, from the king to the ordinary citizen, treated them with respect and veneration. Sinhalese kings, for example, showed their devotion to the monks by building temples and monasteries for them, by making generous donations of land for their maintenance, by causing unworthy monks to be expelled, and by taking steps to maintain the continuity of the Order when it was threatened with extinction. The people followed the example of their sovereigns and according to their means made offerings to the monks, as they still

7 *Ibid*, III, 281.

8 *Op. cit.*, see under *iddhi*.

9 N. D. Wijesekera, *The People of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1949, p. 164.

do. Almsgiving to the monks became a sacred duty of the Buddhist. It became the commonest expression of piety. Buddhism looks upon *metta* (kindliness) as the greatest virtue. A kindly deed is highly meritorious. But the most meritorious of kindly deeds is devotion to the Sangha. This is a theme recurring again and again in Buddhist writings, both in Pali and Sinhalese. The *Pūjāvaliya* by Buddhaputra (thirteenth century) and the *Saddharmālankāraya* by Dharmakirti (fourteenth century) are notable examples of such works.

The people's devotion to the Sangha, which sprang from their regard for and appreciation of the monk's ascetical way of life, greatly helped towards the spread of Buddhism. Because of their respect and reverence for him, they were prepared to listen to his teaching and be instructed by him. Each monastery became a centre from which Buddhism radiated. By contact with the monks the people in the surrounding country learnt about Buddhism, and thus the religion spread.

III

There is an important feature of Buddhist asceticism which clearly distinguishes it from other ascetical sects of its day. It is the avoidance of rigorism. In the time of the Buddha there were men who went to extremes in the practice of asceticism, [10] like the Christian Stylites, or Pillar-hermits, of Syria. They indulged in self-torture. They sought out means of inflicting pain on themselves. They would sit near blazing fires in the hot sun, sit or lie on spikes, hang from hooks sunk into the flesh, or hold their arms motionless till they atrophied. Some detached themselves from earthly goods to the extent of going naked. Vardhamāna, founder of Jainism, was one such naked ascetic. He is said to have worn at first a single garment without changing, but after thirteen months put it aside and remained naked for the rest of his life. It was in fact from a dispute over nudity that Jainism later broke up into two sects, one the Digambaras who staunchly adhered to the rule of nudity believing that "nobody who owns anything—even a piece of loin cloth—is altogether fitted to attain salvation," [11] and the other the Svētāmbaras who took to wearing white. Another contemporary sect, the Ājīvikas, founded by Gosāla

10 See, e.g., *Digha*, I, 166.
11 M. Hiriyanna, *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1949, p. 60.

Maskariputra, also indulged in extreme forms of asceticism and remained naked like the Jains.

But the Buddha preferred a middle course which avoided both self-indulgence and excessive asceticism: "These two extremes, O monks, are not to be practised by one who has gone forth from the world. What are the two? That conjoined with the passions, low, vulgar, common, ignoble, and useless, and that conjoined with self-torture, painful ignoble and useless. Avoiding these two extremes the Tathāgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Way which gives sight and knowledge and tends to calm, to insight, enlightenment, Nirvana." [12] He laid stress on ethics and morality. The noble Eightfold Path, which leads one to Nirvana, was a path of right conduct. The greatest virtue was *mettā*, kindliness towards one's fellows. It was by mental discipline, by meditation and contemplation, and not by self-torture, that the monk was to rise to higher planes on the road to Nirvana.

This moderation in asceticism, as advocated by the Buddha, led to very important results.

The rigorous asceticism of the Jains and the Ājīvikas was obviously a thing possible only to the few. Not many would submit to the torture of having the hair pulled out by the roots, as had to be done on entering the Jain Order, instead of shaving the head as the Buddhists do. The Jain monk meditated in the blazing sun, or maintaining an uncomfortable posture for long periods—a thing the Buddhist monk was not required to do. The Jain monks fasted far more rigorously than the Buddhist monks, and some even starved themselves to death, following the example of their founder, Vardhamāna. Such penances as the Jains practised were beyond the strength and endurance not only of ordinary men, but even of most of those who aspired to an ascetical life. This is probably one of the main reasons why the sect of the Ājīvikas disappeared altogether, and Jainism, which never spread beyond India, has only a small number of adherents, about two million.

Because of its moderation in asceticism, Buddhist monachism appealed to greater numbers of people. Wherever Buddhism spread, it found recruits for the monastery. And through the monasteries it became solidly established in in each country, and spread still further.

12 *Samyutta*, V, 420.

IV

A particularly noteworthy result of the adherence to asceticism, in a wisely mitigated form, was the growth of intellectual and educational activity among the monks.

The first monks were, to all appearances, only wandering ascetics, like so many others of the time. It has been noted, in fact, that "in numerous passages of Buddhist canonical literature settled life in a monastery is not contemplated at all, and the ideal life for a Bhikkhu is set out to be a free, unsocial, eremitical one." [13] But when the number of adherents increased, it apparently became necessary for them to settle down somewhere. Thus communities of monks became established, and it was these cenobitical units that eventually evolved into organized Buddhist monachism. It was presumably from this period onwards, when the monks had a home to live in and were being adequately supported by the alms of the laity that they began to devote themselves to study and education.

The monk's renunciation of the world and his detachment from it enabled him to concentrate on study and literary work. As a monk he was free from the cares, duties and distractions of the householder's life. He had no wife or children to look after. He did not have to work for his living. He received as alms what he needed. Moreover he lived in an atmosphere conducive to study. There was silence and solitude in the monastery. He lived in the company of men who, like himself, were given to study and meditation. Like their Christian counterpart in Mediaeval Europe, they became scholar monks.

Moderation in the practice of asceticism was particularly favourable to scholastic activity. We cannot expect the monk who indulged in long-drawn self-torturing penances to have the physical and mental ease and fitness for intellectual work. It was fortunate that Buddhism avoided such extremes. This wise policy has been a great boon to education and scholarship. The Buddhist monk, not being too occupied with ascetical exercises, or made too uncomfortable by rigorous fasts and penances, was able to devote much of his time to literary and educational work. He went on his begging round in the morning; he had his share in the work of the monastery, such as cleaning his cell and sweeping the monastic buildings; he had his hours of meditation. But the rest of the time could be devoted to study

13 S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London, 1924, p. 112.

and writing. The elder monks spent a part of their time in teaching the novices. The monks also taught in *pirivenas* attached to the monasteries. The monasteries thus became centres of educational and literary activity. Such would not have been the case if Buddhist asceticism had been as severe as that of the Jains and the Ajivikas.

Moderation in asceticism, on the one hand, made it possible for far larger numbers to become monks than would have been the case otherwise; and, on the other, left the monks unhampered for intellectual work. The combination of these two factors led to a very important result. It is that in every Buddhist country the monastery became an educational force.

The monk's learning, like his asceticism, brought him prestige and raised him to a position of eminence among the people. It gained for him their respect and reverence. The people looked up to him, because of his learning, and were prepared to follow his guidance. Thus learning, which was possible because of moderation in asceticism, also became a vehicle for the diffusion of Buddhism.

V

We have seen that the ideal path to salvation, which the Pali Canon points out to the monk, is a life of renunciation, detachment and seclusion, a life given to concentration and meditation. From the tone of the Canon we should expect the monks to live completely separated from the world, like the Christian eremites, or the Trappists and Carthusians. But what actually developed was a form of monasticism in which separation from the world was only partial. Buddhist asceticism was not so rigorous as to keep the monk cut off from society.

The monk had to depend on the layman for his sustenance. He was a *bhikkhu*, a mendicant, living on the alms of the laity. Begging alms was moreover looked upon as a great act of kindness and charity done to the layman, for in going to him the monk was giving him the opportunity of gaining great merit by giving alms to a monk. "Strictly speaking," says Professor Malalasekera, "a monk does not beg for food, nor does he give thanks for what he receives. He gives the layman a chance of doing a good deed and it is the donor, not the recipient, who should be thankful." [14] On special occasions monks were conducted in procession to the home for solemn almsgivings. Receiving alms from

14 G. P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

the layman was an outlet into the world, an opportunity for contact with the laity.

Furthermore it was through the monk that the Dhamma was to be spread. It was his duty to make known the Dhamma, to preach it to the laity. The Buddha said to his first disciples: "I am released, monks, from all ties both divine and human. You also, monks, being released from all ties both divine and human, go journeying for the profit of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, profit, and happiness of gods and men. Let not two of you go one way. Teach the doctrine, monks, good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, in the spirit and the letter, and proclaim a perfectly complete and pure religious life." [15] The duty of preaching the Dhamma was another factor which brought the monk into contact with the laity.

The contact brought about by these two factors widened in course of time, and the monk assumed new functions in relation to the laity. He began to be invited to the home for other purposes such as the chanting of *Pirit*. He became guide and counsellor to the laity. And, apart from preaching or teaching the Dhamma, he became in time the village schoolmaster.

The monk's intercourse with the world had baneful results, as the history of the Sangha in Ceylon testifies, but on the other hand it contributed greatly to the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist culture. If the Sangha had kept rigidly to a life of total detachment from the world, it could not have influenced society. From this point of view it was fortunate that there was contact between the monks and the laity. By that contact the monks were able to communicate to the people, by word and example, the spirit and ideals of Buddhism, especially as affecting conduct and morality. A remarkable instance of this may be seen in the humanizing influence which the great monasteries of Lhasa, Tashi Llumpo and Urga had over the warlike Mongols. "By a strange irony of history," writes Christopher Dawson, "the most aggressive warrior people of Asia—the Mongols—came to adopt a religion of non-aggression and universal compassion; and if, as seems probable, this event gradually led to a change in the character and habits of the people which contributed to the cessation of the age-

15 *Samyutta*, I, 105.

long drive of the peoples of the steppes to East and West, it may be reckoned one of the turning points in world history." [16]

Thus it was again moderation in asceticism that brought about contact between monk and layman, which led to the spread of Buddhism.

To sum up, the prominence given to monasticism, and the adoption of an ascetical way of life without, however, going to extremes, must be looked upon as one of the main causes for the spread of Buddhism in Asia.

16 C. Dawson, *Religion and Culture*, London, 1948, p. 60.

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND MORAL CONTROL

EVEN in ancient times we find that philosophers, politicians and social thinkers have undertaken detailed and at times brilliant studies of how men behave as individuals and as members of groups. However, the systematic and scientific study of social problems is a comparatively recent growth. To a large extent, the development of the social sciences is due to the growth of the natural sciences. As advances in the knowledge of external nature gave man increasing power and increasing self-confidence, it was inevitable that he should start thinking of applying the same technique to the study of his own inner being. Further, the conquests of science led to startling changes in the organization of human society. As the scale of production increased, new problems of urban life arose. As different peoples were brought into contact, they started affecting one another in diverse ways. The result was a new interest in social sciences in order to find the solution to new and urgent social problems. European philosophy since the seventeenth century is the record of one attempt after another to apply the methods of science to the problems of human behaviour, even in respect of man's quest for knowledge and morality. That these attempts did not fully succeed did not deter him. Nor was he daunted by the fact that too rigorous an application of the scientific method to human

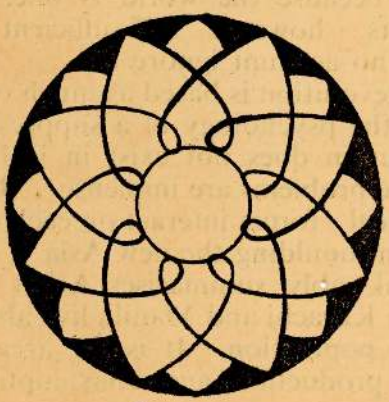
problems led to what one may, following Kant, call the antinomies. Throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and increasingly during the present century, man has persisted in his endeavour to explain human nature in terms of the laws of science. The phenomenal development of the social sciences in the last hundred years is one result of his stupendous effort to that end.

The experience of the last two or three centuries however suggests that a distinction has to be drawn between the natural and the social sciences. There must of course be increasing effort to understand individuals and societies. Every accession of knowledge is also an accession of power. This is equally true of natural and of social sciences. Also science as such is largely neutral, but here the analogy between the natural and the social sciences tends to break down. The natural sciences jointly and severally give us basic information and knowledge about the laws of nature. These laws are impersonal and pending new discoveries, immutable. Social sciences give us basic information and knowledge about man in society, but the laws we derive from them are neither impersonal nor immutable. Where man is the object of his own study—as is the case in all the social sciences—we have to take into consideration not only what is but what he thinks ought to be. Social sciences seek to tell us how to control human beings just as natural sciences tell us how to control nature. There is however the significant difference that in the case of human beings, the conception of values disturbs the operation of what may be regarded as natural law. Values are not natural phenomena but the incursion of the normative into the field of the actual.

The social sciences either directly or in an indirect manner deal with human welfare. Human welfare depends not merely on knowledge but on the ideals which human beings set before themselves. These ideals use both natural and social sciences as instruments but cannot themselves be explained in merely scientific terms. With increasing knowledge—whether of things or of men—the need for ideals becomes greater. When the weapons of destruction were few and limited in power, there was not the same terrifying urgency for peace as today. When our knowledge of the motives and impulses of human behaviour was limited, there was not the same need to exercise wisdom and restraint in the use of psychological methods. Today, the natural

sciences have placed in the hands of man weapons which can destroy the physical world. Similarly, advanced psychological knowledge has given him the capacity to influence human conduct in a manner which is terrifying. Science, whether natural or social, can give us instruments but not the norms for the right use of these instruments. Increase in knowledge and power without corresponding increase in moral control may be the prelude to universal destruction.

The predicament in which the world finds itself today can lead to only one conclusion. It is not enough to study economics, political science, sociology, social anthropology, social psychology and other types of social sciences. There must side by side be a deeper understanding of the values which have till now operated to raise man from the state of savagery to his present stage of development. The study and realization of these values is necessary to carry him further in his progress towards civilization. We may not like to admit it but the fact is that except in the case of rare individuals man is not yet fully civilised. Perhaps most communities, as communities, are even less developed than the individuals who constitute them. Eradication of the elements of savagery in individuals and societies demands a reorientation of education in which there is a proper balance between the study of the natural sciences, the social sciences and the philosophy of values.



The Rev. Celestine Fernando

THE ROLE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE NEW ASIA

THE Asian scene was noted not so very long ago for spirituality, philosophic calm and unchanging ease. The same sun shines over the sprawling sub-continents and islands of Asia today but now they are known far more for their stark poverty, political resurgence and restless economies. The Asian revolution is an uncomfortable reality and it is of extraordinary proportions. Despite the facade of easy-going democratic institutions behind which in some countries the revolution goes on, it is sometimes fraught with great violence. And because the world is one, our brethren in other continents, however self-sufficient, powerful and remote, can on no account ignore it.

The Asian revolution is based as much on sheer economic necessity as on the psychology of a suppressed people. The economic revolution does not exist in isolation from other conditions. The problems are immense. Religious, cultural, social and political forces interact on each other and play an inevitable part in moulding the new Asia. An observer from the World Bank ably summarises Asia's economic plight.

> "Between Karachi and Manila live about one-fourth of the world's population. It is the area with the lowest per capita production and consumption levels in the

world. Seventy per cent of its population lives in villages, tills the soil with an immense quantity of human labour. In many regions the product is barely enough for minimum requirements of health and growth. There are no reserves in case of drought flood or disease. Hunger is well-known to many peasants—sometimes in extreme form in case of natural disasters, sometimes regularly in the change of seasons. There is some production for the market, but the proceeds are sufficient only or a few necessities of life. Debt and usury are common; many peasants do not own the land they cultivate, and payments to landlords are high. While population increased vastly in the last century, standards of living remained low. In recent years, however, a keen desire to improve economic and social life is prevailing over age old traditions and complacency. South East Asia at present is the crucial area in the world today with regard to economic development. The task is staggering." (E. de Vries in the Ecumenical Review—April 1953—pp234—5)

The grinding poverty of Asia is most commonly expressed in malnutrition and early death for the vast majority of her people. Even in a relatively good economy as in Ceylon 70% of the children in the leading children's hospital suffer from preventible diseases and chiefly from malnutrition. And for the governments and peoples of Asia the problem created by the low standards of living have been further complicated by the impact of war, the destruction of capital resources and the displacement of population, for the refugee problem is by no means confined to Europe; in Asia too it is a stark reality today.

Mr. Humayun Kabir in a paper read at the United Nations' Technical Assistance Administrations youth welfare seminar in Simla in 1952 pointed out the economic problems which were the aftermath of war.

"The cost of living had shot up without bringing additional income to keep pace with the high rise in prices. The cost of the primary necessities of life went on increasing. This brought some gains to the primary producers, the farmers and agriculturists. These additional gains, however, could not help much in raising their standards of living, as the prices of all other articles had gone up in the meantime. Salaries of small income groups such as clerks and school masters were supple-

mented by dearness allowances but it was not enough to cope with the all round high cost of living. Controls and Black markets have come to stay in many parts of this region as a general malaise. The millions of youth who returned home after the fever of war was over, found little hope for employment or work in their own little valleys and the inflated prices hit them hard while unemployed. While engaged in the war, they had become used to a somewhat better standard of living than before. For instance they had better and more nourishing food. Even if the people were starving, the army was fed properly. Decent clothes, better conditions of living and more attention to details of health were offered to men in the army. To throw these young men back again to their original low subsistence level was to deny them opportunities for full employment of their energies and condemn them to a life of misery and discontent. The middle class youth are in no better position. The conditions of life just now are even more trying for them. They wander about aimlessly seeking for a job and in the meantime manage to live somehow by doing any job that comes their way. The absence of proper employment makes the youth either apathetic or rebellious. The common outcome is the loss of confidence in the existing economic and social arrangements."

In practically every Asian country, the natural resources are meagre, and years of neglect of agriculture and irrigation, owing to war, malaria, poverty and ignorance, even in those countries which in the days of their past glory exported food and were known as the granaries of the East, have now made standards of food production miserably low. A Minister of Finance of the Indonesian Government and former Professor of Economics in the Djakarta School of Economics (Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusvmo) describes the situation which is true of every Asian country.

"Generally the level of production and income depends on a limited range of activities related to an undiversified agrarian economy; the direction of production is concentrated on food and raw materials essential to industrial countries (inclusive of extractive minerals such as in the case of Indonesia). The lack of industrial capacity, obsolete techniques of production in the agrarian field, increasing population pressure on arable land, have

resulted in low productivity both in aggregate and per capita, and an income that is often below the subsistence level. Large scale rural underemployment in many distinguished forms is a characteristic phenomena of most Asian countries. The instability of export economies and their dependence on foreign trade have been aggravated by the continued deterioration in the terms of trade; such has particularly been the case where exports consisted of a relatively few primary commodities. It is now a generally accepted contention that basic commodities—raw materials for industrial use—are subject to violent fluctuations in prices. The fall in prices are usually not compensated by an increase in the volume of exports. More often than not changes in quantities (decreases in volume) are added to the deterioration in prices. The total value of exports may vary within a short period, and a total fall in value—amounting to more than 50% within a period of some years is not uncommon, as we know by the experience of our country. Sensitivity to economic fluctuations generated originally in industrial countries makes societies in undeveloped countries therefore extremely vulnerable."

The agricultural situation is complicated by antiquated and iniquitous systems of land tenure. A common problem is the concentration of land-ownership in a relatively small section of society resulting in large scale land tenure. With modern developments in agriculture and industry, the demands of landlords become unlimited, and conditions of land tenure deteriorate, and the transition from status to contract, when it inevitably comes, under present conditions, makes the burden of the tenant heavier and that of an absentee landlord lighter as the years go on. Where peasants are small holders, the middleman and money lender intervene, ultimately to make the peasant proprietor a share cropper in his own land.

In Asia the concentration of economic power in a few private groups is far more dangerous than in the West. Such groups often control a fair part of the nation's economy through a system of economic ramifications which are not easily discernible. As Professor Djojohadikusvmo points out again:

"By combining their business with the imports of manufactured goods from industrial countries, they control or at least influence the supply and flow of

finished goods to and within the country. It is not uncommon that through an intricate system of corporate structures they also have their hand in banking and other financial institutions in land transportation as well as shipping. The powerful influence of such oligopolistic groups in the economic process is increased by the fact that they sometimes finance the commercial middleman to whom the producers in rural areas live in a state of debt. In general the class of commercial middlemen form the distributing channels of the import houses (combined with export business) and work to some extent with money capital and credits supplied by the big enterprises. It stands to reason that such concentration of powers is not to the advantage of an equitable distribution of wealth and income."

Asia is a continent of poverty-stricken villages—the large cities are comparatively few and grossly overcrowded. Gradual industrialisation, the impact of modern technology and the reactions of wartime economy have accelerated the movement of populations and produced more and worse cities and towns and have created sub-human conditions for the majority of those who live in them. Overcrowded populations with inadequate housing, water, electric powers sanitary equipment and with too many people in chronic unemployment, make "the slums of many towns in Asia more miserable than any other place on earth outside the slave-labour camps." (E. de Vries op. cit)

The recent statistical surveys of Asian territories have also brought into popular consciousness the many complications created by the unrelenting pressure of populations on undeveloped Asian economies. What M. Searle Bates stated in 1948 is still painfully true of the situation in Asia.

"A flood, a plague of locusts pushes below the harsh line of survival vast numbers of bodies normally undernourished. New crops, improvements in transportation, as in Indonesia or in India, have quickly added tens of millions of mouths in a single country. The added multitudes consume the potential gains; the increased mass is just as weaks, just as miserable as before. Burdened and darkened in the world's most comprehensive poverty, Asiatic peasants are beset with disease and superstition, demons within, demons without. They have too little part in the treasured higher culture of India and China, too little benefit from modern

achievements in Japan." ("The Church and the Disorder of Society" Amsterdam Vol. III: S. C. M. Press: p. 62—3)

However, workers and peasants long down-trodden and suffering are now waking up to their rights. In the years of depression the working classes discovered the peril of unemployment and the serious disadvantage of the lack of social insurance. It was then that labour unions gained in power and prestige, subsequently to be dominated in almost every country, owing to the failure of Governments and employers to take account of the human needs of the working classes, by Marxist forces whose social idealism, utter consistency to Marxist tactics and strategy, fervent sincerity and criticism of the status quo, proved so attractive to the hungering and exploited poor. Today Asia is faced with a struggle not between white capitalist and yellow or brown labourer, but between Asian capitalist and Asian labourer, determining to a large extent almost every political and social issue and ultimately the structure of government of Asian countries. The nature and spirit of the leadership of Asian trade unionism will to a large extent determine the future course of the Asian revolution. The present situation in this field is a judgment on the failure of the Church to pay attention to a genuine and basic social need: a judgment and a challenge to all Christian people.

Lines of Reconstruction

In the Asian economic revolution the perspectives of Marxist and neo-Marxist materialist and other totalitarian social philosophies play a role of increasing influence today. In practically every Asian country however, there is a minority or occasionally a majority of politically conscious people who seek to channel the Asian revolution, if this is at all possible, through democratic processes and towards a democratic ideal. For the problem of Asia is to lead the Asian revolution for freedom and justice and search for human means to achieve it without turning the governmental mechanism into a new instrument of oppression. (See on this point M. M. Thomas' paper for the Lucknow study conference on "The Responsible Society for India.")

But the problem of both ends and means can only be understood by Christian people and the Churches—as indeed by others—only if there is a real effort to collate and

understand "the facts of the situation." The needed socio-economic surveys have been under-taken in some countries by the World Bank or by UNO agencies. It is only in the light of the problems presented by such competent reports that the Churches can be made aware of the urgency and complexity of her economic task, for these reports speak not of figures but of human beings and human problems. Where such surveys have not been undertaken the Churches and Christian people have the responsibility of promoting the collation of socio-economic data, for they constitute a part of the stuff of the Divine-human encounter with which Christians ought always to be concerned.

In many Asian countries today the view is gaining ground that the Government has a far more active role to play in the ordering of the economic life of the people in comparatively undeveloped countries, unlike in the case of the industrially developed countries of the west. Far more perhaps than in the west, in Asia governments have to influence and even determine the direction of production and investment and lay the foundations, where necessary, of agricultural and industrial development. Without such overall guidance and the possibility of control these unfavourable aspects of the Asian economy to which reference was made earlier will be perpetuated. Government has the duty therefore to provide essential social overhead capital (e.g. the control of natural resources, power, transportation and highways, irrigation, soil conservation and public utilities) and to determine the place of private enterprise, face up to the problem of compensation for nationalisation, and the nature and extent of tax-structure and the control of exchange. The growth of government power which is inevitable raises a fundamental problem—that of working for structural changes in society and at the same time keeping the political system and the administrative processes of government under constant public scrutiny and control, lest as a result of unbridled power and excessive planning government becomes irresponsible and totalitarian. For the sake of personal freedom and justice, politics becomes very relevant for every Christian and every church; and specially the politics of planning.

In the provision of capital resources, on which agricultural and industrial development can be based, no Asian country can be without foreign aid today. It is here that international, national and voluntary agencies, like U.N.O. and its specialist organisations (F.A.O., W.H.O., UNICEF., UNESCO., I.L.O), the World Bank, Marshall Aid, the Colombo Plan and Church World Service have been of such great value in the study and the solution of Asian economic problems. The vast field covered by such aid can be realised from a study of the allocations of the U. N. T. A. A. Board according to the rules of which 29% of its aid has to be used for developing agricultural and food production, 14% for education, 22% for health improvement, 22% for U. N. activities and 11% for improved labour relations. Whatever the Churches and the Christian people in the "economically well-off" countries do to create the conditions and to expedite the granting of such aid without political strings attached to it, will make a constructive contribution to Asian social and economic development. Ultimateley, as the Lucknow study conference report puts it, such aid is "a matter of social justice i.e. arising out of a concern for man in his need wherever he lives and as a response to human solidarity." In the world of God our Father we must share one another's burdens even though the other may not be Christian.

