INDIA AND CHINA

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LECTURES DELIVERED IN CHINA IN MAY 1944

BY

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HIND KITABS
PUBLISHERS : BOMBAY

Rs. 6

First Published, 1944

PRINTED AT THE BANGALORE PRESS, BANGALORE CITY
BY G. SRINIVASA RAO, SUPERINTENDENT : AND PUBLISHED
BY V. KULKARNI, HIND KITABS, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

To

MRS & MR S. C. MAJUMDAR

PREFACE

THIS book is based on notes of lectures delivered during my brief visit to China (6th to 21st of May, 1944). Its main purpose is to contribute a little to the revival of cultural understanding between China and India. As I am not acquainted with the Chinese language, my views on the religion and culture of the Chinese are but provisional and any dogmatism of form is only a concession to the requirements of exposition.

It will be invidious to mention the names of those who helped to make my stay in China comfortable and pleasant but I must express my gratitude to Mr K. P. S. Menon, the Agent-General for India at Chungking and his good wife for their kindness to me while I was at Chungking, to the Honorable the Minister for Education, Mr Chen Li-Fu[1] who was in charge of my programme and to the Vice-Minister of Education, Dr Ku,[2] who was my guide, companion and friend.

My thanks are due to Professor D. S. Sarma who very kindly read the Proofs.

I am inscribing this book to Mrs and Mr S. C. Majumdar who, with the other members of their family, have been very kind to me all these years especially during my illness in 1943.

MADRAS,
13th October 1944

S. R.

[1] Appendix III.
[2] Appendix VII.

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1. INTRODUCTION

INVITATION

IN the year 1942, there was a proposal that I should go to Chungking to present a portrait of Rabindranath Tagore to the Chinese Government and have it unveiled by the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. On account of the August disturbances and other difficulties, the idea was dropped, though the portrait was sent and duly unveiled. It occupies the central position in the new building of the Sino-Indian Society in Chungking, a symbol of the revived collaboration between the Chinese and the Indian cultures. When the Chinese Government sent their invitation in March this year and requested me to spend about five or six weeks in April and May, I agreed to visit China in the month of May for two or three weeks. I spent actually fifteen days in and around Chungking visiting Universities, academic societies and Buddhist shrines.[1] My visit was perhaps not well-timed. Conditions in China were confused and depressing. Differences between the Kuomintang and the Communists had become acute and were impeding the force of Chinese resistance. The offensive in Honan province was in full swing. China was greatly preoccupied and many felt whether it was the proper time for me to visit China on a cultural mission. But other considerations inclined me in favour of the proposed visit. I felt a sense of shame that while I had visited Europe about a dozen times, I had not made a single trip to the Far East. Indians know more about the language, literature, religion and scientific thought of the West than of the East. The unsettled conditions of China were perhaps the right time for a friendly visit. Besides, political distress in China has liberated radiant spiritual power. Everywhere were signs of a creative ardour. The clashing of different forces, eastern and western, traditional and revolutionary, has produced an awakening of the human consciousness of which

1. See Appendix 1

the future is uncertain. India too is passing through a similar awakening which is some consolation for the decay in external institutions. Besides, the difficulties which we have to encounter today are nothing when compared to the hardships which our ancestors had to face in their travels to China centuries ago, across mountains and seas. Their efforts in the interests of cultural co-operation are an inspiration to us. So with the idea that my visit to the Universities of China may help a little to strengthen the cultural ties between our two peoples, I undertook this journey.

UNIVERSITIES IN CHINA

Ideas move the world. Thought precedes action. Educational institutions are the centres where the new China is being created. The cultural renaissance which insists on freeing men's minds from the shackles of tradition and which proposes to develop a new simplified language as an effective instrument for popular education and an effective medium for the development of a new culture is furthered by the leaders of the Universities, which are the strongholds of Chinese nationalism. As such they have been the objects of special attention by the enemy. The Chinese teachers and students in occupied China were torn loose from the roots that held them and turned out of their historic buildings. They have now migrated to centres in free China, where they carry on with a wonderful spirit, in spite of great difficulties and even physical hardships. There are no palatial buildings, no well-equipped laboratories, no good libraries. The classes are held in improvised huts built of bamboo and clay, and tables and chairs are made of deal wood. A University is a corporation or society of teachers and students and such a corporation lives, even if all the buildings used by the teachers and students are razed to the ground. The faculties of the Universities which were turned out of their old abodes are held together and that is a great achievement. If we are poor we can regain our wealth, if we are sick we can recover our health, but if we are dead no power on earth

can restore us to life. The Universities see to it that the spirit of China is kept alive. I have an impression that the teachers who were high in the social scale in China for centuries are now suffering terribly. Scholars are the official class in China. Many of the diplomats are from the University staff. The former Ambassador to Berlin is the present Head of the Central Political Institute. Teachers are underpaid as their salaries which were fixed with reference to pre-war conditions are now utterly inadequate. The small increases effected are nothing if we take into account the inflated prices of even necessary commodities. Students, I am afraid, are underfed and both teachers and students suffer from severe economic pressure. For them comfort has become a dream and security a mockery.

Yet the war has not been able to check the growth in the University spirit or the numbers of students. I am informed that China has today more students in her Universities than at any time before. Co-education is the rule. Boys and girls work together in a free and joyous way. There does not seem to be any license as the result of this spirit of freedom and frankness. There may be a great deal of talk about free love and companionate marriage, but most of the young men and women seem to be clean in body and mind. Of course accidents occur and scandals are not unheard of. The 'casualties' do not seem to exceed the numbers we come across in well-established Universities in Great Britain and America. In the main co-education has been a success. The Chinese woman was till recently confined to her home and her education was in and through family life. Polygamy and parental care assured to every woman a husband and a home. Women in China were debarred from taking active part in public life or business or in the learned professions. Now monogamy is established by law and war-time conditions have brought about a freedom which may well make for a healthy social life.

The standards in the Universities are high, though much work in the departments of science cannot be satisfactorily

done in the present conditions and China needs today more of science and technology. Centuries of Confucian training are responsible for the predominantly literary bias of Chinese education. It is only after the Revolution that scientific studies were taken up more seriously. The Science Society of China was founded in 1914. The Academia Sinica has a number of research institutes in both literary and scientific subjects.

China after the war will have a great opportunity to rebuild her bombed cities and her Universities and demonstrate to the world that she has still the imagination and the will-power which built the ancient miracles of art and architecture. An American visitor to Italy travelled from one great city to another and gazed at the marvels of art, and at the end of the tour asked his guide with a naïveté which was as disarming as it was startling: 'Say, this is all wonderful—all so mighty old—But....what have you done in the last hundred years?'

Even in agriculture changes have not been introduced. An old Chinese proverb says: 'To learn to be a farmer one need not study, one needs only to do as one's neighbour does.' Conservative adherence to the empirical methods of past generations, widespread individualism, and a lack of co-operative spirit have retarded progress in agriculture. If more intensive methods of raising crops are to be adopted, the methods of agriculture require to be modernized. The immense mineral resources of the country have not been developed. China has a proper sense of values and after the war will be prepared to spend an appreciable amount on the development of agriculture. As the Chinese mind is essentially practical and matter-of-fact, China will be able to adopt and adapt modern scientific technique.

The atmosphere in the Universities is full of animation. Student societies discuss political utopias, international problems and eternal verities till late in the night.

In all educational institutions, the pupils are initiated into the principles of the Chinese revolution. There is a

service at 11 a.m. on Mondays, when the members, students and staff salute the national flag, pay their homage to Dr Sun Yat-Sen who arrested the slow disintegration of China, gave to the people a sense of unity and restored their national self-respect, and repeat the principles laid down by him. Dr Sun Yat-Sen's programme[1] for social, political and economic regeneration has appealed to the whole Chinese nation. The Kuomintang, the Communists, and even the followers of Wang Ching-Wei accept the principles, though they give to them varying interpretations. There are certain party institutes, like the Central Training Corps and the Central Political Institute run by the Kuomintang, under the direct control of the Generalissimo. Critics are not wanting who look upon them as instruments of regimentation. Unkind foreigners hold that the Generalissimo is more for efficiency than for democracy, that minority opinion is suppressed and that some of the institutions are not different from concentration camps. The rule of the

1. The three principles of San Min Chu I are thus stated:

(*a*) The Principle of the People's Race, or Nationalism. Races have developed through natural forces. Natural force is *wang-tao* (the royal way); the group moulded by *wang-tao* is the race, the nation. Natural forces which mould races and nations are common blood, livelihood, language, religion, customs and habits. Nationalism is that precious possession which enables a State to aspire to progress and a nation to perpetuate its existence.

(*b*) The Principle of the People's Sovereignty, or Democracy. Any unified and organized body of men is called a 'people'. What is 'sovereignty'? It is power and authority extended over the area of the State. When 'people' and 'sovereignty' are linked together, we have the political power of the people. Government is a thing of the people; it is control of the people and by the people; it is control of affairs for all the people. And where the people control the government we speak of the 'people's sovereignty'.

(*c*) The Principle of the People's Livelihood, or Socialism. *Minsheng* denotes the livelihood of the people, the welfare of society, the life of the masses; and the Principle of Livelihood is for solving the problem of subsistence for the masses. The search for Livelihood is consistent with the law of social progress; it is the central force in history. The problem of subsistence is the problem of the people's livelihood. In order to improve the people's livelihood the following principles are to be carried out: (i) equalization of land ownership, and (ii) regulation of capital.—Quoted from *An Outline of the Organization of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Government*, issued by the Official China Information Committee, Chungking, 1940.

Kuomintang may be regarded as inconsistent with the principle of democracy, one of the three principles of Dr Sun Yat-Sen's programme, which requires that the instruments of government must be popularly elected, and after election, be democratically controlled. The Kuomintang has prepared a draft constitution, for the establishment of democracy in China after the war, which includes such modern political devices as the initiative, and the recall of ministers who have forfeited public confidence. At the moment there is much dissatisfaction among teachers and students that opinion is controlled. Except for the spirit of resistance to Japan stimulated by the present government, it cannot be said to be popular. The Chinese are taught to look upon themselves as members of a family and so are deficient in the power of corporate action in wider fields. This attachment to the family circle can be seen in business concerns, military affairs and even in the field of government. That one or two families are in power and rule the country is a matter of general comment. A young girl asked to draw the map of China drew the picture of Dr Kung, the Finance Minister! And yet there is no alternative leadership visible on the horizon. Laws to be obeyed should be made by those who have to obey them. Only a democratically controlled government can govern, can put down corruption in high places, give protection to life and property and discharge the duties demanded of it by new treaties and international agreements. In all countries engaged in war, democratic institutions do not work normally. There is every hope that in China too they will begin to function, as soon as the war is over.

RELIGION IN CHINA

China is called Chung Kuo, the Middle Kingdom. Mencius tells us that 'Confucius was one who abstained from extremes'.[1] The *Mean in Action* is one of the great Chinese classics. Buddhism, which is accepted by China,

1. IV.2.X. See *Analects*, XI. 15

adopts the Middle Path. Naturally the people of China have a distrust of extremes. They are not fanatic in their views. Religion is the one field where fanaticism easily grows, but the Chinese religion is refreshingly free from it. Chinese life is not soiled by the dust and smoke of acrimonious religious controversy. For political reasons, there have been persecutions but they never assumed the severity of the religious wars of Europe or the horrors of the Inquisition. The Chinese are not slaves to rigid dogmas, nor are they deaf to the voice of human nature, its active reason and generous feeling. Reason and good sense had a large measure of success in banishing superstition and extravagance from art, literature and religion. Even when they discuss serious things, the Chinese have a sense of humour. When Mo-Tzu considers the objection of those who believe that the dead do not exist and so sacrifices to them are a waste of time and food, he says: 'It is not waste at all even admitting that there are no such things as spirits of the dead. One might call it waste indeed, if the wine and so on were merely poured into the gutter. But in point of fact, the members of the family and friends in the village all get their share, so that, at worst, sacrificing makes an excuse for bringing people together and helps us to get on to better terms with our neighbours.'[1] Again, in 265 B.C., the wife of the former ruler of Ch'in lay dying. She was greatly attached to a stranger from the Wei State, and gave orders that he was to be sacrificed at her funeral, in order that his spirit might escort her beyond the grave. The stranger from Wei was much upset, and a friend interviewed the dying lady on his behalf, saying: 'Do you believe that the dead are conscious?' 'I do not think they are,' she said..... 'Then what possible good can it do you, great lady, that one whom you loved in life should go with you into a state where there is no consciousness? If, on the other hand, the dead are conscious, a fine rage the late king will be in! "Here's the queen," he will say, "who has been hovering between life

1. Waley : *The Way and Its Power* (1936), p. 39

and death for months past, arriving with a man from Wei! She can't have been quite as ill all the time as she led people to suppose." ' The queen said: 'How true!' and desisted.[1]

The poet Po Chui wrote about Lao Tzu:

Those who speak know nothing;
Those who know are silent.
These words, as I am told,
Were spoken by Lao Tzu.
If we are to believe that Lao Tzu
Was himself one who knew,
How comes it that he wrote a book
Of five thousand words?.....[2]

There is little aggressiveness or self-assertion among the sects. When an attempt was made as late as 1915–1916, to incorporate a clause in the new Constitution of the Republic, establishing the teaching of the Confucian school as the basic system of moral education in China and it obtained the support of Yuan Shih-Kai, it was thrown out, as the new leaders of thought fought hard against its adoption in the final text of the constitution. The chief arguments against its acceptance are thus stated by Mr Ch'en Tu-Shiu: 'All religions are useless as instruments of government and education. They are to be classed with the other discarded ideals of a past age. Even if we may concede that a religion may be needed by an uneducated people, are we justified in disregarding all the teachings of the other religions? We shall be guilty of encroaching upon the religious liberty of the people, if the other religions are ignored and Confucius alone is constitutionally recognized.'[3]

From the fact that there have not been any intense religious persecutions, we cannot infer that the Chinese people are deficient in the spirit of religion. I have often heard it said by visitors to China and some of the Chinese seem to take pride in it—that the people of China are not

1. Waley: *The Way and Its Power* (1936), p. 40
2. Waley: *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, E.T. (1923), p. 166
3. Hu Shih: *The Chinese Renaissance* (1934), p. 90

interested in religion, that their intellectuals are sceptics or agnostics or even atheists, while the young men are anti-religious. It is not for me to dogmatize on this question, but we have to remember that even in early times the religion of the Chinese was a simple one, consisting chiefly in a worship of their ancestors, a belief in the spirits and powers of the natural forces, a worship of the supreme God or Heaven, and the practice of divination. There was little of mythology or of ritualism.

I met a large number of students and teachers in the Universities and other educational institutions and it did not occur to me that there was anything peculiar to the Chinese young men and women in the matter of religion. There will be a new phase of religious life all over the world, a simpler and more spiritual faith. China is preparing for it, along with other nations, but there is no serious attempt to eradicate the instinct for worship which is deeply implanted within us all. The Chinese may not be sensitive to problems of speculative theology and personal salvation, but that does not prove that they are not religious-minded.

At the Fu-tan University, I spoke on the theme, 'Is religion essential?' The Dean who presided said at the end of my talk that the students held a debate a few weeks earlier on a similar subject and decided by a very large majority that, while dogmatic and institutional religion was unnecessary, religion as spiritual life was essential for human progress. We are today proud of our scientific achievements and technological equipment and organization; we have also in abundance the moral qualities of obedience, discipline, loyalty, daring and the spirit of sacrifice. Never was our social conscience more alive, never was the general desire for peace more ardent, never was goodwill for our neighbours more abundant, and yet the world is in the grip of force and hate. The world seems to be like a pilotless plane. It has power, movement, speed and potentiality for good, but it has lost direction. What we need is not more knowledge or more organization; it is not even more discipline or

more obedience but the spirit of religion, a recognition of those supreme ends of life to which science and organization, discipline and obedience are to be harnessed.

Fortunately religion in China has not been ecclesiasticism. It is not ruled by dogmas. It is a tone, a temper, an atmosphere, charged with the belief in the reality of spiritual life which is superior to the ordinary life of pleasure and profit. A variety of tendencies and opinions exist side by side in a setting of spiritual conciliation. The true nobility of outlook characteristic of the Chinese is the result of their conviction, that religion is not so much a matter for rational discussion as of direct expression in life, through words and deeds. Religion is not established by argument but is revealed by life. The poets and the prophets, the saints and the mystics reveal, in the only way that is finally convincing to the philosopher or the man in the street, the primacy of faith. A Socrates or a Buddha, a Jesus or a Paul, by his unstudied directness and spontaneity in refusing to toe the line of expediency, carries conviction to the people at large. They illustrate by their lives that they possess the inaccessible knowledge of God and have the unflinching courage to put it into practice.

With the large majority of people, religion does not mean ascetic discipline, fasting and other such quietings of the body. If it is the mark of a religious man to love God more than anything else, to renounce everything for His sake, to think that all the sweet things of life are well lost if only he may attain to God, then the Chinese are not a religious people. There have been among them quite a few souls who satisfy this standard, who have an engrossing sense of God, who seek their good more in contemplation than in action, who long to live the life of solitaries and wish to cultivate their soul, released from social pressure. For the large majority of the Chinese people, however, the purpose of religion is to produce a gentle, tolerant and enlightened temper. If our emotions and ideas fall into harmony, we are happy; if they are chaotic and disordered, we are unhappy. The cultivation of the inward life is an essential

part of human perfection. Even among those who live hermit lives, we do not find the heaviness and inelasticity of religious bigots.

In China and India, religion is a matter of life and experience and not of belief and dogma. It has for its aim the perception of the deepest reality which is one with the deepest self. The kingdom of God is within you. *Tat tvam asi.* When Ananda asked the Buddha in his last moments on earth for instruction, the Buddha said that he had taught freely and held back nothing; only, the meaning and truth he taught should become a living part of the believer. We must make the inner self, the ātman, our lamp (dīpa), and refuge (śaraṇa); we must acquire the Eye of Truth. The famous Indian teacher Bodhidharma taught that religious merit does not lie in book-learning or even good works, but in insight and illumination which come of meditation. The only reality is the Buddha nature, the Dharmakāya in the heart of every man. Lü Yen, an eighth century eclectic writer, says: 'When Confucius says, knowing brings one to the goal, or when the Buddha calls it the View of the Heart, or Lao Tzu says Inward Vision, it is all the same.'[1] These are not referring to any pathological phenomena confined to religious cranks and ascetic recluses but to a widening of consciousness beyond the narrow limits of the ordinary intellectual consciousness. Spirit is wider than intellect, and when we get behind the intellectual forms into the depths of our spiritual being, we discover the same presence and feel the same aspiration.

Religious insight is an experience of the soul for which teaching is only a preparation. Freedom of the spirit is not achieved by a mere decision of the intellect. It demands the most thorough-going ethical preparation, a radical transformation of nature, a conquest of cupidity and egoism. No intellectual sophistry can liberate us from the fetters of māyā. The development of the higher consciousness is not so much the result of divine grace as of individual effort.

1. Wilhelm: *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, E.T. (1935), p. 37

God is not outside the individual but is in him ready to shine and manifest Himself, if the obstructions are removed. Even sacrifices were regarded as means for the cleansing of the self. There is insistence on the stilling of outward activities, the unsheathing of the soul, the getting beyond the successive layers of consciousness, till we reach the pure spirit in us. So creeds and ceremonies are fetters to be shaken off by the free in spirit. Even the images we worship are imaginative presentments of the Reality which cannot be adequately depicted or described:

'They are but broken lights of Thee
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.'

Creeds are valuable as means to the realization, and only the ignorant quarrel about them. Bodhidharma who taught the contemplative sect known in China as the Ch'an (from Sanskrit dhyāna) and in Japan as the Zen school had two important Chinese disciples, Hui-si and Chi-K'ai. The latter went beyond his master and evolved a new system, which reconciled the apparent contradictions in the teachings of the Buddha. He said: 'The diversity of human conditions is extreme, the philosophical theories are many, but the end is one. It is to get over the evil, to attain the truth and the ultimate good. It does not matter much by which way each of them arrives at it, it is enough if he can arrive at it. Those who do not understand it compare and discuss the teachings of various schools, those who understand it accept them all and assimilate them.' The Buddhists in China and Japan study the texts of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and recognize their importance, as they are suited to different temperaments and lead to the one end of living a life of spirit. The religiousness of an individual is to be measured more by the fruits of the spirit than by the affirmations of theology. An ampler survey of the experience of the human race reveals that one can get religious purpose into one's life without indulging in dogmatic fashions. We may not accept any particular creed, it is enough if we live the life. 'They who have lived with the Eternal Word are Christians even though we call them atheists,' said Justin Martyr.