Such aid is needed in every sphere but particularly in the development of basic health and social education if the widespread incidence of premature death, starvation, malnutrition and illiteracy is to be avoided. Dr. Djojohadi Kusvmo points out that "social institutions and habits prevailing in the agrarian economies of backward regions are often impediments to economic development and social progress. They constitute in a number of cases obstacles to the mobility of capital, the mobility of labour, and to the formation of modern skills—factors all of which are required to meet the issues posed by present day world economy." He then goes on to maintain, in making a plea for an integrated approach to social and economic development, that "if education must perform its proper social function, then its foundations, nature and scope must be determined by the specific requirements as conditioned by the process of economic development and social progress. Educational aspects of society should be so organised as to contribute

in easing the difficulties connected with social transitions." The U. N. E. S. C. O. fundamental education projects for rural populations, as in Minneriya in Ceylon, are thus intended not merely to remove illiteracy, but also to promote the better use of local food, better cultivation of soil, use of improved methods of controlling soil erosion etc., and are an example of what can be constructively done in social education. Also needed in Asia today is the solution of the problem of over population and the very serious problems —medical, economic and emotional—created by excessive child-bearing among people who can ill afford to have large families. And both for the sake of the community and family welfare every family in need should be aided to solve its housing difficulties by governments and private agencies promoting scientific research for housing, with cheaper and easily available local material and the provision of technical and financial aid for the purpose.

Of particular interest to Asians today, especially in connection with land reform, is the Bhoodan Yagna (land gift) Movement of Vinoba Bhave, Mahatma Gandhi's disciple. But along with the necessary support for such movements, radical changes must be initiated in order to abolish the old feudal landlordism, invest the peasant with adequate land for his economic needs and establish a system of land tenure which will help the rehabilitation of the peasantry in every country to take its place as a responsible group able to make a constructive contribution to social development.

With land reform, the peasant and the small industrialist have to be provided with adequate credit facilities and such extension services as are essential for agricultural and industrial development in backward economies. It is here that the co-operative movement has a real claim to public support in Asian countries. Credit co-operatives, agricultural produce and sales societies, fishing co-operatives, and other production co-operatives should be developed with marketing co-operatives. By such development the bargaining power of small producers, their economic stability and education for democratic organisation will all be actively strengthened and a fairer distribution of economic power eventually achieved.

But whatever financial and technological aid Asia may get and whatever socio-economic structure may be built, long term and stable economic development will be seriously hampered and the maintenance of the structure of society

jeopardised unless, for both government and private business, there are *qualified administrators* who are also men of loyalty and integrity. Without competent and honest managerial capacity the complexities of social behaviour, especially of men in the mass, can neither be properly understood nor successfully controlled to fulfil the aims of a responsible society. It is not only in politics that the problem of power has to be solved; in the economic structure it is often more insidious and therefore more dangerous. Failure to solve it in day to day public administration or in labour relations can cause serious dislocation of the entire socio-economic structure anywhere in the world, but specially in Asia where ancient cultures are in the process of adapting themselves to the complicated ways of modern democracy.

Ultimately also no economic structure can stand secure unless there is a *supporting culture* with a social philosophy and conventions, customs and institutions which feed the imagination of people, train them in orderly habits and help to evoke the necessary emotional responses which are a part of the community spirit. For Asians today this involves the adjusting of perspectives which, even if they may be based on age-old religious beliefs and sanctions are sometimes not conducive to the spirit of fellowship and community life. When based on certain conceptions of nationalism, Asian community life—and therefore her economic life—can be and often is disrupted by the denial of basic human rights to those who do not conform to the majority view. It is here that the Church, as the true bearer of community life has an essential *message* to deliver and an important *function* to perform.

The Task of the Church in Economic Life

The Church has an esential message to deliver:—that God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who is the Lord of creation and of history, is also the Lord of our economic life. She must with sureness of conviction, clarity and zeal proclaim to the world the vital connection on earth of spirit and matter and the danger of seeking to solve the spiritual problems of either the individual or society without reference to the exigencies of material existence. It is the Church's duty to preach that in the Incarnation the goodness of God was manifested in the flesh, and that in the life, death and resurrection of our Lord, God revealed to us how He

wills the redemption, not of the spirit only but of the body as well, not of the individual only but also of the whole world. When seeking to bring men and women into the Divine Order in Christ, the Church has to proclaim that true human wealth consists in fellowship with God and in Him with our brethren; and that therefore the socio-economic life of man as a part of the Divine Order must be subservient to that fellowship. Unless this is done the Church's liturgical worship will be devoid of meaning and her evangelism will continue to suffer.

"The Churches in Asia, as in the West, must realise the danger of their identification with the existing social order and boldly accept the duty and right to speak not only to its members, but to the world concerning the true principles of human life." (Malvern Conference Report: Resolution II A 2). It is in this context that the idea of a responsible society, defined in the World Council of Churches as "a society where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it", can have meaning for the peoples of Asia.

It is of interest to note in this connection the following resolution passed by the Church of Ceylon at its Colombo Diocesan Council 1953. It is based on the idea of a responsible society, taking into account the well-known letter to the London Times by the leaders of the Churches in England (including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Churches) and seeking to apply their principles to certain local problems of the country.

> "Believing that all social crises are a judgment on man's conduct in Society, this Council draws the attention of its members to the importance of understanding social problems in the light of the Gospel, and commends the sub-joined statement of the principles on which our national life should be based.
>
> All men of goodwill should strive for the ideal of a *responsible society* in which there is unity, freedom justice, integrity and order. The following basic principles, derived from Christian doctrine and enunciated by Christian leaders in 1940, provide some guidance for the ordering of a common life.

(i) Extreme inequality in wealth and possession should be abolished;
(ii) Every child regardless of race or class should have equal opportunities of education suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities;
(iii) The family as a social unit must be safe-guarded;
(iv) The sense of divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work;
(v) The resources of the earth should be used as God's gift to the whole human race and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

We commend to all those in authority in our country the importance of *responsible methods of Government* and urge them to:

(*a*) promote devotion to duty and integrity of character, eliminating corruption, waste and extravagance;
(*b*) assure to every employee a fair wage commensurate with the basic needs of his family;
(*c*) expedite land reform to ensure adequate property to as many as possible of those who are landless and need land for agricultural purposes;
(*d*) establish more government and voluntary technical and financial agencies to relieve the present housing shortage;
(*e*) safeguard the young people of this country from the influence of degrading labour conditions.

Further, this Council commends to all its members to help as far as it is within their power in the maintenance of Christian standards in personal and public life and to assist all movements for national development and, in particular, food production, adult education, the Co-operative and Savings Movements. We appeal to them also to support all movements for social and economic reconstruction which are in accordance with Christian belief and standards, and we urge churches to undertake group experiments in spiritual and economic sharing, helping the poor and needy in the spirit of the Gospel in co-operation with all persons of goodwill who are and willing to work for this end."

The Churches in Asia have at this time a special responsibility to declare their mind on social questions in view of its far-reaching importance for the formation of a Christian

conscience on vital issues; and to do so after competent study by those who have been set apart for this task. But this alone is inadequate. In the administrative Boards and Committees, through parishes and local congregations, the same message, adapted to local conditions, must be declared so that the voice of the Church will be made known and understood in the midst of other voices, and God's Word proclaimed by His people in the context of current human need.

But the Church has also a further function to perform. The Churches in Asia, as indeed the Churches all over the world, are not judged by their declarations but by the day to day *conduct* of their leaders. administrative boards and members, and chiefly by the witness of Christian institutions. Our churches, therefore, should radically reorganise their own "economic and administrative systems, and so reconstruct these as to make them an expression of unity of purpose and especially of brotherhood in the ministry. Until they do this their testimony to the world will be blunted. Our sincerity in putting forward our other proposals will be judged, and rightly judged, by the energy with which we take this task in hand." (Malvern Conference, Report III B. 10a adapted)

The warning words of the Madras (1938) and of the Oxford (1937) Conferences in this respect are still relevant and challenging despite the passage of years, for the Churches do not seem to have heeded them and to that extent their evangelism has been seriously retarded. As the Madras Conference pointed out:

> "A Church which proclaims the necessity of social security against illness, old age, and unemployment, must also provide such security for its own employees. A Church which condemns economic equalities must seek to eliminate such evils among those over whose economic opportunities it has some measure of control. A Church which preaches the principle of industrial brotherhood must be governed by such principles in the conduct of its own institutions and should, as far as possible, give economic support to only those institutions and organisations which are guided by such principles. While remembering that Christian ethics is primarily concerned with a man's attitude to income rather than its amount and that every possession may be used selfishly or unselfishly, it must also seek to reduce the glaring disparities

in the incomes and expenditures among its own paid workers, and between them and their congregations." ("The World Mission of the Church": I. M. C. 1938) And as the Oxford Conference summed up:

"A Church which is prophetic and apostolic, as the Christian fellowship is meant to be, will live under a divine compulsion to realise the perfection of God, as completely as human imperfection will allow, in every concrete situation of its life—and having done all, its members will know themselves to be 'unprofitable servants.' A Church, moreover, is not likely to convince men in an economic-minded age that it is a supernatural society if it allows its economic and social organisation to remain sub-worldly. In regard to the source of income, methods of raising money and administration of property, as well as in the terms on which it employs men and women, and their tenure of office, churches ought to be scrupulous to avoid the evils that Christians deplore in secular society.

Moreover the economic organisation of the Church ought to help and not hinder the comity in Christ which should be the feature of its common life. There should, therefore, be a responsible uniformity in the payment of those who hold the same spiritual office, and they ought to be paid according to the real needs of themselves and their families and sufficiently to allow them to give themselves, without too great anxiety concerning their daily bread, to their spiritual service. It is not tolerable that those who minister to the rich should be comparatively well off and those who minister to the poor should be poor for that reason alone. It is not right that those who have greater responsibility in the Church or greater gifts of utterance than their brethren, should for that reason alone have much larger incomes. It does not express Christian solidarity that Churches in poor and depressing districts should be handicapped by an inefficient and unlovely plant, which would not be tolerated in the assemblies of the rich. So long as the institution has those defects in its organisation, it will corrupt most subtly the vocational sense of its ministry and prejudice its witness in the world. On the other hand, if its members are more continuously critical

of its economic structure, and were quick to reform evils in it, such concrete action would release spiritual power."

For making a Christian contribution to the solution of Asian economic problems all this is very relevant. What Asia needs most today are examples of true community life and of social and economic institutions based on unity, freedom, justice and order, and on that spirit of fellowship which makes administration a blessing to those who participate in its processes. Our Churches, proclaiming as they do, the perennial secret of overcoming the power of sin by living in obedience to God in faith and love and forgiveness, have a responsibility here which they ought not to avoid. In considering 'OECONOMIC' problems, the Church has a vision of the only true 'OIKOS' and of the only true 'NOMOS' —a vision without which no lasting solution for economic problems is possible. It is the Church's 'OIKOS' (God's Kingdom) and the Church's 'NOMOS' (God's law) that ought to be the standard for the world's institutions.

If the leaders and members of the Asian Churches, and specially those who hold power, pledge themselves to reorganise' the life and structure of their Churches and of Christian institutions, comprising so much of the Household of God in the world, in accordance with this vision, then the Churches will make a very great contribution to peace and goodwill in Asia consequent upon the best type of evangelism which takes not only personal integrity but also the social order seriously. Then the voice of a penitent and reforming Church will once again be listened to with respect by our distracted world. As in the spiritual so in the material life, judgment must begin in the Household of God.

A WISE MAN FROM THE EAST

OF first importance, to those who study history in the hope that a knowledge of it will help them mould the future, is a study of the men who made it.

Of the men who built the edifice of freedom in which politicians are today quarrelling for niches, few can claim a higher place on the nation's scroll of honour than Sir James Peiris. *

At a time when scholarship was rare and politics was only for a few, he distinguished himself in both pursuits. At a time when Britain was thirty days from Ceylon and few Ceylonese made the journey, he made a name for himself both at home and abroad as a scholar in his youth and as a statesman in his later years.

Perhaps, after all, he was forunate he lived in the age he did—fortunate both for himself and for us. Those were the days of Colonial Rule in which local patriotism could easily have been misunderstood for disloyalty to the Crown. The day influenced the man and the man influenced his age, and James Peiris not only found in his time the scope for his genius but also left us the fruits of his success.

* Sir James Peiris died on 5th May 1930. This year is the centenary of his birth.

To say that James Peiris was a politician is to be mean of praise. He was a statesman in an age in which politicians were still being born.

James Peiris was born, as they say, with a silver spoon in his mouth. But it was soon taken away and his boyhood, spent in poverty, was a struggle. The plans Telge Martinus Peiris and his wife Apolonia (nee Soysa) made for their son on his birthday (December 20th, 1856) soon fell to the ground. Financial misfortune visited the father and, broken by the blow, he died while James was still a boy.

Then came hard times. Luxury changed to poverty overnight. The horse and trap, in those days the mark of prosperity, was given up, and young James walked daily to school from his home in Grandpass to the Colombo Academy.

The old chandelier gave place to the bottle lamp but its light was good as any for James' purpose—and his purpose was study. In 1877 he won a four-year scholarship tenable at an English University and when he was twenty-one James Peiris entered St. Jonn's College, Cambridge.

His career at Cambridge was a succession of triumphs. He made friends and made a name, but neither of these at the expense of his studies. He took a leading part in Union debates, especially those on social and political reform, became President of the Cambridge Union, was a Double First (Law and moral Sciences). He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn.

Back in Ceylon James Peiris heard the news that he had been elected Mac Mahon Student of Law—a scholarship tenable for four years. He left for England again in 1885 and when he returned in 1887 settled down to a practice at the local Bar.

On 25th September, 1889, he married Grace, daughter of Mr. Jacob de Mel of Horton Place, Colombo, and settled down at "St. Leonard's" in Flower Road.

From then on James Peiris spent most of his years as a sucessful lawyer, businessman, husband and father. But he did not forget his Cambridge training in Moral and Social Science. He was, moreover, a patriot at heart—a man whose thoughts constantly turned to the poor and the down-trodden and plans for the amelioration of their way of life.

But love for his people was not dormant. In his own small way James Peiris did whatever he could to help his fellowmen. Whether it was fighting for the removal of an

obnoxious tax or just signing, in his capacity of Justice of the Peace, an affidavit of a caller he was equally enthusiastic about the cause of those who needed help and he always went out of his way to give it if he could. What is more, he sometimes fought officialdom and red-tape, which meant then much more than they mean now, to give a fair deal to those who had a right to it.

But it was only in his sixties that James Peiris blossomed forth as a statesman whose ripe judgment and sense of justice and fairplay were respected and sought both by his fellowmen and their rulers in Whitehall.

The part he played in the reformation of the Legislative Council and later in the setting up of the Donoughmore Commission is now history, and the unfortunate thing about history is that some people are apt to forget it while others tend to remember only the events and not the men who made them.

And then, lest we do not know or knowing forget, there was the responsible part James Peiris played in presenting to the authorities a proper perspective of the events which took place in those hundred dark days of 1915—three months of martial law following communal riots in the island. To Sir James fell the responsible and unenviable lot of presiding at a mammoth meeting of Sinhalese at the Public Hall, Colombo, on 25th September, 1915, after martial law was withdrawn.

Feelings had been running high for three months. Innoccent people had been killed, others had suffered greatly from rioting and looting. The Government seemed to take the view that the Sinhalese were wholly to blame for all the trouble and the meeting was held to present to the Crown the case of the Sinhalese.

Sir James held the scales evenly at that meeting and the manner in which he conducted it seems to be one of his great achievements. Not an angry word was spoken by the crowd, not a blow struck. All those present went back to their homes in good temper and with goodwill.

From then on began an active political life, but never at any time did James Peiris err on the side of sentiment, caste or creed.

When in 1908 he submitted a memorandum on the subject of reform of the Legislative Council of Ceylon to Col. Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the latter's request, he had held the balance evenly between

the rulers and the ruled, asking for what the Ceylonese had a right to expect but not claiming what he knew they were still not fit to have. And later when it came to stating his views before the Donoughmore Commission he said he was against universal franchise and stoutly defended his views on this aspect in the press and on the platform.

Memories are proverbially short and many people might not, perhaps, remember that Sir James Peiris was largely instrumental in the establishment of the University College in Colombo. It may also surprise a good many to learn that he was the first to suggest the Hydro-Electric Scheme and to sponsor it both in the Legislative Council and before the Donoughmore Commissioners.

To us who live in an age of rapid changes the sacrifices and struggles of those who lived in slow-moving times may sometimes seems unimportant. But it was these men who did the spade-work on the ground on which later men sowed with success. While giving the sower the credit for his skill and perseverance we should not, therefore, forget his predecessor who turned the virgin soil and prepared it for the time when it would bear fruit.

To the young of our generation a study of the life of the late Sir James Peiris should be an inspiration. He was born into luxury, was brought up in poverty and was, therefore, a man who achieved success and served his country by his own efforts.

And service in those days was selfless. Men like Sir James were not in politics for the power and the glory it offered but in the name of selfless duty to their less fortunate fellowmen and, above all, for the good they could do to their country.

Sir James Peiris was a statesman after Disraeli's definition: he was always wise before the event, unlike politicians who are popularly known to be wise after it.

BACKGROUND TO CYPRUS

THE island lies at the far end of the Mediterranean in its north-east corner, some 40 miles south of Turkey, some 240 miles north of Egypt and the entrance to the Suez Canal, and 500 miles east of Greece itself. It is an island of great charm with its pleasing Mediterranean climate, its forest-clad mountains, its vineyards, its great fertile plain intersected with orange and olive groves, corn, cotton, and tobacco fields, its ancient monasteries and temples, and its picturesque towns and villages.

It is the yongest Member of the Commonwealth, and became a British possession only at the outbreak of World War I, 42 years ago, though it had been occupied by Britain since 1878 in circumstances I will tell you about in a moment. But first let me say a few words about its previous history. It lies, as I have said, in the heart of the Near East, the cradle of civilisation. Around it sprang up successively the great Egyptian, the Syrian, the Russian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires. Since about 1200 B.C., it has belonged in turn to most of the dominant powers in the eastern Mediterranean, and down the ages regarded by all of them as of great strategic importance. While it has never actually belonged to Greece, the Greeks, among others, settled in the island long before the Christian era, and 80% of the present population of half a million are direct descendants of these settlers.

In Roman times Antony gave it to Cleopatra, and in later years it was a final jumping-off point for the crusades to the Holy Land, and in the year 1191 Richard Coeur de Lion, King of England, while on a crusade, captured it, only to sell it a few months later. Then for the next 300 years it was ruled by the Lusignan Dynasty, a dynasty founded by one Guy de Lusignan, an ex-King of Jerusalem. The Republic of Venice then acquired it, and nearly a hundred years later the Turks captured it and held it for three centuries, which brings us to the year 1878, when, as I have said, Britain's present occupation of the island began.

It came about in this way. A year previously, that great Prime Minister of England, Disraeli, made his famous cruise of the Mediterranean, and, after securing a half-share for Britain in the Suez Canal, which had been opened a few years previously, visited Cyprus and afterwards went to Constantinople to see the then Sultan of Turkey. Turkey was at that time much troubled about her security from aggression by Russia, her traditional enemy, and so was Britain. Disraeli promised the Sultan that if Russia made any further inroads into Turkish territory Britain would come to her aid.

He added, however, that if Britain's assistance was to be fully effective she must be given full facilities to carry out her engagements, and to this end he suggested that Britain should occupy and administer Cyprus, though it would still remain part of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan agreed to this, making but one stipulation: namely, that Turkey should continue to receive the annual tribute of about £100,000 which she exacted from Cyprus.

On this understanding an agreement was signed and the British occupation began. A British High Commissioner was appointed, and, with Turkey's consent he was empowered to make laws for the good government of the island. In fact he set up a Legislative Council, with a majority of Cypriots on it, and the island enjoyed at that early date partial self-government. This lasted until 1914, when World War I broke out. Turkey then came in against Britain and her Allies, whereupon Britain annexed Cyprus, and under the Treaty of Peace signed in 1923 the island became a British colony. A Governor was appointed and a new Legislative Council was set up, again with a majority of Cypriot members, ensuring to the people of Cyprus considerable voice and power in the management of their own affairs.

In those post-war years a good deal of unrest and discontent manifested itself in Cyprus, as elsewhere in the world, occasioned by economic depression and unfulfilled hopes. Among other things the feelings of Cypriots were exacerbated by the fact that although Britain had annexed the island in 1914 she continued to draw from Cyprus the Turkish tribute of £100,000 a year on the ground that Turkey had defaulted, on an old loan she raised in 1855 which Britain had guaranteed a sorry business which was not put right until 1927, and put right, I believe, by our present Prime Minister. From that year payment of the tribute not only ceased but Britain made in return an annual grant to Cyprus of an identical sum. But some bitterness remained, and this and the then general post-war discontent undoubtedly gave a fillip to the Union-with-Greece movement, or Enosis, as it is called.

This in turn led to serious civil disturbances in the island in 1931 and resulted in a suspension of the constitution and the abolition of the Legislative Council. Steps were also taken to enforce the law regarding seditious intent, which term included, as it does in England, advocacy of an intention to bring about any change in sovereignty. The Archbishop, in the role of national leader, and some of the bishops of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus who had taken a leading part in the disturbances, were exiled and the appointment of successors to them were, by special laws, made subject to the approval of the Governor. This the Church strongly resented, and the Synod refused to make any appointments until 1946, when the laws were repealed. The Church resumed her independence and her leaders have again become the chief protagonists of the Enosis movement.

As I have said, 80 per cent. of the population of Cyprus are of Greek origin, Greek by religion, language, and sentiment, retaining the customs and characteristics of their country of origin, and it is from this that the desire for Greek nationality and union of the island with Greece springs. What the consequences might be upon their material welfare should the change take place or what dangers might arise to their present security or from history repeating itself are difficult questions.

Apart from the Church, the movement is also supported by the Communists in Cyprus, though for very different reasons. While the Communists are far from being a decisive political influence in the country, they are today probably

the biggest and best-organised single political party. Their support of Enosis must be regarded as springing from ulterior motives which neither the Church of Cyprus nor the Governments of the United Kingdom or Greece would countenance.

Nor, of course, has the movement any support from the Cypriot Turks, who, with other and very small minority groups, comprise a fifth of the total population. They are as intensely opposed to assuming Greek nationality as are the protagonists of Enosis desirous of it. We must suppose also that Turkey, though she has renounced all claim to Cyprus, would not be indifferent if any change in sovereignty took place.

Despite many differences and misunderstandings, it would be wrong to suppose that Enosis springs from an anti-British feeling or from grounds of neglect or indifference to the welfare of the people of Cyprus. Indeed, in recent years millions of pounds have been freely granted to Cyprus by Britain to promote her social and economic development, and never in her history has she been so prosperous as she is today, with a standard of living which though by no means as high as one would wish compares most favourably with that in any Mediterranean country. Nor is it without interest that there is in Britain itself a Greek Cypriot Community of some 20,000 to 25,000 people enjoying the benefit of United Kingdom citizenship.

Such, very briefly, are the main facts of the situation, and it is in the light of them, we must assume, that the United Kingdom Government has been obliged to come to a decision upon this question of union with Greece. She has now reached that decision, having due regard to her own strategic security. As also stated in Parliament, she has to consider her strategic obligations in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East, more particularly in view of the changed situation in the Suez Canal Zone.

The decision is that she cannot contemplate any change in the sovereignty of Cyprus. It must continue to be British territory. At the same time she fully recognise the age-old cultural links of the peoples of Cyprus with neighbouring countries and has no wish that they should be disturbed. What both willing and anxious to do is to give Cyprus once again a constitution which will in course of time lead to full self-government within the Commonwealth.

CITY LIFE IN EGYPT 2000 YEARS AGO

SUPPOSING the contents of your waste paper basket were by some miracle to be preserved for two thousand years, generations of the future would have the most exciting material from which to construct a picture of your daily life. Yet that is almost exactly what has happened in some of the cities in which the Greeks and Romans lived in Egypt two millenia ago. The dry climate has preserved those everyday writings and notices that are usually the first victims of time.

Turn over casually the pages of a catalogue of papers from these cities and you find here an invitation "Theon, Origens' son, invites you to his sister's wedding tomorrow, 9th Tybi, 2 o'clock," here a shopping reminder "to get olive kernels," here again a duplicate of the form you put in at the local town hall to register yourself and your family in the census.

The material principally in use for writing two thousand years ago was papyrus (it is the same actual word as paper). It was manufactured by cutting the stem of the papyrus plant into fine vertical sections with a sharp knife, and laying these pithy ribbons across each other in two layers placed at right angles. Skilful ancient craftsmen turned out a smooth surface which had the colour and expectation of life of good handmade paper. For writing, a reed pen and carbon ink (lamp-black and gum were employed.

It is only in the last hundred years that these papyrus texts have begun to re-emerge from the sands in which they have slept and to speak to us again. At first a few were picked up by chance travellers and treated as curiosities. Then the ancient sites began to be systematically exploited for the "fertile earth" (potash salts) they had accumulated, and papyri in their thousands turned up. Finally came the idea of systematic exploration of some o fthe better preserved cities, especially Oxyrhynchus, Antinoe, Hermopolis, by men such as Petrie, Borchardt, Breccia, Johnson, Boak, and above all, Grenfell and Hunt. The town to which the latter devoted the greater part of their lives, where they excavated and published their finds in the handsome series known as "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri" (the last few volumes of which have been published with the support of UNESCO), is perhaps the best known of them all.

Its name Oxythynchus is derived from the sharp-nosed fish held sacred by its inhabitants. Though four hundred miles from the sea it was a place of importance. From what can be seen on the ground today only a poor idea of its appearance can be formed. We can get some help by inspecting the pictures of it and of Antinoe drawn by Napoleon's team of surveyors a hundred and fifty years ago, when the ruins were in better condition.

But we learn to know the place best of all from the allusions contained in letters and papers found on the spot. Its walls, pierced by five principal gates, were about four miles round. The main streets were lined and roofed with colonnades. In the centre of the town stood an enormous temple of Sarapis; at its south-western side stood the theatre, where 9,000 persons could be seated to take part in public events as well as watch dramatic performances.

One popular show of which we have what appears to be the producer's script was the mime of Charition. On the coast of some barbarian country the pretty heroine is about to be sacrificed to the moon by the native king. In the very nick of time she is rescued by her brother and a party of Greeks who make her gaolers drunk. There is a great deal of comic barbarian jabbering and low gags by the clown, the whole punctuated by drums beating. At other times the stage is given over to a Homeric reciter, one of whom was paid a fee of 448 drachmas (£20) for a recital. At other times again the crowd is gathered for a religious festival or to hear a new Roman emperor proclaimed.

Trades carried on and different classes of inhabitants are reflected in the names given to the various districts of the town—the Shepherds' or Gooseherds' Quarter, the Cobblers' Market Quarter, the Cretan or Jewish Quarter. In the shade of the principal buildings, the scribes and bankers set up their booths and attended to customers in the street, writing letters for the illiterate, registering contracts, making out receipts, such as this one: "Quintus Zenas, son of Quintus, greetings to Gaius Iulius Zosimus. I have received from you the ten drachmas of Ptolemaic silver left to me by Gaius Maecenas Gratus, according to a will made in Roman form. Year 1 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus."

The economic position of the inhabitants can be measured by what they leave in their wills or what they deposit with the pawnbroker. There is a very large class of manual labourers who live in a single room only just at subsistence level, and have a hard fight against hunger and the tax gatherer. Above them come the educated classes, some of them skilled craftsmen, but the majority living on rents from their lands. They are Greek in origins and sympathy, like the very few really rich persons in their midst who in fact come from Alexandria.

As a rule, however, sufficiency rather than ostentation is the key-note of this community: a stone-built house, with an enclosed courtyard and a few rooms opening out of it for entertaining, half a dozen slaves, a few books, an adequate but not sumptuous table. Here is a meat bill for one such household:

"Year 24, Thoth 4, 4lbs of meat, 2 trotters, 1 tongue, 1 snout.

Thoth 6, tongue and chaps.

Thoth 11, 2 lbs of meat, 1 tongue, 2 kidneys."

Theophanes, a civil servant who went on an official trip to Antioch has left us his laundry list: "Fine tunics 2, self-colour 1, Dalmatics 2, self-colour 1, other wraps 2, birruses 2, chlamys 1. Ditto linen: Tunics 4, Dalmatics 4, mantles 3, face-cloth 1, scarf 1, bath-towels 4, face towel 1, linen squares 4, 'Romans' 2, counterpane 1, dressing-gown 1, bolsters 2, breeches 2, boots 1. felt slippers 1. rug cushion 1, small rug 1, carpet-bag, ground-sheet, small pillow, etc." These were clothes intended to last for a trip of some five months in summer time. Some of them seem to have gone missing for there is a query mark against them.

Among his miscellaneous papers Theophanes kept a few sheets that stimulated a father's pride—the letters sent to him by his schoolboy sons. They are beautifully written and spelled, and of impeccable sentiments, no doubt put together under a tutor's eye. So other schoolboys write formally to thir parents, occasionally relaxing with a postscript: "Please feed my pigeons."

Some fathers however failed to gain such respect from their children. Here is how little Theon writes to his father: "That was a fine thing not to take me with you to town. If you won't take me with you to Alexandria, I won't write you a letter, I won't speak to you, I won't talk to you. And if you go to Alexandria, I won't ever take your hand or ever greet you again. That's what happens if you don't take me with you.....In future send for me, please do. If you don't send I won't eat, I won't drink, so there.

For all his childish tantrum, little Theon writes a long letter. He has probably already put away his toys—the rag-doll, the wooden horse, that were found among the remains of the houses—and gone to school. And schooling is a serious business. First come exercises in writing: the letters of the alphabet, then maxims such as "Letters are the foundation of life" or "Sea, fire and woman are evils three," then exercises in grammar. Next follows reading of the poets, especially of Homer the favourite. So many copies of Homer have been found in Oxyrhynchus that there was certainly one for each house.

Most often the lesson would have consisted in learning by heart, but occasionally the homework had to be prepared in writing and has survived. At a later stage, when the modern undergraduate writes essays, the pupil is asked to write speeches on imaginary situations. A list of subjects includes such topics as this: "Write a speech accusing Euripides of impiety for representing Heracles turning mad on the stage".

The great event in a young man's life is the time he spends among the ephebes, the adolescents' section of the gymnasium. The gymnasium itself was more than a centre for physical exercise. It formed a kind of social club for all the Greeks in town, and had its junior and senior sections. The young were offered more than physical instruction. Of course they developed their bodies and ran races (in which a spectator might invoke magical aid for a favoured competitor), but they competed in cultural events as well.

A list recently discovered gives the names of the winners in the town games over a period of thirty years in three events—playing the trumpet, acting as herald, and in poetry. They were well worth winning, for the four top boys every year were given exemption from taxes.

For the leaders of society their life's work is government service and the conduct of municipal affairs in their own town. It is a career that will require them to dip freely into their pockets on behalf of their fellow citizens as well as give freely of their time. There will be oil and fuel to supply free for use in the gymnasium, the market to be inspected, tax collection to be supervised and any deficiencies made good, the sessions of the local council to be attended And very stormy some of these meetings appear from their minutes, especially when it is a matter of election tone of the more onerous offices.

Other young men are bound apprentices to learn a trade such as weaving, or the craft of writing. A line of Virgil written out again and again in a beautiful handwriting is probably the work of one of the latter. Such trainees live in their master's house, are fed and clothed by him, and get 20 days holiday a year. Other persons find it necessary to seek a livelihood away from home. To join the army is one resource, and many offer a snug berth. "I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while all are sweating breaking stones all day long, I swagger about as a principal is and do nothing" is how one of them writes home from the Arabian desert. Another has reached Italy with the great convoy of grain ships that leaves Egypt regularly for Rome and sends back word: "We had a slow trip but not a bad one, and I felt none of the ill-effects that often occur, especially on a first crossing."

It is, however, not only in their joys but their sorrows too that we can share. A friend writes to comfort one whose son has died young: "The gods are my witness that when I heard of my master, our son, I was as distressed and mourned as if he were my own child—yes, for he was winsome. When I was eager to rush to you, Pinoution held me back, saying that you, my lord Apollonianus, had instructed him I was not to come up since you were gone to the Arsinoite nome. But bear it nobly. This, too, is what the gods have in store."

Two thousand years are annihilated by the poignancy of this distress.

ISRAEL AT BAY

AT the height of its successful counter-attack against the Arab invaders in 1949, Israel agreed to halt the advance of its armies and to sign armistice agreements. Had we then pressed our advantage in the field, we could have achieved, besides obvious economic, geostrategical and political advantages, a definite peace treaty instead of a vague armistice. Israel consented to the armistice on the assumption that it would quickly lead to permanent peace treaties and the establishment of normal relations. Now, almost eight years later, it is obvious to the entire world that not only do the Arabs not intend to make peace, but that they have never reconciled themselves to the existence of Israel, and that under the protection of the armistice agreements they have been carrying on an active war on a limited scale. Their hostilities have assumed the following forms: (1) diplomatic ban on Israel; (2) economic boycott; (3) blockade of the Suez Canal and the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel vessels; (4) planned military operations along the entire length of the borders in the form of guerrilla warfare. (These operations are often misleadingly described as "infiltration.")

This combined systematic strategy of the Arab countries apparently aims to achieve a number of results: (1) to inflict large scale loss of life and property; (2) to undermine the

economic structure of Israel; (3) to weaken morale in the border settlements, especially those inhabited by new immigrants, and thus discourage the settlement of unpopulated areas along the borders: (4) to discourage Jews in the Diaspora from investing in Israel, settling there, or visiting the country as tourists; (5) to maintain the initiative of attack, so that at any moment deemed convenient they could expand the guerrilla operations into fullscale warfare; (6) to force Israel to spend a disproportionate part of its defense budget on day-to-day defensive operations instead of on basic military investment such as equipment, fortifications and training; (7) to keep the socalled "Palestine Question" unsolved thus providing them an opportunity at some future date to solve it their own way.

Can such a state of affairs be described as peace, or even as a condition of armistice? Would the U. S., for instance, regard a blockade of San Francisco by a neighbouring power—as Israel's port of Elath is now blockaded by Egypt—as anything less than an act of war?

The right remedy for a situation depends on a correct diagnosis and definition of it. If we are to take seriously, as indeed we should, the declarations of the Arab rulers. and the actions of their armies, the conclusion is inescapable that the Arab war against Israel has never stopped since 1948. The Egyptian government's defense before the Security Council for closing the Suez Canal to Israel ships was that Egypt was "in a state of war with Israel". The debate whether Israel would be justified in launching a preventive war is therefore a pointless one. Our problem is not only how to prevent a future, graver war, but how to end the present one.

The ruling junta in Egypt is driven toward war by four main motives: (1) The motive of revenge for a past defeat. This is a powerful factor, especially in backward communities. Revenge is an evil and foolish counsellor, but we must not blind ourselves to the fact of its existence. (2) The desire of a semifascist military dictatorship to destroy the only democracy in the Middle East. Sooner or later Israel's way of life is bound to raise "disturbing thoughts" in the minds of Egypt's poverty stricken masses. It is therefore in the interest of the ruling group to eliminate Israel. (3) The failure of the promised land and social reforms in Egypt, and the need for a large army to protect the rule of the

military junta. (4) Egypt's struggle against Iraq for mastery of the Arab world.

On one hand Nasser's regime in Egypt has to distract the masses from their own troubles and from their legitimate economic and social demands; on the other hand Egypt's dictator makes little secret of his ambition to win hegemony over the entire Arab world from Morocco to Iraq and to rule this vast area as a single Arab empire. War against Israel can serve Nasser as a springboard to gain control over the other Arab countries, just as war against France served Bismarck to establish Prussia as overlord of the various German states.

Four months ago Colonel Nasser declared to an American correspondent that he could not defend Egypt with schools and hospitals, and therefore had to divert capital from improving the country's standard of living to building a large and efficient army. Who is Egypt's enemy against whom so large an army is needed, even at the expense of social reforms? Nasser knows very well that Israel is prepared to make peace, or to maintain the letter and the spirit of the armistice agreements, if these are mutually honoured. His need for an enemy will lead him to invent one, in order to justify the maintenance of a large army whose real function is to maintain his regime in power and to serve as a tool for his imperial ambitions. Egypt's real enemy is her backwardness—illiteracy, poverty, disease. These enemies cannot be fought with an army. In fact, the maintenance of a large military establishment reduces the means available for combating them. Were Egypt to concentrate on this internal enemy she would quickly win not only Israel's sympathy, but also the benefit of our technical and scientific experience.

But the rulers of Egypt appear to have committed themselves to a course of imperial expansion. They will not dare engage Israel in open, full-scale warfare until they feel certain of easy victory. We must not let them reach this point. A strong Israel is therefore an essential guarantee of peace in the Middle East.

Our aim is to achieve peace, not military victory, which we could have had had we wished it. The Middle East does not need more arms. Given peace, time and capital, Israel and the Arab countries could successfully confront their respecitve internal social problems. But recent developments seem to have made this an unlikely prospect.

In the past few months developments along the borders of Israel have reached a peak of tension almost as grave as that in 1948. The balance of power, which was never too well-balanced even in the "good old days" of recent years, has been completely upset as a result of the enormous flow of arms to the Arab countries from all the great powers, those aligned with the Northern Tier countries as well as those backing the Egyptian bloc. All the Arab countries benefited from this flow. We pay special attention to Egypt because she is the most populous Arab country and now occupies the leading position in the Arab world.

If the situation were not so serious, one could point to some aspects of it these days that are not lacking in a ridiculous element. For instance, the theory behind the Western arming of the Arabs was based for some years on the possibility of a Soviet attack on the Middle East. Suddenly, the state against which the West armed the Arabs began itself to supply them with more and bigger and better weapons.

But whatever the comic aspects of Western fumbling, the fact remains that today we witness a race between East and West as to which of them will give more arms to the Arabs, while Israel, the only country against whom the Arabs are arming, remains subject to an undeclared but nonetheless effective arms embargo.

The race goes on, but only one horse is allowed in the field. Should this continue, it can lead to but one end—the renewal of large-scale warfare by the Arabs.

In recent weeks I met a number of British statesmen returning from Cairo. They tried to persuade me that the Egyptian military junta had no aggressive intentions toward Israel and that the bellicose anti-Israel and anti-Jewish statements were for home consumption only. I asked them whether the Western powers would be willing to disarm and pin their faith on verbal declarations of peaceful intentions from the Soviet bloc, or vice versa. Who will guarantee Israel that the Egyptian dictator will abide by his whispered suggestions to Western diplomats, rather than carry out his solemn public promises to his own people and to the rest of the Arab world? Why should one and a half million Jews in Israel be asked to depend on Nasser's good faith, or on the "mercy" or a military clique, while fifty million Arabs (or even twenty-two million Egyptians only) must base their defense on Russian Migs, British Centurions and the support of the United States Government?

For a long time the Western powers assured us that the Tripartite Declaration of the U. S., England and France adequately safeguarded the security of our, and our neighbours' frontiers. But long experience has taught us that it is not those who give arms, but those who hold them who in the end determine their use. Now the Tripartite Declaration is admitted by its own sponsors to be "without teeth." I would add that from the beginning it lacked something still more important—sincerity. For the truth of the matter is that the tension in the Middle East is as much the result of competition between East and West as that in the Western camp itself. The cats have volunteered to guard the cream. The Czechs say that the arms they send to Egypt are "arms for peace." Both sides claim to have the welfare of the Middle East at heart. But unless this "welfare" race does not soon find expression in economic, social and cultural ways, rather than in the commerce in the implements of death, all the young states of the Middle East will be doomed to destruction by too much kindness. Moreover, any Western military intervention in case of a possible clash between Arabs and Israelis may lead to Soviet intervention and bring on a new world conflict. The Tripartite Declaration therefore has never been and cannot become a safeguard for peace in the Middle East.

Personally, I do not put much trust in unilateral guarantees. I would prefer to see all such security guarantees given by the United Nations, though even these are of dubious efficacy. We can never forget that in 1948, when the United Nations was at the height of its prestige, it could not prevent the Arab invasion of Israel. While contributing our part to increasing the authority of the United Nations as an instrument of good will among nations, we have no alternative but to rely first and foremost on our own strength. So long as Isaiah's vision of a world that has renounced war remains unrealized, it remains an axiom of history that balance of strength is one of the chief ways of averting war. and this axiom applies as well to the Middle East.

In order to prevent a resumption of full-scale Arab-Israel war, strenuous and unremitting efforts of statesmanship on the part of all concerned are required to end the existing state of limited hostilities. Special attention must be paid to the tragic problem of the Arab refugees and an imaginative plan devised for compensating them, keeping in mind the scores of thousands of Jewish refugees who fled

from Arab countries to Israel leaving all their possessions behind. But such statesmanship can be effective only if the Great Powers do not succumb to Arab blackmail and leave Israel short of defensive arms.

During the mandatory period, one of my jobs was to serve as *mukhtar* (a kind of public relations officer) for my kibbutz Genossar in its relations with the neighbouring Arab tribes. Not infrequently I was invited by my Arab friends to mediate between feuding Arab families or Bedouin tribes. I then learned that such feuds could never be settled unless the opposing parties realized that neither side had superior strength. The Arab world, too, will become reconciled to the existence of Israel only when it is conviced that it is idle to dream of the conquest of Israel. This dream must be rooted out, and this can be accomplished by making its fulfilment impossible.

How strong do we have to be in order to discourage any attack upon us? I have referred above to the destroyed balance of strength. This does not mean that we must have quantitative equality of arms. There is a limit to the ability of a nation to put modern arms to effective use. It is therefore not true that arming Israel would mean inevitably more arms to Egypt, then more to Israel, and so on, *ad infinitum*. Egypt and the rest of the Arab world are already saturated with arms. Furthermore, the military rulers of Egypt, from their own experience, have a healthy respect for Israel's armed forces, and they well know that even if they have succeeded in lessening the corruption in the country, they haven't changed the social character of the Egyptian nation. They know that good arms in the hands of poor soldiers do not add up to victory. They therefore concentrate on achieving, first of all, great air and naval superiority over Israel. But in this area a reasonable number of aircraft of equal quality can go a long way to prevent Egypt from attacking.

Some weeks ago a British member of Parliament stated that Nasser explained to him that no peace was possible unless Israel surrendered to Egypt the southern part of the Negev and the port of Elath on the Red Sea. No Negev—no peace; no peace—no use of Elath by Israel; such was Nasser's argument. And in the event of peace, Nasser added, Israel would not need an outlet on the Red Sea, since it could then use the Suez Canal. So why shouldn't

Israel give up the Negev and let Egypt have "territorial continuity" with her neighbours to the East?

This logic works as well in reverse. As long as there is no peace, Israel will not permit Arab transit through the Negev; and in the event of peace, why should Egypt want to go to Damascus by way of devious desert paths, instead of using the coastal railroad?

We must beware of the slogan of "territorial continuity," for it aims at more than it says. If there were peace, Arab transit through Israel would be no more a problem than American use of the Alcan highway to Alaska, assuming, of course, similar transit rights through Arab territories. The Arab rulers are thus trying to use their strength to impose territorial concessions. The blockade of Elath is directly linked to Syria's threat to resort to war if Israel were to divert the water of the Jordan for the irrigation of the Negev, and both aim to convince Israel to give up the Negev, for without water (and the use of Elath) the Negev would lose much of its economic importance (though its strategic value and its natural resources remain vital).

In my opinion this Arab pressure must be met otherwise: lift the blockade of Elath and bring the Jordan's water to the Negev, with Arab agreement if possible, without it if necessary. For without the Negev there is no Israel. The Negev comprises more than half of the tiny and already twice amputated Eretz Yisrael. It is the only part of the country which has reasonable depth and space and their consequent economic and defensive significance, since the rest of the country consists of a mere narrow strip. Given water, the Negev can absorb thousands of families in agriculture and other thousands in mining and industry. Elath is the gate to East Africa, South Africa and Asia, which are able and willing to take the present and future industrial production of the Negev. The Negev is Israel's future. Without it Israel would be little more than a city-state around Tel Aviv, and non-viable.

The recent suggestion of a western diplomat that two extra territorial roads be constructed through the Negev, one to connect Egypt with Trans-Jordan and the other the port of Elath with northern Israel, with what has been called a "kissing point" where the two roads intersect, may sound very romatic but it would be the kiss of death so far as Israel's ownership of the Negev is concerned. And it is regrettable that every so often Western diplomats recommend, albeit

vaguely, territorial concessions from Israel. This course can only serve to encourage Arab hopes for the dismemberment of the country.

It is strange and depressing how soon the tragic lesson of Munich and the cession of the Sudetenland has been forgotten by the powers. But we, the remainder of the Jewish people, cannot forget it. We will never give up the Negev, even if this were to mean a full-scale Arab attack. We have no expansionist ambitions. But I would warn Colonel Nasser, whom I had the pleasure of meeting one day in 1948 in the Negev, when his forces were surrounded by ours and only the intervention of the United Nations saved them from total defeat, that if he or any other Arab ruler uses force to try to shift the present borders, the borders may indeed shift, but in the opposite direction and back to their natural historic position. I would like to remind him of our conversation at that time when he and his colleagues admitted that they were fighting an unjustified war against the wrong people and that the real enemy was social backwardness and foreign domination. I would also like to remind him soldier to soldier, of the thousands of Egyptians who lost their lives in the desert in an unjust and unprovoked invasion. It is a great pity for both sides to waste their substance on arms when they could much better apply it to more useful social purposes. Nasser must also be made aware that his end may well be like that of his predecessor, King Farouk, if he persists in the policy of aggression.

For economic as well as security reasons, it is urgent that the Negev be settled densely from Beer Sheba to Elath. We must not be too alarmed by Syria's threat regarding the diversion of the waters of the Jordan for the irrigation of the Negev. Panic never serves any useful purpose, and furthermore, should Syria decide to attack, she will not be deterred by the lack of an alibi. We must therefore calmly proceed with our work of reconstruction, for it seems that we are destined, as in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, to do our work with onehand and to hold a weapon with the other.

Our situation in the international arena is far from a happy one at this time. But we can recall better days, and there is some ground to hope for their return. In any event, we must not let our present isolation discourage us too much, nor must Jews all over the world be too impressed by the recent censures of Israel in the United Nations. It is distressing that for reasons of power politics the Great Powers

have seen fit to make no distinction between aggressor and victim and lavished condemnation on Israel. But with all due respect for the United Nations it is better to be censured by it and live, than to be praised and be dead. We cannot be expected to renounce the use of our armed forces for our self-defense. Our military actions across the borders are neither reprisals nor retaliation. We do not seek revenge. They are no more than counter-attacks, and such a legitimate defensive necessity. It is regrettable than many people, including United Nations officials, fail to distinguish between acts of agression and those of defense and tend to take a legalistic attitude toward border incidents, virtually renouncing the function of guardians of the peace and acting more like a team of book-keepers busy balancing the monthly account of attacks and casualties. The understandable attention paid to border incidents actually serves to distract the eye from the essential issue, which is peace. It is like fighting malaria with doses of quinine, instead of draining the swamps where the malarial mosquitos breed.

In order to survive, we must accustom ourselves not to be too much affected by adverse criticism which in the present instance more often than not springs from Machiavellian considerations.

Some people are inclined to stress the gloomy aspects of the situation; others underscore such bright factors as can be found even in the present gloom. It is by far best to view the situation objectively and dispassionately. I am well aware of the serious dangers facing Israel, but I know also our ability to hold out and to solve our problems in peace or in war. We must be strong, in every sense of this term. Our strength will not only reduce the duration of war in case we are attacked, but will be the best deterrent to the outbreak of war. We must beware of moods of panic, and shun reliance on paper guarantees, for guarantees cannot serve in place of defensive arms, while such arms can to a large extent take the place of guarantees. The United Nations and the Great Powers cannot be absolved of their responsibilities, yet it is equally clear that we may not expect help from others unless we first mobilize our own resources to the utmost. Above all we must bear in mind two basic strategic principles: (1) *we* cannot afford a Pearl Harbor, such an eventuality may lead to unheard of destruction; (2) we must not permit the enemy to choose freely the time,

the place and the method of his long-promised general offensive.

I do not doubt the final outcome of an Arab attack on us. Israel democracy, technical expertness, fighting ability and awareness of defending a just cause are bound to win in the end. But we do not want to win a war on the bombed ruins of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and the fact that Cairo, too, would lie in ruins would be little consolation.

There are no desperate situations, President Roosevelt is alleged to have said, only a sense of desperation on the part of people when confronted with a serious test. Our situation, too, need not be desperate if the necessary measures are taken. Increased immigration from the Western countries, and eventually also from the Soviet Union, as well as an intensified tempo of settlement, will appreciably bolster our defensive situation. Israel expects Jewish youth from the Diaspora—even those who do not think in terms of aliyah—to come and lend a hand for a year or two, if not in the army then as civilians in outlying settlements. I can promise them a difficult but interesting life. Israel also needs the political support of the Jews of the world for our cause, which is the cause of peace. Such support and solidarity is more important than any guarantee by the Great Powers. Granted such support by world Jewry under the leadership of the Zionist movement, Israel will survive its present political isolation. And I am convinced that the moment in which the Arabs realize that there is nothing to gain from perpetuating a festering "Palestine Question," and that they stand no chance to win victory in a war, will be the turning point toward permanent peace. To this point we must turn all our strategic and political efforts.

THE KASHMIR IMBROGLIO

INDIA has taken upon itself a difficult task, for it wants the world to believe that the Kashmir issue is complicated and its solution is not easy. Her greatest despair is the real simplicity of the issue and of the just solution that awaits implementation. The issue is; Will the state of Jammu and Kashmir with 77% Muslim population join India or Pakistan? The solution is that it is for the people of the State to decide, through a free plebiscite, the future disposition of the State. India, Pakistan and the Security Council are all parties to the international agreement which embodies this solution.

Eight long years have passed and India has thwarted all attempts to create necessary conditions preparatory to the holding of the plebiscite. Now the Prime Minister of India has recently declared himself 'largely against' a plebiscite in Kashmir. It has created a grave situation in Indo-Pakistan relations. The ceasefire and the truce agreements are based on the promise that a free plebiscite will decide the ultimate destiny of Kashmir. Repudiation of the plebiscite involves repudiation of the cease-fire and the truce agreements. Pakistan had no alternative but to ask the Security Council to take up the matter once again with a view to implementing the plebiscite. Pandit Nehru is in an unenvious position. He has to reconcile his two

positions; his international agreement with Pakistan and the Security Council to hold the plebiscite in Kashmir and his new found opposition to the exercise of the right of self-determination in Kashmir. He has chosen the path of least resistance. In recent statements he has enunciated theories which are completely divorced from logic and reality; he has sought to bamboozle the world by disregarding and mutilating facts in presenting the Indian case, if one can be presumed to exist.