The Chinese people do not regard the three faiths of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism as competitive. They look upon them as complementary. In an atmosphere of spiritual conciliation, the three faiths mingled with one another and by their different emphases satisfied the social, mystical and ethical needs of men. While Confucianism stressed the karma aspect, Taoism the mystical or the jñāna side, Buddhism supplied a philosophy and an ethics which dealt adequately with these two sides of religion.[1] As men are of different temperaments they are likely to emphasize this or that side of the Chinese religion which is a mixture of all the three.[2] A great philosopher who follows Mo-Tzu prefers the Buddhist to the Confucian ideal. He says: 'Let us consider the traditions transmitted by the three dynasties and the doctrinal practices of the literati,.... benevolence, justice, and purity are much esteemed..... Such is the line of conduct followed by the average literati, but not appreciated by the people who have practised detachment. The śramaṇas practise the Way and the Virtue and replace by them the pleasures of the world. They turn to purity and

1. 'Amongst the people at large the three religions are not mutually exclusive. The deficiency of Confucianism in making little or no provision, beyond a calm stoicism, for the spiritual demands of human nature has been supplied by the more spiritual provision of Buddhism, and the indefiniteness of Confucius as to a continued existence after death has been met by the more definite Taoist dogma of immortality. The three are complementary rather than antagonistic to each other, and together they make a fuller provision for human needs than any one of them does separately. Consequently no clear line of demarcation popularly exists between them. For general purposes we may say that the shrines of each one are open to all and availed of by all.'—*The Three Religions of China*, by Soothill (1929), pp. 12–13

2. 'Seeing that Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were all imperially recognized religions, it follows that, from the emperor down to the smallest official, all worshipped at the shrines of all three. Emperor and officials contributed towards the support of, and made their acts of worship before, the shrines of deities, whether Confucian, Buddhist, or Taoist. They did this as part of their official duty in maintaining the religious life of the nation.' —*Ibid.*, p. 228. Again: 'The fact is that the outstanding doctrines and principles of the three religions have entered into so close a combination that they have precipitated, almost inseparably, in the mind and character of the people.'—*Ibid.*, p. 249

wisdom and avoid the pleasures of the family life. What can be more wonderful than this?' Emperor K'ang-hsi issued a decree to the monks of Puto in which he said: 'We since our boyhood have been earnest students of Confucian lore and have had no time to become minutely acquainted with the sacred Books of Buddhism, but we are satisfied that Virtue is the one word which indicates what is essential in both systems. Let us pray to the compassionate Kuan-Yin (Bodhisattva) that she may of her grace send down upon our people the spiritual rain and sweet dew of the Good Law; that she may grant them bounteous harvest, seasonable winds and the blessings of peace, harmony and long life and finally that she may lead them to the salvation which she offers to all beings in the universe.'[1]

The Chinese have a certain delicacy of feeling which makes them unwilling to dispute or discuss about spiritual things. They have reverence for them and so adopt a detached but respectful attitude to all religious rites and beliefs. They will participate with dignity in ceremonies performed in honour of Confucius or the Buddha. Even as many Hindus go to temples, Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, so many Chinese worship at Taoist and Buddhist temples. They use Confucian, Taoist or Buddhist institutions as their requirements need. They may visit the different shrines on the same day and for the same purpose, even as we consult in our ailments a homeopath, an allopath or an ayurvedic or unani physician. We may use our judgment and prefer the one or the other as the circumstances demand. 'It is commonly said that the Chinese belong to three religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, and the saying is not altogether inaccurate. Popular language speaks of the three creeds and an ordinary person in the course of his life may take part in rites which imply a belief in them all. Indeed the fusion is so complete that one may justly talk of Chinese religion, meaning the jumble of ceremonies and beliefs accepted by the average man. Yet at the same time it is possible to be an

1. Johnston : *Buddhist China*, p. 352

enthusiast for any one of the three without becoming unconventional.'[1]

We can count the number of Christians and Muslims in China, but not the Buddhists. The creeds of the former are definite and exclusive, but Buddhism has affected the whole life, art and literature of the people. The ideas of karma or rebirth and the ethical teaching of Buddhism have entered the mental make-up of the Chinese. The entry of Semitic religions with their insistence on exclusive methods of salvation and finality of dogmas has disturbed somewhat the peaceful religious life of the Chinese. But the Chinese spirit has been too much even for them. I asked some of the Chinese leaders of the Christian Church whether they believed in the unrepeatable uniqueness and exclusive finality of the Christian revelation and I gathered from their answers that while they were taught such doctrines, they were not inclined to press them in the Chinese atmosphere. The Chinese temper makes it possible for the believers in different faiths to meet and learn one another's point of view and grow in the process. Unless we are able to do it in the great intellectual centres of the world, there cannot develop that mutual respect and understanding which is so essential for the proper grasp of that common humanity and civilization to which many races and communities have contributed. Men are divided only by their external forms. Every believer represents the aspiration derived from the presence in each of the same indwelling God. Speaking about religious education in Christian Britain, Professor Gilbert Murray writes: 'To a Rationalist....it is, in the strict sense of the word, barbaric to indoctrinate all young people with a belief in an anthropomorphic god, who "makes man in his own image", and even "begets" a son by a mortal virgin. Such ideas belong to the childhood of the Mediterranean peoples. Again, from the moral and political points of view, it is shocking and monstrous to teach the child that those who do not believe these things are either eternally damned, as

1. Eliot : *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III (1921), p. 226

the stricter sects maintain, or at least incapable of being good citizens, as some of the B.B.C. theologians have recently told us.'[1] To the Taoist and the Buddhist, as to the great Christian mystics, the supreme Reality is incomprehensible and its nature cannot be defined in human language, but can only be suggested by myths and images. To call God Father or a 'Friend behind phenomena' or a 'Saviour' is more a metaphor than a statement of fact. Myths and metaphors are the only means by which man's limited intelligence expresses the inexpressible. Even the Semitic religions will have to accept this view. The damnation of the unbeliever is a doctrine which they will have to give up as one which is not an aid to the good life but is opposed to it, inasmuch as it develops hatred and fanaticism.

The spirit of toleration comes out in an incident reported by Miss Brendon.[2] She asked the Abbot of Fa Yuan Ssu why there were tablets on the altar of his temple for the souls of the European soldiers who were killed in the Great War. 'Do you not realize,' she asked, 'that none of these soldiers were Buddhists?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'but may we not admire the beauty of their sacrifice? and are not all faiths fundamentally alike in that they desire the good of all mortals? In your Christian churches do you not pray for the salvation of all and believe in it?' Miss Brendon hesitated to give an affirmative answer to this question.

In practice almost all the Chinese people, whatever their religious faiths may be, accept the Confucian ideals. Filial piety and the appeal of history[3] are formative forces in

1. *The Rationalist Annual* (1944), p. 4

2. *Peking* (1929), p. 219 quoted in Pratt: *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, p. 395

3. 'To gather in the same places where our fathers before us have gathered; to perform the same ceremonies which they before us have performed; to play the same music which they before us have played; to pay respect to those whom they honoured; to love those who were dear to them —in fact, to serve those now dead as if they were still with us; this is the highest achievement of true filial piety.' See *Analects*. When the great Ancestor exercised sway over the earth, there was no internecine strife. The Ancestor *Ti* is the universal ruler and all schools of Chinese thought believe that they have

Chinese culture. The Chinese are concerned about the building of the Kingdom of God on earth. They are interested more in the life-transforming character of religion than in its life-transcending quality. It is understood that we can develop detachment only if we fulfil the instinctive demands. The condition of gaining insight is freedom from desires, ambitions and passions which bind us to the visible world. This freedom, however, results from the intelligent fulfilment of instinctive demands and not from their premature repression. We must obey the laws of the earth, if we wish to know the truths of spirit. It is the duty of the religious man not to withdraw from the scene of mankind's social agony but to save the world. The religious ceremonial in the period preceding Confucius was chiefly, concerned with the material well-being of the community, and it determined the bent of the Chinese mind in the direction of political, social and moral thought. Naturally the teachings of Confucius were conditioned by this fact. His ideal was a well-ordered society composed of individuals trained in social values. Social stability is possible only if society is based on ethical principles. The emphasis on social stability is sometimes so great as even to subordinate personal rectitude.[1]

Only for a religious man social efforts and institutions are the outcome of divine aspirings. Confucius said some caustic words to those who inclined to withdraw from society out of disgust for it. 'I cannot herd with birds and beasts, and if I may not associate with mankind, with whom am I to associate? Did right rule prevail in the world, I

rediscovered the Tao, the principle by which the Ancestors ruled over the world. They set forth codes of ethics and systems of beliefs, each claiming to possess the secret art whereby the Ancestors had regulated men's lives in the past.

1. 'In my part of the country,' the Duke of She remarked to Confucius, 'there is a man so upright that when his father stole a sheep he testified against him.' 'Where I come from,' returned Confucius, 'we have other ideas of uprightness. A father screens his son and a son screens his father.' The fundamental relationship which exists between father and son is more important than individual rectitude.

should not be taking part in reforming it.' If a society is in disorder, it is the duty of the wise to point out why it is so and lead the ordinary people out of it. We today wish to make a new world and we cannot make a new society unless we renew ourselves.

At a meeting of the Chinese Association of the Four Faiths (Buddhists, Moslems, Protestants and Catholics) which I had the honour to address,[1] I found that earnest representations were made by the delegates of the different faiths urging that what we need today is not so much a fellowship of beliefs as of believers, a fellowship of men who feel the need of spiritual power to sustain a moral world order. The Association is not limited to the closer union of Christian Churches or Buddhist sects, but asks the men and women of all religions to share the task of the spiritual restoration of man. In the Association believers do not put forth defences for their own views or declare that their faiths are superior to those of others. If we begin to insist on religious superiority and uniqueness, as the nations do on State sovereignty, the way to human fellowship will be long and difficult. 'God has not been without witness in any land' and all religions believe in one Supreme Spiritual Presence and Power. In the common worship of the Supreme is the possibility of world fellowship. There is an inner affinity among all believers. The things which divide believers are far less fundamental than those which unite them. The large majority of us are Christians or Jews, Hindus or Muslims, not because we have thought ourselves into these religions but because we were born into them. Believers in God of all living religions were exhorted at the meeting to engage in common action for the betterment of the world on the basis of brotherly love. They all believe that war is a crime against mankind and it is for the believers to purge the blood stream of humanity from the passion of hatred which has entered it. International meetings of scientists and lawyers, economists and statesmen are not enough. It

1. Appendix V

is for the believers in God to create goodwill and fellowship among men of all nations. The world needs the force of spirit to break down the selfishness which makes statesmen subordinate the common good to special interests. Social millenniums will prove a dead end if we do not have a spiritual ambition. We cannot be content with present comfort and physical death. The New Life Movement will require to sustain it a spiritual faith.

THE PEOPLE

China has had a known history of over thirty centuries, which has given her a cultural continuity, if not a political unity. Geographical factors and social forms have given China a definite view of life, a distinctive cultural pattern which is implanted deeply in all classes of society. An old Chinese proverb says: 'Do your part, be satisfied with your lot, follow the seasons and trust in Heaven.' To live in tune with nature is the essence of Chinese wisdom. The Chinese people love ease and comfort and are humane and tolerant. They keep on cheerful even under the burden of toil and anxiety. Today a great shadow hangs broad and heavy over their lives. The war and the consequent misery have deprived them of their joy and freedom and yet you rarely see a sad face. They seem to take their troubles more easily and naturally than others do. They are non-metaphysical in their outlook and so are not doctrinaire in mind. They are empirical-minded. They do not theorize but respond to the concrete realities of the situation.

One of the effective unifying agencies has been the Chinese script. The various dialects of China use a common script. In the Chinese language, ideas and things are conveyed by means of pictures, which, in course of time, have become conventional characters called ideographs. The picture of a woman sneaking round the door means jealousy and domestic trouble. A woman with a child is a symbol for happiness. Scandal is represented by a picture of three women conversing in a house. As if scandal-mongering were the

monopoly of women ! The beauty of the written characters trains the taste in the appreciation and creation of beauty in visible form.

The Chinese culture is essentially a humanist one. It has great respect for personality. If equality of opportunity is the essential feature of democracy, China has had it for centuries. There are no castes of priests or warriors and even distinctions of rich and poor have been fluid. The officers are selected on grounds of proficiency in knowledge tested by public examinations.

There was a sort of political unity from the beginning, though it was quite loose. The Provinces had a very large measure of autonomy and were administered by officers appointed by the Central authority. The foreign conquerors like the Tartars and the Manchus adopted completely the manners and customs, the ideas and beliefs of the Chinese.

The Chinese civilization is not an urban one. The Chinese did not develop city states with their urge for commerce and exploitation. Three-fourths of the people live on farms. The civilization is essentially an agricultural one. Beef is taboo and cow's milk is not usually taken. As the system of manuring the lands resulted in a general pollution of water, the Chinese took to the habit of drinking boiled water which is a protection against water-borne diseases. To render boiled water agreeable to the taste, tea was discovered. Advanced countries of Europe started trading with China for tea and silk. China exported tea, silk and porcelain and got in return opium ! The Chinese inventions of paper and printing and the discovery of the magnetic compass quickened the life of Europe at the beginning of the Renaissance. In his *Outline of History* H. G. Wells claims that it was China's gift of the secret of paper-making and printing that made possible the wide diffusion of knowledge that resulted in the European Renaissance.

Contact with the West in recent centuries has resulted in a serious loss of face, economic servitude and political subservience. The Great Powers interfered with the

sovereignty of China and imposed on her several humiliating conditions, and thus exposed the inadequacies of the Chinese national life. Those who were trained in the western countries and Japan, attempted to restore the national unity and independence of the country. The revolution was brought about and the Manchu dynasty deposed. This was done by a few leaders with foreign education, helped by mercenary armies. To get rid of a dynasty is one thing; to set up a stable government is another. We cannot say that China has attained the latter objective. We cannot change the habits of people as easily as we change the forms of government. The culture built up through thousands of years cannot be erased by the few decades of the twentieth century. The routine life of millions of people is not affected by the changes in the seaports and interior centres made accessible by railroads and navigable waterways. What we learn from others enters our brains but does not touch our souls. The mass of the people are just growing in political consciousness. The modernization of China is a process which is still in progress.

Ancestor-worship is being sublimated into patriotism. Filial piety which sustained feudalism is yielding to a national feeling. To the development of this consciousness, Japan is making a great contribution. Resistance to Japan is producing a psychological unity. Suffering endured in common makes for fellowship. The people feel that they belong together, that they are participating in world history, that each one of them is called upon to throw his individual self into the glowing fire, there to be purged of all selfishness. The people of all ranks and classes are overborne by a feeling of fraternity. In this matter China has a great advantage over India. Her religious communities do not use their religions as weapons of political warfare. The Republic started the process of the nationalization of minorities. The Muslims are a religious minority but not a national minority. In many districts they are in a clear majority and in some they are to be found in the proportion of ten to one.

And yet they are first and foremost Chinese. Some of the commanders who are fighting the Japanese are Muslims.

The political parties of the Kuomintang and the Communists are united in their resistance to Japan. Something like Communism is a natural development of the third principle of Dr Sun Yat-Sen. It relates to the necessity for social justice and economic democracy. It believes in the development of China's resources by general effort and with State encouragement. The sense of realism which the Chinese possess in an abundant measure is evident in the political alliance between the Kuomintang and the Communist parties. The Communists are keen on freeing China from the yoke of imperialism, on the ending of all unequal treaties and concessions and the rights of foreign powers to station troops on Chinese soil. Of course they demand in addition, the abolition of the feudal elements, the destruction of the might of the war-lords and do not compromise on the question of the unity of China. The Chinese revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. At the moment, the anti-imperialist front is more urgent. All parties are agreed on resistance to Japan. The Communist leader Mao Tse-tung says : 'We cannot even speak of socialism if we are robbed of a country in which to practise it.' The Chinese Communists are not strict followers of the Russian creed. Their fatherland is China and not the Soviet Union. They are nationalists first and foremost and are fighting the battles of China against Japan and not those of the Comintern. While the Communists are anxious for democracy in China, they recognize that the most urgent problem is resistance to Japanese aggression. Communists in other parts of the world were not quite clear about their position and policy with regard to the world war. When Russia entered into a pact with Germany, they felt that they had nothing to do with the war which was dismissed as a conflict of the rival imperialisms, of Britain and Germany. When Germany attacked Russia they realized that it was a people's war against Fascist dictatorship.

So far as the changes in Russian policy are concerned they were necessities for the Soviet strategy but not for other countries. The Chinese Communists however had a consistent purpose regardless of the changing political conditions of Europe and shifts in Soviet policy. A spirit of compromise is manifest on all sides. If, in spite of the Generalissimo's former attitude to the Communists, he was released at Sian, it is due to the recognition by the Communists of the fact that he was the one man capable of leading a united China against Japan. Any drastic treatment of him would have helped Japanese propaganda that they were out to liberate the Chinese from the Communist oppression. Though, technically speaking, the Chinese Government is a one-party state, the other parties are not persecuted and they influence government policy, especially as the Generalissimo is very sensitive to public opinion at home and abroad. He knows that the internal conflicts between the parties is a serious factor preventing China from making her maximum contribution to the war against the Axis Powers and a source of internal instability and continual tension. I have no doubt that nothing will be done by the present Government or the Communist leaders to weaken the united national front against Japan and the alliance established during the period of the war will develop in post-war years into a democratic political system.

The alliance of China and Russia in the world front against the Axis Powers helps collaboration between the two sections, and the spirit of compromise established in the years of war, one hopes, will continue in the post-war relations. Democracies and Soviet Russia will have to work together in other parts of the world also, if peace and security are to be established. The broad principles of communism—that there shall be no exploitation of one man by another, and that there shall be no private ownership of the means of production, are likely to be accepted in an increasing measure by democratic nations. By democratic methods it will be possible to achieve the third of

Sun Yat-Sen's principle, livelihood for all. A democratic state representative of the people's will can win the war, and in peace time implement schemes for the rapid extension of roads and railways, for the application of science to agriculture, co-operative organization, and development of industry. It will be able to break the chains of slavery and social oppression imposed from within and without and fight the terrible wrongs inflicted on China by foreign powers.

Nations are to be judged by the dreams in their hearts. The present trials are testing China. Isolation exalts, suffering strengthens, if we do not break under them. As the result of her suffering and endurance, China, which has not had the spirit of race superiority or love of domination, will emerge as a modern nation co-operating with others on a footing of equality.

2. CHINA AND INDIA[1]

I AM profoundly grateful to the Chinese Government for their kind thought in asking me to visit this country, acquaint myself with its cultural life and do a little for promoting friendly co-operation between our two countries. Though the people of China are now engaged in a life and death struggle, they are not unmindful of the enduring values of life, values that have played a noble part in the shaping of the Chinese life and character, respect for learning and scholarship and the importance of cultural collaboration. Our countries have been linked together from before the Christian era in matters of learning and culture. All these centuries we have met as friends and comrades in the pursuit of learning and the cultivation of virtue and not as rivals and exploiters. Our civilizations which are of great antiquity and of unbroken continuity possess a common cultural and spiritual background. They have similar ideals of human life and fellowship. On the political plane our relations have been a unique example of good-neighbourly behaviour. We have not suffered from the distrust and fear of the foreigner.

MUTUAL INFLUENCE[2]

It is very probable that during the period of the sixth to the fourth century B.C., when Taoism was in a formative condition, the mystic doctrines of the Upaniṣads and the technique of Yoga including breath-control and spiritual ecstasy were conveyed to China by Indian and Chinese merchants. But we are not in a position at present to establish that this was so.

The Mauryan emperor Aśoka, whose empire extended over the natural frontiers of India, is well known for his international appeal and purpose. He sent missionaries

1. See Appendix II
2. See Appendices II, III & IV

for the spread of Buddhism to the countries on the frontiers of India as well as to the kingdoms of Syria, Egypt and Macedonia. Buddhism brought distant countries of the East into contact with one another and created a spirit of humanism which softened considerably the peoples from Ceylon to the furthest islands of the Japanese archipelago. China with her intellectual hospitality and openness of mind welcomed the truths of Buddhism. About this period, China was still divided among feudal chiefs. One of them, called T'sin, broke up the feudal states and established a central government, which brought together the whole of China under one authority. The Han rulers who came into power about the close of the third century B.C. addressed themselves to the task of maintaining the integrity of the newly founded Chinese Empire. They raised the Great Wall as a protection against attacks from the north and made alliances with those living on the western frontiers, the Yue-ches among others, who had already been influenced by the Buddhist faith. In the year 2 B.C., it is now established, the Yue-che rulers presented Buddhist texts to the Chinese Emperor.[1] The first Buddhist missionaries from India, Gobharana and Kāśyapa Mātanga, arrived during the period of the Emperor Ming ti of the Han dynasty. In 65 A.D. he had a dream in which he saw a golden image, and when he learnt that it was the Buddha, he sent for Buddhist teachers. The two teachers brought with them a white horse laden with sacred texts and relics. 'The White Horse Monastery' was built for them in the capital under the command of the Emperor. The two monks spent the

1. There are stories that Buddhist missionaries from India were found in the Chinese capital as early as 217 B.C. under the T'sin dynasty. It is also said that a Chinese general obtained a golden statue of the Buddha in 121 B.C. from central Asia whither he had led a military expedition. But these stories are unconfirmed. *Cf.* Wilhelm: 'There is distinct evidence that Buddhist images and teachings had already reached the Chinese people before this date (61–67 A.D.) by way of central Asia, where Buddhism had long been practised.'—*A Short History of Chinese Civilisation* (1939), p. 197. See also Reichelt: *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, E.T. (1927), p. 2

rest of their life translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and preaching Buddhism. Though a number of translations is attributed to them, only one has come down to us—*The Sūtra of the Forty-Two Sections.*

While these teachers came by the central Asian route, we have evidence of India's trade with south China through Assam and Burma as early as the second century B.C. and this route was taken by some Indian teachers to China. In later times the sea routes were also frequented.

For the first ten centuries of the Christian era, Indian teachers visited China in large numbers.[1] The Chinese records do not report about Indian visitors to the Chinese empire after the eleventh century. It is due to the decline of Buddhism and its absorption by Hinduism in India after the eleventh century.

When the cultural heritage of India was brought into contact with the Chinese spirit a new China arose, a China which persists to this day. As for the influence of the Indian teachers on China, let a foreign student of Chinese Buddhism speak. 'China will never forget these first immigrant Buddhist missionaries, who so faithfully and ably went forward with the difficult work of translation and organization, and who threw themselves into the work of propaganda so completely and wholeheartedly. When one now goes through the enormous mass of Buddhist writings translated and prepared by these pilgrims from India, and written in the highest and finest style by the old Chinese literati, one cannot but be filled with deep wonder and respect.