The Indian Prime Minister now says that Kashmir had legally and constitutionally acceded to India. This is contrary to facts. In the next breath he says 'whatever did not opt out of India remained with India.' This dictum is wholly fallacious. Pandit Nehru should make up his mind whether he wishes to claim Kashmir because it had 'acceded to India,' or because 'it did not opt out of India.' He certainly cannot hold both the positions simultaneously. This confusion in his mind shows he himself is not convinced of any accession by Kashmir to India.

The Princely states in the sub-continent were free after the withdrawal of the Paramount Power, at the time of partition, to join either India or Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten the Crown Representative advised the rulers that in deciding the question of accession they must pay due regard to the communal composition of the population of the states, the wishes of their poeples and the geographic location of their states. The Ruler of Kashmir was a Hindu. Its population, which is 77 per cent Muslim, was in favour of accession to Pakistan. The State territory is contiguous to Pakistan. Besides political, economic, strategic and every other practical consideration made accession to Pakistan inevitable. The Hindu Ruler of Kashmir who was in secret communication with India, had, however, other plans. Soon after Partition, the Maharaja's forces and terrorist Hindu gangs, which he had imported from India, set out to exterminate and overawe the Muslim population so as to prepare the ground for the accession of the State to India. The Muslims of the State rose in revolt. The Maharaja's forces were broken and scattered, and an Azad Kashmir Government was set up to administer a large part of the State's liberated territory. The Maharaja himself fled and found sanctuary in Jammu. His writ had ceased to be supreme in the major part of the State. He was thus in no

position to barter away the future of the State through an 'Instrument of Accession.'

It was at this stage that the accession drama was enacted. The Maharaja surreptitiously signed an accession document with the Government of India and Indian forces were flown overnight into Kashmir to prop up the tottering regime of the Maharaja and to fight and subjugate the Muslim population. Then followed severe fighting between the Indian and the Maharaja's forces on the one side and the Muslims of Kashmir and the tribesmen and others from Pakistan who had gone to their succour, on the other. If anything, here was an act of naked Indian aggression against defenceless people committed under cover of a fraudulent and Invalid Instrument of Accession, surreptitiously obtained from a Hindu Ruler who had lost the confidence and support of his people and whose writ had no longer any force within the State. So much for the so called accession of Kashmir to India.

This is not an isolated instance. India used the argument of naked force against Junagadh, against Hyderabad and against Kashmir. This pattern of Indian aggression can hardly be reassuring to the people of Pakistan who naturally apprehend that India has designs on her freedom also.

One has to know this background of Indian imperial exploits to understand the need for India's false charges against Pakistan of intervening as an aggressor in Kashmir. These charges are to hide India's own record. In fact India's continued Military occupation of Kashmir against the will of Kashmiris, against her commitments to Pakistan and to the Security Council is an aggression against the people of Kashmir and a poor tribute to India's devotion to the U.N.Charter.

Much is sought to be made of the defensive move of the Pakistan troops after a full scale military invasion of Kashmir by India. Pakistan forces were moved to take defensive positions only after Pakistan's integrity was threatened by the advance of the India Army to the areas vital to Pakistan's defence, like the Mangala Headworks and the line of the Jehlum river. As soon as the UNCIP arrived in Pakistan they were informed of the purely defensive moves taken by Pakistan. India on the other hand never informed the Security Council when she moved her troops into Kashmir. Later when in January 1948 both India and Pakistan had been called upon by the Security Council to

refrain from doing anything that might aggravate the situation, India mounted a big offensive in the spring of 1948. Was the Security Council then informed of India's action? No. India's repetition of this baseless charge has not been taken note of by any other U. N. body or member nation of the Security Council. The Security Council's resolutions do not take note of it. For the simple reason that it is untenable.

The Kashmir problem, today, in a nutshell is the problem of India's refusal to agree to any arrangements that would ensure a free plebiscite. Pandit Nehru has taken another novel stand and stated that Pakistan troops should be withdrawn first and later the bulk of Indian troops will be withdrawn. Under the United Nations Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948, the withdrawal of troops from both sides has to take place simultaneously. What has held up this process is India's refusal to agree to any definition of 'bulk of Indian forces'. To resolve this deadlock *nine* attempts have been made by the Security Council, its mediators and even the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Each of these proposals was accepted by Pakistan, but rejected by India. Surely Pandit Nehru is according the world at large little credit for intelligence when he accuses Pakistan for delaying the plebiscite. Is he really serious? Then why does he protest when SEATO powers rightly reminded him and the world of the need for an early settlement of the dispute in accordance with the U. N. resolution which demands a plebiscite? He also takes umbrage over Baghdad Pact powers underlining the urgency of a settlement. He is obviously more serious when he says he is largely against plebiscite for even he seems convinced of the futility of hoping Kashmir would stay with India of her people's free will. He prefers a military occupation.

The Indian Prime Minister has assiduously seduced another ally—Time. He never tires of saying 'Time will solve it.' Time has passed and things have changed. Fortunately Time has not played the accomplice he had hoped it to be. Indian bayonets have cast their shadow over the homes and hearths of Kashmiris for nine years. It has not quenched the flame of freedom in their hearts. Time is an ally of freedom, Time is an ally of Justice. It cannot be on Nehru's side. It is the most effective counsel for Kashmir's freedom. One hundred and fifty years of British

rule did not accord the foreign domination any claim to perpetuity. The British withdrew from the sub-continent. Let the Prime Minister of India take a lesson from the history of the freedom struggles of India and Pakistan. His imperial hold over Kashmir will not be sanctified by the passage of time. It is only accumulating ignonimity for India before the bar of world opinion and in the recesses of human conscience.

India had a Constituent Assembly set up in the Indian occupied Kashmir. All opposition was stifled and the men elected were henchmen of India. They have drawn up a so called constitution. The Security Council clearly stated "that the convening of a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir and any action which such an Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the previously accepted principle of a free and impartial plebiscite." Even the Indian Representative on the Security Council, the late Sir B. N. Rao assured the world body that the opinion of the Constituent Assembly will not bind the Government of India or prejudice the position of the Security Council. India is now taking shelter behind the same Constituent Assembly which she had to repudiate before the Security Council. Why? She has ulterior designs. She unilaterally wants to merge Kashmir with India. The World must take note of this for such a situation is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities.

A proposal for a no war pact between India and Pakistan has been discussed on numerous occasions. Most recently the Prime Minister Mr. Mohamed Ali offered Pandit Nehru a no war pact. Pandit Nehru refused because he did not want the stipulations of settlement of outstanding disputes by negotiation, mediation or arbitration. These are well known and time honoured peaceful means of resolving causes or situations of conflict. The U. N. Charter, the Bandung principles, even India's own constitution provides for arbitration of points of international dispute. Nehru does not agree to this. Is Pakistan to be blamed if she reaches the only conclusion that India does not want a peaceful solution of the outstanding Indo-Pakistan problems.

In Pakistan there exists complete unanimity on the need for an early solution of Kashmir through a free plebiscite. The people of Pakistan are restive over the reign of

terror let loose over their brethren in Kashmir. Suppression and oppression are the order of the day. Even Sheikh Abdullah whose co-operation provided India with a poor semblance of a case in Kashmir is languishing behind bars without a trial. Other well known leaders of freedom movement have been clapped in jail. Anybody who speaks for a plebiscite is beaten up or put behind bars. How long shall the world countenance this shameful crime? Has Asian statesmanship nothing to say on this military occupation of Asian territory by another Asian nation claiming leadership of Asia? Is this not the first cruel reversal of the freedom movement in Asia and Africa? How does this forcible subjugation of a people within its folds lie along the concept of Commonwealth being a 'living example of the free way of life.'

Pakistan's duty is clear; her people have irrevocably pledged all they have, all they hold dear—their moral, material resources, above all, their honour in the liberation of the people of Kashmir. The military strength of India will not be a bar to the Kashmiris' cause of freedom, its strength is its intrinsic justice. It shall triumph.

THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA AND ITS FUTURE

THE NEW Independent Malaya is coming into the world at an auspicious time when the various races in Malaya feel closer together than ever before. It is also of good augury that Tunku Abdul Rahman in negotiating independence has not only retained but increased the friendship with the British.

For a country which lies on the threshold of independence, the question arises has it a sufficient supply of intellect, of technicians, experts, politicians, economists, skilled labour, and qualified men who will generally be dedicated to its service? Has it enough material resources to work smoothly the intricate mechanism, economically and politically, of an independent country? Has it the understanding of a proper approach?

Malaya is such a small country, yet with a small population of roughly 6,000,000, it has groups of different people dissimilar in purpose and in their attitude towards livelihood. They have different outlooks. They belong to different strata and creeds and claim varied upbringing and ancestral history. We hear of Malaya being referred to as a cosmopolitan country where the different races live in harmony, but this is purely in regard to normal life and activities.

Back in their own homes, each and every one return to their own ways, eat their kind of food and talk their own language. Malayan cosmopolitanism, or its social harmony arises out of accepted tolerance, and of being polite, and friendly. Chinese eat pork, and the Malays view it as "haram" (the forbidden) but that pork does not debar them from being friends and even inter-marrying if the parties are prepared to give and take. Then again in big cities we find on Saturday nights young and old Chinese exchanging jokes with Europeans—they eat together and part late in the night after swearing to be "blood brothers" and none can dub these ways of life in Malaya as unreal or insincere. The charm, hospitality, and convivial life in Malaya are inherent in the country and the peoples living there. There are many who would like to hope, if not believe, that this way of life would persist. But in this year 1956 already, I for one, cannot foresee the continuance of this exotic and carefree living. Malaya has begun to look ahead, and inasmuch as the real answer and the real life lie so imminently near, the peoples who will soon have to call themselves Malayans, or by what other name signifying unity of purpose as a nation they may choose, must get about life as they should. They would have to adopt a much more serious outlook.

THE BACKGROUND

In order to understand completely the social and political changes (though not enough is seen of economic changes) we should look back at some of the highlights in its anxious but illuminating, and might even be termed, romantic past few years. The first big question was—could the Chinese and the Malays, the major communities, join hands and mould Malaya's future? One favourable gesture came with the generous offer of the Malayan Chinese Association to the then already popular Malay front, the United Malay National Organization (UMNO, for short) in a sizeable monetary aid towards helping the Malays, who are vital but are, by profession, mainly farmers and fishermen, to grasp and understand the elements, if not the tangles, of commerce. Malaya's first Chief Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, was then UMNO's new President. If he failed at that propitious moment, to command public respect by his acceptance of this offer, it might have spelt this downfall and the death of UMNO. Some Malay factions (now very much in the minority) vehe-

mently objected to it. Others said it was the first step by the Chinese to buy out the Malays which they worked out to about 6d. per head, about the cost of 1/4 lb. of monkey nuts. Though incredible, yet it was heard everywhere. But the truth revealed itself—the Chinese knew it and the Malays themselves appreciated the fact that something must be attempted at once, to equip the Malays for the part they will have to play in the national movement towards solidity and security. Politically, the Malays are in a strong position, Conversely, in the economic field they are weak, their relative position extremely precarious. The Chinese possess the capital and control the commerce within and outside the country, but economically they were not all that powerful. Both the Chinese and Malays soon realized in the fusion of the races will be based the development of political strength. There can be no other access for Malaya into the commercial world.

The Communist's Opportunity

At about this time, the communist insurgents from their jungle lairs were inventing ways and means of stirring up communal trouble, by estranging the feelings of the Malays. Malicious rumours were spread in business houses, in all homes and even in schools. A few blood curdling incidents took place and some Chinese magnates even tried to switch off their capital to Mother China, while many among them who could afford it, either flew or sailed for Cathay for a preliminary survey as to how their old country would re-adopt them. China had then become the puppet state of Communist Russia (or in international terms, a Communist Satellite). These visitors came back completely disillusioned, and many lost a large slice from what they originally made in Malaya. Sooner than said, politically, Malaya was gaining the upper hand in the cold war. It began slowly, but steadily, to develop a personality which resulted from a unity of purpose and destiny. The Malayan nation took shape, and those who upon oath, regarded Malaya as their own home became Malayans. The Communist idealistic balloon blew up, and the fight against the insurgents became a fight between the people against a common enemy. About 1953 Malaya had passed its bleakest period of the century. The Malayan nation became one and that nationality became the uncrowned sovereign of the country, the testimony for which need not be sought beyond the result of the first general election. The nation is no longer an infant in the Common-

wealth of Nations—it has reached its adolescence, and now awaits the time to step into it as an indispensable and active member. As a last resort, the emergence of Chin Peng, the General Secretary of the self-styled communist party in Malaya, to negotiate failed not only in its arrogant bid to identify itself in Malayan politics but also in its futile publicity stunt to prove that their seven years in the jungle, their seven years of arson, destruction and ruthless murders have been martyrdom for the sake of the Malayan nation and its survival. Have Chin Peng and the Communist stooges ever guaranteed economic development and stability for the Malayan people? No—the M. C. P. (Malayan Communist Party) only blatantly shewed up under the sheepskin in Trade Unions, and instigated strikes to prove that their first cure for Malayan weakness would be to salvage the ignorant workers whose conditions of labour and standard of living have been "neglected." Workers and peasants became their defenceless tools and were told that they are being exploited by the capitalists and British Imperialists. They derived some success with the workers whose arrogance has been boosted to no small degree by loud-toned, excitable Trade Union executives, but the peasants who are mainly Malays remained loyal to their Sultans, the UMNO and they mistrust Communism at the root, because this idealism is contrary to the fundamentals of Islam and to the injunctions of Allah. The Communists tried to draw similarities between Communism and Islam, but even the most ignorant of the Moslems knew that the best charity is voluntary and never drawn at sword's point or by pumping bullets.

For the new Malaya, or constitutionally termed the Federation of Malaya, the road that lies before it after their acceptance of independence is rough, hard-going and long. The popular Government must at the same time put Malaya on a strong economic pedestal. And this, it can only achieve by trials and perhaps also through errors. It must train its own native economists. It has to take part in complicated commercial discussions which affects its success as producers and local problems which are closely bound up with daily life and its future survival. It must also, as I see it, set up its big team of experts to seek ways and means of tracing all the commercial and economic weaknesses and putting them right forthwith. The country and its politicians have realized that true independence will have to be based on

unshakeable economics. No one can expect the buffalo to pull the national express, which would be the analogy otherwise.

Malayan Economy To-day

Malayan economy to-day is so much of a gamble. Surely, none of her politicians would wish to continue to manage the country in this way, or rest content that it should forever be a raw-production area, depending on foreign enterprise for the circulation of its life-blood. Who would think it as a stabilized country when recently the Government was facing a deficit of well over $120,000,000 for the year (£14 million) because the rubber market was dull and the price slumped down to less than 50c.a lb.? Up the price went overnight to over $1/-per lb., then it was smiles all over Malaya again! But this only relieved the Treasury—Malayan life and happiness (leave alone prosperity) calls for more stable conditions than a healthy budget.

However, for all its shortcomings, we cannot accept any wild opinion about the Malays being swallowed up by the Chinese when the country gained its Independence. This is an extremely mischievous view, because although it is true that the Chinese have the capital and largely control its commerce, there is no Malay yet who is in the competition for business supremacy. They are mainly farmers, fishermen and small landed property-owners. Their young men show great promise as policemen, soldiers and clerks. In fact they form the backbone of local administration. There is therefore no fear of the Chinese ever sitting on the Malays, because simply, the Malays are not even there to be sat upon. On the Chinese side, however, apart from the capitalists and business magnates, there are thousands engaged in small business, speculators, agents, shopkeepers and wholesale dealers. The bulk of them are ordinary workers in coffee-shops, vegetable-planters or employed in family business. They can readily adapt themselves to the new ways of life which will be brought about by Independence. There is no fear or foreboding among them that Independence would suffocate them. Foreign interests will naturally be protected and will be allowed to continue until they are terminated under existing legislation. What plans Malaya holds for immigrant population one cannot forecast, but it is clear that the stage is set for her to play the proper part as an independent country, and the new nation must cease

to think in terms of communities and races, immediately, if it is going to guide the destiny of the new country.

Is there any other choice for the Chinese? if there is a guarantee that communist indoctrinization does not penetrate the school walls now, in another generation at the longest, if not within a decade, there will hardly be 1 per cent left among them who would be disillusioned by Go-back-to-Mother China-idealism. Because the Chinese as human beings, have respect which is more than awe-inspiring for their father, there will be no other country for them except the country of their birth. Some doubted if the new Malaya would give them equal right and would they enjoy the same privileges as the Malays? Their Chief Minister has guaranteed this to them. In fact, they have already guaranteed these privileges for themseves, by living together with the other races in such harmony and deep-rooted friendship. They have seen for themselves how different are their own counterparts in China. There is now no longer that dangerous philosophy of dual personality. One has only to study how natually the Jews for instance identified themselves with the country of their birth in Great Britain, in America and the Indians. in the West Indies. Even the Malays have not far to look for comparison, and in their case what of Thai, Ceylonese and South-African Malays? It is all the same everywhere—where there is undivided loyalty, there is absolute national strength.

Such is present-day Malaya, and such is the picture of Malayan life to-day! Independence, inasmuch as it is the wish of the people, is coming to the country at a crucial time. Independence for Malaya is the answer to the communist jargon about Imperialism, because leaving aside other consideration, it is a wish achieved after long years of fervent prayers by all—the rich, the poor, Malays, the Chinese and every one else who love that country. (*Asian Review*)

Dr. Winburn T. Thomas

SUKARNO: LIBERATOR AND UNIFIER

THE personalities of Gandhi and Nehru have so dominated the Orient scene that few other Asian leaders have stood out. India's population, the nation-wide use of English which simplifies foreign communication, and Gandhi's dramatic conflict with the British raj have contributed to the spreading reputation of these two national giants beyond the national borders. The accomplishments of Jinnah, Mao Tse-tung, Magsaysay, Chou En-lai, Sir John Kotewala, and Solomon Bandaranaike are limted to their own respective nations. A figure who can take his place easily in this second category, even dwarfing some of the personalities listed, is President Sukarno of Indonesia.

I

President Sukarno of Indonesia was called a "Pro-Japanese Quisling", by Senator Rankin of Australia in February 1956. The Dutch historian, Bernard H. M. Vlekke, writing from a Japanese concentration camp, said that in the pre-war days "his own shortcomings prevented Sukarno from building one great nationalist organization." Although a wonderful orator, he lacked the sense of responsibility and the unflinching energy needed in a great political leader .....His methods were a bit too remote from the real Indonesia.....The mass of the people showed clearly that an agitation with revolutionary aims was not to their liking." (*Nusantara*, 1943. Harvard University Press, p 353). Both these characteristics are untrue and unfair.

No one man is as responsible for Indonesia's freedom today, as is Sukarno. In three and one-half years of Japanese occupation he established the nationalistic movement among Indonesian farmers and youth. War material fell into the hands of the Indonesian revolutionaries which was used later against the Dutch. Six weeks elapsed between the time of the Japanese surrender and the arrival of the first Allied occupation troops, giving the Republican leaders time to strengthen their resolve to retain their freedom. Yet without the leadership supplied by a quartette: Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir and Sjariffudin, the history of these islands during the past decade would probably have been as chaotic as that of Indo-China.

Hatta as Premier and assistant to the President has supplied the day-to-day administrative skill. Sjahrir was the intellectual diplomat who, deceivingly youngish in appearance, proved himself an effective statesman, both in dealing with the Dutch and in arguing his country's case before the United Nations. Sjariffudin organized the military forces, and restored law and order to most of Java and Sumatra in the days before the first military action by the Dutch in August 1947. Sukarno has been the orator and political unifier. Sjariffudin is dead, after having changed loyalties. Sjahrir has virtually withdrawn from practical politics, and his one-time powerful Socialist Party which had 14 seats in the Provisional Parliament holds but five in the new elected Parliament. The men whose energies and policies have consistently been equal to the situation have been Sukarno and Hatta. A Djakarta newspaper recently commented that Sukarno was probably the tiredest man in the nation, for literally he had enjoyed no rest since the Japanese released him from prison in 1942, where the Dutch had confined him since 1930.

This man, who justly has been likened to George Washington, for the role he has played in creating the nation, is 55 years old. He was born is Surabaja, of a Javanese father and a Balinese mother. While a student of architecture at Bandung he already was interested in politics. Said a critical Dutch woman who had known him at that time. "He was not a good student. He was too intoxicated with the sound of his own voice." During the Japanese occupation, the Indonesian people came to feel that voice's power reading between the lines of his radio exhortations to support Japan's co-prosperity sphere, his urgings to a

more dynamic nationalism. Few men in the world today can equal his effectiveness in appealing to the nation to follow a given policy, or urging a Communist rally to be more understanding, or in speaking devotionally to a Christian mass meeting.

II

During his student days, he helped organize the Indonesian Student Union, which urged separation from Holland. In 1927 he, together with Tjipto Mang-unkusumu, organized the National Indonesian Party (Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia), which drew to it other earlier national groups. His purpose then, and during the years of the discussions and defence against the Dutch was the creation of a free and independent Indonesia. His single-minded, pragmatic approach, brought ultimate victory when perfectionists might have sacrificed the aim because of abstract principle.

In 1928 he was imprisoned for his agitation, a sentence reduced from four to two years. He returned to join Hatta and Sartono in the independence fight in 1931, becoming Chairman of the Indonesian Party (Partindo), and pamphleteer. In 1933 he was exiled to Flores, but even on this Roman Catholic island to the East of Bali he organised a club, produced plays, wrote articles and was active in Moslem affairs. In 1937, the Dutch removed him to Benkulen, in Sumatra, where Thomas Stamford Raffles failed in his last ditch diplomatic stand to hold Sumatra against the Dutch in 1824. After the Japanese landings in 1942, Sukarno hastily was moved further north to Padang. As the Japanese advanced towards Padang he ineffectively appealed to the Dutch for release. The conquerors not only released him, but made him the head of the organizations which in the end facilitated the establishment of the Republic.

III

Sukarno, more than any one other person, has been the unifying factor in the nation. During the three and one-half years of Japanese occupation, he countered the conqueror's demands for labour brigades and war materials with nationalistic concessions. His radio appeals to the nation to back Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere were so carefully worded that the masses read nationalism between the lines. By the time of the Japanese capitulation, a unity had emerged which was equally anti-Dutch and anti-Japanese. On the eve of the surrender, Sukarno proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

The period between August 17, 1945 and the transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949, were even more trying days than had been the occupation. Repeated waves of Dutch aggression were resisted, both on the battle field and in Conference chamber. Twice the Netherlands troops violated truce agreements, and on the second occasion took captive the government. Once the Communist attempted a coup d' etat which would have converted the nationalist into a communist revoluton. Sukarno and his government constantly had to find a middle course between nationalist extremists who would have accepted peace at no purchaseable price, and the realism of armed Dutch might end international pressures.

Sukarno and Hatta collaborated with the Japanese; Sjahrir refused to do so. While the collaborationist issue came to the surface briefly in the revolutionary period, Sjahrir, the non-collaborator with whom the Dutch were willing to negotiate, not only did not condemn Sukarno, but served as Premier in three Cabinets. During the Japanese occupation, Sukarno kept the nationalist movement to the fore, and himself became its symbol to the masses.

Sukarno was no Japanese Quisling, even though first the Dutch and later the Soviets so charged him, Moscow even adding the term "fascist." Governor van Mook cleared Sukarno of these charges late in 1948, stating that the President had been governed in all his activities by his desire to establish Indonesia's independence.

Sukarno's famed enunciation of the Five Virtues (Pantja Sila) took place on June 1st, 1945 before the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence. While the Japanese were angered by his effrontry, they dared take no action against him. These five principles remain the undergirding philosophy of the young nation. Sukarno in this address demonstrated his ability to give form to the vague ideas of fellow intellectuals, and to state them in such simple and symbolic form as to appeal to the masses of uneducated and illiterates.

When on August 7, the Japanese military granted permission for the establishment of a Committee which would make the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, Sukarno and Hatta were named Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. The opposition of the underground, and the Japanese capitulation prevented the execution of these plans. Sukarno's ability to communicate to and establish rapport

with the rural masses, who for the first time during the Japanese occupation, had been arounded to political consciousness, led them to look to Sukarno for leadership once the Japanese authority collapsed.

It was Sukarno who on August 17 read before his own Djakarta home the declaration of independence which had been drafted by the Preparatory Committee. The following day, an expanded committee elected Sukarno President. Sukarno introduced the term "*bung*" with the content "brother revolutionary-nationalist-Republican" which became the mode of address throughout the nation. Sukarno became and remains today to the masses, "Bung Karno." The first Cabinet, appointed on August 31st, was responsible to Sukarno. Two days previously, Sukarno replaced the Inde-- pendence Preparatory Committee with the Central Indo nesian National Committee (KNIP), a representative body of 135 members to advise the President and his Cabinet.

Governor Dr. van Mook admitted in 1946 that the Dutch had been woefully misinformed as to the origins of the Republican feelings; they had regarded it as a Japanese creation; yet between October and November after the Japanese surrender, it "developed with the speed of tropical growth into a sort of popular revolt comparable to the September days of 1792, in the French Revolution.....The Republican forces at work were rooted deeper than a mere surge of terrorism....." This was thanks to the groundwork Sukarno and Hatta had laid in working through the Japanese to establish an independence movement.

The judgement of Dr. P. J. Koets of the Dutch Cabinet, who journeyed to Jogjakarta in 1946 was that "Sukarno's influence on the masses and on certain sections of public opinion places him in a real position of authority. To the intellectuals, young and old alike, he is the symbol of the realization of the ideal of independence. The representation of national unity in his person is a force that is generally regarded as irreplaceable and indispensable at this stage of the struggle for freedom." Sukarno continued as the "incarnation of Indonesian nationalism" to the Indonesian people, to use Charles Wolf Jr.'s phrase, during the days of struggle against the Dutch and today.

IV

After the Japanese surrender began a test of Sukarno's hold over the people. Royal Netherlands Indies Army troops had landed under cover of the British occupation.

Their patrols "shot at anything that looked suspicious, and when hunting was poor they were not above forcing an Indonesian house and dragging off, without charges or warrants, some or all of the inhabitants," wrote Frederick E. Crockett in *Harpers* (March, 1946). Sukarno ordered his people off the streets after dark. "It was an impressive demonstration of Sukarno's control over his people," observed Crockett. For four years, with a few short truce periods, Indonesians battled for survival. "Sukarno was the guiding spirit through all these dark days, to whom the people looked for leadership," commented Cornell Professor George Kahin.

Sukarno battled not only against Dutch armed might, and British vacillation, but also against division at home. Tan Malaka, a Marxist forged a document purporting to be Sukarno's testament making him the legatee of his power, and travelled over Java displaying it, claiming Sukarno and Hatta were imprisoned by the British in Djakarta. There also were tensions between those who had collaborated with the Japanese and those who had fought in the underground, especially since the initial cabinet was composed primarily of the first category. The underground leaders feared that the former personalities could not command the loyalty of the masses who had to fight the battles.

The power of the post-war Indonesian National Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia) among intellectuals and professional classes derived from the fiction that it was the party of Sukarno and Hatta. Despite the predominantly Moslem character of Indonesian society, it polled the largest vote of any Indonesian political group in the 1955 elections, and again in no small measure because it was regarded as Sukarno's Party.

When in the crucial days following the Renville Agreement, and the Dutch blockade, the Communist's coup d'etat aimed at taking over the revolutionary struggle, their attack was upon Sukarno and his leadership. Kahin says "Sukarno had for an undoubted majority of the Indonesian rank and file come to symbolize the Republic. For them an attack upon Sukarno was an attack upon the Republic."

In the face of Dutch refusal to abide by the Security Council's demands it was Indonesian resistance which led the Dutch to doubt their ability to continue to hold the area, and of the Federalists they sought to manipulate to conclude that there would be no end to the fighting until

the Republic was reconstituted and Sukarno and Hatta ordered the troops to cease fighting.

Between the Japanese surrender and the transfer of sovereignty the Dutch won all the battles but finally lost the war. The two violations of U. N. sponsored agreements paid off; the Security Council ordered a retreat to the previous lines, but the Dutch refused to abide, then worked for a compromise which enabled the Dutch to retain their new positions. With the U. S. abstaining from voting on Russian sponsored motions, and Russia vetoing or abstaining when U. S. sponsored motions came before the Security Council, the Dutch were able to press their advantage without fear of censure or reprisal.

From the time of the first Dutch military action in August 1947 until mid-1949, Indonesia appeared to be losing to the colonial power. Superior Dutch forces and equipment had reduced the Republican area to a mere shadow of itself. Every concession that Sukarno had been induced to make by his American friends had led to the loss of more power and territory. The Communists undertook to take over the revolution, but the Republicans, even though this required using troops and important material, put down the red putsch. After the second military action, the exile of the government, and the ineffectiveness of the Security Council's measures to force the Dutch back to the agreed truce line, it appeared that the Netherlands shortly would eliminate the Republic. They reckoned without the non-co-operation of the masses, the courage and effectiveness of the guerilla fighters, and the effects of the fighting upon Dutch investments. Holland won most of the battles, but finally lost the war.

Factors which finally enabled Indonesia to win her independence were (1) The Indonesian determination, despite blockade, absence of friends abroad, and military equipment. Indonesian raids on the Dutch-held Jogjakarta brought troops right to the city's heart. Indonesians refused to co-operate. (2) American senatorial pressure. The entire American sponsored European Recovery Program was endangered by the Netherlands flaunting the Security Council's orders. "How can the U. S. aid a nation which refuses to abide by the U. N's orders?" was the tone of speeches made in the Senate. (3) Cochran's compromise measure which gave the Dutch their demands and reduced the Republic's holdings to an area the size of Rhode Island; this resulted

in the creation of a union of fifteen states, fourteen of which were Dutch sponsored, and supposedly Dutch controlled. (4) Dutch business interests had become doubtful of Holland's being able to pacify the area before the revolutionaries had destroyed the Dutch holdings (1 1/4 billions of dollars); (5) American State Department feared that further fighting would strengthen communist influence. Thus pressure upon Holland to terminate. Indonesians felt that for the first time since negotiations began Americans brought equal pressure upon both sides to accept needed compromises essential to peaceful settlement.

V

The strength of communism in Indonesia was developed during the critical days of struggle and negotiation. Generally, Sukarno and the men who now comprise the government were willing to accept as a last resort the compromises demanded by the American representatives, as an alternative to prolonged guerilla struggle. The Marxists argued that America was pro-colonial, and thus backing Holland. Every new development tended to confirm this accusation. American fears that the long separation of the Republic's leaders from the people (they were kept prisoners for five months after Holland's second act of war against the Republic) was precipitating added power into the hands of the Marxist elements enabled Merle Cochran of the U. N. Good Offices Committee to effect the Roem-van Agreement which brought hostilities to an end.

The Communists were in the "dog house" after the abortive August 1948 Madiun coup. The hostility and suspicion towards them were wiped out when the Dutch renewed hostilities in December and carried the government captive. As the months dragged on, and the Dutch showed no willingness to obey the Security Council's orders, the Indonesians could only conclude that the Republic's leaders, in accepting the American representative proposals, had betrayed the revolution. This fear added to the Marxist leaders' prestige for they had warned against such concessions all along, contending that Indonesia would have to win her battles unaided.

After the return of Sukarno and his government to Jogjakarta, the federalists who had been co-operating with the Dutch in the areas nominally under colonial control, discovered (1) that the Dutch could not stabilize conditions in view of the great hostility manifested by the populace;

and (2) the fact that they were but "window-dressing" in a Dutch sponsored producton, with no real powers. The peoples in these areas looked to the Republic rather than to the federal areas.

The transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949, was followed by another victory in Sukarno's struggle to establish a single free nation of the area formerly under Dutch control. Within a few months, all the other fourteen states the Dutch had created to form the United States of Indonesia declared for the Republic. While these were still in process of being assimilated, the revolt on the Moluccas and the Westerling massacre in Bandung weakened the young nation. Even today only about 90% of the total territory has been brought effectively within the authority of the Djakarta government. One of the reasons Sukarno is tired is that he still is seeking to end the civil disorder where it continues, and to effect the restoration of Western New Guinea.

The creation of a nation, and the solution of the complex problems integral to this aim, have made even greater demands of Sukarno than did the two other periods. The present government has repudiated the Dutch Union Agreements, which have existed only on paper. The termination of Dutch economic control, short of nationalization, will prove more difficult. Dissident elements which were dissatisfied with the peace terms have continued their struggles, harassing the Central Government. The Colonial policy of keeping the areas separate and unacquainted, plus the human tendency towards regionalism, has fostered suspicions of Djakarta which have retarded the psychological unification of the nation. President Sukarno's wide travels, and his continuing popularity, have been one of the factors contributing to a gradual unifying influence. The nation must still discover the narrow line between national unity and regional autonomy.

It is a historical miracle that Indonesia exists today as a sovereign state. Opposed by armed Dutch troops, and by Marxist-dominated revolutionaries at home; confounded by seemingly friendly western nations that gave lip service to freedom but backed continuing colonial controls; blockaded, starved, unemployed, unarmed peoples though they were, they nevertheless persisted in their determination to be free. That they succeeded in the end was due in no small measure to the leadership, and confidence held by Sukarno and Hatta.

A PAGEANT OF JAPAN

"ART is something which lies in the slender margin between the real and the unreal", said Chikamatsu Monzeemon, famed dramatist of the 17th century explaining the principles which guided him in his craft. "In recent plays many things have been said by female characters which real women could not utter; it is because they say what could not come from a real woman's lips that their true emotions are disclosed."

It is perhaps particularly significant that this greatest of Japanese dramatists wrote for the puppet stage. In a country where the same exacting code of behaviour had been followed for centuries, where convention dictated the slightest gesture, where etiquette prevented the direct expression of feeling, art had to suggest by symbol, metaphor and understatement. To the Japanese artist more than to others what he left out was as important as what he left in. Art—poetry like painting, like gardening and architecture—was a highly conscious process where the artist did not let himself go to natural exuberance, where he paid particular attention to calculating the effect on an audience with a highly developed sense of propriety.

Yet even in Japan, things had not always been thus. Reading the anthology of Japanese literature [1] recently compiled by Donald Keene, one is struck by the contrast between the earliest historical civilization in Japan and the later period when court life was the centre of society, when even more than in the days of the Sun King Louis XIV an artist was likely to be judged less for his originality than for his success in following the rules.

Mr. Keene's anthology is not the first of Japanese literature to be compiled for Westerners (though it is the first in English); and the Japanese themselves, realizing the necessity for preserving artistic achievement, early began to draw up anthologies for themselves. In the three hundred years between the 9th and 12th centuries, eight such anthologies were made by imperial command, and the emperors were often not only contributors but helped with the compilations. So great was the devotion of the Emperor Gotaba (1180—1239) to poetry, and so great the consolation he found therein, that when he was defeated by the military class and driven into exile, he spent much of his time on the far-off island of Oki to working on the anthology he had commissioned in the days of his prosperity.

All these anthologies reflect the Japanese love of nature—a constant in the national character—and the melancholy thoughts on the frailty and uncertainty of human life to which they were led by contemplation of the cherry blossoms that flower and fade, the moon that is hid by flying clouds, the foam that glistens and melts away. A fatalistic and stoical religion added to their resignation, as did natural disasters like the periodic earthquakes that shake their islands, and the spectacle of man's own perversity in making war upon his fellows, forgetting his loved ones, and throwing his trusted counsellors into disgrace.

Across the pages of Mr. Keene's collection—partly an anthology of anthologies—moves a pageant covering twelve centuries and including emperor and hermit (sometimes emperor turned hermit), peasant and warrior, master and servant, Buddhist sage and woman of the world. To silks, incense and palanquins succeed the thatch-roofed hut, the hempen jacket and the begging bowl. While courtiers compose graceful poems in the tight, demanding verse-

(1) Anthology of Japanese literature, edited by Donald Keene, published by Grove Press, New York, as part of the Japanese series of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works. A British edition by Allen and Unwin, London, will appear in the near future.

forms of the *Haiku* and *waka*—containing 17 and 31 syllables respectively—or write longer, philosophic poems in Chinese, Lady Murasaki lets her rich imagination run rife and composes the greatest novel in the language, *The Tale of Genji* (around 1000 A.D.); the *No* drama becomes a highly developed art, and a succession of diarists, essayists and chroniclers reveal the history and manners of their times.

To the Western reader, the earliest preserved Japanese poetry—before the 9th century A.D.—is likely to have the most immediate appeal. Before most of the languages now spoken in Europe had yet developed, Japanese writers were composing in their own tongue (but in Chinese characters) poems whose striking imagery and intensity of feeling speak directly—despite time and translation—to what is deepest in us all.

"Oh, the pain of my love that you know not—
A love like the maiden-lily
Blooming in the thicket of the summer moor!"

Cries Lady Otomo, while the husband parting reluctantly from his wife, "even as the creeping vines do part", turns back to gaze on her, until the yellow leaves of Watari Hill hide her from sight.

"I thought myself a strong man,
But the sleeves of my garment
Are wetted through with tears."

The poet Yamanoue Okura bemoans his old age, sickness and poverty. "Wide as they call the heaven and earth, For me they have shrunk quite small", he says, complaining that his family must sleep on straw on the ground, while a spider spins its web in the empty cooking pot and the village headman comes, rod in hand, "growling for his dues."

Perhaps the most touching of all the poems in the *Man' yo shu*, or "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves" is the "Elegy on the Death of Furuhi", also attributed to Okura, in which the writer tells how the little boy used to say to his parents.

"Leave me not, Father and mother,
Let me sleep between you,
Like *saki-kusa*, the three-stalked plant."

Now that the child is dead, the grief-stricken father prays:

"So young he will not know the way;
Here is a fee for you,
O courier from the Nether World,
Bear him on your back."

But for those in high places, a stern code demanded that misfortune be accepted with inward as well as outward submission. A banished official, disgraced as a result of accusations he had no chance to disprove, writes—in Chinese:

"From high heaven came accusations, to whom could I cry?. . .
I listened outside the palace to the sound of singing:
Below the stairs, apart, I watched the ladies on the terrace.
I returned in the dusk to face my wife in shame;
Through the night I lay talking with my children in bed.
Great faults and small merit were mine, I know.
For mercy and light penalty I am forever grateful.
Though I may never again enter the gate of my lord,
I shall speak from this far land and Heaven may hear me.."

As time goes on, we see more and more evidence of the artificiality, self-control and constant effort required of one who wanted to remain in good standing at court—not only in the emperor's eyes but in those of other courtiers, potential rivals. The narrow path between too much conformity and an excess of originality had to be trodden carefully, in life as in art, and after years of the strain of court life, nobles and ladies frequently sought solace by retiring from the world to become monks or nuns or simply to go into seclusion. Murasaki Shikibu, author of *Genji* and close friend of the empress, writes in her diary while at court: "If I go on describing ladies' manners, I shall be called an old gossip." A little later she adds, revealingly, "With everyone some fault can be found, but only those who are ever mindful to conceal it *even when alone*, can completely succeed."

Two centuries later Yoshida Kenko, a former court official who became a Buddhist monk, jotted down here and there in his *Essays in Idleness* enough advice about behaviour in good society to make him a sort of Oriental Lord Chesterfield. He thought it desirable that a young man of the world should have a knowledge of literature, versification, music, etiquette and penmanship; that he should show some fondness for women but not be "their constant and familiar companion", and, finally, that he "should not refuse a little wine when it is pressed upon him." But all these accomplishments should be tempered with at least apparent modesty. "One should never make a show of having a deep knowledge of any subject. Well-bred

people do not talk in a superior way even about things they have a good knowledge of."

The price of non-conformity was high. Kenko himself tells of a beautiful girl in Inaba Province who ate nothing but chestnuts. Her parents refused all offers of marriage for her, "saying that such an unusual thing ought not to be seen by others." Another character, fictional but perhaps drawn from life, was the lady who loved to study insects so much that she neglected her appearance and all the duties incumbent on a girl of her station. When her parents remonstrated with her, pointing out that people would think her peculiar, she replied: "I do not mind what they think. I want to inquire into everything that exists and find out how it began."

This pioneer scientist sticks in the reader's mind. Not until much later would her inquiring spirit have been appreciated—not until Japan opened its doors to Occidental science and began competing with the Westerners at their own game. When in the 17th century the Japanese rulers were disturbed by the rivalries of the European missionaries and traders who came to their shores, they solved the problem in a simple but effective way by expelling the foreigners. For over two hundred years Japan, in isolation, recuperated from its many exhausting internal wars, while in the West the Industrial Revolution changed the face of society. But by the time Commodore Perry sailed into Yokohama Harbour in 1853, the Tokugawa Shogunate had passed its prime and the Shogun himself soon realized that salvation lay in opening relations with the Westerners, even though his own regime was sure to go down as a result.

The Japanese literature of the period reflects the turmoil that accompanied this decision. There was disgust with the decadent Shogunate and at the same time a feeling that, when Japan had to solve her own problems, the presence of foreigners could only interfere. As so often happened, the poets writing in Chinese were among the most out-spoken.

Yanagawa Seigan berated the Shogunate:

"You, whose ancestors in the mighty days
Roared at the skies and swept across the earth,
Stand now helpless to drive off wrangling foreigners—
How empty your title, 'Queller of Barbarians'!"

But Sakuma Shozan, in a poem about Peter the Great, bemoaned the fact that Japan of his day had no leaders of comparable stature.

"He pushed back the eastern borders three thousand miles,
Learned the Dutch science and taught it to his people.
Idly we sit talking of our long dead heroes—
In a hundred years have we bred such a man?"

To Rai Mikisaburo, awaiting the death sentence in Edo Prison after having been arrested, apparently, for his part in an anti-foreign plot, it seems that he is witnessing a veritable twilight of the gods. Referring first to the Shogunate statesmen and then to the emperor, he writes:

"Idiot frogs fret at the bottom of their well,
The brilliance of the great moon falters on the horizon...
In my dreams, the ring of swords; I slash at sea monsters.
When the wind and rain of many years have cloaked
my stone in moss,
Who will remember this mad man of Japan?"

With the Meiji Restoration a decade later, Japan was to set out, like the "great ship" used as a symbol of power and security by so many of her early poets, on a course that would lead her to unprecedented prestige. But as the country changed, so did its literature. The work of Japanese writers of the past ninety years will form the subject of a separate volume which, like the present one, will be published as part of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

STENDHAL

WRITING in 1914 Lytton Strachey was perhaps the first to call the attention of English readers to the works of Henri Beyle, who wrote under the pseudonym of Stendhal. He states that when André Gide was asked which novel he considered the best ever written by a French author, he answered that, of course, it was one of Stendhal's, perhaps *La Chartreuse de Parme*. Even in France Stendhal was not appreciated, except by a select few, until nearly forty years after his death. In 1880 Zola described him as "notre père à tous"; and later, Paul Bourget, who unfortunately abandoned criticism to write novels about duchesses, delivered two lectures in his praise. "Yet, on this side of the Channel", writes Strachey, "we have hardly more than heard of him."

Martin Turnell, in his book "The Novel in France", (1950), after discussing several writers, including Constant, Mme. La Fayette, Balzac, Laclos, Flaubert, Stendhal and Proust, has no hesitation in declaring Stendhal to be the greatest of them all. However, Sainte-Beuve in his *Causeries du Lundi* damned his work with faint praise, and Flaubert was not interested.

In the "naughty nineties", when Strachey was a teenager, I picked up in the sixpenny box of a secondhand book shop in the now vanished Booksellers' Row (or Holywell Street) off the Strand, a book by Henri Beyle, entitled *Vies de Haydn*,

Mozart et Métastase. It was beautifully bound, with leather back and tips tooled with gold. The title page had the author's autograph: Monsieur John Wood, Souvenir de l'auteur. H. Beyle. The two sides of the fly leaf were occupied by the following note by Mr. John Wood: In the Edinburgh Review, No. 209, for January, 1856, is a copious and interesting article on the Life and Writings of Henri Beyle, who wrote under the assumed name of M. de Stendhal. He passed several days at Lancaster during the Spring Assizes of (I think) 1827, attending Court daily, and dining with the Bar. He was introduced by Sutton Sharp. He was very well informed and his powers of conversation were surprizingly agreeable. He had seen much; nothing had escaped his observation. He was with Napoleon at Marengo, and he accompanied the Grand Army to Moscow, and shared the privations and horrors of the retreat. He died at Paris in 1842. John Wood 1856.

I was shocked to learn, some years later, that the life of Haydn was a plagiarism, lifted from the work of a German writer. He had in some other publications passed off as his own passanges from Johnson, Scott, Goldsmith, and the Edinburgh Review. When the Edinburgh Review printed a notice of one of these books it picked out for special praise the portions stolen from its own pages. Modern research has revealed that *The History of Italian Painting* and *The Life of Rossini* are also plagiarisms. It is amazing that a man of towering genius should have stooped to purloin material severally inferior to anything he could have written. It is like the action of a kleptomaniac millionaire who pilfers trifles out of a shop.

It has also been proved that he used to draw the long bow in speaking or writing of his adventures with Napoleon. His stories of Wagram, Jena, Marengo, the crossing of the Niemen, and so on, are fictitious; for M. Chuquet of the Institute, his debunker, who has written a book of 500 pages after a minute study of the records, declares that Stendhal was present at only one of Napoleon's great battles, viz: Bautzen. Beyle was amoral, a type of man not uncommon in Italy in the sixteenth century; intellectual, artistic and sensual, with no moral sense, and no religious faith or feeling. Had he ever experienced a feeling of guilt he would have been not amoral but immoral.

He was born at Grenoble in 1783, and belonged to a family of wealthy lawyers. He came to Paris at the age of

sixteen, the year that Napoleon became first consul. His cousin, General Pierre Daru, Napoleon's "organiser of victories", who wrote Latin lyrics in his moments of leisure, took him under his wing. Except for one year as a lieutenant, the whole of Beyle's public service was in the commissariat department. As Daru's subordinate he followed Napoleon's army in the various campaigns. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 he had no employment, and took to writing, but with little success. An early novel of this period, called *Armance*, is about a man who is physically incapable of marriage, and, when this appears inevitable, commits suicide. Gide, who was a good judge of such matters, says the psychology is perfectly sound. His treatise on Love was completed in 1822. He wandered about France, Germany and Italy, with dwindling resources. A volume of letters to and from his sister Pauline shows that he was very keen about financial affairs, concerning which he gave her plenty of advice. In 1817 he published a book of travels, *Rome, Naples and Florence*, and in 1821 he was expelled from Italy, which was then under the heel of Austria, by the Austrian police, as a spy. He often meditated suicide. The revolution of 1830, which put Louis Philippe on the throne, wrought a change in his fortunes. His friends at court got him the post of Consul of France at Civita Vecchia, which brought him a competence, and gave him plenty of leisure, for he was frequently in Paris, and once had three years' leave. He spent much of his time in his beloved city of Milan. His behaviour was eccentric. When he had written a book he did not trouble to get it published. Comparatively little of his work was printed in his lifetime. Stendhal did not, as Balzac observed, if a book happened to be published, go about like others canvassing the critics, but fled to some place more than a hundred miles from Paris. He would go up a mountain, and write the names of his past mistresses in the sand. He was eternally involved in some love intrigue, and if he was successful he recorded the fact on his braces. His method of writing was to sit by the fire and scribble on loose bits of paper, while the twilight faded, and his writing became illegible. He probably never revised anything he had written. Hence the mistakes of grammar with which Balzac taxed him, and the spelling mistakes in his English quotations which a reviewer thought was due to careless proof reading, until the publisher explained that he does not correct the mistakes in the original.

La Chartreuse, a book of more than 600 pages, was dashed off in 92 days at the age of fifty-six. He did not care for the labor limae.

He died in Paris at the age of 60, with his third stroke, the first of which had occurred the previous year; thus proving the truth of the old saying that the first stroke is the summons, the second the arrest, and the third the sentence of death. Here is his epitaph, composed by himself in Italian. QUI GIACE ARRIGO BEYLE, MILANESE. VISSE. SCRISSE. AMO. Here lies Henry Beyle, of Milan. He lived. He wrote. He loved. Strachey observes that his epitaph indicates "his adoration of Italy and Milan, his scorn of the limits of nationality, his adventurous life, his devotion to literature, and the fact that from childhood to old age there had never been a moment when he had not been in love

In 1840 Balzac wrote in the Revue Parisienne a long "Study of M. Beyle," which is perhaps the most generous tribute any author has paid to a contemporary. He declares *La Chartreuse* to be a book in which "sublimity glows from chapter to chapter" There were only about twelve hundred people in Europe qualified to enjoy it. The novel often contains a whole book in a page. The principal characters, like Count Mosca and the superb Duchess Sanseverina are clearly conceived, and although there are innumerable other personages with complicated plots and intrigues there is never any confusion. The drama moves rapidly, without interruption by irrelevant matter, (Balzac's style is overloaded with adjectives, and clogged with tiresome descriptions).

The article is, however, not one of unqualified praise. He advises Stendhal not to be so careless about his style. There are discords of tenses, and the long sentences are ill-constructed, and the short ones lack polish. Balzac concludes, with incredible tactlessness, by advising Beyle to follow the example of Chateaubriand and the Count de Maistre. The 11th edition of the former's *Atala* bore little resemblance to the first, and the Count rewrote one of his books seventeen times. "I hope M. Beyle will set to work, polishing *La Chartreuse*," so that it shall have "the irreproachable beauty which these gentlemen have given to their precious books."

Beyle wrote a personal letter of thanks to Balzac, for his generous appreciation, but he defended his own style. "I have but one rule, to be clear. If I am not clear all my

work crumbles to the ground." He loathed both Chateaubriand and the Count de Maistre. "If M. Villemain were to translate *La Chartreuse* into French he would want three volumes to express what I have done in two. And if Mme. Sand were to do it, she would make a great success of it, but she would want three or four volumes." "While composing *La Chartreuse*, to acquire the tone, I used to read every morning two or three pages of the Code Civil." He admired Montesquieu and Fénélon. "All political rascals having a declanatory and eloquent tone, people will have grown sick of it by 1880. Then perhaps they will read *La Chartreuse*." Maurice Baring, in his little book on French literature, observes that he might have added—"and in England in 1927."

It was indeed about 1880, as Stendhal had predicted, that his work began to interest the literary world in France. Since then the piles of MSS lying in the family house at Grenoble—journals, memoirs, autobiographical notes, novels, etc.—have been sorted and printed. Between 1927 and 1937 the Divan Press of Paris published 79 "cubical volumes." There has been a feverish research into the minutest incidents of his life. The names of all his mistresses, Mélanie, Angela, Giulia, Alexandrina, etc., and their relation to the female characters in his novels, have been noted and studied. M. Henri Martineau has devoted his life to the study of Stendhal. M. Benedetto has published a series of "Etudes Stendhaliennnes." The Stendhal Club is a mysterious institution. "It is a quietly fanatical organisation which has no premises, no committee, no luncheons or dinners, and no presidential addresses; but it has for fifty years produced a number of pamphlets for the small but ardent group of enthusiasts."