1. The chief among them are : Dharmarakṣa (middle of the 3rd century); Saṃghabhūti (381 A.D.) ; Gautama Saṃghadeva (384 A.D.) ; Puṇyatrāta and his pupil Dharmayaśas (397 A.D.) ; Buddhayaśas (4th century) ; Kumārajīva (401 A.D.) ; Vimalākṣa (406 A.D.) ; Dharmakṣema (414 A.D.) ; Buddhajīva (423 A.D.) ; Guṇavarma (431 A.D.) ; Buddhabhadra (421 A.D.) ; Guṇabhadra (435 A.D.) ; Bodhidharma (520 A.D.) ; Vimokṣasena (541 A.D.) ; Upaśūnya and Paramārtha (546 A.D.) ; Jinagupta and his teachers Jñānabhadra and Jinayaśas (559 A.D.) ; Dharmagupta (590 A.D.) ; Prabhākaramitra (627 A.D.) ; Bodhiruci (693 A.D.) ; Śubhākarasiṁha (716 A.D.) ; Vajrabodhī and Amoghavajra (720 A.D.) ; Dharmadeva (973 A.D.).

'There is, however, another side, which is, if possible, even more striking. Attention must be called to the *spiritual influence* which these representatives of the most intense religious life of the Aryan race have exercised upon the rather cold and calculating character of the Mongol people. The Indian monks—who moved about in the first temples in China, sat in cells and carefully copied out Sūtras, went to their simple vegetarian meals and to the regular services —were deeply religious men, for whom the absorption into the absolute was life's main task.....Little by little, the cold hearts of the Mongols thawed, and, through this personal influence, that best type among the Chinese monks, that type of holy dignity combined with nobility of character which, since then, has stood before the Chinese Buddhists as the great ideal, and which, in individual cases, has been attained and put into effect in life by a very few, was created.'[1]

We are now having a revival of interest in Buddhism. In the present spiritual awakening of India, Gautama the Buddha and his message have come to their own. It is increasingly admitted that Buddha was a reformer of Hinduism and not its opponent. His fundamental principles have their roots in the Upaniṣads. New Buddhist monasteries and temples are springing up in all parts of the country. There is every reason to hope that India will once again play a great part in stimulating the spiritual life of the East.

There are numerous translations in Chinese of Buddhist works whose originals are missing and the restoration of the originals is an important work which awaits the patient researchers of China and India.

The movement of scholars between China and India was not a one-way traffic. When disputes arose about the doctrines and practices of the Buddhist faith, pilgrims from China went to India to know the truth at its source, to read the Buddhist texts in the original and visit the places hallowed by the memory of the Teacher. I-Ching reports that twenty Chinese monks visited India in the middle of the third century.

1. Reichelt: *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, E.T. (1927), pp. 12–13

A Gupta emperor built for them a monastery near Bodhgayā, called Cīna Sanghārāma. The most enterprising of these Chinese visitors to India were Fa Hian (399–414 A.D.), who came to India by the overland route and returned to China by sea; Che-mong (404–424 A.D.); Sung Yu'n (530 A.D.); Hiuan-tsang (629–645 A.D.); Wang Hiuan-ts'o (634–647 A.D.) who paid more visits in later years, and I-Ching (671–695 A.D.). Of these and many others who visited India, Hiuan-tsang is undoubtedly the greatest. He is the symbol of Sino-Indian cultural collaboration. His travels in India are a popular classic with the young and the old in China. He submitted to the full monastic discipline in 622 A.D. and set forth on his journey in 629 A.D. and prayed: 'On this journey I covet neither riches nor praise, nor fame. My sole aim is to go and seek the higher intelligence and the true law. Your heart, O Bodhisattva, for ever yearns to deliver the creature from the pains of life. And were any ever more cruel than mine? Can you fail to perceive them?' He spent about sixteen years in India, travelled north and south, made the acquaintance of powerful Indian rulers, King Harṣa of Kanauj and King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam). He worked for five years at the University of Nālanda, under Śīlabhadra, the pupil of Dharmapāla, who was himself a disciple of the logician Dignāga, who was trained by the great teachers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. He made a deep study of the doctrine of Vijñānavāda. On his way back from Khotan, he sent a memorial[1] to the Emperor explaining his reasons for the

1. 'If we admire the ancient masters for going afar in search of learning, how much more those who search into the secret traces of the profit-bringing religion of the Buddhas, and the marvellous words of the three piṭakas, able to liberate from the snares of the world? How can we dare to undervalue such labours, or not regard them with ardour? Now I, Hiuan-tsang, long since versed in the doctrine of the Buddha, bequeathed by him in the Western World, the rules and precepts of which had reached the East in an imperfect form, always pondered on a plan for searching out the true learning, without any thought for personal safety. Accordingly, in the 4th month of the 3rd year of the period Chengkuan (630 A.D.) braving dangers and obstacles, I secretly found my way to India. I traversed over vast plains

long and difficult journey to India he had undertaken without the permission of the Emperor. The latter acknowledged graciously the receipt of the memorial and ordered his officers at Khotan to be of help to the illustrious pilgrim. When he reached China, the Emperor received him with great cordiality. His visit to India and his subsequent work for Buddhism aroused great interest in Indian culture.

We cannot withhold our admiration from these wandering scholars from India and China and their immense effort after goodness and wisdom. The paradox of the situation is that, as means of communication have multiplied, cultural contacts have ceased to grow. The longest journeys have become surprisingly easy, but mutual understanding terribly hard. As physical distances have diminished, psychological distances have increased.

Owing to political vicissitudes in both countries, movements of scholars to and fro have become less frequent. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911, mutual interest has grown. You have already referred to the visit of Rabindranath Tagore in 1924, exactly 20 years ago, to China and the visits of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, the Honourable Tai Chi-tao and the cultural mission headed by Dr Ku of the Ministry of Education. The scheme of exchanges of students recently established has been working successfully and, I believe, is full of possibilities. If it leads to an exchange of teachers, mutual interest will increase for the common good. If the non-aggressive nations of China

of shifting sand, scaled precipitous mountain-crags clad with snow, found my way through the scarped passes of the iron gates passed along by the tumultous waves of the hot sea.... Thus I have accomplished a journey of more than 50,000 li; yet, notwithstanding the thousand differences of customs and manners I have witnessed, the myriads of dangers I have encountered, by the goodness of Heaven I have returned without accident and now offer my homage with a body unimpaired, and a mind satisfied with the accomplishment of my vows. I have beheld the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, worshipped at the Bodhi tree; I have seen traces not seen before, heard sacred words not heard before, witnessed spiritual prodigies exceeding all the wonders of nature, have borne testimony to the high qualities of our august Emperor, and won for him the high esteem and praise of the people.'—*India and China* by Bagchi (1944), pp. 78–79

and India pull together in the years to come, they will contribute effectively to the rebuilding of the world on saner foundations.

INDIA'S SYMPATHY FOR CHINA

We in India have learnt to admire the heroism and determination with which you have been fighting for your self-respect and freedom under the leadership of your Generalissimo. You were the first to stand up and fight against the aggressors in this war and for four and a half years, until the attack on Pearl Harbour brought America and Britain to your side; you fought alone and single-handed against a formidable foe with a toughness that has silenced the sceptics about the future of China. In your difficulties, our leaders have expressed their keen sympathy and their earnest hope that, whatever may be the temporary set-backs, this country shall never be conquered and will eventually win. Rabindranath's letters of rebuke to the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi are well known. When Gandhi, in his attempt to give the half-starved, disease-stricken millions of India food and dignity through national effort, adopted the much misunderstood slogan of 'Quit India', he explained that it meant only the political withdrawal of Britain, the termination of British control and not necessarily the British connexion and he did not mean to prejudice in any manner the war effort against the Axis Powers conducted from the Indian base. The leaders of the Indian National Congress were at pains to make it clear to the Chinese people that their struggle for immediate independence will not be carried out in a way that will hamper the war effort or injure the cause of China. Gandhiji wrote to the Generalissimo before his imprisonment in August, 1942: 'Because of the feeling I have toward China, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or to embarrass you in your struggle. Whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the

consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China.'[1] It is wrong to suggest that the Indian political leaders are the appeasers of Japan. They are fully conscious that there can be no rebirth of liberty, no progress for humanity until Fascism is destroyed. To bring down Nazism means indeed, to liberate the world from the main reactionary elements. This is not a national but a world issue. Even when the democratic nations of the West were pursuing a policy of appeasement with regard to Germany, Italy and Japan, the Indian National Congress stood out against that policy and was unanimous in its desire that India and other parts of the world should be defended against the menace of fascist imperialism which threatened to reshape the world by violence and aggression. The celebrations of the China Day on a nation-wide scale in India and the spontaneous, enthusiastic reception of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang on their visit to India in 1942 for political and military talks will give you some idea of the extent to which we are moved by your trials and sufferings.

What is it that you have not seen, suffered or lived through? All the steeds of the Apocalypse have stormed through your life—revolt, revolution, civil strife, terror, nerve-destroying uncertainty, violence of nature, famine, inflation, epidemics, emigration. People who in the spacious days lived leisurely, quiet lives, with malice towards none and charity to all, with a natural nonchalance and a joyous glow, with an instinctive enjoyment of human affections and

1. Replying to Sir Stafford Cripps' broadcast to America, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: 'If there has been anything clearly and definitely stated it is this: that free India will defend the country in every way, through armed forces and by all means.' Nehru did it with the full consent of Gandhiji, who said: 'Ahimsā with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India.... I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. As a political method it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another.... If you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear.'

domestic decencies, are today torn and tormented by the devastation of war. In this hour of extreme peril your repressed power has disclosed itself for the world to see.

We in India have had our own political anxieties and can understand your troubles caused by the foreign powers who are interested in carving out spheres of influence and domination. Our sorrows have made us more mellow, our trials more forbearing. In spite of all that is blasted into our ears, we cannot help believing that things will look up again. We, in our country, have been conquered by others again and again, but we have outlasted them because of some secret power which transforms defeat and makes it fruitful. Political defeat is not failure of spirit. But loss of faith in the things that survive the cruelties and insanities of man is real defeat. You have suffered more calamities than any other country but have always emerged from these ravages and turned to those arts of peace with a humanity and fortitude characteristic of the China of the ages. The great sage Lao Tzu describes the creative spirit of the universe as working on the principle: 'Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination'. You have cherished such a vision of life in the midst of a world which is self-assertive and dominating.

We, in India, are still a religious people; many think that we are more religious than we need be. At any rate we have not yet lost faith in the values of spirit, in the moral structure of society. Our sages declare: 'By unrighteousness a man may thrive, may see many a good in life, may conquer his enemies but unrighteousness is sure at last to overwhelm and destroy him.' When Confucius proclaims that the will of Heaven shall prevail, when Lao Tzu declares that there is no getting past the Tao, when the Buddha affirms that dharma or righteousness is the only way to welfare on earth as in heaven, they all mean that against the rock of moral law world's exploiters hurl themselves eventually to their own destruction. The conviction of these sages who have reflected on the meaning of human existence,

that 'the man of violence never yet came to a good end'[1] is justified by the judgment of those who have looked into the pattern of history, that the abuse of power brings retribution on the historical plane. Even the sceptical Gibbon who has no adequate understanding of the significance of religion for human life, could write: 'I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition, but I must remark that even in this world, the natural order of events will sometimes afford the strong appearance of moral retribution.' The world is not in the hands of blind inconsequence. There is a moral law in the affairs of men. It is the one hope that makes life worth living for the persecuted and enslaved millions.

CHINA'S SYMPATHY FOR INDIA

I should like to take this opportunity to thank the people of China and their leaders for their sympathy and support for us in our struggle. We remember with gratitude your Generalissimo's parting words of appeal to the British Government to grant India real political power. He felt that the neglect of the Indian people's demands and despair born of it were driving a few into sullen indifference. India, he knew, was strongly anti-Axis, and if only her chosen leaders were in the Government, the Indian people would have the feeling that they were fighting not only for the freedom of the world, but for their own freedom. It is one thing to fight because we are called upon to do so as the mercenaries whom Hitler has raised in subjugated Europe do, and another to fight because we do not wish to be slaves, as the people of China, Russia and other free countries do. China is deeply interested not only in the abstract question of India's freedom but in the practical question of increasing the quantity and raising the quality of India's war effort. China does not wish that the words 'a fight for freedom' should be merely a slogan. So her leader, anxious to win the full material and moral strength of India for the cause of the Allies, appealed to Great Britain to set up a national

1. *Tao Tê Ching*, XLII

government in India, release the hopes of the Indian people, give them an inspiring ideal, and secure the full strength of the rising forces of Indian society for the Allied cause.

IMPORTANCE OF PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

You, sir, have referred to the importance of philosophical studies and discipline in these times of anguish. From your own experiences, you know how dangerous man can be, what a ravenous beast he can become, and yet how much power he has to overcome and withstand trials and dangers. Man is meant for happiness, but he is everywhere unhappy, his heart emptied of joy and laughter. The human being is meant to live, love and laugh but we find him everywhere marching sullenly with alcohol in his body, a gun in his hand and anger in his heart. The wonderful achievements of science meant to foster human happiness and creative freedom are used for destructive purposes. We have achieved the dream of ages—conquest of the air, transmission of the human voice across the globe, conquest of space, splitting of the atom, and prevention and cure of the most insidious diseases. In the same period in which we have accomplished so much that is godlike, we have also developed an endless capacity for self-destruction and declined into an inconceivable bestiality. We must learn to be masters of ourselves. Civilization is not technical efficiency, it is culture of spirit.

Confucius says: 'In archery there is a resemblance to the man of true breeding. If a man misses the target, he looks for the cause in himself.' In spite of our scientific achievements, technological developments, marvellous powers of organization and abundance of moral qualities of suffering and sacrifice, we are still unhappy. Science and its inventions are concerned with the outer organization, not the inward living. They help to remove the hindrances to the good life but do not create it. They tell us how to prolong life, diminish illness and increase wealth and leisure but they do not tell us what we should do with life and leisure, health and wealth. Oscar Wilde has a great story: 'Christ

came from a white plain to a purple city and as he passed to the first street, he heard voices overhead and saw a young man lying drunk on a window sill. "Why do you waste your life in drunkenness?" He said: "Lord, I was a leper and you healed me, what else can I do?" A little further in the town he saw a young man running after a harlot and he said: "Why do you dissolve your soul in debauchery?" and the young man answered, "I was blind and you healed me, what else can I do?" At last in the middle of the city he saw an old man crouching weeping upon the ground, and when he asked why he wept, the old man answered, "Lord, I was dead, and you raised me unto life, what else can I do but weep?"' Health, wealth and life are opportunities which science can provide, but how to use them, only philosophy can indicate. Plato says: 'It is not the life of knowledge—not even if it includes all the sciences—that creates happiness and well-being, but a single branch of knowledge—the science of good and evil. Without this, medicine would still be able to give us health, seamanship would save lives at sea, and strategy win battles, but without the knowledge of good and evil, the use and excellence of these sciences will be found to have failed us.' The well-known book, *The Great Learning*, points out how interdependent are the cultivation of individual personality and world peace and fellowship. 'The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom (that is the known world) first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families; wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their personalities; wishing to cultivate their personalities, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts (to see things as they really are). Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.' Science and ethics by themselves will not do. We require a frame of reference, an interpretation

of human life, which will illustrate the actual interplay of ideas and forces and direct them in the proper way. We must have an idea of what man is made for and then train ourselves for it. We have failed as social beings because all the energies of our life are harnessed to wrong ends. We require a proper conception of the ends of life (philosophy) and a discipline for realizing them (religion).

There are some who will look at the political and economic backwardness of China and India and exclaim that philosophical studies are futile. The political failure of the East does not prove the impotence of philosophical wisdom even as the present war does not invalidate the truth and spirit of science. Science has turned out to be a destroyer of humanity simply because its powers are used by barbaric forces. It is well known that if the wrong man uses the right means, the right means work in the wrong way. Philosophy has proved to be ineffective because it is not combined with the control over nature which is essential to give concrete expression to its ideals. Philosophy leans on science for its action in the world and science looks to philosophy for guidance in its use. We require wisdom that is enlightenment, as well as knowledge that is power.

PACIFISM

You have been, for ages, pacifist by disposition; today you have become militarist by necessity. You have to fight not only your enemy on the battlefield but also your higher nature which inclines you towards peace and fellowship.[1]

1. The profession of a soldier was the lowest of all callings in China until the Japanese menace changed the values—I hope, only temporarily. *Cp.* the Chinese saying: 'Good iron is not used for nails and good men are not used for soldiers.' Mo-Tzu condemned all wars of aggression and encouraged universal disarmament. Po Chu'i wrote a poem translated by Mr Waley under the title 'The Old Man with the Broken Arm', making a hero of a recruit who maimed himself to escape military service [*A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, E.T. by Waley (1923), pp. 139–41]. China was the only country where the King or the Emperor did not wear a military uniform. Pacifism is rooted in the Chinese nature, though it cannot be said that the Chinese in their long history adhered to it consistently. The

I am certain that you will do nothing to impair the precious heritage, that you will never lose faith in the efficacy of moral values and fall a prey to militarism and say 'Evil, be thou my good'. For that would be the greatest defeat for China. It is for the East to give to the world a new hope in the hour of its greatest need.

Great Wall itself is a testimony to unceasing warfare. When Confucius was asked about the well-known ethical principle of returning good for evil, he said: 'What then is to be the return for good? Rather should you return justice for injustice and good for good.'—*The Sayings of Confucius*, by Giles (1924), p. 67

3. CHINESE IDEALS OF EDUCATION

THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

THE importance of education for social order and progress has been emphasized by the Chinese people from the very beginnings of their history. If human beings are to lead lives worthy of their nature and dignity, they are enabled to do so only by means of education. The rational organization of society is centred within the individual and works outward in the expanding circles of family life, political administration, and world fellowship. That which is natural within the family on account of the ties of blood and innate human sympathy is slowly extended to the larger organizations by means of education.

Confucius was the first person in China who made teaching his profession and set the tradition of the wandering scholar. He welcomed as his pupils men of all classes and ranks. The gentleman in ancient China was neither the priest nor the soldier, neither the manual worker nor the black-coated official, but the teacher. The elevation of the intellectual to the highest rank is the distinguishing mark of the Chinese civilization. Selection by examination in classics for government positions led to a widely diffused respect for learning and did not give rise to a hereditary aristocracy.

Watching a dyer of silk at work, Mo-Tzu[1] sighed, saying: 'What is dyed in blue becomes blue, what is dyed in yellow becomes yellow. When the silk is put in a different dye its colour becomes also different. Having been dipped five times it has changed its colour five times. Therefore dyeing must be attended to with care.' Man's nature is like pure silk and what we make of it depends on what it is dyed with. We can engender radically new types of men by the employment of the educational machinery and the use of the modern appliances of the radio

1. Ch. III

and the press. The Greeks used education for developing civic virtues, the Romans for inculcating the qualities of loyalty and obedience. Soviet Russia trains the youth for a classless society and Nazi Germany for the ideals of German hegemony and Nordic supremacy. By a process of miseducation we seduce young men and women from their true nature and train them to take pleasure in sadistic activities. Race prejudice, dislike of the foreigner, contempt for the gentle, exaltation of the bully are all the results of wrong education.

THE NATURE OF MAN

If we do not deform and denature human beings, they will be virtuous. 'You, Sir, first liberate your instincts (tê) and follow Tao. That is all. Why then these vain struggles after human-heartedness (jen) and righteousness (i), as though beating a drum in search of a lost child ! Alas, Sir, you have thrown men's original natures into confusion !' says Lao Tzu. Man is by nature inclined to be upright and if we do not interfere with this natural tendency all will be well. Mencius says: 'The tendency of man's nature to goodness is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. By striking water, you may make it leap over your forehead; by damming and leading it you may make it go uphill. But such movements are not according to the nature of water; it is the force applied which causes them. When men do what is not good, their nature has been dealt with in this way.' Virtue is not adventitious to man, but wickedness is. Confucius tells us: 'In their original natures men closely resemble each other. In their acquired practices, they grow wide apart.'[1] Mencius says: 'If men become evil, that is not the fault of their original endowment. The sense of mercy is found in all men; the sense of shame is found in all men; the sense of respect is found in all men; the sense of right and wrong is found in all men. The sense of mercy is what we call benevolence or charity. The sense of shame is what we call righteousness.

1. Lun Yu, XVII. 2

The sense of respect is what we call propriety. The sense of right and wrong is what we call wisdom or moral consciousness. Charity, righteousness, propriety and moral consciousness are not something that is drilled into us; we have got them originally with us; only we often forget about them. Therefore it is said, "Seek and you will find it, neglect and you will lose it." '[1] To the question, 'We are all human beings, why is it that some are great men and some are small men?' Mencius gave the answer: 'Those who attend to their greater selves become great men, and those who attend to their smaller selves become small men.'[2] He admits that 'in our constitution there is a higher and a lower nature, and a smaller and a greater self. One should not develop the lower nature at the expense of the higher nature, or develop the smaller self at the expense of the greater self.'[3] Instead of cultivating the qualities that are distinctive of human beings — friendliness, compassion, hatred of cruelty, we develop those in which we are like animals—lust, terror, cruelty, and become human animals (narapaśu). In a sermon preached at the Riverside Church on 19th February 1939 Dr Harry Emerson Fosdick said: 'In this regard how like we human beings are to dogs! For one dog barks and the other barks back, and the first barks more loudly and the second becomes more noisy still, in a mounting crescendo of hostility. So one man excused his terrier to the exasperated owner of another; "After all," he said, "the dog is only human." ' Perhaps we are not quite fair to the animals. If they kill, they do so only when they are hungry or attacked. They do not take pleasure in hurting or killing others for abstract reasons. If we live in a mad dog world which is enchained and enslaved by its own suicidal fury, our training is largely responsible for it.

Mencius observes: 'That whereby man differs from the birds and beasts is but slight. The mass of people cast it

1. Mencius, VI. 1
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

away whereas the superior man preserves it.'[1] What is distinctive of man is not the appetites which we have in common with the animals but the aptitude for goodness, the love of dharma. Aristotle says that appetites and desires are shared in common by men and animals. What distinguishes man from the animal is the power of reason. Mencius holds that 'the faculty of the mind is thinking'. He advanced the view of the natural goodness of man, that he cannot bear to see his fellowmen suffer. To render active assistance to suffering creatures is a desire present in every unspoilt soul. To develop the germs of goodness is to be human; to let them wither and die is to be sub-human. While Mencius spoke about the innate goodness of man, Hsun-Tzu asserted the opposite, the essentially brutal nature of man.[2] Man can become righteous only by practising the rules of morality. Morality is not the outcome of the natural development of human beings. It is achieved by continuous struggle against one's instincts. Goodness is a quality that is imposed on man.[3] This conflict of views has its counterpart in the controversy in the Christian Church between St. Augustine and Pelagius. The Church decided that any idea that man was good by nature was a heresy. After Augustine, this became the dominant doctrine of Christian Europe.

Man's nature includes an original 'matter' which he shares with the animals. He has also the power of informing that matter with a virtue characteristic of his distinctive nature. When Confucius requires us to acquire jen, fellow-feeling, human-heartedness, when the Buddha sets before us the ideals of prajñā or wisdom and maitrī or friendliness, when Lao Tzu asks us to liberate the natural impulses, to conform to the law of our being, when Mencius tells us that we should develop the human in us, they all affirm that by

1. Mencius, IV. b. 19
2. *Cp.* Byron: 'Man is a two-legged reptile, crafty and venomous.'
3. Yang Hsiung held that the truth lay between the two extremes. Man's nature is ethically indifferent and everything depends on what education does for him.

developing our higher nature, we are enabled to love and live at peace with our fellowmen.

THE FORCE OF TRADITION

China for ages has believed in the force of tradition.[1] Her great intellectual leader Confucius loves the old ways, works at the ancient writings, practises the manners of antiquity and seeks to put himself in possession of the forces of the past, convinced that they rule the future. In his eyes, the highest virtue is respect for the past, piety in the presence of the old. 'Follow the rules of the former kings,' says Mencius, 'and it is impossible that you should go wrong.'[2] Tradition is the sovereign principle and so the Confucian system of education has made for stability. In spite of the fact that China has been for thousands of years the arena of incessant strife and turmoil, the continuity of tradition has not been interrupted. The memories of ancient habits and customs have persisted in modern Chinese life. The essential ethical core of the civilization has proved to be more stable than the outer framework, her humanist culture more durable than stone and bronze.

There have been protests against the hold of tradition. Shih Huang ti, who came to be known as the first great emperor, who acquired control over the whole empire in 221 B.C. (died in 210 B.C.) is famous not only for the building of the Great Wall and the destruction of feudalism, but also for the burning of books.[3] He got the books burnt, as he did not wish to be reminded that China had existed before his time and as he was anxious to crush the influence of the literati who opposed all reforms in the name of old customs. Even he made an exception in favour of books 'on medicine

1. Her heroic effort to perfect her almost complete isolation is expressed in the Great Wall which Emperor Chin Shih built more than 2000 years ago and which forms a continuous rampart from the sea to the Tibetan borders, though it has been extended and rebuilt on several occasions.

2. Mencius, IV. 1. 1

3. Though his dynasty came to an end with his son, the word China is derived from his family name T'sin or Chin.

and pharmacy, of divination, of agriculture and arboriculture'. He favoured subjects of immediate practical utility.' His attitude is a lesson for us, teaching that tradition is not to be employed as an obstacle to reform. When tradition becomes mechanical, its spirit is killed.

Though Confucius supported feudalism, Confucianism was not damaged when feudalism was destroyed. In accordance with the spirit of the age, Confucius regarded women as belonging to a subject race. The present emancipation of women is not to be regarded as a violation of the spirit of Confucius. Many other changes will have to be made in a society which is not static. Readiness to change is the mark of living organisms, while resistance to change is a sign of decline. 'When he is born, man is soft and weak, in death he becomes stiff and hard.'[1] When we are alive we are supple and soft. When we become hard, we are courting death. 'It is only the very wisest and the very stupidest who never change.'[2] The Confucian code has sufficient elasticity to accommodate itself to modern conditions. Foot-binding and pigtails have disappeared and many other superstitious practices will also go out.

THE NEED FOR SCIENCE

The Chinese have from the beginning been hospitable to new ideas and changed in response to new demands. They erected no barriers against foreigners, but opened their heart and mind to them. They let themselves be gripped and shaped by western science and technique. Chinese education was devoted to the practical problem of an ideal state of human society and not to the study of the objective side of Nature. The literary tests which provided the only channel to public honour and political office gave to the Chinese people a predominantly theoretical bias.[3]

1. *Tao Té Ching*, LXXVI
2. *Analects*, XVII. 3
3. The four books which have been the basis of Chinese education and the moulding power of Chinese character are: *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, *Analects*, and Mencius. The six works which were

But learning is not only literary but also scientific. From the early days there have been protests against the merely literary type. Chuang Tzu records a fierce attack. 'You are a mere word-monger who talks nonsense about kings Wen and Wu (founders of the Chou dynasty). You have many words which only mislead. You do not sew and yet you are clothed. Your lips patter and your tongue wags and you produce your own rights and wrongs, with which to mislead the rulers of the world and prevent scholars from reverting to the fundamentals of things.' The school of Cheng-yi and Chu-Hsi taught the importance of an objective investigation of Nature. But as there has been no tradition of the application of scientific method to Nature, this objective investigation was limited to humanistic and historical studies.

China like India will have to give greater attention to science and technology. We require better roads and railways, more factories and machinery, and more widespread use of electricity. China will have to make a fuller use of science to cope with the problems of food and health, employment and security, and create conditions of human society that would render life more bearable. I am glad to note that your Universities today are centres not only of classical learning but of modern science and technology.

THE SEEKER OF LEARNING

Confucius gives us principles of education which are as sound today as they were in his time. Pursuit of truth is not a mere intellectual process. For it to be successful, we require not only intellectual agility and mental retentiveness but also freedom from obsessions, balance of judgment, humility and sincerity. The true seeker must be free from prejudices. It is said of Confucius that he 'was entirely

the subjects of study in the Confucian schools are given by Chuang Tzu (Ch. XXXIII): 'The *Shih* describes aims; the *Shu* describes events; the *Li* (Rites) directs conduct; the *Yüeh* (Music) secures harmony. The *I* (Book of Changes) shows the principles of the Yin and the Yang. The *Ch'un Ch'iu* shows distinctions and duties.'

free from four things: he had no pre-conceptions, no pre-determinations, no obstinacy and no egoism'.[1] Humility is characteristic of a true seeker. 'In literature perhaps, I may compare with others, but as to my living the noble life, to that I have not yet attained.'[2] Again: 'As to being a sage or a man of virtue, how dare I presume to such a claim? But, as to striving thereafter unwearyingly, and teaching others therein without flagging,—that can be said of me, and that is all.'[3] This reminds us of the Buddha who rebuked Sāriputta for looking upon him as the greatest man of the world. 'Such faith have I, Lord,' said Sāriputta, 'that methinks there never has been nor will be nor is now any other greater or wiser than the Blessed One.' 'Of course, Sāriputta,' is the reply, 'you have known all the Buddhas of the past?' 'No, Lord.' 'Well then, you know those of the future?' 'No, Lord.' 'Then at least you know me and have penetrated my mind thoroughly?' 'Not even that, Lord.' 'Then why, Sāriputta, are your words so grand and bold?'[4] Discipline and control of passions mark a true student. Confucius said: 'The scholar who in his food does not seek the gratification of his appetite, nor in his dwelling is solicitous of comfort, who is diligent in his work, and guarded in his speech, who associates with the high-principled, and thereby directs himself aright,—such a one may really be said to love learning.'[5] He grows in honesty, generosity, and love of truth. Look at the remarkable passage in Mencius in which it is said that from external failure, rich inner fruits can be derived: 'Thus when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods, it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and

1. *Analects*, IX. 4
2. *Ibid.*, VII. 22
3. *Ibid.*, VII. 23
4. *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*, I. 61
5. *Analects*

supplies his incompetencies..... From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure.'[1]

A true teacher must also be a seeker. He must 'strive unwearyingly (in study) and teach others (without flagging)'. In modern language, teaching and research are the two aims Confucius set before us. The advancement of knowledge is as essential as the diffusion of it. Students should have to be not merely diffusers of old knowledge but discoverers of new knowledge. Confucius is a seeker. He is not one 'born to know the truth but is one who is tireless in his search for truth. In any hamlet of ten families there may be some as righteous and as honest as himself but none who loved learning the way he does.' His one great regret would be 'the neglect of his studies'. He was prepared to learn from any one. 'If I am walking with two other men, each of them will serve as my teacher. I will pick out the good points of the one and imitate them, and the bad points of the other and correct them in myself.'[2] 'Learning without thinking is useless; thinking without learning is dangerous.'[3] When asked to define the quality of an educated man, he said: 'Know what you know and know that you do not know what you do not know—that is the characteristic of one who knows.'

We should not expect any immediate advantage from what we study. In the University of Cambridge there is a traditional toast for pure mathematics which says: 'May they remain always useless.' President Lowell of Harvard University once defined a University as a place where nothing useful is taught. This was intended as a sharp rebuke to those who attach great importance to vocational courses, who put the value of literature on a level with that of stenography. Subjects which are not of immediate practical utility are also useful. When the practical minded Hui Tzu

1. VI. 2. 15
2. Giles: *The Sayings of Confucius* (1924), p. 86
3. II. 15.

complained to Chuang Tzu, 'Your teachings are of no practical use', the latter said: 'Only those who already know the value of the useless can be talked to about the useful. This earth we walk upon is of vast extent, yet in order to walk a man uses no more of it than what the soles of his two feet will cover. But suppose one cut away the ground round his feet till one had reached the Yellow Springs (the world of the dead). Would his patches of ground still be of any use to him for walking?' Hui Tzu said: 'They would be of no use.' Chuang Tzu said: 'So then the usefulness of the useless is evident.'[1]

We should not infer from this that the scheme of education formulated by Confucius was unrelated to practical needs. It was directed not towards the training of a leisured class but towards the production of a busy class of civil servants. The practical aim of a scientific education directed to the production of skilled technicians was not contemplated by him, but that was the fault, not of Confucius but of his times.

In admitting pupils, Confucius did not adopt any class distinctions. But he required of his pupils earnestness and capacity. 'I expound nothing to him who is not earnest, nor help out any one not anxious to express himself. When I have demonstrated one angle and he cannot bring me the other three, then I do not repeat my lesson.'[2]

Our education must not do anything to break the human spirit. The directive power of the fearless and unhampered human intelligence should not be impaired. In the name of education, we spoil human creativeness, and choke up the springs of wisdom. The great teacher may explain to his pupil the best that has been thought and said, but must leave it to the pupil to think and decide for himself. '*Yathā-icchasi, tathā kuru*';[3] as you wish, so do you. Every soul wears a veil which we must not lift. Confucius adopts a similar

1. Waley: *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939), p. 17
2. *Analects*, VII. 8
3. *Bhagavadgītā*, XVIII. 63

view. 'Therefore in his teaching the superior man guides his students but does not pull them along; he urges them to go forward and does not suppress them, he opens the way but does not take them to the place.' The Chinese attach great importance to the sense of moral responsibility (chung), a sense of the fitness of things which impels a man to follow the dictates of his conscience. Democracy is respect for the human soul and its dignity. It is not sentimental sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. Nor is it proletarian dictatorship and bureaucratic control of all spheres of life.

When a disciple asked Confucius what he would consider the first thing to be done, if entrusted with the government of a State, Confucius' reply was: 'the correct definition of names',[1] the fixing of the meanings of words. This method of giving precise, well-defined meanings to words is applied to concrete human relationships. Good government obtained when ruler was ruler, minister was minister, father was father and son son. Society is an ordinance of Heaven and is built up of the five relationships of: (1) the ruler and the subject, (2) the husband and the wife, (3) the father and the son, (4) the elder brothers and the younger, and (5) friends. There was rule on one side of the first four and submission on the other. The rule should be in righteousness and benevolence and submission in righteousness and sincerity. Between friends the natural promotion of virtue should be the guiding principle. Every member of the human society occupies the position corresponding to his name and has his own appropriate sphere of duties and rights. By observing these rules, each individual acquires an understanding which is wider and more profound, the understanding through life, and enjoys his own personal inviolable dignity. The rules determining the behaviour proper to these different positions are employed in the rites. No compulsion is used to exact the observance of the rites. Free consent is essential. Ritual and music are the forces employed to reach the hearts of men. 'Let the character

1. *Analects*, XIII. 3

be formed by the poets, established by the laws of right behaviour and perfected by music.'[1]

Like the Buddha, Confucius explains: 'My disciples, do you think that I have any secrets? I have no secrets from you. It is my way to do nothing without communicating it to you, my disciples.'[2]

THE NEED FOR SELF-CONTROL

Training in virtue and good manners has been the essential aim of Chinese education, since the time of Confucius. Once, when Fan Ch'i, a disciple, asked about virtue, the Master said: 'In private life be courteous, in handling public business be serious, with all men be sincere. Even though you go among barbarians, you may not relinquish these virtues.'[3] To develop fellow-feeling, reciprocity, we have to obey an inner law of self-control. Self-discipline and simplicity of living are essential for true happiness. This development in virtue is not possible through book-learning. We need the example of the sages who have built within themselves the power of personality and education in the rites transmitted from the past, which make for basic social cohesion. Through the great sacraments of daily life we have to discipline ourselves. In words which remind us of Hindu scriptures, Confucius says: 'He who seeks only coarse food to eat, water to drink and a bent arm for a pillow will without looking for it find happiness to boot.' Earthly prosperity is not to be gained through wrong means. 'Any thought of accepting wealth and rank, by means that I know to be wrong, is as remote from me as the clouds that float above.'[4] Your Generalissimo quoted Confucius the other day and said: 'What really matters is the degradation of personality but not dying in hunger.' 'The greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies without strife,' said Lao Tzu. Tolerance for the neighbours and

1. *Analects*, VIII. 8
2. Giles : *The Sayings of Confucius* (1924), p. 86
3. Soothill : *The Analects of Confucius*, E.T. (1937), p. ix
4. Waley : *The Analects of Confucius* E.T. (1938), vii. 15

kindness for all are the traits of an educated man. 'Within the four seas all are brothers,' said a disciple of Confucius.

It is not, however, easy to develop these human qualities. To teach a man the multiplication table or motor driving is simple; to teach him to make the best of an existence that lasts only a few years is not quite so simple. Mere knowledge cannot give our life stability and direction. Ethical reflection is different from ethical behaviour.

China's great need, as India's, is a development of public spirit and social enthusiasm. The Generalissimo in his message on the anniversary of the New Life Movement complained that 'officials tend to be dishonest and avaricious; the masses are undisciplined and callous; the adults are intemperate and the rich men are disorderly. In short, the whole of our social order and national life is disorganized.' Confucius believes that personal example is the most effective way of enforcing the code. There is the proneness to imitation in human nature. A father by his example can teach his sons what is right. A prince who is compared to the wind can teach the people who are like unto grass. 'For it is the nature of grass to bend when the wind blows upon it.' In all this there is an overestimate of the force of example. Besides, we do not have model fathers or ideal princes. Confucius failed in his search for a sovereign who would even approximate to his ideal. Human example by itself cannot produce the stimulus necessary to make men virtuous.

THE VISION OF GREATNESS

Intellectual learning and moral obedience are to be quickened by a new vision of greatness. It alone has the persuasive emancipating power. Great minds convert us by the light they shed. The present dry, dubious and shrivelled condition of the world reveals a central disturbance which robs the spirit of man of its hope, of its sanity and of its poise. Man is something more than body and mind. He is a spirit, a pure subject, a creator and inspirer of values. The full nature of the human spirit is not brought out by natural sciences

or even by psychology, logic, æsthetics and ethics. All these studies require to be harnessed to the science of spirit, brahmāvidyā. Without a reference to it they bring about changes only in the objective side of our nature. By reorganizing certain bits of matter and readjusting certain instincts and aptitudes within oneself, that is, by the acquisition of new tricks we change the organization of life. But this change is external and is different from organic or internal change. True conquest of nature is self-conquest. The organizers must themselves change and this is possible only if we have the inspiration of spirit. Without this vision of greatness, without faith in the transcendent, man is not fully human. When Kant says that man's reason demands the unconditioned, the infinite and the absolute in every one of its spheres of activity, in knowledge, morality and beauty, he means that our nature rebels against confinement in the visible and the conditioned. Creative life for man requires us to get into the heart of reality. Love of God is the determining factor which translates knowledge into action. It alone can engender the quality of human-heartedness.[1] Without wisdom, learning may lead to pride, and morality to barbarism. The moral qualities of discipline, self-control, loyalty, obedience, spirit of sacrifice even unto death are to be seen even in a community of thugs or gangsters in a small or large scale. Learning and morality are invaluable instruments, but they cannot usurp the highest place. Spirit should not degenerate into intellect or will. The modern world, with its social neuroses, political illusions and general dis-orientation, is the outcome of a closed rationalism. Mo-Tzu says: 'Those who obey the will of Heaven love universally and benefit others..... Those who oppose the will of Heaven are partial and unfriendly and harming others.' The nearer men draw to God, the nearer they draw to one another. The believers in God are the prophets of the kingdom of humanity. They have the energy of knowledge and love. The

1. *Cp.* Mencius : 'The man of human-heartedness has no enemy under Heaven.' VII. b. 3

Hindu thinkers believe that religion, as belief in the sovereignty of spirit, is an essential part of a complete and balanced life. The true aim of education is initiation into the world of spirit. It is to be reborn. We are born first into the world of nature and necessity. We are to be reborn into a world of spirit and freedom, through an understanding which is wider and more profound than that offered by the intellect. We are not only social beings but pilgrims of eternity.

Man as a spiritual being is in direct correspondence with a spiritual environment for which he is made. The discovery that we belong to another environment beyond the visible gives the spirit of man the necessary strength to build his life on a divine pattern and overcome the obstinacy of the outer world. What we need today is a profound spiritual awakening, a resurrection of creative faith. Even as an individual gets aware of a kingdom of spirit, when he is practically at the end of his earthly resources, the world which is moved by its helplessness under conditions of suffering and the slow crucifixion of millions of human beings may well be at the edge of a new epoch. The darker the world the nearer is the dawn. When this spiritual resurrection with its new insight and sacrificial devotion takes place, we may get near to a warless world. The true aim of education should be the production of individuals harmonious in character and creative in spirit.

CHANGING CHINA

China is now undergoing a very rapid process of change. The penetration of western science and machinery has been rapid in recent decades. The schools are getting modernized. Under the impact of the West, a civilization which has preserved its distinctive pattern for thousands of years is crumbling amid a growing spiritual bewilderment. Many Chinese modernists believe that the only alternatives are imitation of the scientific and mechanical efficiency of the West or continued economic and political vassalage. Yet I hope that

China will retain her individual character in the world system, for she has seen the effects of over-civilization. Progress is not mere change but development. Change to be beneficial must be from within and gradual. China's changes should be organic and living, preserving the values which she has inherited from the past and acquiring the technique essential for a modern society. If she abandons the former and acquires the latter, she will become industrial and militarist, but she will be restless and unhappy. Progress and efficiency are necessary, but they are not all. They are but means to peace and happiness. In the old days the Chinese learning was of a routine character and the ambition of the teachers was to fit the pupils into an ordered scheme of society. They were taught to regard the traditional as the perfect, to treat the teacher as infallible, the parents as supreme authorities, and the dictates of the Emperor as valid for all time. Now they are the children of the Revolution and the aim of education is to increase their energy, not lower it, to spread their soul and not shelter it, to advance society, not to retain it in its present form and retard progress. In our anxiety to improve the material side of our civilization we may apply ourselves more diligently to applied sciences, but we should not neglect the traditional current of humanism.

The Confucian system of education has given the teachers a very important place in the scheme of life. Though China was nominally an absolute monarchy, real influence was vested in an aristocracy of learning. By the power of this republic of scholars the continuity of Chinese tradition was preserved. It is the scholars who have authority to change the moulds of life, for they have the power of the spirit and a sense of measure. Today those who grasp the Confucian doctrines in their essential depths will find new forms to make the old principles alive and real. From the free and unbiassed searchings of Chinese scholars many seeds of creative and effective thought will be produced. Learning will become a social dynamic and a means for national resurgence.

4. RELIGION IN CHINA: CONFUCIANISM

THE religious beliefs which have had a long history in China and have become a part of the Chinese mind and character are Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.[1]

ANCIENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The ancient religion of China, what Dr Hu Shih has termed Siniticism, includes the worship of a supreme God, the worship of the spirits of the dead, the worship of the forces of Nature, a belief in the idea of retribution of good and evil, and a belief in the efficacy of divination in various forms.[2]

At the time of Confucius, we find a fusion of the beliefs of the eastern (Shang) and western (Chou) peoples. The former believed in divination[3] and the latter in the worship of Shang-ti or Hao-T'ien, God or Heaven.[4] The leaders of the Chou dynasty emphasized Tao or the way of life which they discovered in the spontaneity of nature and its orderliness. 'To revere Tao is to win the favour of Heaven.' This

1. 'Each of the three religions has been the recipient of Imperial recognition and favour and the three may be considered as three aspects of the established religion of the country.'—*The Three Religions of China* by Soothill (1929), p. 11

2. See *Religion and Philosophy in Chinese History*, p. 5

3. 'The importance of divination in the history of Chinese civilization cannot be over-estimated. As far as we know, the earliest writings in China were those engraven on the oracular bones regarding the subject for divination, the date, and the reading of the oracular answer. This was the beginning of writing, of chronology, of history, and of literature. This, too, marked the beginning of literary education and of an intellectual class. For the tremendous importance attached to divination and worship, and the difficulty in deciphering the mysterious signs on the bones and mastering the art of ideographical writing, all these gave rise to a class....especially trained for performing such duties.'—*Symposium of Chinese Culture*, by Hu Shih, p. 28

4. Originally Heaven meant the people who dwelt in heaven, that is, the ancestors presided over by the supreme ancestor Shang-Ti, the first of the ancestral line. Shang-ti, the supreme ruler, got identified with Heaven, T'ien. The latter is used in many senses—physical sky, providence which rules men's lives, nature, ethical law and anthropomorphic deity. See *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, by Fung Yu-lan, E.T. (1937), p. 31

conception of Tao answers to the Ṛta of the *Ṛg Veda* which is the norm governing the conduct of nature, men and gods. The cosmic order is the Tao, which works through a dualism of male and female, heaven and earth, light and darkness. When these opposites are in harmony, all is well; when they are out of harmony, calamities occur.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIETY: SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C.