More recently we have seen a similar revival of interest in the life and works of Herman Melville, the author of *Moby Dick*. The book was written in 1851, and its author died in 1891. Ten years ago very few had even heard of either. But now Melville has become the centre of a cult very similar to that of Stendhal.

Stendhal's statement that he read the Code Civil every morning, to get, as it were, the right pitch for his composition was thought to be a joke; but the discovery of many pages of the Code in his handwriting proves that he was only stating a fact.....The dry style of legal phraseology with its precision, and its freedom from ambiguity and from irrelevant matter,

was his ideal. With a few light touches he suggests a "milieu", to the description of which another writer might have given a couple of paragraphs.....The swiftness of the pace is somewhat like that of Poe and of Peter Cheyney, who never mixed a subsidiary plot with the main theme, and had no padding with tiresome descriptions or pointless dialogue.

Stendhal's style, however, was not uniformly dry and logical. The romatic urge, which he suppressed, occasionally proved irresistible. This is what he called espagnolisme. One example is the melodramatic action of Julien Sorel shooting his former mistress in church. In the last scene in the book, when Julien is about to be guillotined, Stendhal observes that "never did that head look more poetical than just before it fell." "O for a little sense of humour," exclaims Strachey. But a sense of humour is almost a British monopoly. It lightens their burdens in adversity, and saves them from attitudinizing and cutting a ridiculous figure at any time. Compare Montgomery's "Good hunting," addressed to the embarking troops with Napoleon's rhetorical fustian in Egypt.

Le Rouge et le Noir was published in 1830, shortly after Stendhal had been appointed consul. It is a powerful but depressing tale, describing the psychology of a ruthless young peasant, unhampered by any moral inhibitions. A film of this work has been produced this year in Paris, with Gerard Philipe as Julien, and Mllc Danielle Darrieux as Mme de Ronal. Stendhal was a pioneer of psychoanalysis. Lucien Leuwen was finished in 1834 but not published till 1926, ninety-two years later, and translated into English, "with giddy precipitation", in 1952. I have not yet been able to procure this book, which appears to be a masterpiece. The Times Literary Supplement of Jan. 23, 1952, has a four column review of this work. The critic gives the following account of the curious origin of this novel.

In October 1833 Stendhal was on leave in Paris. An old acquaintance, Mme. Julie Gaulthier, who had written a novel, brought the MSS to him for criticism and advice. He returned the papers eight months later, with a letter which has survived. He writes: "I have been faithful to our agreement. I have not minded about hurting your feelings. The narrative is heavy, the climax flat; there is too little dialogue, and too much conventional passion." He suggested that the title of the book, which was "Le lieutenant", should be changed to "Leuwen, or the student who was

expelled from the Ecole Polytechnique." The style should be more conversational. He advised her to model her style on Marivaux and Mérimée. No more was heard of Mme. Gaulthier or her novel. Probably the poor woman was so disheartened that she burnt her MSS. The extraordinary fact is that Stendhal now began his novel Lucien Leuwen, which was finished the following year. Whether he had made use of the MSS he had read, and if so, to what extent, we have no means of discovering, for both the lady and her novel have vanished. Stendhal's book is about love and politics. One critic says: "Not since the Winter's Tale has love at first sight been caught with such lyrical precision." The first two volumes, called The Green Huntsman and The Telegraph, were finished, but he did not write the projected third, because he thought it could be done only by one in the prime of life.

In 1832 he finished *Henri Brulard*, which was published 78 years later. This is a collection of autobiographical reminiscences, set down as they occurred to him, and not in chronological order. Gide speaks of that "incomparable Henri Brulard, which, every time I re-read it, makes me inclined to sacrifice every other work of Stendhal." It has been translated into English. The English reader has now many works of Stendhal at his disposal. *La Chartreuse* has been done by Scott Moncrief, and *Le Rouge et le Noir* by Margaret Shaw. *The souvenirs of an Egoist*, is also available. The treatise on Love, which was considered one of the "most untranslateable works in existence" was translated in 1928 by Vyvyan Holland, who recently gave us the unexpurgated text of his father's *De Profundis*. It is said that without a knowledge of this work, Beyle's novels are apt to be unintelligible, and in places even tedious. But, of course, some of the wit and beauty of the style cannot always be rendered in a foreign language.

Evidently Stendhal did not represent the Renaissance ideal of *l'uomo universale*., who had his various faculties attuned to respond to all kinds of beauty. He had many prejudices, and blind spots in his sense of perception. Chateaubriand and Mme de Stael ushered in the Romantic movement at the turn of the century, and the magnificent prose of the former only filled him with disgust. For the new literature with its surging emotion and exuberance of expression, freed from the shackles of the classical tradition, he had nothing but contempt. He had a restricted field of vision,

in which he saw only the Code Napoleon, Montesquieu, and perhapss Corneille. Although he was on the classical side, he could not abide Racine. He was an ardent lover of music, and said he would walk through thirty miles of mud if he could hear Mozart's *Don Giovanni* at the end of it. But he thought nothing of Beethoven. He is said to have felt a profound contempt for nine-tenths of humanity.

Hence the only satisfaction he derived from his writings was that of the artist's self-expression. He might have said with Horace, Odi profanum vulgus et arceo. He would not play to the gallery, seeking the plaudists of the crowd, to become a best-seller. But, at long last, he is coming into his own.

I will conclude with two quotations to illustrate his wit, and his aphoristic style. When Mathilde de la Mole hears that her lover has been condemned to death, she says: "A sentence of death is the only real distinction for a man. C'est la seule chose qui ne s'achète pas." It is the only thing that is not to be bought. The other is one which may be applied to his own works. Un roman est comme un archet. La caisse du violon qui rend les sons c'est l'âme du lecteur. A novel is like a bow. The body of the violin, which produces the sounds, is the soul of the reader.

UP IN A VILLA, DOWN IN THE CITY

IN our first bungalow, on Flower Road, in Colombo, cosmopolitan capital of Ceylon, I was often reminded of Browning's poem describing the color and activity of life in the city, contrasted with the uneventful quiet of the country. Here too

> Bang-whang goes the drum, tootle-te-tootle the pipe.
> One day in the city square, there is no such pleasure in life.

Only late at night did the shrill, vivid oriental procession stop flowing past us. Even then the horn-happy motorists continued their heedless rush, and at all hours the jangle of bullock bells told us that the deliberate burden carriers of Ceylon were going about their business. As the dawn brightened, the bullock carts increased in number, two-wheeled vehicles with roofs of plaited palm leaves that look like runt prairie schooners, pulled by tiny, humped bullocks. These patient creatures move their often staggering loads by straining against great round beams that rest against their humps. Some of the carts are large enough to require two bullocks, but all have two wheels and the end-slanted canopies. The bullocks, gentle and long-enduring, are fantastically branded (so that their hides are mostly worthless as leather) with cabalistic markings that signify religious

and superstitious beliefs as well as ownership. The drivers urge along their slow animals by constant shouts and loud slaps.

Down the sidewalks, or more often, in the street, which was smoother for bare feet, passed weirdly assorted pedestrians. Most Ceylonese men wear sarongs, lengths of cotton cloth, of any colour, but generally white, with panels of grey or some louder colour down the back, ingeniously twisted at the waist into a sort of skirt; shirts, sometimes a screaming pink or orange in colour; and, when really dressed up, neat white jackets. The standard national costume consists of a white sarong and a long white collarless shirt, buttoned to the neck, hanging to mid-thigh, around which is worn a narrow, often embroidered stole or stock, the ends untied. The women wear either saris, six or seven yards of cloth, 45 inches wide, draped over a blouse, or camboys and tight little bodices, buttoned in front, which leave a couple of inches of exposed skin. Upper-class ladies always wear saris (usually spelled sarees), often of costly, lovely silk, woven with gold threads. The more daring wear blouses which daintily reveal their golden-brown midriffs. There is no more dignified or more beautiful costume in the world than a deftly draped sari, which has the magic quality of adapting itself to any kind of figure and being merciful to all.

Women of the sweeper or lowest working class wear a modification of the sari without a blouse, tucked up at one side, and hanging loosely on the other. As they work, cleaning streets, sweeping, picking weeds, they prevent total exposure by agile, strategic hitches. On the whole, in spite of inadequate cover, they preserve their modesty with success, though occasionally older women are careless about covering their flabby breasts. Many of the lower-class women have excellent erect figures from long habits of carrying anything from newspapers to enormous burdens of fruit on their heads. The men too trot through the streets with burdens of all kinds on their heads.

Many of the male walkers past our house tucked up their sarongs for freer movement, their thin bare legs projecting like those of resolute wading birds. Many of the laborers wore nothing above the waist except head-covers, which are in southern Ceylon not at all like the carefully wrapped dress turbans of Jaffna, in the north, or of most of India. They are any kind of careless protection against the sun, from old rags to towels or handkerchiefs. Many

wear hats in the last stages of dilapidation, often an old uniform hat, like our campaign hats of the first World War, such as are smartly worn by the police, one side caught up like an Anzac's. The Muslims of course wear red fezzes or the astrakhan caps of the Pakistani. Occasionally a burly "Afghan" strode by in very baggy cotton pants, a flowing blouse, over which is worn a coloured vest, and a huge turban, from which descends a sort of tail. The Afghans are the money-lenders of Ceylon, charging unbelievably extortionate rates. The poor clerks who patronize them live in deadly fear of their bigness and their somewhat extra-legal hold over them.

Past our garden-wall too went many Buddhist monks, their heads shaved, wrapped in yellow or saffron robes. They carried black umbrellas and large collapsible palm-leaf fans, shaped like scallop shells. Clergymen of other denominations generally wore long white soutanes and white topees, relatively cool habits borrowed from French priests. There were many Catholic nuns, mostly in white, with starched white wimples.

Next door to our house, in front of the imposing bungalow of a Sinhalese Knight was a rickshaw stand licensed for 12 rickshaws. They got under way early, cruising for customers as taxis do in the States. The rickshaw wallah is usually a middle-aged, deceptively frail man who can pull his light carriage for miles at a trot, in bare feet, over blistering hot pavements. He runs with a curious swaying of the elbows, thrust back and forth by the movement of his body between the shafts. His rickshaw is provided with a dingy canvas apron for rainy days, under which the jolted rider keeps out of the wet but quietly stifles in the heat.

Beginning very early, street criers shouted their wares in rhythmic chants. Sometimes we recognized their words as remotely resembling "Oranges," "Grapefruit," "Pine-apples," but more often they called out in Tamil or Sinhalese, and we had to guess what was in their little carts or on their heads as they passed by. Other hawkers were more direct and brought their wares up our lane, holding them over the wall for the inspection of "Lady": boys pushing wagons from which projected dozens of brushes of all sizes, on poles at various lengths; knife grinders; key-makers with their boxes of tools on their heads; those with single articles such as a step ladder, a table, a clothes rack; lace-makers; Chinese

noodle peddlers and other Chinese with great packs of beautiful linens and brocades on their bicycles; book sellers with five-foot stacks on their heads, producing occasional bargains in unexpected editions of Washington Irving, Anthony Trollope, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Rider Haggard, mostly from libraries of English residents sold at auction before the owners left the island; pingo-wallahs, with baskets of poultry, fish, fruit, vegetables balanced at the ends of poles over their shoulders—like the rickshaw boys they seldom walk, but trot along tirelessly, the poles bending flexibly; balloon boys with tremendous bunches of coloured balloons; and the Singer Sewing Machine repairman.

There were beggars too, leaning over the wall to show their afflictions, holding out stumps of arms or pointing to their throats and gabbling horribly or singing in weird misery, staring from blind eyes.

We never knew what new kind of show would appear. Sometimes an elephant padded by (though not nearly so often as on the up-country roads, where working elephants are common sights). On every possible occasion there were parades. When a replica of the famous Portuguese statue of Our Lady of Fatima came to Ceylon, a hundred thousand Catholics marched in her honor chanting Hail Marys for hours as they walked through Flower Road. One Sunday morning we were awakened at five-thirty by the strange sound of the Maine Stein Song being played by a band. It was setting the rhythm for the Ceylon Army, swinging past on a training march, led by stout sergeant-majors in pipe-clayed revolver belts and white gaiters.

Several times a week we heard the shrill tootling of pipes, such as are used by snake-charmers, and the inevitable pounding of drums which accompanied seemingly impromptu small parades, most of them Buddhist ceremonies. One night we awoke to watch a mysterious procession of children, shouting and waving Buddhist flags at 4·30 in the morning. We later discovered that they had participated in the all-night ceremony of making new yellow robes for the monks, who must be provided with proper clothing by the faithful. On all full moon nights the drums pounded for many hours.

Our house, in the center of this busy world, was typical of the big Cinnamon Gardens residences. We lived in a compound, surrounded by a plastered brick wall, entered by three gates. The house was enormous, with more than

twenty rooms, counting the servants' quarters. Ceilings were fifteen feet high. The brick walls, covered by color-washed plaster, were thick, and there were scores of windows, over which were wide-open ventilating grills. The fierce sun and the savage monsoon rains were kept out by ledges above the windows. Floors were of highly polished concrete. Since the temperature almost never falls below 70, even at night (and seldom rises above 86), there was no need for heaters of any kind, except for water. Few houses are screened because screens would keep out the precious breezes. We slept under a bell-shaped mosquito netting, though there is no malaria in Colombo. There are mosquitoes, some of them carrying the unpleasant dengue', or break-bone fever, and filariasis.

In our garden flowers grew the year around—the ever-present cannas, amaranthus, zinnias, marigolds, phlox, petunias, coreopsis, dianthus, and such exotic plants as peacock flowers, frangipani or temple trees, crotons, bougainvillaea, and lantanas. In the back garden were several papaya trees with great bunches of pinkfleshed, melon-like fruits. The soil was sandy and needed frequent enrichment for a good garden, but in a country of frequent rainfall and daily hot sunshine everything grew luxuriantly. A fence was put up next door, the posts hacked from a large tree which, unhurt, soon put out new branches. Many of the posts sprouted leaves and within a year were well-developed trees themselves. We had no banana trees, or orchids, but they are common in residential gardens. Vegetables grow spindly and weak in too-hot Colombo. Across the way was a row of coconut palms, heavy with the big, smooth, orange-colored fruits called king coconuts, which are sold for less than an American nickel. They provide a cooling drink, the nut being used as a cup after its top is slashed off.

We had five servants living in the house, and three more, the bathroom coolie (a low-caste boy doing jobs no one else would do), the dhoby or washerman (who beat our clothes on rocks, hung them in the sun, ironed them expertly, and brought them back somewhat worn but very clean), and a "sewing nanny", worked part-time. Some occupants of big houses have a driver and additional house-boys and gardeners, but we were quite satisfied with a cook, an appu or head boy, a house coolie, a gardener, who also washed the car every morning and polished it on Sundays, and an ayah or nanny for the baby. They kept the house

running beautifully, pleased to show off their various skills when we had guests. The appu, for example, specialized in curious folded napkins and peacock blossoms in finger bowls. The ayah was an experienced baby nurse who tended to the baby day and night, did all of baby's and Lady's laundry, sewed, and radiated love for her charge. She was the highest paid of our servants, receiving less than twenty dollars a month plus tea, bread and butter, jam, and fruit. The dhoby, who came twice a week, taking away the vast piles of dirty linen usual in the tropics, where everyone changes frequently, got about $7.00 a month. Our head boy, who did all necessary translations, cleaned, served, answered the phone, took care of the baby in a pinch, and directed the other servants, got about $15.00 a month and provided most of his own food outside of tea, milk, sugar, and bread and butter.

Flower Road is named for its magnificent flamboyant trees which during April, May, and June bear masses of flame colored blossoms. To vary the brilliance are the orange, red, and purple bougainvillaea and the many-coloured hibiscus, so common that it is called the shoe flower (because its leaves are good for polishing shoes).

We were about half a mile from the ocean, along which we drove on our way to the downtown section, known as the Fort because it was once surrounded by battlements, as several Ceylon cities are to this day. The sun, plunging down in the swift twilight of the tropics, produces miraculous sunset colours over the rolling surf. Every day we could see ships from all over the world waiting outside the breakwater for permission to enter the harbour, or if we chose to walk along the breakwater itself at sunset, we could watch the busy loading and unloading of freighters, great liners, naval vessels from many nations. From these ships came tourists in search of Ceylon's jewels at bargain prices, troops from European countries on their way to the Far East, sailors from, perhaps, a French aircraft carrier or an American naval tanker, many British and Australians, D.P.'s on their way to Australia, business people in search of quick rupees.

The dishes of the country to which we became accustomed were curries (preferably so hot with chillies that for a time we thought we needed asbestos cheeks and throats), pilaw, mouille, buriani, lamprais, and so on, most based on rice, with many spices, often coloured yellow with saffron, over which were poured various mixtures. Buriani, for

example, is made from rice, lean mutton, ghee (buffalo milk butter), onions, cinnamon, cardamon, cloves, rampa, lemon-grass, and saffron. With it is usually served an onion sambol, sheer fire, made of Bombay onions, green chillies (peppers), and lime juice. Our own favourite was pilaw, which is a huge platter of yellow rice perfectly cooked, flavored with cinnamon, cardamons, saffron, and onions, in which are mixed raisins, cashew nuts (here called cadju nuts), boiled eggs and bacon, fried chicken on top of the whole.

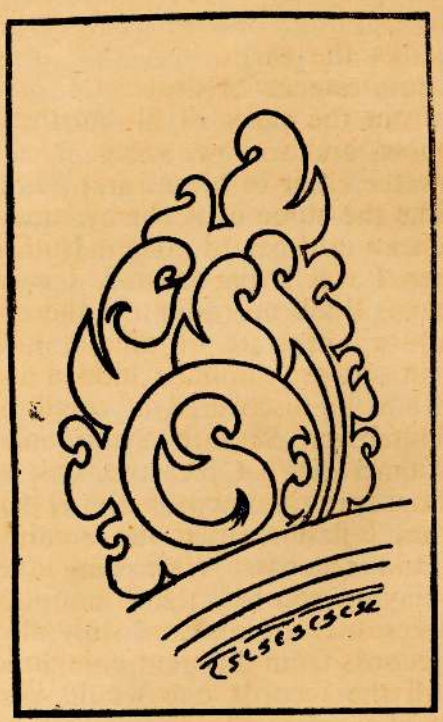
For the most part, however, Europeans (a term which here includes Americans and Australians) can take only limited amounts of fiery curries and ordinarily prefer western type meals. Meat is either locally butchered or brought in, along with butter, in refrigerated ships from Australia. The only vegetables not generally available are broccoli, corn, and asparagus, and there are many strange ones like ambarallas, snake gourds, and brinjals (egg plants). Seafood is abundant and good, especially prawns and crabs. Fruit is surprisingly expensive for a tropical country, except for bananas, of which there are a dozen varieties, limes, and papayas. Oranges are green, small, and rather dry; lemons are also green and as big as grapefruits. We missed berries, but found consolation in the mangoes (which except for some Jaffna varieties are not as good as Indian mangoes and sometimes taste a little like kerosene), mangosteens, tree tomatoes (which look like tomatoes but taste like plums), rambutans, and durians, famous for their foul smell, but delicious to the taste.

On the whole, life is very pleasant in Ceylon. The social obligations are great; as many as five to ten parties a week are standard diet. Cocktail hours are from 7 to 9 or 9.30. Few people sit down to dinner before nine, and formal dinners are seldom eaten before ten. All kinds of sports are played; the tennis is excellent, on clay courts, always with the help of ball boys; golf, sailing, riding, cricket, rugger, and soccer are popular. Swimming is superb and surf-boarding (rather tame in comparison with Hawaii's) very popular at a sand beach just outside the city limits of Colombo and all along the coast. The American community has brought in soft ball, and interested an ever-increasing group of Ceylonese players.

So we lived amidst the bang-whang-whangs and the tootle-te-tootles, happily and comfortably. Around us was great beauty, and past our gates went an ever-changing

procession of colourful, attractive people who seldom worked too hard and who knew the secret of living without complications in the tropics—where only mad dogs, Englishmen, and Americans venture forth into the mid-day sun; where smart people live well on inexpensive curries rather than on costly English and Australian and American tinned foods; where cleanliness is much closer to godliness than in most eastern countries; and where only foreigners are tense.

(*A portion of a chapter in an unpublished book about Ceylon*)



BOOKS NEW AND OLD

Man walks the earth,
  The quintessence of dust:
Books from the ashes of his mirth,
  Madness, and sorrow, seem
To draw the elixir of some rarer gust,
  Or, like the stone of Alchemy, transmute
Life's cheating dross to golden truth of dream.

Once, when I was living abroad, I was unable to hear any music because I had no radio and there were no concerts I could attend—a sad state of affairs indeed. Then, one day, I found an old gramophone hidden away in an unused room, and with it I discovered a small pile of records—Beethoven's Third and Seventh Symphonies, and a single overture by Wagner. What pleasure that ancient machine gave me and how many unhappy hours it helped me to pass! It was then that I first realised the inestimable benefits of gramophones and records. With the advent of high-frequency, long-playing records, the gramophone has become an even greater source of pleasure only slightly marred by the deluge of records from different companies. One cannot possibly buy all the records one would like to own,—not even a fraction of them—and one does not wish to buy poor recordings, poor records of poor performances. For, whatever might be said against it, a record actually records a performance; and can be an everlasting source of pleasure.

It becomes all the more essential, therefore, to select the right recording.

To help us to solve this problem, we have such journals as The Gramophone and also the information issued by the various companies. Best of all, however, is The Record Guide edited by Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor aided by Andrew Porter and William Mann. This is really a wonderful reference book of almost a thousand pages, containing scholarly, practical and witty information extending far beyond the mere description of interesting or valuable records. The authors first give the dates and the most striking aspects of the lives and characters of the composers whose recorded music they are discussing, and then give detailed criticism of the particular records in question. To take only one page we may find mention of three such comparatively unknown composers as Taneiev, Tansman and Tarp—so this book introduces us to composers of whom we have probably never heard as well as inspiring us to think again about other more familiar ones. Of course, not everyone will agree with all the authors' comments; and it is, perhaps, a pity they do not always mention outstanding foreign records which have been obtainable in England—Clara Clairbert's recordings of arias from Massenet's Manon or D'Arkor's delightful record of Franck's Panis Angelicus, to mention two vocal records which I have purchased here. But there is a tremendous amount to be grateful for in this book—as the reader will find out when he looks up the recorded music of one composer and finds himself reading on and on—and it cannot be sufficiently commended to collectors of gramophone records and to all lovers of great music.

We are given to celebrating centenaries and other such anniversaries, the result being festivals of Mozart and George Bernard Shaw this year. Wolfang Amadeus Mozart was born at Salzburg on 27 January 1756. His father, Leopold Mozart, was in the employ of the Archbishop of Salzburg. When he was four the boy began to play the clavier and attempted composition a year later. Amazed by the brilliance of the child, Leopold Mozart took him first to Munich and then to Vienna. Soon the boy was dragged all over Europe to perform in public and to make the fortunes of the family. He performed successfully but seems never to have made a fortune for either himself or his family. While his father lived he did not manage too badly but after his father's

death in 1887 he lived in poverty and was forced to beg from friends. How tragic that the creator of so much heavenly music should have been forced to beg for bread when millions of pounds have been squandered every year through the centuries on machines to cripple and destroy mankind—how little reward there is for those who contribute to the richness of life and who enhance man's greatness! Mozart is, indeed, one of the greatest musicians who has ever lived and one of the greatest of all geniuses: few other men have been so gifted or have given such magnificent testimony to man's splendid, unlimited capacities. Yet his letters seem to give few glimpses of this genius. Glimpses is not, perhaps, the true word; for we do occasionally see Mozart at work and he frequently tells us about his family, artistic, and private life. But, for the most part, these letters are chronicles of Mozart's journey around Europe—Paris, Italy, London, Munich, Prague,—and of his triumphs and failures. From the age of six this prodigious child had toured Europe; travelling along rough roads; rumbling into the large towns; resting for nights in poor inns; waiting for hours in cold ante-chambers of great palaces; and receiving snubs and compliments, and little enough money. Small wonder he died at the early age of thirty-five in Vienna! He died in poverty, writing begging letters to patrons and friends.