At the time of Confucius, conditions in China were troubled. There was a loosening of old standards, a lack of harmony between inherited institutions and current practices. Mencius wrote about the dark days of the decline of the Chou dynasty: 'The world had fallen into decay—and truth had faded away. Evil doctrines and deeds of violence were rife. Unnatural acts—regicide and parricide were done. Confucius was afraid.' Bad government, for Confucius, was more oppressive than even physical danger. He once heard the mourning wail of a woman on the lonely side of Mount Ta'i and sent his disciple to find out the reason why she sat there. 'My husband's father was killed here by a tiger, my husband also, and now my son has met the same fate.' 'Then why,' asked Confucius, 'do you dwell in so dreadful a place?' 'Because,' she answered, 'here, there is no oppressive ruler.' Confucius said to his disciples: 'Scholars, remember this; oppressive rule is more cruel than a tiger.' The anarchical conditions of Chinese society in the sixth and the fifth centuries before the Christian era disturbed the thoughtful who tried to devise measures for restoring social equilibrium and promoting social progress. Different schools of thought arose of which the chief were those of Confucius and Lao Tzu, representing two different sides of the ancient religion of China. The social and the political was stressed by Confucius and the ascetic and the mystical by Lao Tzu, but the common people adopted the old superstitions, animism and magic. This last is still the prevalent religion of the masses. Both Confucius and Lao Tzu were dissatisfied with existing conditions. Both believed

that in former ages, men behaved as brothers and the rich did not exploit the poor. Both idealized the past and looked upon ancient states as well-ordered. Only they differed as to their interpretations of the ways and manners of ancient times. Confucius adopted the ethical method of social reform. Society becomes anarchical when the duties of the several relations are being continuously violated by the passions of men. We can prevent it if the rulers set a good example. If the rulers are good, the people will be good. Confucius felt so confident about it that he said: 'If any ruler would submit to me as his director for twelve months, I should accomplish something considerable; and in three years, I should attain the realization of my hopes.' Lao Tzu suggested the abolition of every form of governmental control. Let each individual get into harmony with the spirit of the universe, let him not get confused by the social relationships which are getting more and more bitter and complicated. While Lao Tzu advocated inaction and individualism, Confucius combated them.

CONFUCIANISM

The three chief exponents of the Confucian doctrine are Confucius (551–479 B.C.), Mencius (372–289 B.C.) who is known as the second sage, and Chu-Hsi (1130–1200 A.D.), the great commentator of the Confucian canon. By the middle of the third century B.C., Confucianism was divided into eight schools, each professing to be the sole repository of the Master's teaching. Mo-Tzu (4th century B.C.) influenced considerably Mencius and other writers, though he is not himself a follower of Confucius.

CONFUCIUS

The main teaching of Confucius consists in the adaptation of the human personality to the social order. The well-being of society depends on the natural sympathy of men towards one another. This sympathy must find expression within each man's family circle and from there gradually

extend to those who are further removed.[1] Confucius teaches filial piety, family affection, loyalty to the State and love of neighbour. Society is well ordered when all its members perform their specific duties. When each does his duty we get the great commonwealth: 'When the Great Doctrine prevails all under heaven will work for the common good. The virtuous will be elected to office, and the able be given responsibility. Faithfulness will be in constant practice and harmony will rule. Consequently mankind will not only love their own parents and give care to their own children. All the aged will be provided for, and all the young employed in work. Infants will be fathered; widows and widowers, the fatherless and the unmarried, the disabled and the sick will all be cared for. The men will have their rights and the women their home. No goods will go to waste, nor need they be stored for private possession. No energy should be retained in one's own body, nor used for personal gain. Self-interest ceases, and thieving and disorders are not known. Therefore the gates of the houses are never closed. This state is called the Great Commonwealth.'[2] Here we have a picture of a socialist world-commonwealth, a supernational organization with the whole world for its scope, government by popular election and administration founded on fellow-feeling. There are no hereditary considerations and no exploitation of natural wealth for private ownership.

What the duties of the different members of the society are Confucius does not invent. He says that he is only a transmitter, not an innovator; 'a believer in and lover of antiquity'.[3] He codified the ancient social and political ideals, which include not only rules about personal cleanliness and social duties, but also religious ritual, sacramental observances and duties to the departed. The religion of

1. *The Great Learning* quotes the *Odes*: 'Begin with the wife and then the brothers and then the country'

2. Li Yun quoted in *Chinese Political Thought* by Liang Chi-chao, E.T. (1930), p. 44

3. *Analects*, IV. 1

Li, like the codes of Moses and Manu, sets forth, among others, the need for piety and moral restraint. It is what the Hindus call dharma, individual and social. Confucianism is not an exclusively ethical code. Confucius requires us to worship Heaven and pay homage to our ancestors, and to the spirits of the earth, the mountains and rivers. These were the past beliefs and practices which Confucius adopted. For him, God is the supreme ruler to be revered and worshipped. He created the world and determined the various classes of mankind. Subordinate to him are a multitude of spirits who rule in their respective spheres, celestial and terrestrial, and men are protected and guided by them. The well-being of society requires the worship of the ancestors. In a theology like this, there is sufficient room for an increasing number of gods and spirits. It is not surprising that we have a large number of Confucian deities.

The ruler was the Son of Heaven and acted as mediator between his people and Heaven and offered worship on their behalf. Like other agricultural people who depended on the regularity of the seasons, Earth with its great rivers and mountains became an object of veneration. The Chinese who regarded the family as one and indivisible did not think that the interest which the members took in the family ceased at death. The cult of the ancestors is the result. It is, however, true that Confucius does not lay stress on these shadowy beliefs in Heaven and deities. As a matter of fact, he discourages, like the Buddha, discussions about metaphysical and theological subtleties. When Tze Lu asked about the worship of the celestial and the earthly spirits, Confucius answered: 'We do not know yet how to serve men, how can we know about serving the spirits?' 'What about death?' was the next question, to which Confucius gave the reply: 'We don't know yet about life, how can we know about death?' Though Confucius avoided discussion of this subject, he did not deny future life, for his command to worship the ancestral spirits implies their existence after death. 'The Master would not discuss prodigies, prowess, lawless-

ness, or the supernatural.'[1] He commended the observance of the rites, not because they would please the deity but because they had come down to us from antiquity. He knew that no external authority could have the right psychological influence on human action. Any tradition of inherited culture, transmitted to us from antiquity by saints and sages, should command our esteem.

Goodness, according to Confucius, means conformity to the way of Heaven, which bestows power. Sacrifice and divination are the means for pleasing and ascertaining the will of Heaven. The ritualists of the Confucian school make out that 'sacrifice is not something that comes from outside. It is something that comes from inside, being born in our hearts (feelings); when the heart is uneasy we support it with ritual.'[2] Hsun Tzu, quoting an earlier document, states that 'sacrifice is a state of mind in which our thoughts turn with longing towards Heaven. It is the supreme expression of loyalty, love and respect.'[3] When Confucius asks us to understand 'ritual and music', he accepts them as means for the culture of personality. 'Music represents heaven or the abstract, while the ritual represents the earth or the concrete.' When Confucius observes that a man's education should begin with poetry, should be strengthened by moral restraint and consummated in music, he believes that the purpose of all these is to reform the nature of man. There is great emphasis on individual exertion. The fundamental belief of Confucianism is: 'Men can develop Tao; Tao does not develop men.'

The impression that the morality of Confucius was somewhat external is stressed in a conversation between Confucius and Lao Tzu reported by Chuang Tzu. 'Confucius said to Lao Tzu, "I have edited the songs, the book of History, the Rites, the Canon of Music, the book of Changes, the Chronicle of Springs and Autumns, six

1. *Analects*, VII. 20
2. *Li Chi*, Ch. 25 quoted in *The Way and the Power* by Waley, p. 24
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25

scriptures in all—and I think I may say that I have thoroughly mastered their import. Armed with this knowledge I have faced seventy-two rulers, expounding the Way of former kings, the achievements of Chou and Shao (12th century B.C.), but there was not one ruler who made the slightest use of my teaching. It seems that either my hearers must have been singularly hard to convince, or the Way of the former kings is exceedingly difficult to understand." "It is a lucky thing," said Lao Tzu, "that you did not meet with a prince anxious to reform the world. Those six scriptures are the dim footprints of ancient kings. They tell us nothing of the force that guided their steps. All your lectures are concerned with things that are no better than footprints in the dust. Footprints are made by shoes; but they are far from being shoes." "[1] Such a criticism of the Confucian ethics is not quite justified, for Confucius lays stress on the development of jen, the feeling in the heart. He believed in the discipline of the mind, the rule of conscience, which may bring us into conflict sometimes with conventional morality. Confucius says: 'People despotically governed and kept in order by punishments may avoid infraction of the law, but they will lose their moral sense. People virtuously governed and kept in order by the inner law of self-control will retain their moral sense and moreover become good.'[2] Again, 'If a man can reform his own heart, what should hinder him from taking part in government? But if he cannot reform his own heart, what has he to do with reforming others?'[3] Again, 'A man of inward virtue will have virtuous words on his lips, but a man of virtuous words is not always a virtuous man. The man of perfect goodness is sure to possess courage, but the courageous man is not necessarily good.'[4] The nine qualities which he mentions as the characteristics of the nobler type of man

1. E.T. by Waley in his *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939), pp. 31–32
2. Giles : *The Sayings of Confucius* (1926), p. 39
3. *Ibid.*, p. 45 4. *Ibid.*, p. 66

include definitely inward virtues. 'He is anxious to see clearly, to hear distinctly, to be kindly in his looks, respectful in his demeanour, conscientious in his speech, earnest in his affairs; when in doubt, he is careful to inquire, when in anger, he thinks of the consequences; when offered an opportunity for gain, he thinks only of his duty.'[1] He was, however, aware of the danger of liberty degenerating into license and so insisted on propriety.

The reticence of Confucius on problems of theology is perhaps due to his ethical anxiety, as in the case of the Buddha. Whatever is a matter of faith, gives rise to subjectivism. While logical reasoning tends to the attainment of truth, which is objective and universal, mystic intuition which overrides logical reasoning gives us at best beliefs and certitudes and not truths and certainties. Confucius tried meditative practices, but felt inclined to logical methods. 'I have spent the whole day without food and the whole night without sleep in order to meditate. It was of no use. It is better to learn.' As beliefs about the supernatural tended to divide men, he did not lay stress on them. He was conscious of the limitations of human knowledge. However, we cannot say that Confucius was devoid of a sense of the infinite mystery. By an expressive silence he indicated the finiteness of the human mind and the sense of divine mystery. He believed in the reality of a transcendent Heaven which came down to him from early times. T'ien, Heaven, is the creator, preserver and destroyer of everything in the world, the guardian of the universal order, who sees everything and judges everything. He answers to the Varuṇa of the *Ṛg Veda,* and the Ahura Mazda of the Iranians. Confucius believed in a power that makes for righteousness and shapes our lives. The following sayings of Confucius demonstrate his faith in Heaven as a purposeful ruling power. 'I wish I could do without speaking,' said the Master. 'If you did not speak, Sir,' said Tzu Kung, 'what should we disciples pass on to others?'

1. Giles: *The Sayings of Confucius,* p. 69

'What speech has Heaven?' replied the Master. 'The four seasons run their courses and all things flourish; yet what speech has Heaven?'[1] Confucius says: 'God's law is eternal. You see the sun and the moon eternally following one another in their courses — that is God's law. Life in this universe never stops and continues for ever — that is God's law. Things are created or produced without any effort or interference — that is God's law. When the things are created or produced, the universe is illuminated — that is God's law.' The order and progress of the world illustrate the law of God. 'Heaven begat the virtue that is in me.'[2] 'Since Heaven is not yet ready to destroy this cause of truth, what can the men of K'uang do to me?'[3] 'In pretending to have retainers when I have none, whom do I deceive? Do I deceive Heaven?'[4] 'He who sins against Heaven has no place left where he may pray.'[5] When Yen Yuan (the favourite disciple of Confucius) died, the Master exclaimed: 'Alas! Heaven has bereft me! Heaven has bereft me!'[6] The Master said: 'At fifteen I set my mind upon learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I was free from doubts. At fifty, I understood the will of Heaven.'[7] Confucius said: 'The superior man holds three things in awe. He holds the will of Heaven in awe; he holds the great man in awe; and he holds the precepts of the sages in awe.'[8] When he was seriously ill, one of his disciples asked him to go to the temple and pray; he answered that he had been praying for a long time. All his life was a prayer. To do the will of Heaven is the highest kind of prayer. He lived in communion with the Eternal. When Confucius cried, 'Alas, there is no one that knows me', a disciple asked what was meant, and he replied: 'I do not murmur against God. I do not grumble against man. My studies lie low, and my penetration lies high. But there is God; He knows me.'[9] Though

1. *Analects*, XVII. 19
2. VII. 22
3. IX. 5
4. IX. 11
5. III. 13
6. IX. 8
7. II. 4
8. XVI. 8
9. Giles: *Religions of Ancient China* (1905), p. 35

Confucius declined to engage in definitions and disputes about the world of spirit, he performed reverently the duties imposed by tradition. When he was asked, what constituted wisdom, he replied: 'To give oneself earnestly to the duties due to men and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them,—that may be called wisdom.'[1] Though he said this, he 'sacrificed to the dead as if they were in fact present, and to spirits as if he were really before them'.

THE INSUFFICIENCY OF HUMANISM

Confucius was undoubtedly a religious man. He had the qualities we generally associate with a religious character, a generous temper, an anxiety to improve social conditions, and love of learning. He had a distaste for extremes. When a youth of bad reputation approached him in a proper frame of mind, he accepted him and when his disciples doubted his wisdom, he said: 'Why should you be so extreme in your views?' He accepted the traditional religious views and practised the rites. If he observed silence on religious questions, it is because he had nothing new to offer on these topics. He demanded a new social outlook and not a new religious attitude. He is not a religious thinker and so scrupulously avoided any elaboration of the trans-mundane things. We seem to feel that he gives us a secularism which has faith in man who is made for society, but Confucius does not care to follow him out of society. His religious views and practices and his ethical and social views were not integrated into a system. His religion seems to be of a formal character. There is no glow of piety in his utterances. Inattention to the deepest part of our being is the fundamental defect of all humanist codes. Confucius is correct in affirming that goodness consists in maintaining, promoting, and enhancing

1. An early French academician Butrau surprised his friends one day by lifting his hat to a crucifix as he passed on the street. 'Ah, then,' they remarked, 'you are on better terms with God than we supposed.' 'On bowing terms', came the reply. 'We do not speak.' Confucius' attitude to the unseen world is described as 'respectful but never familiar, reverent but never fervent'.—*The Three Religions of China* by Soothill (1929), p. 31

life's values. But what is the background of the values? Confucius does not give an answer. Search for a philosophical view is a necessity of our nature. Any system which does not take into account man's need for faith, his need to solve the eternal questions of human origin and destiny has always been and will always remain powerless to build an enduring social order.

Again, Confucius requires us to fulfil our nature. But any view of human nature which excludes the spiritual in man is incomplete. There is a Platonism native to our minds, a preference for eternal values. Man has infinite longings. To attempt to turn man away from the ultimate vision, to limit his activities to the empirical world, to exclude altogether a reference to the transcendent is to dehumanize man. Any system of thought which overlooks this side of human nature is not satisfying.[1]

Confucius tells us that the things that make him sad are "that virtue is not cultivated, that knowledge is not made clear, that people hear of duty and do not practise it, that people have evil in themselves and do nothing to improve."[2] We are familiar with the statement in the Gospel of John which reads: 'This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world and men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil.' We see things which are noble and excellent and choose those which are poor and mean. The tragedy of man is that his nature seems to be distorted and depraved. When Hindu thought requires us to develop jñāna or wisdom, when the Buddha asks us to acquire bodhi or enlightenment, they demand a spiritual effort, they call upon us to acquire the wisdom which humbles the learned no less than the simple. Such contemplative wisdom is different from critical reflection. Only the spirit in us can raise us to the spiritual status. We must

1. Tzu Kung said of his master Confucius: 'It is possible to hear the Master on letters and on the externals of culture, but it is not given to us to hear him speak on the nature of man or the way of Heaven.' See *Confucius*, by Edwards (1940), p. 60

2. Lun Yu, VII. 3

endure a violent inward change. The strict observance of ethical rules which Confucius lays down is possible only with the regeneration brought about by religion. Confucius recognizes the need for humility and submission to the will of Heaven. To exercise control over the natural man, we must seek support in something higher, in the power of Heaven. This power operates in man, as the power of control. The spirit in man that shapes, controls and sets bounds to the lawless appetites is the evidence of the Divine in us. In the deeps of our being we apprehend the Divine Spirit as an ethical will with an affirmative attitude to life and nature.[1] There are humanists at the present day who believe in the force of moral ideals, the value of tradition, in international good behaviour which are all a part of the Confucian faith. They are, however, an outward expression of inward piety. The dharma is the true nature of man. It is based on Heaven and shows its action on earth through social duties (li) which make for mutual confidence and harmony. Confucius puts before us the ideal of a sage king, one who combines within himself the conscientiousness and equanimity of a sage and the executive accomplishments of a ruler, the yoga of Kṛṣṇa and the dhanus of Arjuna.[2] There is a deeper consistency in his thought and a spiritual background to it, but as he did not develop it, he left it to his followers to provide the spiritual background and give his social code stability and direction. In so doing, they were only following out the implications of Confucius' thought. For him man's nature is from Heaven. Conformity to the will of Heaven is virtue; violation of it vice. If we wish to establish the kingdom of Heaven, it means that we should establish right relationships among men.[3]

1. Aristotle tells us: 'It is right that though we are mortal we should seek as far as possible to live as though we were immortal.'

2. See the last verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

3. *Cp.* Giles: 'Measured by results—the almost incalculably great and far-reaching consequences which followed tardily but irresistibly after he was gone—his life was one of the most successful ever lived by man. Three others, and only three, are comparable to it in world-wide influence;

MO-TZU

Mo-Tzu (470–390 B.C.) was a younger contemporary of Confucius. He opposed the orthodox Confucianism as being agnostic and fatalist. He purified the old worship of Shang-ti and widened its application. He believed in a personal God who governed the world and in the existence and activity of spiritual beings. The will of Heaven demands that we love all people everywhere. Universal love is a religious obligation.

Mo-Tzu criticizes the Confucian code, according to which people are to be loved on a diminishing scale, beginning with parents who are to be loved most and ending with foreigners who are to be loved least. Mo-Tzu criticizes this principle as adopting different standards for different people. He says : 'If a ruler attacks a neighbouring country, slays its inhabitants, carries off its cattle and horses, its millet and rice and all its chattels and possessions, his deed is recorded on strips of bamboo or rolls of silk, carved upon metal and stone, inscribed upon bells and tripods, that in after days are handed down to his sons and grandsons. "No one," he boasts, "ever took such spoils as I have done." But suppose some private person attacked the house next door, slew the inhabitants, stole their dogs and pigs, their grain and their clothing, and then made a record of his deed on strips of bamboo or rolls of silk and wrote inscriptions about it on his dishes and bowls, that they might be handed down in his family for generations to come, boasting that no one ever stole so much as he, would that be all right?' 'No,' said the Lord of Lu. 'And looking at the matter as you have put it, I see that many things which the world regards as all right are not necessarily right at all.' [1] A world which condemns a petty wrong and praises the greatest of crimes, war, does not know the true distinction between right and wrong. But in a naughty world we can only proceed step

Gautama's self-sacrificing sojourn among men, the stormy career of the Arab Prophet, and the sinless years which found their close on Golgotha."
—*The Sayings of Confucius* (1924), p. 36

[1] A. Waley: *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939), p. 175

by step and widen gradually the limits of our sympathy. Confucius had a more adequate understanding of the subtlety of human nature.

As Mo-Tzu believed that man lived consciously after death, he did not attach the same importance as Confucius did to customs concerning burial and the dead. The general outlook of his school was somewhat austere and ascetic. Mencius who is critical of Mo-Tzu pays him a great compliment: 'Mo-Tzu loved all men and was ready to wear himself out for humanity. For in a long life of service he endured hardships and opposition in his ministry of reconciliation.'[1]

MENCIUS

Mencius had to refute the doctrines of Mo-Tzu, who preached universal love as the solution of the ills of the world, and of Yang Tzu who advocated a state of indifference to the concerns of society and recommended a complete withdrawal from everything connected with it. In supporting the ethical and social values advocated by Confucius, Mencius developed a mystical idealism. He was much influenced by the Taoism of the Ch'i country and adopted from it practices of breath-control, though he considered that these were subordinate to moral discipline. That deep and regular breathing calms the mind and helps concentration is a belief common to the Chinese and the Indians from very early times. Like Confucius, Mencius recognizes a supreme power which he calls Heaven. It is the cause of causes, the first cause. Man's nature is Heaven's gift and so is good in essence. Evil deeds are contrary to our natural instincts. On the other questions of the worship of nature spirits, ancestors, tutelary deities, Mencius follows Confucius. He holds that the spirit of the individual is one with the spirit of the universe. Man is a cosmos in miniature. He is not divided from it by any strict barriers. 'All things are complete within us.'[2] The Kingdom of God is within man. The individual feels separated from the whole through his

1. Mencius, VII. 1. 26 2. *Ibid.*, VII. a. 4

ignorance and its result, selfishness. When he shakes off his selfishness, when he knocks down the obstructions and develops unselfish love, he feels at unity with the universe.

This experience of unity is not the result of mental activity. Mencius distinguishes two kinds of knowledge,[1] the one which is the result of mental activity and the other which is the illumination of spirit produced by the stilling of mental activities. It is the higher wisdom, the parā vidyā of the Upaniṣads. Mencius asks us to recapture the intuitive powers, which, in the stress of life, do not get a chance of development. By means of breath regulation, mental concentration, and moral discipline, we rise to the spiritual level. A tranquil conscience is the best aid for the growth of spirit. Sensitiveness to right and wrong takes the place of Tao in Mencius. The morally great man is one who has preserved his infant heart.[2] Mencius says that weal and woe are of our own making and in support of it quotes the ode which says: 'Constantly strive to be in harmony with the (divine) will and thereby get for yourself much happiness.'[3] In the experience of unity with the whole, the individual feels himself to be an integral part of the universe. Such a one who has experienced the unity loves the whole world. 'The man of human-heartedness has no enemy under Heaven.'[4] While Confucius gives moral support to the divine authority of the ruling classes, Mencius advocates the moral right to rebel against the ruling classes and justifies revolutions, if obedience means acquiescence in pernicious conditions.

CHU-HSI

Influenced much by the Ch'eng brothers,[5] Chu-Hsi reinterpreted the teaching of Confucius and made out that it could satisfy the intellectual curiosity and the spiritual needs of the people. Chu-Hsi shifted the emphasis in the great tradition to adherence to reason. We must find the

1. Mencius, VII. 1. 15
2. *Ibid.*, IV. 2. 12
3. *Ibid.*, II. 1., IV. 5, 6
4. *Ibid.*, VII. b. 3
5. Ch'eng Hao (1032–1085 A.D.) and Ch'eng I (1033–1107 A.D.)

truth not so much by right living as by right thinking. He attempts to develop a system of philosophy which combines rationalism and mysticism. He was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought, though he is critical of it. He says: "We need not talk of empty and far away things; if we would know the reality of Tao, we must seek it within our own nature. Each has within him the principle of right; this we call Tao, the road along which we ought to walk."[1] In explaining the nature of man and the world, he starts with pure being or the Absolute, the source and soul of all things, and non-being which is the potentiality of the objective cosmos.

The old Confucianism was divided into two schools, of which one asserted that the nature of man, determined by a decree of heaven, is essentially good and the other said that his nature was evil. Chu-Hsi affirms that man has in him two principles: the spiritual which is his essential nature, and which is naturally good; and the other the material which is necessary for clothing the spirit with individuality. This matter varies in quality; it is denser or more rarefied, richer or poorer, and these differences account for distinctions among men. Matter manifests itself in instincts and desires. The ethical task consists in controlling the material manifestations of the spiritual. This view accounts for the ascetic tendency of neo-Confucian ethics.

The deep influence of Buddhism is manifest from Chu-Hsi's doctrines of being and non-being, spirit and matter, world periods recurring in an eternal series of growth and decline, the transformation of matter into various living forms, of the retribution of evil. Two lines of thought developed early from neo-Confucianism: the contemplative, concerned with moral education; and the scientific, concerned with the attaining of a comprehensive knowledge of the world. The former was much influenced by Taoism and Buddhism. The two schools of thought developed later into independent systems.

1. E.T. by Bruce

For Chu-Hsi there is no God, no sovereign, no providence. The universe is made of two co-eternal principles, the li and the k'i, the norm and the matter, which, though distinct, are inseparable from each other. Under the directing force of the norm, matter evolves. While the norm is itself unmoving, it produces the movements in the world. Man is made of these two, norm and matter. The matter is twofold. the p'ai which is solid and hun which is gaseous. The norm is in matter but not mixed up with it. To say that the soul survives death is an error. There is no rebirth. Every time a man is born he is produced by the elements derived from the norm and the matter. The ancestors survive in their descendants who express their gratitude to them for having given life.

If Confucianism in its later forms serves as a religion, it is because its social emphasis was backed by a spiritual faith. The satisfaction of the metaphysical need and the spiritual aspirations of man was secured by the acceptance of the religious postulates of Taoism and Buddhism. These were not altogether alien to the Confucian doctrine which recognized an invisible power, Heaven and other spirits, originating and controlling man's destiny. Yet, as the main emphasis of Confucius was on the practical side and not the theoretical, it turned out to be uninspiring as a religion.

5. RELIGION IN CHINA : TAOISM

LAO TZU AND HIS FOLLOWERS

LAO TZU whose birth is traditionally assigned to the year 604 B.C. is an older contemporary of Confucius. He is said to be the author of the famous book *Tao Tê Ching*, which brings together the mystical and quietistic tendencies of the previous writers and reinterprets the popular sayings in support of its own system of thought and practice. It presents in persuasive terms, through fable and anecdote, its mystic doctrine which seems to be intended chiefly for the initiate. Scholars hold, from internal evidence, that the book was compiled in the third century B.C.[1] There have been various commentaries on it from the third century A.D. (Wang P I) down to the eighteenth. They all interpret the text according to their respective tenets. Among the chief thinkers who developed Taoist thought in later times are Lieh Tzu (4th century B.C.) and Chuang Tzu, who was a contemporary of Mencius (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) and one of the most original of China's philosophers. He had a contempt for worldly activity and believed in fashioning the soul in lonely retirement by austerities. His writings, though full of imaginative power and sincerity, were not popular with those who had to make their way in life. They were, however, a great comfort to the older men who had retired from active life.

1. In the ethical conceptions, we find some striking similarities between *Tao Tê Ching* and the Buddhist scriptures. 'He who overcomes others is strong; he who overcomes himself is mighty' (XXXIII. 1). *Dharmapada* says: 'If one man conquer in battle a thousand times a thousand men, and if another conquers himself, he is the greatest of conquerors' (103). Again, 'There is no greater sin than to look on what moves desire; there is no greater evil than discontent; there is no greater disaster than covetousness.' *Tao Tê Ching*, IVL. 2. 'There is no fire like lust, there is no spark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.' *Dharmapada*, 251. Again, 'Hence if we enumerate separately each part that goes to form a cart, we have no cart at all.' Compare this with *Milindapañha*, II. 1. 1

METAPHYSICS OF TAOISM

The central ideas of Taoism are akin to those of the Upaniṣads. The contingency of the world and the reality of an Absolute are common to both and developed on more or less the same lines.

Lao Tzu takes his stand on *The Book of Changes* with its assumption that all earthly happenings are in a constant state of flux like the water of a stream which flows on without ceasing. When autumn comes, 'no leaf is spared because of its beauty, no flower because of its fragrance'. Behind the manifold changes there is an ultimate Reality whose essence is unfathomable and unknowable and yet manifests itself in the laws of nature. To this essential principle underlying the sensible phenomena of nature, it is difficult to give any name, though tentatively it is called the Tao. Confucius calls Tao the Way. For Lao Tzu, it is more than the way.[1] It is the Reality which is without beginning or end, while all things are born and die. Tao is the Way and the Goal. It is the light that sees and is sought, even as Brahman in the Upaniṣads is the principle of search as well as the object sought, the animating ideal and its fulfilment. The spirit which moves us to seek the Truth is the Truth which we seek.

We cannot describe the Tao. There is no name for it.[2] 'Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know.'[3] The truly wise follow the teaching which is wordless, which is unexpressed. The Absolute Reality which is one, without beginning and end, we cannot comprehend. 'That which engenders all things is itself unengendered; that by which all things are evolved is itself untouched by evolution. Self-engendered and self-evolved, it has in itself

1. Sir Robert Douglas says of Tao: 'But Tao is more than the way. It is the way and the way-goer. It is an eternal road; along it all beings and things walk; but no being made it, for it is being itself; it is everything and nothing and the cause and effect of all. All things originate from Tao, conform to Tao and to Tao at last they return.' *Cp.* this account with the description of Brahman in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*: 'Brahman is that from which these beings are born, that by which they are sustained and that into which, when departing, they enter.' III

2. *Tao Te Ching*, XXXVII

3. *Ibid.*, LVI

the elements of substance, appearance, wisdom, strength, dispersion and cessation. Yet it would be a mistake to call it by any one of these names.'[1] Hesitation and diffidence in defining the Supreme seems to be the most natural and proper attitude. The seer of the Upaniṣad kept silent when asked repeatedly to describe the Supreme Self and said, 'śānto'yam ātmā'—'That self is silence.' The enlightened Buddha declined to define the nature of the Absolute.

The descriptions we can indulge in can only be negative. We can call it nothing. For what we comprehend is only a relative reality, the appearance of the Absolute. For from the Absolute all things arise and to it they return. Things which seem real to us are not real in themselves. The fundamental unity which underlies all plurality, the unchanging principle which supports the shifting multiplicity, the truth that remains while the world moves on, knows no bounds, no conditions.

'We can but call it the Mystery
Or rather the "Darker than any Mystery"
The Doorway whence issued all Secret Essences.'[2]

All conceivable attributes are denied of it, for it is nirguṇa. It is neither good nor bad, for it alone *is*. To show that it is above all attributes, contradictory predicates are ascribed to it, nirguṇo guṇī. It is within and without, 'heavy as a stone, light as a feather'.

'Being and non-being grow out of one another,
Difficult and easy complete one another,
Long and short test one another,
High and low determine one another.'[3]

'There was something formless yet complete,
That existed before heaven and earth;
Without sound, without substance,
Dependent on nothing, unchanging,
All pervading, unfailing.'[4]

Chuang-Tzu says of Tao: 'Tao has reality and evidence, but no action and form. It may be transmitted but cannot

1. Lieh Tzu, I. E.T. by Giles
2. *Tao Tê Ching*, I. E.T. by Waley is adopted generally.
3. *Ibid.*, II
4. *Ibid.*, XXV

be received. It may be attained to, but cannot be seen. It exists by and through itself. It existed prior to Heaven and Earth, and indeed for all eternity. It causes the gods to be divined, and the world to be produced. It is above the zenith, but it is not high. It is beneath the nadir, but it is not low. It is prior to Heaven and Earth, but it is not ancient. It is older than the most ancient, but it is not old.'

From the negative and contradictory accounts of Tao, it does not follow that it is mere non-being. It gives rise to every form of life and motion.

'It is bottomless; the very
Progenitor of all things in the world.'[1]

'Tao never does ;
Yet through it all things are done.'[2]

'For Tao is hidden and nameless
Yet Tao alone supports all things and brings them to fulfilment.'[3]

'For the Way is a thing impalpable, incommensurable,
Yet latent in it are forms.'

It is the 'Mother of all things under heaven'.[4] 'It was from the Nameless that Heaven and Earth sprang.'[5] All dualities, light and darkness, heat and cold, arise from it.

The exact manner in which the empirical universe is related to the Absolute Tao is not indicated. That the world is a lapse from the Absolute is suggested in a few passages. Look at the following:

'It was when the Great Way declined
That human kindness and morality arose.
It was when intelligence and knowledge appeared
That the Great Artifice began.'[6]

Some of the Taoists adopt the traditional dualism and attribute the whole constitution of the universe to the interaction of the two principles of Yang and Yin.[7] In

1. *Tao Tê Ching*, IV
2. *Ibid.*, XXXVII
3. *Ibid.*, XLI
4. *Ibid.*, XXV
5. *Ibid.*, I
6. *Ibid.*, XVIII
7. These terms mean literally light and darkness. They are the female and the male energies, prakṛti and puruṣa. Yang is the life-breath of heaven and yin is the life-breath of earth. Yang and yin represent the forces of

Confucianism the outer world arises through the union and action of Heaven and Earth. Tao is the world principle which exists before there is any duality or interaction of the polar opposites, yang and yin. These are active only in the world of phenomena and have their common origin in an undivided unity. Yang is the active principle which conditions and yin is the passive principle which is conditioned. This dualism, however, does not seem to be generally accepted by the Taoists. While all things are dependent on the Tao, the Tao does not depend on them.

> 'But the myriad creatures are worked upon by him; he does not disown them;
> He rears them but does not lay claim to them;
> Controls them but does not lean upon them."[1]

The ultimate Reality is not conceived anthropomorphically. It is not a personal God endowed with the attributes of knowledge, active love and mercy.

The conception of the Tao in Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu is, as we have seen, on the same lines as the idea of Brahman in the Upaniṣads. Before time, for all time, and above all time, there was a self-existent being, eternal, infinite, complete and omnipresent. It is impossible to name or define it, for human terms are applicable only to empirical objects. We adopt towards it an attitude of silence or use negative terms, for it is the negation of all empirical attributes, or declare it a mystery or give contradictory descriptions to point out the inadequacy of logic and language. It is at the same time the perfection of all being, as all objects of thought and subjects of thinking spring from it.

ETHICS

The individual soul in its innermost being is Tao. While Tao is the hidden core of Reality in the universe, it is also the secret source of personality in the individual. It is Brahman

expansion and concentration. The state of concentration of repose is one of praḷaya or dissolution; the state of expression, of manifestation is sṛṣṭi or creation.

1. *Cp. Bhagavadgītā:* bhūtabhṛn na ca bhūtasthaḥ, IX. 5

as well as ātman. 'It is there within us all the while. Draw upon it as you will, it never runs dry.'[1] No man can annihilate the Tao for it shines in each one of us as the inextinguishable light of the soul. Each one should try to get back to the Tao as he proceeds from it. Owing to ignorance, we grow blind to the Tao, and strive for pleasure and power, fame and riches. We crave for all that is unreal. We can know the Tao by freeing ourselves from all our passions and desires, by living spontaneously. Tao is rest. It is renunciation of desire. Desirelessness gives us true power. 'Only he that rids himself forever of desire can see the Secret Essences. He that has never rid himself of desire can see only the Outcomes.' So long as we are untroubled by human interference all is well. In the post-Socratic period, certain Greeks worked out a distinction between nature (phusis) and convention (nomos) at least as radical as anything achieved by the Chinese Taoists. They traced evil not so much to the lack of self-control on the part of the individual as to the fault of the institutions. Human beings are unhappy when they impede the natural flow of events. By our cravings and knowledge, we interfere with the spontaneity of nature.[2] Taoism requires us to cast off all knowledge and desire and get back to nature. Instead of living on the desires of the senses we must seek the great centre which abides, eternal and unchanging, in the ever-moving stream.

'Banish wisdom, discard knowledge,
And the people will be benefited a hundredfold.
Banish human kindness, discard morality
And the people will be dutiful and compassionate.
Give them Simplicity to look at, the Uncarved block to hold,
Give them selflessness and fewness of desires.'[3]

1. *Tao Tê Ching*, VI

2. 'If I let things alone, the people will reform of themselves. If I love quietude, the people will of themselves become righteous. If I avoid profit-making, the people will of themselves become prosperous. If I suppress my desires, the people will of themselves become simple.'—*Tao Tê Ching*, LVII

3. *Toa Tê Ching*, XIX

We should live according to our nature, as the sea heaves, as the flower blooms.

While the Tao is objectively the Primal Unity underlying the objective universe, in the human individual it is pure consciousness. To realize the truth in us, we must penetrate behind the layers of our ordinary existence and attain to pure consciousness, which, according to Chuang Tzu, sees without looking, hears without listening and knows without thinking. To get at the Tao, a technique similar to the Indian Yoga is suggested. The Tao can only be mirrored in a still pool. To cultivate stillness we must relax our limbs, shut out the objects of the senses, get clear of outward forms and objective knowledge, and become absorbed in That which pervades everything.[1] Chuang Tzu adopts the method of Yoga by which the soul travels back from outward activities, appetites and emotions, through successive layers of consciousness, until it arrives at pure consciousness, the 'mind within the mind'. Postures (āsanas), and breath-control (prāṇāyāma) of the Yoga system are advised.[2] 'Throw open the gates, put self aside, bide in silence and the radiance of the spirit shall come in and make its home.' Chuang Tzu says: 'One should retire to river-banks or solitary places and abstain from doing anything, just as those who really love nature and like to enjoy leisure do. To take in breath in a measured way, to breathe out the air contained in the lungs and to refresh it by fresh air lengthens one's life.' We must get hold of the pure subject, the knower as distinct from the known. 'All men desire to know, but they do not enquire into that whereby one knows.' There is no doubt that the Taoists practised, if not the Indian Yoga, something very similar to it, and in later times the technique was certainly influenced by the Indian system. 'The philosopher Ch'i sat propped upon a stool, his head thrown back puffing out his breath very gently. He looked strangely dazed and inert, as though only part of him were

1. *Chuang Tzu*, VI. 10; see *Bhagavadgītā*, VI. 10 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, XV. 1

there at all. "What was happening to you?" asked his disciple, Yen Ch'eng, who had been standing at his side. "You seem able to make your body for the time being like a log of wood, your mind like dead embers. What I have just seen leaning against this stool appeared to have no connexion with the person who was sitting there before." "You put it very well," said Ch'i. "When you saw me just now, my 'I' had lost its 'me'."[1] In another passage it is said that, when Confucius visited Lao Tzu, he found him 'so inert as hardly to resemble a human being'. Confucius waited for a while, but presently feeling that the moment had come for announcing himself addressed Lao Tzu, saying: 'Did my eyes deceive me or can it really have been so? Just now you appeared to me to be a mere lifeless block, stark as a log of wood. It was as though you had no consciousness of any outside thing and were somewhere all by yourself.' Lao Tzu said: 'True, I was wandering in the Beginning of things.'[2] Obviously in the formative period of Taoism Indian influence was beginning to be of great importance.[3]

The belief that we can acquire supernormal powers by the practice of Yoga was well known. Lieh Tzu observes: 'The man of Extreme Power can tread on fire without being burnt, walk on the top of the whole world and not stagger.'[4] This invulnerability is the result of Yoga.[5] In Lieh Tzu we

1. *Chuang Tzu*, II. 1. Waley's E.T.
2. *Ibid.*, XXI. 4.
3. Mr Waley says: 'All scholars are now agreed that the literature of the third century B.C. is full of geographical and mythological accounts derived from India. I see no reason to doubt that the holy mountain men (sheng-hsien) described by Lieh Tzu are Indian ṛṣis; and when we read in Chuang Tzu of certain Taoists who practised movements very similar to the āsanas of the Hindu Yoga, it is at least a possibility that some knowledge of the Yoga technique which these ṛṣis used had also drifted into China. It has been said that merchants who were undoubtedly the main carriers of information about the outside world are not likely to have been interested in philosophy. This is a notion derived from a false analogy between East and West. Buddhist legend, for example, teems with merchants reputedly capable of discussing metaphysical questions.'
4. Waley: *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939), p. 75
5. "Even if the practitioner is thrown into burning fire, by virtue of this mudrā (the Āgneyī) he remains alive."—*Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā*, 73

hear of men who will walk through fire unsinged, travel through air, of men who do not die. Taoism got mixed up with magical practices, and Taoist priests were in great demand for the magic and sorcery in which they were adepts. The Taoist priest is even today a wonder-worker who is called upon to clear haunted houses, expel demons which possess men and crowds of men, and rid the villages of spirits which cause diseases.

Lu Yen (born 755 A.D.) wrote a book on *The Golden Elixir of Life* (*Chin Tan Chiao*) which gives instructions about the processes by which we can overcome death. This book is said to develop the esoteric teaching of *Tao Tê Ching* and is greatly influenced by Buddhism. It abounds in citations from the Buddhist texts. It promises eternal life to those who fix their attention on the stable reality in the whirl of phenomena.

By the methods of Yoga, the soul is said to attain the status of spirit with wisdom, love and power. We are then liberated from the devouring ego which loves to preoccupy and possess us. The experience carries with it a sense of finality,[1] and joy which transcends mere pleasure and pain, the ānanda which is different from sukha and duḥkha. This experience cannot be communicated by words. Logical accounts are inadequate to express the deeper experience of the Tao. If the teacher gives instruction, it is only to arouse interest in the doctrine and not supersede the personal effort of the individual. Each individual has to find out the truth for himself. When he possesses it he has life eternal.

> 'Tao is forever and he that possesses,
> Though his body ceases, is not destroyed.'

The realization of the eternal Tao is, negatively, liberation from all bondage to things. Though we then gain life eternal, we retain our personality in a transfigured form. If we realize the Tao in us, we will be unaffected by the changes in things, by life and death. He who attains to the Tao is no

1. *Tao Tê Ching*, XVI

longer limited to his ego. He feels that he is one with all existences. All things are felt to be akin to us, the sea and the mountains, the air and the light.

Action by one who has experienced the Tao is but inaction, without motive, free from all selfish purpose, resting not in himself but in its own accomplishment.[1] He moves and acts without feeling the strain.

'It acts without action, does without doing, finds flavour in what is flavourless,
Can make the small-great and the few many,
Requites injuries with good deeds,
Deals with the hard while it is still easy,
With the great while it is still small.'[2]

'He who has achieved it cannot either be drawn into friendship or repelled,
Cannot be benefited, cannot be harmed,
Cannot either be raised or humbled,
And for that very reason is highest of all creatures under heaven.'[3]

It is inaction only in the earthly sense, but in reality it is the highest activity. We are unstriving, but are self-impelled. When we are rid of all our cravings, when we are free from all our seeming, we reach a state of harmony between ourselves and our surroundings and lead a life as effortless and spontaneous as the passage of the seasons. The individual is merely the onlooker. He lets things take their course and remains undisturbed by the chances of life.