A short, crowded, tragic life—yet how productive of so many great and beautiful works! In his letters we follow Mozart's travels, the intrigues of his family, the perpetual quest for position, money, fame and security, the deaths of his parents, his love affairs, his marriage; and in them, we have too, an echo of his poignant music, so heartbreakingly gay and laughingly tragic. Sometimes too, we see a more robust, amusing and bawdy Mozart. Frequently we have little sketches of artistes and composers of the day. For instance, in 1777, he writes from Mannheim about a celebrated tenor (then aged sixty-three) called Raaff: 'Anyone who hears him begin an aria without at once reminding himself that it is Raaff, the once famous tenor, who is singing, is bound to burst out laughing. It's a fact. I thought to myself: 'If I didn't know that this was Raaff, I should double up with laughing.' As it is, I just pull out my handkerchief and hide a smile. Moreover, he had never been, so people here tell me, anything of an actor; you'd only have had to hear him, without even looking at him; nor has he by any means a good presence. In the opera he had to die, and

while dying sing a very very very long aria in slow time; well, he died with a grin on his face, and towards the end of the aria his voice gave out so badly that one really couldn't stand it any longer. I was sitting in the orchestra beside Wendling the flautist. He had objected beforehand that it was unnatural for a man to keep on singing until he died, as it was too long to wait. Whereupon I remarked: 'Have a little patience. He'll soon be gone, for I hear it'. 'so do I', he said, and laughed.' Quite a delightful little sketch of Mozart's life in the theatre! At the end of his life, Mozart was writing tragic letters to a fellow-Freemason, asking for financial aid, in these terms: 'Dearest Friend and Brother, Whereas I felt tolerably well yesterday, I am absolutely wretched to-day. I could not sleep all night for pain. I must have got over-heated yesterday from walking so much and then without knowing it have caught a chill. Picture to yourself my condition—ill and consumed with worries and anxieties. Such a state quite definitely prevents me from recovering. In a week or a fortnight I shall be better off—certainly—but at present I am in want! Can you not help me out with a trifle? The smallest sum would be very welcome just now. You would, for the moment at least, bring peace of mind to your true friend, servant and brother, W. A. Mozart.' Fascinating letters as you can see! The selection has been made by Eric Blom from the The Letters of Mozart and His Family translated and annotated by Emily Anderson; and both have done excellent work, Miss Anderson's translations being both accurate and stylish—a rare combination. Mozart's Letters help us to understand the character and genius of this very great composer.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler is well-known for his archeological researches both in England and in India, particularly in relation to Roman Culture. His book on Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers gave an account of his discoveries in India and he is a well-known figure in broadcasting. His book Archeology from the Earth is most interesting. Sir Mortimer is concerned with contemporary standards of excavation and archeological research, and this book describes those methods which he has found both accurate and successful. It is, naturally, a technical work, but that does not mean its interest is limited to practising archeologists. Indeed, anyone at all interested in archeology will find this book of great interest and value. It is a pity that Sir Mortimer finds much to deplore in the work of Flinders Petrie and

I think he under-estimates the difficulties against which that great man struggled and also the range and variety of his thought: undoubtedly there was much to criticise in his work but one has only to read the sneering comments of T. E. Lawrence on the painstaking methods of Petrie (and to compare them with Lawrence's own frivolities) to see that he was not so inept as some readers may come to believe. This is a precise, concise and excellent guide to archeological methods.

At school I was once given a passage to translate into French, a passage which was so unusual that it persisted in my memory until years later I read The Life of Benvenuto Cellini and came across these words: 'Another time, when I was about five, my father was sitting alone in one of our small rooms, singing and playing his viol. Some washing had just been done there and a good log fire was still burning. It was very cold, and he had drawn near the fire. Then, as he was looking at the flames, his eye fell on a little animal, like a lizard that was running around merrily in the very hottest part of the fire. Suddenly realizing what it was, he called my sister and myself and showed it to us. And then he gave me such a violent box on the ears that I screamed and burst into tears. At this he calmed me as kindly as he could and said: 'My dear little boy, I didn't hurt you because you had done wrong. I only did it so that you will never forget that the lizard you saw in the fire is a salamander, and as far as we know for certain no one has ever seen one before.'

Then he kissed me and gave me a little money."

My school-boy translation into French must have been a sorry effort; and it fills me with envy of a new and excellent translation made from the Italian by George Bull.

Benvenuto Cellini was born in 1500, wrote his autobiography at internals during the years 1558—66, and died in 1571. During the past hundred years it has become widely known and it is certainly one of the most notorious of all autobiographies. But fascinating as it is as an autobiography, it is also a superb account of the renaissance world in which Cellini worked, loved, fought, lived and died. Mr. Bull remarks: 'Despite its egoism and bias, it gives us the most vivid and convincing account we have of the rulers of the sixteenth century and of the manners and morals of their subjects. Cellini's friends and enemies were drawn from every level of society: we are introduced, in rapid suc-

cession, to inn-keepers and prostitutes, merchants and soldiers, musicians and writers, cardinals and dukes. Cellini is the protagonist of this world: he alone appears in the round, the men and women he describes are in half or low relief.' But what an amazing society is depicted by Cellini in his racy yet accurate style! Dukes and cardinals, soldiers and statesmen seem in the grip of some mighty life-force which urges and forces them onwards to complete self-expression of their fullest natures. Shame and modesty were unknown to them as were the regimentation and mass-vulgarity of our own day; and whereas our rulers select as the artistic features of the year a variety show and a film performance—both marked by their absolute mediocrity—these men of the Renaissance would call for a masque in which poetry and grace, music and drama, dance and beauty were united for the pleasure of their own brilliant persons and the citizens of their cities or states. Rather than squander money on variety shows and night-clubs they would commission a silver statue, a gold salt-cellar or a medal to rival the art of the ancients. Such was the confidence and unrivalled taste of that age which saw the creation of paintings, books, poetry, plays, statues, buildings and music which have never since been rivalled, and on which we look as a fabulous golden age. Yet, Cellini has recorded the events of his life to show that he was no fabulous being but a human who lived to the utmost and to whom nothing that was human was alien. Other books—Casanova's Memoirs, Rousseau's Confessions—portray men bursting with energy and the sheer love of life in all its varied forms but few give us such a realistic yet evocatively enthralling portrait of an age.

Today our historians and critics often write as if the Renaissance were a later invention, something that never existed except in the imaginations of certain nineteenth century authors. How absurd! It is true that many great writers of the late nineteenth century—Pater, J. A. Symonds, Vernon Lee, for instance—wrote lovingly of the Renaissance of which they had a considerable knowledge (Symonds also translated Cellini), but the Renaissance was a movement whose Titanlike energy cannot be disputed—as anyone who reads Burckhardt's great book will soon realise. Nevertheless, the words of an English writer and poet, Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor, may serve to best express the artistic

purpose of the Renaissance and part of the joyfulness and greatness of Cellini's life:

Well! I am tired, who fared to divers ends,
And you are not, who kept the beaten path;
But mystic Vintagers have been my friends,
Even Love and Death and Sin and Pride and Wrath.
Wounded am I, you are immaculate;
But great Adventurers were my starry guides:
From God's Pavilion to the Flaming Gate
Have I not ridden as an immortal rides?
And your dry soul crumbles by dim degrees
To final dust quite happily, it appears
While all the sweetness of her nectaries
Can only stand within my heart like tears.
O throbbing wounds, rich tears, and splendour spent,
Ye are all my spoil, and I am well content.

I would like to commend an agreeable book of adventure and reminiscence, Elephant Bill by J. H. Williams. In 1920, Colonel Williams applied for a job in elephant management in the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, and his book tells the story of the years he spent with elephants. A film is now being made of his books. Colonel Williams was given the name 'Elephant Bill' by the men with whom he worked for so many years in Burma. I found this a charming and unpretentious book full of humour and excitement. I had never realized the difficulties of training elephants or of their individual nature, nor had I understood how necessary they are for work in the vast teak-forests of Burma. Not only does he describe the life of the elephants in captivity but also their life in wild herds. The author certainly loves these wonderful beasts and the reader can immediately sense this great sympathy. Since the elephant's life-span is so similar to man's both elephants and their riders grow up together and know each other intimately.

There is a minor point of interest in this book. Colonel Williams refers to Hannibal crossing the Italian Alps in 218 B C. with thirty-seven elephants, a fact which puzzles him since, as he says, 'If elephants were being captured, broken in, and trained for warfare in Africa it is extraordinary that the Egyptians did not continue the practice. But no tradition of elephant-training has survived in Africa, and there is no record of elephants being used by any indigenous African people, whereas Indian history is full of accounts of the use of elephants in war.' But there was something

of a tradition of elephant capture and training in Africa about the time of Hannibal's invasion of Italy because Adulis (a little south of the modern Massauah), the main port of the kingdom of Aksum, had an inscription made about 240 BC by Ptolemy III which refers to an 'expedition into Asia with forces of infantry and cavalry and a fleet and elephants from the Troglodytes and Ethiopia, animals which his father and himself were the first to capture by hunting in these countries, and which they took down to Egypt where they had them trained for war'. It may even be that Hannibal obtained some of these beasts for his expedition some twelve years later. Three hundred years later, in fact, we read of a trading station, 'Ptolemais Theron, from which, in the time of the Ptolemies their hunters set out to penetrate into the interior and capture elephants. This place was used for this purpose because it was upon the edge of the great Nubiam forest in which elephants abounded. Before making a depot here for elephants, the Egyptian kings had to import these animals from Asia but as this source was precarious and the price of this importation very high, Philadelphus made very advantageous offers to the Ethiopians to induce them to give up eating these animals, or at least that they might reserve a certain number for the royal stables. But they rejected all these offers, declaring that, even if Egypt itself were offered in exchange, they would not renounce their favourite passion.'

Altogether Elephant Bill makes delightful reading. There is an exciting section dealing with a great march made over precipitous mountain paths and through pathless jungle to bring elephants from Burma to India where they were badly needed after the Japanese had occupied Burma. This is a thrilling story with several heroes—the women who marched with the elephants, Elephant Bill and his comrades and the elephants themselves—a heroic story which would have been heralded abroad and repeated time and time again in less sophisticated and more adventurous days when people sang of

'.....old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago:'

The Record Guide, Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Collins.

Mozart's Letters, edited by Blom, translated by Emily Anderson, Penguin Books Ltd.

Archeology from the Earth, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Penguin Books Ltd.
The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, translated by George Bull, Penguin Books Ltd.
Elephant Bill,, J. H. Williams. Penguin Books Ltd.

II

Why did I write? what sin to me unknown
Dipt me in ink, my parents', or my own?
As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,
I lisp's in numbers, for the numbers came,
Alexander Pope.

Literary taste fluctuates through the centuries and its vagaries, prejudices and appreciations are quite unaccountable; sometimes the romantic poets are popular, sometimes the Elizabethans and sometimes the Augustans. It is surprising that the Augustans are not more popular because in painting architecture, literature and music there has been a contemporary recoil from excessive individualism and a clear tendency to seek an ideal of balance, harmony,—a union between the demands of the artistic temperament and the needs of society. The Augustans, both early and late, have much to teach us. One of the greatest of them was Alexander Pope (1688—1744). To see life and mankind clearly is no easy task but it is part of Pope's greatness that he succeeded in doing so. At first it may seem that his scope is limited, his verse restricted in expression, even dull, at times; but this is wrong, for on careful reading one begins to appreciate the infinite variety and music of his poetry—not resounding and dramatic like Beethoven in music but elegiac, gay and controlled like Mozart—and the depth of his great understanding of 'Man who in himself must achieve the synthesis or harmonization which religious and other political schemes are always claiming to achieve for him, and with no great warlike or other action to assist his self-escape.' It is strange that some of the finest appreciation of Pope should come from Lord Byron, greatest of the romantics, but he always admired his predecessor and wrote wisely and lovingly about him: 'He is the moral poet of all civilisation; and as such, let us hope that he will one day be the national poet of all mankind. He is the only poet that never shocks; the only poet whose

faultlessness has been made his reproach. Cast your eye over his productions; consider their extent, and contemplate their variety:—pastoral, passion, mock heroic, translation, satire, ethics,—all excellent, and often perfect. If his great charm be his melody how comes it that foreigners adore him even in their diduted translation?'

The French painter Degas once said to a celebrated and difficult poet, 'I would love to write poetry; I have so many ideas.' 'Ah!', said the poet, 'But poetry is made with words not ideas'. That is true to some extent. Pope makes his poetry both with words and ideas—both deliberately limited in their variety. He uses a vocabulary of well-loved words each one of which has significance and value for him: words are loved, familiar objects which exactly express his meaning. Just as he respects the traditional qualities of language so his ideas are completely traditional and he pays full honour to duty, honour, patriotism, just ambition, fame nobility—eternal virtues, neither particularly Christian nor exclusively pagan, virtues without which civilization and culture cannot exist. In his work there is no chauvinism, no prejudice against other people; because he is so aware that virtues carried to excess become vices. One of his first peoms, Windsor Forest, 1713, uses the symbol of a forest standing for civilization:

Not Chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
But, as the world, harmoniously confus'd:
Where order in variety we see,
And where, though all things differ, all agree.

So, in Pope's thought, as in his language, there is a sincere respect for the eternal verities, for those qualities of nature and behaviour which distinguish man from the beast.

There is, however, more to be read in Pope even than these noble thoughts. He prided himself on his thought as a philospher and his Essay on Man contains his deepest thought. It has been criticised ever since it was written and, even now, it is certainly not the most popular of Pope's works. When he says:

So Man, who here seems principal alone,
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole.

he is surely saying something of significance, however trite it may superficially appear. Pope is endeavouring to give meaning to life, to integrate human existence within the

higher dimensions, trying to give value and purpose to life. Elsewhere Pope writes:

Submit—In this, or any other sphere,
Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear:
Safte in the hand of one disposing Pow'r,
Or in the natal, or the moral hour.
All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction which thou can'st not see;
All Discord, Harmony not understood;
All partial Evil, universal Good
And, spite of Pride, is erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear, Whatever is. is right.

He is continually emphasising that mankind's concern should be with itself, with the correction of its evils and wrongs and the expansion and putting into action of its capacity for good: he has both feet firmly established on the earth though his thought can roam heavenwards when he so wills it. Professor Wilson Knight of the University of Leeds has written a most provocative book on Pope, Laureate of Peace, analysing the poet's thought and explaining it in an inspired fashion. Not everyone will agree with what Professor Wilson Knight has to say but Laureate of Peace is a book that cannot be ignored by anyone who wishes to appreciate the genius of this very great poet.

In the first chapter of his book, Professor Wilson Knight states: 'Pope's work, though profiting by the general tidying up that stands so firmly to Dryden's credit, has that pulsing heart for lack of which Dryden's remains a little cold: it is a single. organic, whole, as surely as Dante's or Shakespeare's; and it shows a wondrous harmony.' An early and very great critic, Dr. Johnson, has this to say about Pope and Dryden: 'Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality without which judgment is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more; for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said, that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems. Dryden's performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestick necessity; he composed without consideration, and published without correction. What his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was

all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it, Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight'. Certainly Dr. Johnson is one of the greatest of English critics but here I fancy he is rather prejudiced against Pope. It is true that Pope was weak and ailing all his life, a perpetual invalid whose life was a cruel torment, and Johnson had no sympathy with invalids or sickness. But Pope often more than exceeds expectation, though it is true he always delights. Yet, in his fashion, Dryden is also a very great poet; like Pope he excelled in translation and satire and, in addition, he was a remarkable dramatist whose tragedy *All for love* can be compared with Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra.*

John Dryden was born in 1631 and he eventually became Poet Laureate in 1688 and Historiographer Royal in 1670. Whereas Pope preferred, on the whole, to attack poets and journalists—for instance, in the Dunciad—Dryden saved his energies for politics and religion and one of his greatest poems is Absolom and Achitophel, a political satire. In 1688 Dryden lost his official positions and had to write for a living. Up to his death in 1700 he wrote plays, songs, translations and verses with undiminished energy. As the editor of a recent selection writes: 'A sketch of Dryden's career cannot do justice to one of his greatest characteristics—his variety. Comedies and translations, familiar verses, songs and odes—he may not have excelled in everything he tried but he was always excellent'. This selection edited by Douglas Grant does succeed in giving a delightful sample of Dryden's varied work. If Dryden lacks the metaphysical vision and thought of Pope he has an easy grace and energy very much his own. Everything Dryden wrote has these qualities but one of his better-known songs has a softness which seems to have descended to Dryden from the Elizabethan song-writers. It is certainly not inappropriate to quote it here for readers in another happy island:

Fairest isle, all isles excelling,
Seat of pleasures and of loves;

Venus here will choose her dwelling,
And forsake her Cyprian groves.
Cupid, from his fav'rite nation,
Care and envy will remove;
Jealousy, that poisons passion,
And despair that dies for love.
Gentle murmurs, sweet complaining,
Sighs that blow the fire of love;
Soft repulses, kind disdaining,
Shall be all the pains you prove.
Every swain shall pay his duty,
Grateful every nymph shall prove;
And as these excel in beauty,
Those shall be renowned for love.

Another recent selection of Poems is contained in a volume of works by John Keats. This selection, made by J. E. Morpurgo, gives us the greatest work of this most romantic of poets but the task is decidedly easier than in the case of Dryden because Keats lived so short a time and wrote so comparatively few works. Yet all that Keats wrote is touched with divine genius. John Keats was born in London in October 1795 and died in Rome in February 1821. (I have already mentioned an interesting study of one of his most fertile years by Robert Gitting, in a former article). Pope and Dryden influenced Keats as did the Elizabethans, Milton and Shakespeare. Yet before his death he had shaken off the derivative influence of these poets and everything he wrote was touched with a genius of which the world has rarely seen the like: he made loveliness more lovely. Keats wrote of his poem Endymion, 'The imagination of a boy is healthy, and the mature imagination of a man is healthy; but there is a space of life between, in which the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain, the ambition thick-sighted: thence proceeds mawkishness, and all the thousand bitters which those men I speak of must necessarily taste in going over the following pages'. This may be true in part. It is not only the beauty of sound, the magic of his words that makes us love Keats but also his search for philosophic truth. Too often the philosophic aspect of his nature is neglected but he, himself, conceived the poet's task as being one of supreme importance. The song of a nightingale heard among the trees one evening, the magic of autumn, the intoxicating and entrancing beauty of a Grecian urn inspire him with

visions of everlasting and eternal beauty—beauty which is the only truth in life. Truth is beauty, beauty truth! Perhaps this aspect of Keats is best conveyed in the short ode he wrote in a copy of the Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, the Jacobean dramatists:

"Bards of Passion and of Mirth,
Ye have left your souls on earth!
Have ye souls in heaven too,
Double lived in regions new?
Yes, and those of heaven commune
With the spheres of sun and moon;
With the noise of fountains wond' rous,
And the parle of voices thund' rous;
With the whisper of heaven's trees
And one another, in soft ease
Seated on Elysian lawns
Brows'd by none but Dian's fawns;
Underneath large blue-bells tented,
Where the daisies are rose-scented,
And the rose herself has got
Perfume which on earth is not;
Where the nightingale doth sing
Not a senseless, tranced thing,
But divine melodious truth;
Philosophic numbers smooth;
Tales and golden histories
Of heaven and its mysteries.
Thus ye live on high, and then
On earth ye live again;
And the souls ye left behind you
Teach us, here, the way to find you,
Where your other souls are joying,
Never slumber'd, never cloying.
Here, your earth-born souls still speak
To mortals, of their little week;
Of their sorrows and delights;
Of their passions and their spites;
Of their glory and their shame;
What doth strengthen, and what maim.
Thus ye teach us, every day,
Wisdom, though fled far away.
Bards of Passion and of Mirth,
Ye have left your souls on earth!
Ye have souls in heaven too,
Double lived in regions new!

Certainly a tremendous contrast with Pope and Dryden though a noble attempt to distinguish the reason for the existence and purpose of both poets and poetry! Keats had more than his share of poetic genius, of the daemon that guided and controlled his life in ways, perhaps, beyond mortal power and understanding; his was a brief life but one of supreme achievement.

Three valuable reference books have come my way: English Furniture Styles from 1500 to 1830 by Ralph Fastnedge, Silver by Gerald Taylor and the Penguin Atlas. This last work is probably the most up-to-date atlas available and is intended for students and readers whose interests are of wider range and extent than their pockets: it is an admirable publication in every way. Mr. Fastnedge has written a comprehensive and authoritative work on English furniture and succeeds in giving interest not only to the work of individual designers but to the development of domestic furniture. The book which is well illustrated should ispire cabinet makers of today whose work is, only too often, sadly limited in style. Mr. Taylor's work on Silver is more generalized though he tends to concentrate on British silver work. There are very few good works on silver obtainable —and the majority of those are exceedingly expensive—so this book fills a large and outstanding gap. It contains sixty four pages of photographs and many drawings and is an absorbing study which should interest many people who had not previously realized the immense range of work in silver.

Laureate of Peace, Wilson Knight, (Routledge and Paul) *Selections from Dryden*, ed. Douglas Grant; *Selections from Keats*, ed. J. E. Morpurgo; *English Furniture Styles*, Ralph Fastnedge; *Silver*, Gerald Taylor., *Atlas of the world:* (Penguin Books Ltd;)

A RHYME

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

JOHN BALL

o tempora, o mores !

Deucalion sulcos, cum stamina Pyrrha trahebat,
quis generosus erat ? Fabriciusve fuit ?

L. W. de SILVA

THE SINHALESE: THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

IV

Decadence and Revival

THE literary development of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries was followed by a period of decadence. The blame for such a decline is usually laid at the door of the Portuguese who are sweepingly condemned as the worst human beings that ever set foot on this fair isle of ours. Such statements, however, are not warranted by historical facts. Literary activity in Ceylon had come to an end before the close of the 15th century. The Portuguese, on the other hand, had hardly anything to do with the Kingdom of Kotte till 1551 and they had nothing to do with the Kingdom of Kandy till 1592. How is it that during these years no poems of any note were composed? How is it that even later no poem was inspired by the struggle against the Portuguese? In other countries deep personal conflicts and widespread national struggles have been an unfailing source of inspiration of epic and lyrical poems. The picture, however, is not so

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බැසීම හා නැගීම

IV

දොළොස් වෙනි දහතුන් වෙනි හා දහ හතර වෙනි සත වර්ෂ වලදී ඇති වූ සාහිත්සික සංවර්තනයත් සමගම පරිහානි යුගයක් ද විය. එසේ පිරිහීම පිළිබඳ අවලාදය මේ රමණීය දිවයිනට ගොඩබට ඉතාම පවිටු ජනයා හැටියට දෙස් පවරනු ලබන ප්‍රතිකාල්වරුන් කෙරෙහි ආරෝපනය කෙරෙයි. එවැනි ප්‍රකාශ වලට ඓතිහාසික කරුණු අනුව ඉඩ නැත. පසළොස් වෙනි සත වර්ෂය අවසානවත් ම ලංකාවේ සාහිත්සික කටයුතු ද කෙළවරට පැමිණියේ ය. වර්ෂ 1551 වනතුරු කෝට්ටේ රාජධානියේත් 1592 වනතුරු මහනුවර රාජධානියේත් ප්‍රතිකාල්වරුන්ගේ ගනුදෙනුවක් නොවීය. මේ වර්ෂයන්හිදී සැලකිය යුතු කිසිම කාව්‍යයක් ප්‍රබන්ධ නොකෙරුනේ මන්ද? පසු කාලයේදී වත් ප්‍රතිකාල්වරුන් සමග කළ අරගලය කාව්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථයකට මාතෘකා නොවූයේ මන්ද? වෙනත් රටවල නම් පුද්ගලික වියවුල් හා විශාල ජාතික අරගල දෘශ්‍ය කාව්‍යය හා පද්‍ය කාව්‍ය ලිවීමට හේතුභූතව ඇත. මේ චිත්‍රය ඇඳ තිබෙන අන්දමට දර්ශනය අඳුරු වී නැත. ශාස්ත්‍රීය කාව්‍යක්කාරයින් අතුරින් අන්තිමයාවූ කවියා කාව්‍යත්වයෙන් පණ පෙවුනේ දහසය වෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ අග භාග යත් දහ හත්වෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ මූල භාගයත් අතර කාලයේ දීය. ප්‍රතිකාල් වරුන්ගේ අනුග්‍රහයත් අනුබලයත් ලත් මේ කවියා අලගියවන්න මොහොට්ටාල ය. අලගියවන්නගේ කාව්‍යයන් කෙතරම් ප්‍රභාව වූයේද යත් සුභා

dark as it is painted. Towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century there flourished a poet, the last of the classical poets: a poet befriended and patronized by the Portuguese: Alagiyavanna Mohottala. Alagiyavanna's poems have become very popular and there is hardly any child in our schools who is not acquainted with the *Subhasitaya*, the *Kusa Jataka*, the *Dahamsonda Kava*.

At the beginning of the 18th century there began a certain amount of literary activity under the leadership and inspiration of Welivita Saranankara. The new writers followed the classical tradition falling back on the Pali books for their inspiration and making no effort at originality either regarding the subject matter of their works or the treatment of that subject matter. Out of the various books written during this period we may single out the *Sinhala Milinda Prasnaya*, *Asadisa Da Kava*, *Kav Mini Kondala*, *Kav Mini Maldama*, *Lokopakaraya*.

During these centuries the Sinhalese Literature was enriched with a new composition: the Drama. In Ceylon dramatic compositions had not been cultivated perhaps due to the attitude of Buddhism towards such forms of entertainment, or perhaps due to the fact that the Sinhalese writers could not possibly follow the tradition set by the Sanskrit poets who made their characters speak Sanskrit or various dialects according to the role they played. In the 16th and 17th centuries dramatic representations were greatly encouraged by Catholic priests for the instruction of their new Christians. Jesuit Churches had often permanent stages for the frequent plays that were acted during the course of the year. These plays were composed for the occasion either in Portuguese or in Sinhalese or in Tamil.

The 17th century saw the first Europeans writing books in Sinhalese and composing Grammars of the Sinhalese language. Fr. Mathew Pelingotti, S.J., at Malvana about the year 1612 wrote in Sinhalese twenty six Lives of Saints, a Catechism, the Passion of Jesus Christ, and some other booklets. About the same time Fr. Manoel de Costa, S.J., composed the first Sinhalese Grammar in a foreign language: Ars Chingalensis Linguae.

In the 18th century the Oratorian priest, Father Jacome Goncalvez, wrote several books in Sinhalese in prose and poetry, and successfully expressed Christian ideas in a language that had so far been used to convey quite different con-

ෂිතය, කුස ජාතකය, දහම් සොඬ කව යන කව් පොත් නොදන්නා ළමයෙක් අපේ පාසල්වලින් සොයා ගැනීම අසිරු ය.