A quietistic ethics is enjoined. To be in conformity with the Tao is to be virtuous. Virtue is te which is the outcome of Tao in man. It can be bad as well as good. It is not so much virtue as karma. Only the fruits of our deeds are manifested here and now, and not in a future life. The

1. *Cp. Bhagavadgītā:* 'He who in action sees inaction and action in inaction, he is wise among men, he is a yogin, and has accomplished all his work.' IV. 16

2. *Tao Tè Ching*, LXIII. This answers to the sthitaprajña ideal of the *Bhagavadgītā*, II. 65 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, LVI

potentiality of good or evil, the latent power inherent in a thing is called te. It gradually came to mean virtue or good conduct. Every creature in the world, human or animal, has a certain way of behaving, which is natural to him or it and so long as we act according to it, we act in the way of the Tao or the way of virtue. Every one has his way, man or woman, prince or peasant. Each one should develop his own nature, his svadharma as the *Bhagavadgītā* would put it. If we impose a uniform standard on all, chaos would be the result. 'Of old, when a seabird alighted outside the capital of Lu, the Marquis of Lu went out to receive it, gave it wine in the temple, had music played to amuse it, and a bullock slaughtered to feed it. But the bird was dazed and too tired to eat or drink anything. In three days it was dead. This was treating the bird as one would treat oneself, and not as a bird would treat a bird. Had he treated it as a bird would have treated a bird, he would have put it to roost in a deep forest, allowed it to wander over the plain, to swim in a river or a lake, to feed upon fish, to fly in formation with others and to settle leisurely..... Water which is life to fish is death to man.'[1] Chuang Tzu thought ill of all government and of interference with nature. We should preserve different kinds of life. If all beings live according to Tao, there will be no strife in the world. There is nothing in the world which is not good, no point of view which is not right.[2] We must follow nature's law. Gentleness and non-resistance are the way of wisdom and happiness. These principles are not different from the Buddha's maxims: 'to cease from evil, to do good, to purify the innermost heart'. Virtue is unassertive submission. To yield is to conquer.

'What is of all things most yielding
Can overwhelm that which is of all things most hard.
Being substanceless it can enter even where there is no space;
That is how I know the value of action that is actionless.
But there can be teaching without words
Value in action that is actionless,
Few indeed can understand.....'[3]

1. *Chuang Tzu*, XVIII 2. *Ibid.*, Ch. II 3. *Tao Tê Ching*, XLIII

'The sage does nothing, yet achieves everything.....'[1]

Lao Tzu describes the operation of Tao in human life as 'production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination'. He is reported to have said: 'Govern a great country as you cook a little fish.' Do not fuss about it. Do not overdo it. 'Establish nothing in regard to oneself. Let things be what they are, move like water, rest like mirror, respond like an echo, pass quickly like the non-existent, and be quiet as purity.....Become a channel for the world.'[2] That is how the liberated man acts.

'Therefore the sage
Is all the time in the most perfect way helping men.'[3]

Chuang Tzu quotes Lao Tzu to this effect: 'He who knows he is strong but is content to be weak is the cynosure of mankind. He who knows he is innocent but endures disgrace will be the leader of men. He who contents himself with the last place, when all others strive for the first, is said to accept the contumely of the world.'[4]

Tao Tê Ching condemns wars. Lao Tzu says: 'Of all acts the most prejudicial, the most damnable, is war. Let those who advise princes, beware of recourse to arms, for all war induces revenge. Where an army has passed, years of misery, famine and brigandage follow. He who rejoices in victory shows that he has the heart of an assasin.'[5]

GENERAL ESTIMATE

Taoism gave China a transcendental mysticism and thus attempted to fulfil a deep-rooted yearning of the Chinese mind for attaining release from the fetters of the outer world. It however did not develop a metaphysics, which would attempt to satisfy the 'reason' element in man. The exact nature of the relation between the Absolute and the world, the mediating forces between the two do not come in for

1. *Tao Tê Ching*, XLVII; see also XLVIII and LXXXI
2. *Chuang Tzu*, XXXIII
3. *Tao Tê Ching*, XXVII
4. See Liang Chi-chao: *Chinese Political Thought*, E.T. (1930), p. 82
5. *Tao Tê Ching*, XXX, XXXI and LXIX

any systematic development. On the religious side, it was unable to give a satisfying scheme. By accepting many of the principles and practices of Buddhism and raising Lao Tzu to the rank of a Buddha, it attempts to fulfil the religious cravings of the people. The Taoist monastic system with its disciplinary rules is built on the Buddhist model.[1] A Taoist canon was gradually set up on the model of the Buddhist Sūtras. Heavens and hells were taken over from the Buddhist religion and given Chinese names, presided over by Chinese gods, who were the historical heroes of the race deified. Orders of priests and priestesses were formed in imitation of Buddhist practice. In the T'ang period Lao Tzu was regarded with special veneration and he slowly rose to the rank of a divinity on a level with the Buddha. 'Establishing itself even more securely in the course of centuries it was always borrowing fresh elements from Buddhism, until it developed into a national religion of equal potency and running on parallel lines with the rival creed. And thus it lives on in the history of China.'[2]

When Tantrayāna Buddhism introduced mystic rites of doubtful value, Taoism developed on the same lines. The works of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu came to be used as text-books in schools of magic. It is the magical element that made Taoism popular. It is said to hold the secret of the philosopher's stone which confers immortality. It prescribed all manner of charms and spells, and revelled in witchcraft, wizardry and demon-expulsion. Rationalist China found it difficult to accept as religion, a cult so much darkened by superstition.

Its chief weakness, however, was on the practical side. It came to mean a certain lazy indifferentism to the work of

1. 'From Buddhism, the Taoists borrowed their whole scheme of temples, priests, nuns and ritual. They drew up liturgies to resemble the Buddhist sūtras and also prayers for the dead. They adopted the idea of a Trinity consisting of Lao Tzu, P'an Ku and the Ruler of the Universe, and they further appropriated the Buddhist Purgatory with all its frightful terrors and tortures after death.'—*Religions of Ancient China*, by Giles (1905), p. 63

2. Wilhelm: *Chinese Civilization* (1929), p. 200

the world. It made no attempt to improve or teach the people. Mencius looked upon Taoism as leading to anarchy in social matters, for it rejects all forms of interference with nature and denounces government as unnecessary. There is a tendency in Taoism to make out that man in his natural state is free from selfishness and that intellect and desire do not belong to his 'nature'. If man is selfish and acquisitive, it is due to other causes. The first is the stimulation of material objects in nature. 'An excess of colour blinds the eye; an excess of noise ruins the ear; an excess of condiments deadens the taste;' and the only way to preserve one's mental calm is not to get excited by the tempting things. Social and political interferences are a second source of disturbance: 'The more restrictions and prohibitions the more impoverished will the people be. The more weapons there are, the more confusion will there be in the state. The more laws and orders are issued, the more thieves and robbers will abound.' Chuang Tzu advises us to get back to nature. 'When sainthood is abandoned and the learned are outcast, robbery will cease; when jades are thrown away and jewels destroyed, pilfering will not occur.'[1] While Confucians emphasize 'reason' in man, the Taoists despise it. The Taoist asks us to live nearer to the earth, with an appreciation of the magic of nature, and many 'civilized' of the modern generation who live in a world of celluloid and concrete are attracted to the Taoist primitivism. To the Confucian principles of fellow-feeling, righteousness, decorum, knowledge and loyalty, the Taoists oppose heart, nature, instinct, inaction, unconsciousness, which is so completely different from the Buddhist ideal of meditation and effort. Aśoka, the Buddhist ruler of India (third century B.C.), carved on rocks and pillars maxims which exhort one to spiritual strenuousness as against the Taoist spiritual slackness. He said: 'Let all joy be in effort. Let small and great exert themselves.' The Buddhist ideal is one of energetic action. On one occasion, when the Buddha approached a rich

1. See Liang Chi-chao: *Chinese Political Thought*, E.T. (1930), p. 78

Brahmin for alms, the latter said: 'I, having ploughed and sowed, eat. You, on the other hand, propose to eat without ploughing and sowing.' To this rebuke, the Buddha replied that he was engaged in the more important tillage of the spirit. 'Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad. Exertion is my beast of burden carrying me without turning back to the place where, having gone, one does not grieve—so this ploughing is ploughed; it bears the fruit of immortality.'

Taoism rejected the appeal to tradition. Lao Tzu was indifferent to filial piety, for all ancestors are equal in Tao. The mistake of Taoism is that it does not recognize the social side as natural to man. Besides, it encouraged a sort of fatalism. In worldly affairs, the Taoists submit to the universal laws of nature. We cannot question nature's right to make or mar. If we try to alter the course of nature, we will realize our helplessness. Tranquillity of spirit requires us to conform to the laws of nature in a spirit of glad acceptance and not merely meek resignation or unwilling acquiescence. When Chuang Tzu's wife died, the logician Hui Tzu came to the house to join in the rites of mourning. To his astonishment he found Chuang Tzu sitting with an inverted bowl on his knees, drumming upon it and singing a song. 'After all,' said Hui Tzu, 'she lived with you, brought up your children, grew old along with you. That you should not mourn for her is bad enough; but to let your friends find you drumming and singing—that is really going too far.' 'You misjudge me,' said Chuang Tzu. 'When she died, I was in despair, as any man well might be. But soon, pondering on what had happened, I told myself that in death no strange new fate befalls us..... If some one is tired and has gone to lie down, we do not pursue him with shouting and bawling. She whom I have lost has lain down to sleep for a while in the Great Inner Room. To break in upon

her rest with the noise of lamentations would but show that I knew nothing of nature's Sovereign Law.'[1]

For Lao Tzu the evils of society are not merely social vices; they are also sins of the soul. The way to get rid of them is to rise above the rational into the spiritual. But unfortunately, Taoism tries to make human laws conform to the laws of the sub-human, the physical and the biological.

Taoism developed in different ways. Mencius mentions a number of these developments. Yang Chu and Mo Chai became thoroughgoing individualists adopting the principle, every one for himself. 'Though by plucking one single hair he might have benefited the world, he would not pluck it.' Some adopted asceticism and abstained from household and civic duties. Hsu Hsing expounds anarchism and does not admit the necessity of government. Even the legalists, who believe in legal interference with the details of life, appeal to Taoism for their view that the universe is static. Lao Tzu looks upon social and political life as a misdevelopment and attempts to lead mankind away from the world of change to the world of metaphysical reality. This otherworldly emphasis of Lao Tzu is opposed to the Confucian tradition which refines the social life of man and adapts it to the changing demands of the age. Lifelessness is not saintly purity. If we do not attend to the mental conditions and material moulds in which spiritual aims are to find expression, we will sink deeper in our helplessness and proclaim our incompetence to deal with the facts of life and the shocks of a rapidly changing environment. Taoist metaphysics is close to the Upaniṣadic thought and its discipline to the Yoga technique. If Confucian ethics teaches how to live together in harmony and good order, Taoist transcendental mysticism helps us to get out of society and realize the Tao. We require a system of thought and belief which combines the strong points of these two cults.

1. *Chuang Tzu*, XVIII. See also Waley's E.T. *The Way and Its Power*, pp. 53–54

6. GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA AND HIS TEACHING

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA[1]

GAUTAMA the Buddha (563–483 B.C.) is one of the most alert, vigorous and cheerful personalities of whom we have historical record. The austere beauty of his life, the sublimity and tenderness of his character, the essential truth of his teaching, the middle way between scepticism and superstition, between the life of indulgence and the life of mortification which he taught, make a powerful appeal to the modern mind.

He was born in 563 B.C., of the Gautama family. His personal name was Siddhārtha and he was the heir of the ruling house of the Śākyas. The future Buddha is said to have entered the womb of Queen Mahāmāyā in a dream in which she was attended by guardian angels. When she related her dream to the king, he consulted eminent Brahmins and asked them for the meaning of the dream. 'Be not anxious, great king,' said the Brahmins, 'you will have a son. And he, if he continues to live the household life, will become a universal monarch; but if he leave the household life and retire from the world, he will become a Buddha and roll back the sin and folly of this world.'

Siddhārtha was brought up in Kapilavastu, was married in due course and had a son by name Rāhula who afterwards became his disciple. Siddhārtha suffered the unrest of the age and was greatly moved by the transience and uncertainty of all earthly things and pleasures. Man's happiness is as unstable as a shadow. He insisted on facing life and knowing the truth of it all. He left his home in search for truth and after years of struggle, in which he tried different methods of attaining truth, he settled down under the Bo tree, with a firm resolve not to stir from his seat, until he found the truth. 'Let my body wither, let my skin, bones and flesh

1. See the writer's *Gautama the Buddha: Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1938

be utterly destroyed, I will not stir from this seat until I attain enlightenment.'[1] He found the truth and in a long ministry preached it to large multitudes. He founded a monastic order for the seekers and gathered many disciples. Soon after the founding of the Order, the Buddha sent out his followers in little groups on missionary journeys with the command: 'Fare ye forth, brethren, on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world, to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly; go in pairs. Teach ye the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation. Both in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim ye the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the truth.'[2] He died at the age of eighty.

The Buddha regarded himself as a teacher of dharma. He looked upon his own enlightenment as an illustration of a universal law, which is verified in personal experience. Insight depends on purity of life. Ethical discipline is the way to spiritual emancipation. Men began to say of him: 'He knows knowing, sees seeing; he is the eye of the world; he has become knowledge.... has become truth.... it is he who teaches us, who reveals the hidden truth, who pours out good and gives immortality: he is the lord of dharma.'[3] He teaches ethical harmony with the universe and a way of escape from the flux of becoming to the peace and joy of being. After his death his teaching was brought together in the Pali Canon. The dual purpose of his mission comes out in many of his utterances. 'One thing only do I teach, sorrow and freedom from sorrow; to depart from evil, to lay hold of good, to cleanse the inner heart.' His

1. ihāsane śuṣyatu me śarīram
   tvagasthi māṁsam pralayam ca yātu
   aprāpya bodhim bahukalpadurlabhām
   naivāsanāt kāyam etat caliṣyati. *Lalitavistāra*
2. *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIV. 22. See also *Mahāvagga*, I. 12. 1
3. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, XIV. 94

mission was to lead his followers to the exalted peace and experience of nirvāṇa through the practice of the ethical path starting with right views, and culminating in transcendental bliss and freedom.

HIS TEACHING

The idealism of the Upaniṣads with its doctrine of the Supreme Reality, Brahman-Atman, as the Ineffable and the Pure 'from which words turn back', of the individual as a manifestation of the Absolute, of moral discipline as a means to mystic realization, of karma and saṁsāra, was in the air, and the Buddha used it with a different emphasis. His attitude was one of positivist rationalism. We must look at the facts and frame our theories. In order to rise to spirit, we need not deny the intellect. The tendency to repudiate the 'reason' element which is a feature of primitivism is alien to the spirit of the Buddha. He had no 'closed fist'. He talked freely to his disciples, concealing nothing.[1] The Buddha's metaphysical system integrates illumination and intellectual process. Bodhi or enlightenment is helped by an understanding of the laws of cause and effect which govern the world. The Buddha adopts an attitude which is more scientific than speculative and does not dogmatize on ultimate verities. His spiritual affirmations are not metaphysical speculations but are based on the discriminations of a subtle psychology. His four truths are grounded in the immediate data of consciousness.

The impermanence of all finite things is a datum of experience. Whatever is impermanent has no reality or self about it. In this world of perpetual change or saṁsāra there is nothing permanent. Though it has neither beginning nor end, one can get out of it. This impermanence is a stimulus to religious aspiration. If we led untroubled lives there would have been no thought of religion. 'If three things did not exist, the Buddha would not appear in the world and his law and doctrine would not shine.' 'What

1. *Cp. Analects*, VII. 23

are the three?' 'Birth, old age, and death.' Without going beyond immediate experience, without asserting the dogma of a personal God, one can say that there is an Eternal Reality, a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness, dharma, which is another name for the supreme Brahman of the Upaniṣads. The Buddha, like Lao Tzu, contrasts the surface life with a deeper one. When we get behind the surface and touch the depths, we establish our unity with the great Reality. This consciousness of universal reality effects a transformation of our nature. It is a new birth, the making of a new person. The reality of dharma is not a theological dogma or a metaphysical assumption. It is envisaged as an immediate datum of consciousness. 'What is not eternal does not deserve to be looked on with satisfaction.' We must aim at the permanent, the eternal, what has self, the incomparable nirvāṇa which is free from corruption. If the Buddha does not admit the reality of a self, it is because he is afraid that we may be lulled into a false security on the assumption that we are real even as we are. All our ideas, desires, dispositions, senses and their objects are fleeting. We must escape from them. The real is the permanent and all these are impermanent. They are lacking in 'self', they are unreal. The Buddha's ethical interest inclines him to hold that individuals do not have an absolute self-determined existence. If they possess reality, then no change of the individual is possible. If ethical teaching is to be effective, the individual should be capable of alteration. To get at the permanent, the true self, we must exercise our will. Our intellect should be discriminating and our will strenuous. If the world is unsatisfactory, it is because it is transitory and ignorant. The suffering of the world can be destroyed. We are unhappy because of our foolish desires; if we get rid of them and remake ourselves, we shall be happy. If we care for a happy life, it is not something to be chanced upon but something to be built up by good thoughts, words and deeds. We can remake our natures by training and cultivation, by purifying the heart and following the moral

law. The essential nature of man is not so much thought or feeling as will, which we have to exert, if we wish to escape from the sorrow of the world. The Buddha exhorts his followers to cultivate 'manly strength, manly energy, manly effort'.[1] The exercise of will means the act of attention, of concentration. Pious aspirations, humanitarian hopes are not enough. The distance that separates pure ideas from the reality of human passions can be got over only by the purification of mind and heart. The Buddha encourages self-reliance and inculcates self-control. Humility in the sense of submission to the divine will appears later, but not in the teaching of the historical Buddha. For him, 'self is the lord of self. Who else can be the lord?' At the very end of his life, the Buddha exhorts his followers to be 'refuges unto themselves'.

Though the Buddha makes out that ignorance is the essential link in the chain of saṁsāra, it is overcome not by a theoretical knowledge of the four noble truths but by acting upon them. The conquest of ignorance follows upon the intense exercise of will. The doctrine of the Buddha is a way of life. Any one who treads the path and reaches the goal is a Buddha, a Tathāgata. What is demanded of us is concentration on the attainment of nirvāṇa. The speculative difficulties will not be solved until we attain to the supreme wisdom. Any one who wishes to solve them in the meantime will only be diverted from the essential concentration on the path. Many disciples complain that they have not received any answers to their questions, whether the world is finite or infinite, eternal or non-eternal, whether the saint exists or does not exist after death. The Buddha says that he has not revealed them 'because this is not edifying, nor connected with the essence of the norm, nor tends to the turning of the will, to the absence of passion, to cessation, rest, to the higher faculties, to supreme wisdom, nor to nirvāṇa.'[2] The Buddha regarded himself as a physician for

1. purisatthāmeṇa, purisaviriyeṇa, parākkameṇa.—*Majjhima Nikāya*
2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Sutta 63

the disease from which human nature is ailing. Any one who refuses to act on his teaching until these metaphysical puzzles are solved, is comparable to a man who is wounded by a poisoned arrow and is unwilling to receive medical help until he has ascertained whether the man who wounded him was of light or dark complexion, was a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya. Whatever answers the Buddha may give to these questions will only be 'views' and not certainties, and views do not make for edification. The Buddha would not permit his followers to receive spiritual truth on hearsay, tradition, or even his own authority. The Buddha, like Confucius, would not indulge in speculations about the future.[1] He, like Confucius, insists on the formation of good character which will issue in good action. He proclaims the doctrine of the mean. He wishes us to steer a middle course between the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification. He does not prescribe an ascetic code or unnatural ethics. He practised hard austerities while at Uruvela and found them to be unsatisfying. Self-mortification does not lead to enlightenment. He adopted the more natural method of meditation. In his last utterances to his disciples, he emphasizes its value: 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of meditation accompanied by upright conduct; great is the advantage of intelligence accompanied by meditation. The mind which has such intelligence is freed from intoxications, from the desires of the senses, from love of life, from delusions and from ignorance.' In his time it was accepted by all thinkers that those who wish to devote themselves to a life of spirit should be freed from worldly ties. But the monks were required to dedicate their lives to intellectual activity and social service.

The Buddha steered clear of theology and sacrifices and made out that religious life meant the observance of the eight-fold path of morality; his follower is required to mould his life according to an ethical law. He is indifferent to the worship of the deities, though he does not

1. *Analects* XI. 11

forbid it. This attitude is similar to that of Confucius who requires us to follow a code of ethics; and if, besides, you honour the deities, you do not offend Confucius. The Buddha ignored ceremonial and sacerdotal codes. These are useful so far as they help us to cultivate good habits of mind. His teaching is essentially practical. 'Just as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt, so has the doctrine and discipline only one taste, the taste of emancipation.'[1] We must lead a holy life to escape from suffering. The eight-fold path is the way to happiness. Maitrī, friendliness, is enjoined. 'All the occasions for the doing of good works are not worth one-sixteenth part of love which sets free the heart. Love which sets free the heart comprises them: it shines, gives light and radiance.'[2] 'As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so let every one cultivate a boundless love towards all beings.'[3]

Filial piety the Buddha emphasizes as much as Confucius. There are two beings, he says, namely father and mother, who can never be adequately repaid.[4] 'If a man were to carry his parents about on his shoulders for a hundred years or could give them all the kingdoms and treasures of the earth, he still would not discharge his debt of gratitude.' In *Mahāvagga* we find that a monk is not blamed for giving to his parents property which belongs to the Order.[5] In the *Sigalovāda Sutta*,[6] it is related that the Buddha, on one of his morning rounds for alms, met the householder Sigala bowing down with clasped hands and saluting the four quarters, the nadir and the zenith. His purpose was to avert any evil which might come from these six directions. The Buddha told him that the right way to protect himself is to regard his parents as the east, his teachers as the south, his wife and children as the west, his friends as the north, his servants as the nadir and monks

1. *Cullavagga*, IX. I. IV
2. *Itivuttaka*, III. 7
3. *Suttā Nipāta*, I. 8
4. *Anguttara Nikāya*, V. 2. 4
5. VIII. 22
6. *Dīgha Nikāya*, 31

and Brahmins as the zenith. Then the Buddha expounded the duties of (1) parents and children, (2) pupils and teachers, (3) husband and wife, (4) friends, (5) master and servants, and (6) laity and clergy. These reciprocal obligations remind us of the five relationships of Confucian morality, three of which are identical with the Buddha's scheme, parents and children, husband and wife, and friends. The Indian, unlike the Chinese, is more religious than political-minded and so emphasizes the relations of teachers and pupils, and laity and clergy, and omits the mutual duties of sovereigns and subjects.