දහ අට වෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ ආරම්භයේ දී වැලිවිට අසරණ සරණ සරණංකර මහා සාමින්ද්‍රයන් වහන්සේගේ නායකත්වය යටතේ සාහිත්‍ය කටයුතු තරමක් දුරට පැවැත්තේය. අලුත් ලේඛකයෝ තමන්ගේ කෘතීන්හි ප්‍රස්තුත කරුණු හෝ ප්‍රස්තුත කරුණු ලිමේ ශෛලිය පිළිබඳව හෝ පෙරදිග ක්‍රමය ගැන උත්සාහයක් නොදරා ආභාෂය පිණිස පාලි පොත්වල ශාස්ත්‍රීය සම්ප්‍රදායටම වහල් වූහ. මේ අවධියේ ලියැවුණු පොත් අතුරින් සිංහල මිලින්ද ප්‍රශ්නයත්, අසදිස ඳ කවත්, කව් මිනි කොඩොලත්, කව් මිනි මල්දමත්, ලොකෝපකාරයත් වෙන් කොට ගත හැක.

අලුත් රචනා විලාසයකින් මේ සත වර්ෂයන්හිදී සිංහල සාහිත්‍යය පොහොසත් වුනේය. ඒ තාව්‍යයයි. ලංකාවේ තාව්‍ය රචනාවන් මේ අවධියේ සම්‍රක්ක වී නොතිබිණ. සමහර විට එසේ වූයේ මෙවැනි විනෝදාංශ වලට බුඬාගමයෙන් අනුබලයක් නොලැබීම නිසා විය හැක. නොඑසේව සිංහල ලේඛකයින්ට සංස්කෘත කාව්‍යක්කාරයින් විසින් ආරබ්ධිත සම්ප්‍රදාය පහසුවෙන් අනුගමනය කළ නොහැකි නිසා විය හැක. මේ සංස්කෘත කවිහු තම චරිත නිරූපකයින් ලවා ඒ ඒ චරිතාංගයට ගැලපෙන පරිදි සංස්කෘත හෝ වෙනත් ප්‍රාකෘතයන් කතා කරවූහ. දහසය වෙනි හා දහ හත්වෙනි සත වර්ෂයෙහි දී නාව්‍ය කෘතීන්ට කතෝලික පූජකයින්ගෙන් මනත් අනුබල ලැබෙන්නට වූයේ අලුත් ක්‍රිස්තියානිකාරයින්ට උපදෙස් දීමේ මගක් වශයෙනි. අවුරුද්දේ වරින්වර රඟ දැක්වුණු නාව්‍ය ප්‍රදර්ශනය සඳහා නිත්‍ය වේදිකාව වූයේ ජේසු නිකායයේ දෙවස්ථානයයි. අවස්ථෝචිත පරිදි ප්‍රබන්ධිත මේ නාව්‍ය ප්‍රතිකාල් බසින් හෝ සිංහල හෝ දෙමළ බසින් විය.

දහ හත්වෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ දී සිංහල භාෂාවෙන් පොත් ලියන හා ව්‍යාකරණ පබඳින පළමු යුරෝපියයන් දක්නා ලදී. වර්ෂ 1612 දී මල්වානේ සිටි පෙලිංග්ඔවී ප්‍රියතුමා සාන්තුවරයින් විසි හය දෙනෙකුගේ ජීවිත කතා ඇතුලත් පොතක් ලිවීය. කතිකිස්මය, ජේසුස් ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේගේ දර්ශනය සහ තවත් පොත් කිහිපයක්ම එතුමන් ලියූ පොත් අතර වෙයි. මේ කාලයේදීම මැනුවෙල් ද කෝස්තා ප්‍රියතුමා පළමු සිංහල ව්‍යාකරණය විදේශීය භාෂාවකින් රචනා කෙළේය. ශුඛ ධම් සංගීතික දේවගැති තුමෙක් වූ ජේකොබ් ගොන්සාල්විස් ප්‍රියතුමා ගද්‍යයෙන් හා පද්‍යයෙන් සිංහල පොත් කිහිපයක් ම රචනා කෙළේය. එතෙක් ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගමයට වඩා බොහෝ වෙනස් ආගමික හැඟීම් ප්‍රකාශයට පැමිණවීම සඳහා ගෙන තුබුණු භාෂාවකින් ඔහු සාර්ථක ලෙස ක්‍රිස්තියානි අදහස් ප්‍රකාශයට පැමිණ විය. ඔහු ගේ ඉතා ප්‍රකට කෘතීන් අතර දේව වේද පුරාණය දේව වේද සංක්ෂේපය හා වේද කාව්‍යය ද වෙයි.

මේ සත වෂීයන්හිදී සිංහල භාෂාව ඉතා විශාල ලෙස දියුණු වී තුබුණේය. ප්‍රතිකාල් සහ ඕලන්ද යන භාෂාවන්ගෙන් බොහෝ වචන සිංහලයට වැද්දගෙන තිබිණ. පෘතුගීසීන් හදුන්වා දුන් සෑම දෙයක්ම පාහේ ඔවුන්ගේ භාෂාවේ වචනයකින් විස්තර වනහැටි පැහැදිලිවේ. සප්ත්තු, කමිස, බොත්තම, විදුරු, පාන්, ජන්ලය යන මේවා ප්‍රතිකාල් වචනය. අර්තාපල්, ලාව්වුව, ඉස්තෝප්පුව, කැරකොප්පුව, කළුකුන් යනු ඕලන්ද වචනය. ඕලන්ද වචනයක් සිංහලයට සකස්කොට ගන්නාසැටි විමසා බැලීම පයෝජනවත් විය හැක. ඕලන්දයින් ආලින්දයට කියේ "ස්ටූප්" යනුවෙනි. සිංහලයෙක් මේ වචනය අහුලා ගනිමින් "ෆ" නම් ප්‍රණාක්ෂරය වචනය ආරම්භයේවූ "ස්ව්" යන ව්‍යාංජනාක්ෂර දෙකට උපසර්ග වශයෙන් යොදයි. තවද ඔහු ව්‍යාංජනාක්ෂරයෙන් වචනය කෙළවරවීම වලකා හැර "ප්" යන ඔෂ්ඨ්‍යාක්ෂරයට "උ" යන ඕෂ්ඨ්‍ය ප්‍රාණාක්ෂරය එකතු කරයි. මෙසේ ගෙයින් "ස්ටූප්" යන්න "ඉස්තෝප්පුව" බවට පෙරළේ. වෙනත්

cepts. Among his most famous works are the *Deva Veda Puranaya*, the *Deva Veda Sanksepaya*, the *Veda Kavyya*.

During these centuries the Sinhalese language was greatly enriched. Many words were borrowed from Portuguese and Dutch. Practically everything introduced by the Portuguese and the Dutch is still denoted by a word borrowed from their language. Portuguese are words like *sapattu*, *kamisa*, *bottama*, *viduru*, *pan*, *janelaya*. Dutch are words like *artapal*, *lacchuva*, *istoppuva*, *kerakoppuva*, *kalukun*. It may be interesting to follow the process of adaptation of a Dutch word in Sinhalese. The Dutch called a verandah '*stoep*'. A Sinhalese in picking up this word would immediately prefix the vowel 'i' to the double consonant 'st' at the beginning of the word. Further he would avoid the consonantal ending and to a labial 'p' he would easily add the labial vowel 'u' ; hence stoep soon became *istoppu*. There remained to give it only the neuter ending of the nominative to make it similar to other Sinhalese words. Hence *istoppuva*.

The Catholic priests, and especially Fr. J. Goncalvez, expressed Christian ideas in Sinhalese either narrowing down the connotation of some words already in general usage, or coining new terms by means of nominal compounds. Thus the connotation of the word *pujava* was narrowed to mean the Sacrifice of the Mass. New compounds like *jnanasnanaya* and *papoccaranaya* came to mean Baptism and Confession. To build up such compounds Fr. Goncalvez had recourse to Sanskrit words after the example set by Father Robert de Nobili who made Christianity indigenous among the Brahmins of South India. Thus, like Father de Nobili, Father Goncalvez coined those long words "which theologians declare pregnant with meaning, and little children find so difficult to pronounce." If the example of Father Goncalvez had been imitated by others in other spheres of learning, we might, perhaps, have found it easier nowadays to express in Sinhalese the new ideas brought in by Western progress.

During the first half of the 19th century there was a certain amount of literary activity. Valigala wrote the *Sri Vikrama Rajasinha Virudavali* and the *Ahalepola Varnanava;* Don Tomis Samarasekera Disanayaka composed the *Gangarohana;* while Kirama Dhammananda was the author of the *Siya Bas Maldama* and of the *Kav Mutuhara*. These poetical works conform to the ancient tradition since they are inspired by Pali and Sanskrit books. About the middle of the century, however, there occurs a break with the past.

සිංහල වචනවලට සමාන වන පරිදි එය ප්‍රාණවාචක ප්‍රථම විභක්තියෙන් සිටියේය. එනිසා එය ඉස්තෝප්පුවය.

ජේ. ගොන්සාල්විස් පියතුමා ප්‍රධාන කතෝලික පූජකවරු ක්‍රිස්තියානි අදහස් සිංහලයෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කළහ. ඔවුන් එසේ කළේ ව්‍යවහාරවී තුබුණු සිංහල වචන සමහරක් සකස් කිරීමෙන් හෝ නාම සමාස යන්ගේ අඛාර යෙන් අලුත් පද ගලපමිණි. මේ අඳුමට පූජාව නමැති වචනයේ අර්ථය පොදු ජනයාගේ පරිත්‍යාගය යන්නයි. **ඤානස්නානය** සහ **පාපොච්චා-රණය** යන අලුත් සමාස පද බවතීස්මය සහ පව් සමා කිරීමට යෙදේ. එවැනි සමාස නිපදවීම සඳහා දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ බමුණන් අතර ක්‍රිස්තියා නිය සවදෙසිය ආගමක් කළ රොබට්ද නෝසිල් පියතුමාගේ ආදර්ශය අනුව යමින් ගොන්සාල්විස් පියතුමා සංස්කෘත වචන වහල්කොට ගත්තේය. මේ විදිහට තොබිලි පියතුමා මෙන් ගොන්සාල්විස් පියතුමා "දෙව ධර්මාවාදී වරුන් අර්ථයෙන් අනූනයයි සලකන්නාවූද, කුඩා දරුවන්ට උච්චාරණය කිරීමෙහි බොහෝ අපහසුවූද" වචන භාෂාවට එක් කළේය. ගොන්සාල් විස් පියතුමා දැක්වූ ආදර්ශය වෙනත් අංගවල උගතුන් ගුරුකොට ගත්තේ තම් සමහරවිට බවනිර ඇතිවී තිබෙන දියුණුව පිළිබඳ නව අදහස් ප්‍රකාශයට පැමිණවීම මෙකලදී පහසුවෙනවා ඇත.

දහ නවවෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ මූල භාගයේදී සිදුවූ සාහිත්‍යික කටයුතු කිහිපයෙකි. වැලිගල විසින් ශ්‍රී වික්‍රම රාජසිංහ විරුදාවලිය හා ඇහැලේ පොල වර්ණනාවත් රචනා කරන ලදී. දෙන් තෝමස් සමරසේකර දිසා නායක, ගංගාරෝහණ වර්ණනාව රචනා කළේය. මේ අතර කිරම ධම්මා නන්දහිමි සියබස් මල්දම හා කවි මුතුහර රචනා කළහ. පාලි සහ සංස් කෘත පොත්වල ආභාෂය මේ පොත්වලට ඇතුළුවී තිබෙන හෙයින් ඒවා පැරණි සම්ප්‍රදායයට අයත් බව නහවුරු වෙයි.

සත වර්ෂයේ මැදදී අතීතයට තුබුණු සම්බන්ධය නැතිවූවාසේ දැනෙයි. අලුත් ලෙඛකයින් වැඩි දෙනෙක් හිඟියන්වූ අතර ඔවුන් ආගමික හා ශාසනීය පොතපතින් ආභාෂය ලත් අය නොවූහ. එහෙත් ඉංග්‍රීසි පොතපතින් කරුණු උපුටාගත් ඔවුහු වර්තමාන ජීවිතය ගුණධර්ම හා විශෙෂ ප්‍රසංසාත් සමග සලකා බලමින් විස්තර කළහ. අලුත් උද්‍යොගය ඇතිවූයේ පුවත් පත් සහරාවලිනි. මේවායේ බොහෝ ඉඩ කඩ සාහිත්‍යික හා ආගමික වාද විවාදවලට මිඩංගු විය. ඉතාම වැදගත් සාහිත්‍යික වාදය ගංගාරෝහණ වර්ණනාවේ පළමු තවියෙන් ඇරඹේ. මේ අතර ඉතාම උත්කර්ෂවත් ආග මික වාදය වූයේ වර්ෂ 1871 දී බෞද්ධයින් හා ක්‍රිස්තියානීන් අතර ඇරඹුණු පානදුරු වාදයයි. අනතුරුව මේ වාදය සහරා මගින් පවත්වාගෙන යන ලදී. මේ වාදයන් සිංහල පද්‍යය සරල, මවසිළුටු හා ප්‍රාණවත් බවට පත් කළේය. ආගමික වාද විවාදයනට සහභාගිවූ ඥානාර්ථ ප්‍රදීපය මේ දක්වාම මුද්‍රණය කෙරෙයි.

මේ කාලය තුළදීම අළුත් රචනා විලාසයන් දෙකක් දියුණුවන්නට විය. ඒ නව කතාව සහ කෙටි කතාවයි. නව කතාව ඒ. සසිමින් ද සිල්වා ගේ නීතා තෙරේසා, අපේ ගම යන පොත්වලින් පටන් ගන්නා ලදී. සිල් වාට අනතුරුව බුඩාගමය යළි නගා සිටුවීමටත්, සියලුම පෙරදිග සිරිත් වගා කිරීමටත් නව කථාව උපයෝගී කොටගත් පියදාස සිරිසේන කල එළි යට පැමිණියේය. අපේ අවදියට ඉතාම කිට්ටුවෙන් සිටින්නේ ඩබ්ලිව්. ඒ. සිල්වා සහ මාර්ටින් වික්‍රමසිංහන්ය. කෙටි කතාව නගා සිටුවන ලද්දේ ඩබ්ලියූ. ඒ. සිල්වා, මාර්ටින් වික්‍රමසිංහ, ජී. බී. සේනානායක සහ හේමපාල මුණිදාස විසිනි.

කතා කරන බසේ මිම්මට ලියන සිංහල බසගෙන ඒම සඳහා විවා දකයින්, නව කතාකරුවන් හා කෙටි කතා කරුවන් උත්සාහ දරමින් සිටින අතර මුණිදාස කුමාරතුංගගේ නායකත්වය ඇතිව කවි පරම්පරා වක් පහළ වුණේය. සංස්කෘත හෝ වෙනයම් භාෂාවකින් උපුටාගත්

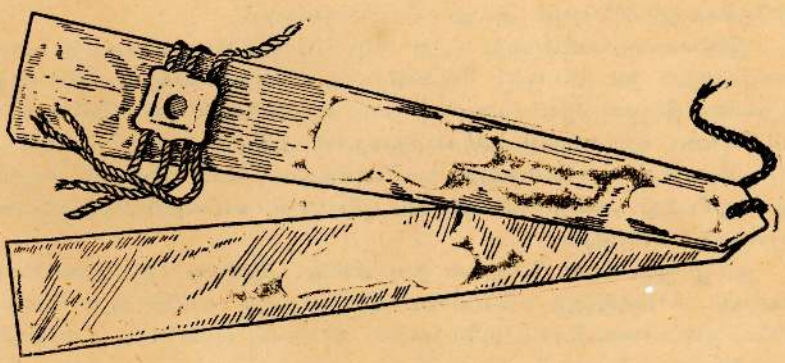
The new writers are chiefly laymen who do not turn any longer to the classical religious literature for their inspiration, but draw their material from English books and describe modern life with their moral and special problems. The new trend started with newspapers and periodicals in which literary and religious controversies occupied much space. The most important literary controversy turned round the first verse of the Gangarohana, while the most celebrated religious controversy started with the debate held at Panadura in 1871 between the Buddhists and the Christians and was then carried on in the periodicals. These controversies brought about a Sinhalese prose simple, flexible, and forceful. The Jnanartha Pradipaya, which took part in those religious controversies, is still published.

During this same time two new literary compositions began to be cultivated: the novel and the short story. The novel began with A. Simon de Silva who wrote *Mina, Terisa, Ape Gama*. Silva was followed by Piyadasa Sirisena who made use of the novel to advocate a return to Buddhism and to all oriental ways of life. Much nearer to our times are W. A. Silva and Martin Wickramasinghe. The short story has been cultivated by W. A. Silva, Martin Wickramasinghe, G. B. Senanayake, Hemapala Munidasa.

While the controversialists, the novelists and the short story writers have been trying to bring the written Sinhalese prose as close as possible to the spoken language, there has been a school of poets under the leadership of Munidasa Kumaranatunga who have been advocating a return to the pure Elu language, free from all words borrowed directly from Sanskrit or from other languages. What their compositions gain in simple beauty and easy rhythm, they lose in strength and forcefulness and variety. As no English work would limit itself to Saxon words exclusively, so no Sinhalese literary work should use only Elu words to the exclusion of all borrowings.

වචන තැනිව කෑවතත් පිරිසුදු එළබසින් වැඩ කරන ලෙස මොවුන් කියා සිටියහ.

සරල අලංකාරයෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ රචනාවන් අනුනවූ තරමට ප්‍රාණවත් බවින්, එසිතර කමින් හා විවිධත්වයෙන් පිරිහී තිබේය. කිසිම ඉංග්‍රිසි කෘතියක් සැක්සන් වචනවලට පමණක් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම සීමා නොවන්නාක් මෙන් කිසිම සිංහල සාහිත්‍ය කෘතියක් තයව් ගත් සියලුම වචන අතහැර එළ බසින් පමණක් නොකළ යුතුය.



மௌனம்

உரத்துப்பேசல், மிதமிஞ்சிப்பேசல், அதமமென்பது தமிழ் நாகரிகமரபு. நமது பெரும் ஞானியொருவர், மானிடன் செய்யக்கூடிய பலத்த கிரியைகள் பலவற்றை ஒரு கவியிற் பாடி, "சிந்தையை அடக்கியே சும்மா இருக்கின்ற திறன் அறிந்திலனே" என்று தன் கவியை முடிக்கிறார். தமிழ் மூதாக்கள், பெண்களுக்கு அழகெனக் குறித்த நாலிலக்ஷணங்கள் "அச்சம், மடம், நாணம், பயிர்ப்பு," என்பனவாம். இவை ஒவ்வொன்றும் "மௌனம்" எனும் குண சீலத்தோடு சம்பந்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. 'அச்சம்' என்பது பயமல்ல. என் வார்த்தை மற்றவனுடைய மனதைக் கிலேசப்படுத்துமோ என்று ஆராயப்புகும் பொழுது, காணப்படும் தோற்றப்பயமாகும். 'மடம்' என்பது அறியாமையல்ல. நான் அறிந்தவற்றை உரத்துக்கூற விரும்பாததால், அறியாமைபோலத் தோற்றும் போலி மடமாம். நாணம் என்பது ஆங்கிலத்திலுள்ள Modesty எனும் வார்த்தைக்குச் சமமானது. பயிர்ப்பு என்பது என்னகருத்துளதோ என்று பலர் தர்க்கின்றனர். ஆனல், Culture அல்லது Cultivatedness பயிர்ப்பு என்று உத்தேசிக்கத்துணிகிறேன். இஃது எப்படியிருக்கினும்,

இனியவுளதாகவின்னது கூறல் கனியிருக்கக்காய் கவர்ந்தற்று, எனும் மொழியுடைய நம் நாட்டில், மௌனத்தை மதித்துப் பேசுதல் பொருந்தும். மேற்கண்ட திருவள்ளுவர் குறளில், நாம் கற்றுக்கொள்வது—இனிப்பும் கனிவும் கொண்ட ஏராளமான நல் வார்த்தைகள் தமிழ்ப் பாஷையிலிருக்க, அழகற்ற கசப்பான வார்த்தைகளை உபயோகித்தல், மரம் நிறையப் பழங்கள் தொங்குமிடத்து, அவற்றைப் பறித்துப் புசியாமல், காய்களைப் பிடுங்கித்தின்பது போலாகும்: என்பதாம்.

தமிழ் மூதாக்கள் இத்துடன் நிற்கவில்லை. இனியவார்த்தைகள் கிடையாதிருக்கும் காலத்திலும், கசப்பான வார்த்தைகளை உபயோகிக்க வேண்டியதில்லை. நல் உணவு கிடையாதவேளையில், நச்சுணவு புசியாமல், உண்ணுவிரத மனுசரித்தல் உசிதமாயிருத்தல் போல், நன்மை பயக்காத வார்த்தைகளைப் பேசுவதிலும் பார்க்க, பேசாதிருத்தல், மௌன விரத மனுசரித்தல், நன்றெனக்கொள்க.

RETICENCE

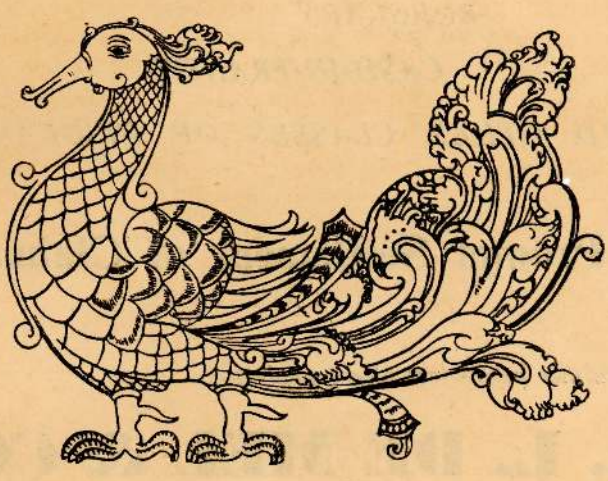
A Synopsis in English

Silence is Golden, Speech is Silvern. To be loud in speech or in manner is a sign of lack of culture and refinement.

The desire to display all one knows or feels, and the over-emphasis in art which characterises some of its cruder expressions also betray a lack of taste. Even in the communion of friendship, the higher forms of bliss are experienced not in clamorous exchange of words, but in the gentle transfer of words, or thoughts or looks. The Tamil Sages of old have scheduled four items of refinement for women, which, mutatis mutandis, are of course applicable to all humans. These are Acham, Muddam, Narnam, Paitpu. These cover modesty and reticence, fear of doing wrong by word, and a delicacy in the selection of words.

There are occasions when assertiveness and dash pay substantial but temporary dividends, but reserve and reticence reveal a nobler attitude of mind, and a higher culture of the soul.

A. M. K. Cumaraswamy



AS OTHERS SEE US

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Soulbury: Governor-General of Ceylon, 1947—54: "The New Lanka Review can hold its own with any in the world" said Viscount Soulbury yesterday at a cocktail party given by Mr. G. L. Cooray to its contributors (*Times of Ceylon*, 16-7-1954)

Dr. H. W. Howes, C.M.G. Director of Education, Ceylon, 1949—53; was Unesco Consultant on Education, Caribbean Commission, in 1954.

"I write to congratulate all concerned with *New Lanka* on the high standard reached and maintained. *New Lanka* has succeeded in the expression of news upon Ceylonese culture through the English medium as well as being a forum of ideas on South Asia generally. As a very genuine lover of Ceylon, I feel that *New Lanka* is performing an inestimable service to her people" (31-7-1954).

Dr. Paul A. Schilpp, Editor, The Library of Living Philosophers, Inc., North-western University, Evanston, Illinois.

"You certainly are to be congratulated upon editing such an excellent periodical. I am happy to offer you my sincerest congratulations upon a task admirably done."

Sir Richard Livingstone: (Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Oxford.)

"It was very kind of you to send me the *New Lanka* and I have been enjoying it. It is an admirably balanced periodical, if I may say so, in its choice of subjects, and I should like to join with the others whose views are recorded in this issue in hoping that you will be able to maintain your high standard and so serve the intellectual interests of Ceylon."

The Rev. A. G. Fraser: Principal, Trinity College, Kandy, 1904—1924.

"May I add how much I appreciate your child, the *New Lanka*. It is one of the finest Quarterlies I have seen. May you and your great Quarterly prosper" Lanka. Droitwich.

The Hon. John Grigg, Associate Editor, *The National and English Review*

"I very much enjoy reading the *New Lanka* and should like, if I may, to congratulate you on a fine piece of journalism."

Major D. J. G. Hennessy, New Zealand, Author of *Green Aisles:*

"The standard is far above anything in the Antipodes."

The Late Sir Andrew Caldecott:

"I know of no other Dominion periodical to match it."

Lars J. Lind, UNESCO, Paris:

"Congratulations on a fine publication."

The Rev. S. K. Bunker, President, Jaffna College, Ceylon:

"You deserve the thanks of all thinking people in Ceylon."

The Editor, *Ceylon Daily News:*

"It affords a forum for the discussion of current problems and the interchange of ideas in a more leisurely and perhaps less impassioned atmosphere than that of the daily press or even of the weeklies. *New Lanka* fills a long- felt want in this respect and fills it admirably... Its contents are rich and varied."

The Rt. Rev. C. M. Ricketts M.A., a former Vicar of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Colombo: "I always find much enlightenment and interest in it and if it maintains its catholic and tolerant spirit it should be a real help."

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