The Buddha was not a fanatic about rules. He was ready to adjust them to the infinitely varying circumstances of life. He was anxious that the moral autonomy of the individual should not be encroached upon by the imposition of minute outer regulations. The Buddha is at pains to declare that the individual consciousness should not be superseded by outer authority. According to the law of karma every man reaps, in the good or evil that befalls him, the fruits of his own sowing. There is no arbitrary or capricious divine will which interferes with the working of the law. What we have been makes us what we are.

The Buddha admits that it is possible for man to acquire certain supernormal powers like levitation and the like by developing certain psychic capacities that have become atrophied through long disuse. He did not give to them an important place in religion. Like Confucius, he maintained an extreme reserve in regard to them.[1] He condemned trances as unsatisfactory.[2]

Like Confucius, the Buddha does not deny the existence nor forbid the worship of the popular gods. These gods are not creators and rulers of the world, but spiritual beings with different powers and spheres. They are not to be compared with the Absolute Reality.

When we reach the goal we attain bodhi—insight, fulness and purity of vision. We wake up from the dream of

1. *Cp. Analects*, VII. 20
2. *Samyutta Nikāya*, XXXVI. 19

saṁsāra. Right awareness is the seventh stage of the Buddhist path preceding the final end of right rapture. Nirvāṇa is, literally, the extinction of desires, of the three fires of lust, ill-will and delusion. It is not mere emptiness; for the craving for extinction in the sense of annihilation or non-existence is repudiated by the Buddha. Negatively, nirvāṇa is escape from the transitory, and positively, it is life eternal. We cannot describe the state adequately, for it goes beyond the categories of ordinary consciousness. It is said to be unborn, unproduced, undying.[1] 'Yet it is the highest bliss, paramam sukham. He who has attained nirvāṇa becomes "deep, immeasurable, unfathomable like the mighty ocean".' The blessedness of nirvāṇa is attained in the present life. It is not a state of bliss in a world to come, but perfect emancipation of spirit, here and now. It is not an inert condition of rest, but an active and exalted peace. When we attain wisdom, when we perceive the true meaning and purpose of life, we would wish to co-operate for the reparation of wrongs, for the suppression of injustice, for the relief of suffering and for the spiritual welfare of mankind. The Buddha's own life is an illustration of an immeasurable depth of calm and universal compassion. Deep wisdom and boundless love are the marks of nirvāṇa. While the arhat of the Hīnayāna is conceived as a master of meditation, the bodhisattva of the Mahāyāna becomes the lord of compassion, who, to enable all men to attain wisdom, postpones the realization of ultimate nirvāṇa. 'For as much as there is the will that all sentient beings should be altogether made free, I will not forsake my fellow creatures.'[2] The historical Buddha combines within himself the calm and detachment of the arhat and the love and compassion of a bodhisattva. In a long life of friendliness and sincerity he demonstrated the force of love and purity to the rich and the poor, to man and woman, to the simple and the learned, to the sinner and the saint. The Pitakas speak of the

1. ajātam, abhūtam, amṛtam.—*Udāna*
2. *Avatamsaka Sūtra*

omniscience and purity of the Buddha who is frequently represented as instructing devas and receiving their homage.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

Very soon after the death of the Buddha heresies arose and even the inscriptions of Aśoka (3rd century B.C.) refer to schisms. With a view to the settlement of sectarian disputes, Aśoka summoned a council about 240 B.C. In course of time many sects developed, which are broadly distinguished into the Hīnayāna, the little vehicle, and the Mahāyāna, the large vehicle. The latter is so called because it offers the hope of salvation to all beings through love and faith as well as by knowledge. During the reign of Kaniṣka, who flourished during the latter half of the first century of our era, a Council was held at Kashmir at which Mahāyāna Buddhism was recognized. The scriptures of the Hīnayāna are preserved in Pali and claim to represent the original teaching of Gautama, rationalistic and monastic. The Mahāyāna whose scriptures are in Sanskrit deals with a development that is mystical and devotional. The Hīnayāna believes in the three jewels, the triratna—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. The true nature of the Buddha is his insight, bodhi or enlightenment, his dharma. To know the dharma is to know the Buddha. It is the body of the Buddha. Dharmakāya is the basic reality, undefiled, unchanging, unique, transcendent.

Mahāyāna thought resembles that of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the combination of metaphysical idealism and devotional faith. Both teach that action is superior to inaction, only it should be disinterested. Both lay stress on faith. Both proclaim that, if we think of Kṛṣṇa or Amitābha at the moment of death, we go to their abodes. The doors of paradise are open to women, to the outcasts. As the devotional emphasis increases, meditation passes into worship, and the teacher Buddha becomes a god. 'I am the Father of the world. All men are my children, all are destined to Buddhahood.'[1]

1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*

Mahāyāna Buddhism is a religion of mystical piety and moral effort. 'Let the monk wait upon his sick companion, and he is serving me,' says the Buddha in a touching passage. The Buddha insists on service and self-sacrifice. If we take refuge in the Buddha, it follows that there is some relation between the worshipper and the Buddha. The Buddha was a bodhisattva, till he attained nirvāṇa. His career as a bodhisattva begins at the time of Dīpankara, the first of the twenty-four Buddhas. Gautama battles towards the goal through innumerable lives of suffering and sacrifice. A bodhisattva is a Buddha designate, any one who is destined to become a Buddha in this or a future life. The *Jātaka* or the Birth Stories speak of many bodhisattvas. *Milinda-pañha* mentions bodhisattva Maitreya.[1] Other works like the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* speak of previous Buddhas, who are said to be twenty-four. In a sense we are all bodhisattvas, though the bodhi in us is not yet made manifest. Those in whom it is manifested dedicate all their activities to the task of saving the world. It is said of Gautama that there is not a single spot on earth where in some previous life or other he had not sacrificed his life for the sake of others. The bodhisattvas are not indifferent to the sorrows of the world. They enter upon their course 'out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, welfare and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men, for the sake of the complete nirvāṇa of all beings..... Therefore they are called Bodhisattva Mahāsattva.'[2] Chandrakīrti says that as the new moon is celebrated and not the full moon, so the bodhisattvas are worshipped more than the Buddhas. 'Shall another do a lowly task while I am standing by? If I in my pride do not do it, better it is that my pride perish....then with firm spirit I will undo the occasions of undoing; if I should be conquered by them, my ambition to conquer the three-fold world would be a jest. I will conquer all; none shall

1. *Dīgha Nikāya*, X. VI. V. 15
2. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*

conquer me.'[1] The Buddha's own life is an example of the fact that we can here and now attain perfect peace and happiness by strenuous endeavour and at the same time work for the welfare of the world. The bodhisattvas are angels of mercy and knowledge, who have indefinitely postponed their entry into nirvāṇa for the sake of helping suffering humanity. The great bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī decline to enter nirvāṇa so that they may be able to alleviate the sufferings of the world. The bodhisattvas are the emanations of the Buddhas and have a beginning. They are not creators of the world but are the helpers of mankind. The Buddha himself was not a creator but only a physician, a saviour who prescribed a method of salvation. The bodhisattva ideal answers to the Hindu conception of the avatāra. The qualities of the bodhisattvas or the pāramitās are liberality, morality, forbearance, rapt contemplation and transcendental wisdom, and to them were added later five others: intuitive knowledge, strength, resolution, skill in teaching, and compassion. The emphasis here is more on liberality and compassion than on endurance and strength.

The Mahāyāna believes in the doctrine of turning over of one's merit to others. It insists on the interdependence of all life and so allows that the merit acquired by one may be devoted to the good of others. No man lives to himself alone.

THE METAPHYSICS OF THE MAHĀYĀNA

Like the Advaita Vedānta, the Mahāyāna thinkers believe that the Absolute is beyond all determinations and can be described as Pure Being, suchness, bhūta-tathatā, or

1. Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (7th century A.D.), E.T. (1902), by Barnett, gives instructions to be followed by those who would wish to become bodhisattvas. They must cultivate the strictest morality, patience, energy, meditation, and knowledge. They should have devotion (bhakti) to the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. They should make over to others whatever merit they may possess or acquire and offer themselves as sacrifice for the salvation of all beings.

śūnya, what is devoid of empirical determinations. The Tathāgata, he who has reached reality, gives place to the tathatā or reality itself. Nāgārjuna says: 'There is no production (utpāda), no destruction (uccheda), no annihilation (nirodha), no persistence (śāśvata), no unity (ekārtha), no plurality (nānārtha), no coming in (āgamana) and no going forth (nirgama). This view points out that there can be no predication of existence or non-existence of what is beyond the world of phenomena. It also shows that things of the empirical world are self-discrepant and therefore not ultimately real. They have only a relative being. If all is unreal, what is the validity of the Buddha and his teaching? Nāgārjuna says that the Buddha speaks of two kinds of truth, the one absolute, paramārtha, and the other relative, saṁvṛti. The Yogācāra school of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu recognizes three kinds of knowledge: (1) parikalpita satya, illusory knowledge as when we mistake a piece of rope for a snake, (2) paratantra satya, relative knowledge as when we recognize the rope as a rope, and (3) pariniṣpanna satya where we recognize that the rope is a mental construct and has no being in itself. While the first two are included in relative knowledge (saṁvṛti) the last is paramārtha or ultimate reality. The Yogācāra holds that all things rest in an ever-enduring all-containing mind, ālayavijñāna. Even this is an expression of suchness and not itself suchness. For the Yogācāra the object world is the externalization of ideas, but the reality is more positively described as spirit, of which the ālayavijñāna, the ground and basis of all thought, is the closest approximation.

As the Advaita Vedānta argues, the world of experience is neither one with nor different from the world of reality. It is wrong to hold that the Mādhyamika system looks upon the world as utterly non-existent. Its very name indicates that it is the school of the middle way. The world is neither fundamental being nor utter non-being. Objects have no absolute or independent being, only the Absolute has that kind of reality: nor are they absolutely non-existent. They

exist by virtue of their relations. By a subtle and bold dialectical criticism of the categories of experience, Nāgārjuna attempts to prove that we do not attain any certainty in knowledge. Yet we have an interior vision of reality—luminous, unfathomable, of ineffable depth and infinite transparency. The intuition of the essential nature, prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, is attainable. The world of phenomena is different from it in one sense and one with it in another. In this position which is that of Śaṁkara, that the world is sad-asad-vilakṣaṇa, the Mādhyamika system is in agreement with the teaching of the Buddha. 'That things have being is one extreme; that things have no being is the other extreme. These extremes have been avoided by the Tathāgata and it is the middle doctrine that he teaches.'

While from the standpoint of parā-vidyā the Absolute alone is real, theism along with incarnations has validity in the world of ordinary experience or relative truth.

The Mahāyāna believes in the three bodies: (i) Dharmakāya or the body of truth, answering to the pure Brahman of the Upaniṣads, (ii) Sambhogakāya or the heavenly manifestation, answering to the conception of Īśvara, the personal God, and (iii) Nirmāṇakāya which are the manifestations on earth, answering to the avatāras, the individual Buddhas.

Dharmakāya is the all-pervading ground which does not suffer any change or modification but appears to us in a variety of forms. It is the impersonal ground of all things called by different names, tattva—reality, śūnya—the void, nirvāṇa—the eternal freedom, samādhikāya—the rapture-body, bodhi—wisdom, prajñā—divine knowledge that transcends the distinction between subject and object, tathāgata-garbha or the womb of those who attain, dharmadhātu the matrix of all phenomena, the bhuta-tathatā of Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahāyāna śraddhotpatti*.[1] It is said to be 'neither existent nor non-existent, nor both nor neither'. In terms which remind us of the descriptions of Brahman in the Upaniṣads, and Tao in Lao Tzu, the Dharmakāya is said to be so great that it

1. The Awakening of Faith

embraces the whole universe and so small that the point of a needle cannot prick it. It is pure spirit, awareness without any trace of multiplicity. It alone is the Reality. Dharmakāya is void or śūnya only in the sense in which Brahman is nirguṇa or devoid of characteristics. As bodhi it dwells in all and impels us to become Buddhas. It is called Prajñāpāramitā which is represented as a feminine divinity, the Śakti of the Supreme, the power of manifestation inseparable from that which manifests. Dharmakāya is the totality of all things. Things appear separate because of our ignorance. The world we see is vijñāna or a series of mental states, according to the Yogācāra school; it is unreal according to the Mādhyamika doctrine.

The Absolute, Dharmakāya, is made manifest, by name and form, to the dwellers in heaven as Sambhogakāya, the body of bliss, the form in which the Buddhas appear in their celestial homes, and to those on earth as Nirmāṇakāya. The Buddha or the Buddhas are regarded as personal God, ancient, omnipresent and omnipotent. Even as Īśvara is looked upon as Viṣṇu or Śiva, so also the Sambhogakāya may have many forms. The human life of the Buddha, the discerner and teacher of the truth, is the manifestation of the cosmic reality which reveals itself in countless other Buddhas, his predecessors and successors, who are rulers of paradises in other worlds. There is no question here of a unique Buddha or a primordial Buddha. 'It is impossible,' says Asaṅga, 'that there should have been only one Buddha, for then one alone among the bodhisattvas would reach illumination to the exclusion of all the rest.' Yet all the Buddhas share the single Buddha-state, the Dharmakāya, the pure wisdom in which the knower and the known are identical. 'The waters of the rivers,' says Asaṅga, on the analogy of a well-known verse of the Upaniṣads, 'appear separate because of the diversity of their beds, but once they have re-entered the ocean they have only one bed, and are only one mass of water.' So it is with the sages as soon as they have penetrated into the common Buddha-state.

When we attain the Buddha-state, we become a new creation. The Mahāyāna substitutes for the Buddha of history the eternal Buddha. His existence in the earthly form is not his true and proper mode of being. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* tells us how the Buddha assumed an earthly form and the answer of the Buddha reminds us of what Kṛṣṇa says in the *Bhagavadgītā* or what the Johannine Christ says: 'Before Abraham was, I am.' 'The Tathāgata sees the triple world not as ignorant, common people do; He sees things eternally present to him. The Tathāgata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life. He is from everlasting.' In the interests of those who need to be educated, he becomes incarnate. 'When men become unbelieving, ignorant, fond of sensual pleasures, then I who know the course of the world declare, I am the Tathāgata; and I consider how I may incline them to enlightenment, how I may make them partakers of the Buddha Law.'[1] For the edification of the faithful, the Buddhas may reappear at any time. It is clear that, for the Mahāyāna system, the heart of reality is not an abstract essence but overflowing love and compassion.

There are many Buddhas, as, according to the Mahāyāna system, the goal of every individual is to become a Buddha. Of these Buddhas the most popular is Amitābha or Amida. He rules in the heaven of the Pure Land (Sukhāvati). Ages ago Amitābha was a great king, who left his throne and became a wanderer in search of truth. Under the guidance of the then Buddha, he attained to bodhisattvahood and took a series of great vows to become a Buddha, save all creatures and create a heaven where the souls of the blessed might enjoy a perpetual state of happiness, wisdom and purity. His vow runs as follows: 'When I become Buddha, let all living beings of the ten regions of the universe maintain a confident and joyful faith in me; let them concentrate their longings on a rebirth in my paradise; and let them call upon my name, though it be only ten times or

1. *Cp. Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 6–8

less; then, provided only they have not been guilty of the five heinous sins, and have not slandered or vilified the true religion, the desire of such beings to be born in my paradise will be surely fulfilled. If this be not so, may I never receive the perfect enlightenment of Buddhahood!' The Mahāyāna devotional literature is full of hymns and prayers of adoration, aspiration and surrender, which recall Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva hymns. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* says: 'I have no health in me. I am poor. I have nothing in the world with which to express my adoration. But in their great charity towards me, may the Protectors themselves accept my offering. I give myself to the Buddhas with all my heart and all I have and also to their sons (the bodhisattvas). Take possession of me, sublime beings. I adore you and I vow to be your slave.' *Smaller Sukhāvati Vyūha* speaks of Amitābha's paradise and says: 'Beings are not born in that Buddha country as a reward and result of good works performed in the present life. No, all men and women who hear and bear in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights the name of Amitābha when they come to die, Amitābha will stand before them in the hour of death, they will depart this life with quiet minds, and after death they will be born in paradise.'[1] Those who are born in Amitābha's paradise assume a spiritual body. The heaven of Amitābha is not nirvāṇa but a Buddha-field. The hope of rebirth in the blessed western paradise replaces the aspiration for nirvāṇa in the Mahāyāna system.

We have here all the ingredients of a bhakti religion. Amitābha draws men to himself and sent his son Gautama to lead men to him. He is ever accessible through the holy spirit of Avalokiteśvara. Here is salvation by faith. If we contemplate the glorious figure of Amitābha in the last moments, we reach his heaven.

Nirmāṇakāya is the plane of appearances projected from the previous stage, to satisfy the spiritual needs of sentient beings. These human forms assumed by the Buddhas are

1. See *Bhagavadgītā*, VIII. 6

partial and inadequate expressions of their true nature.[1] These forms are, as in the Hindu theism, assumed by the Divine for the sake of the worshippers, sādhakānāṃ hitārthāya. 'The bodhisattva has in his innermost bowels,' says Asaṅga, 'love for creatures, as one has love for an only son. As a dove cherishes her young and stays to take them under her wing, even so is the Compassionate One with creatures which are his children.' The bodhisattvas act as intermediaries between the Buddha state and the world.[1]

The bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are the personifications of kindness and knowledge. Avalokiteśvara is often accompanied by a female figure Tārā, who is adored as a female bodhisattva. Avalokiteśvara assumes many shapes as the God of mercy, Mañjuśri is pictured as having in his hand the sword of knowledge and a book. Next to these two is Maitreya, also called the Ajita, the unconquered. There are several other bodhisattvas. They all bend lovingly over suffering humanity to obtain for it freedom from sorrow.[2]

The Mahāyāna teaching is in consonance with the spirit of Indian religion in that it is large enough to include an endless variety of symbolic representations of the Absolute. It makes use of the Hīnayāna doctrine for those who are not yet ready for the larger vision. There are many ways in which the ignorant may be led into the truth. Its tolerance of many symbols as varied expressions of the deeper reality enabled the Mahāyāna faith to adapt itself to new conditions. Its metaphysics and religion have developed under the powerful influence of Hinduism. Several gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon have been taken over. Nirvāṇa is

1. *Cp.* Plato's doctrine. In the *Phædrus* and *Symposium* the First Principle is seated, above all height and, 'beyond existence' (*Republic*). It moves the wills of men by intermediaries, gods or else daemons, beings midway between human and divine, immortals but dwellers on earth like Diotima's Eros.

2. There is also the view that behind the universe are three manifestations of the spirit, the underlying Absolute, its embodiment in Iśvara and the same in action, answering to God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

described in the Mahāyāna as something already real and accomplished. It does not come to be. It is realized the moment our ignorance is overcome. Nirvāṇa is not acquired or created. It is not intermittent or liable to destruction. It transcends all empirical categories. Wisdom and love are one in it. Those in whom the bodhicitta is roused sacrifice themselves to save their fellow creatures. This worldly life does not take away from the reality of nirvāṇa. Becoming is also Being. Though this life is unreal, it is not without meaning. *Vimalakīrti Śūtra* observes: 'Just as the lotus flowers do not grow on the dry land, but spring from the dark and watery mud, so is it with the heart of wisdom, bodhicitta. It is through passion and sin that the seeds and sprouts of Buddhahood are able to grow.' When we develop the Buddha nature, the bodhicitta, as the essential quality of the Buddha, we are one with all Buddhas, we then possess prajñā or spiritual illumination and karuṇā or unselfish devotion to the good of others.

Mahāyāna Buddhism called men not only to the paradise of the Buddhas but also to an ordered and sane life on earth, with the objective of making all men happy. Life in the world should be inspired by the spirit of religion. Even as the ideal of the arhat was replaced by that of the bodhisattva, the hermit ideal was replaced by that of the householder. The desire was to live in the world, while yet being not of the world. The tradition of the holy monk persisted, but the godly layman is also exalted. The figure of Vimalakīrti, as described in the Sanskrit work *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*[1] points out how we can mingle among men, live in houses, be a friend of the publicans and sinners and yet be saintly. Vimalakīrti resided at Vaisāli but 'only for the sake of the necessary means for saving creatures; abundantly rich, ever careful of the poor, pure in self-discipline, obedient to all precepts, removing all anger by the practice of patience, removing all sloth by the practice of diligence, removing all

1. The Sanskrit original is lost, but the Chinese version is rendered into English by Professor Idumi. *Eastern Buddhist*, III (1938-39)

distractions of mind by intent meditation, removing all ignorance by fulness of wisdom; though he was but a simple layman, yet observing the pure monastic discipline; though living at home, yet never desirous of anything; though possessing a wife and children, always exercising pure virtues; though surrounded by his family, holding aloof from worldly pleasures; though using the jewelled ornaments of the world, yet adorned with spiritual splendour; though eating and drinking, yet enjoying the flavour of the rapture of meditation; though frequenting the gambling house, yet leading the gamblers into the right path; though coming in contact with heresy, yet never letting his true faith be impaired; though having a profound knowledge of worldly learning, yet ever finding pleasure in the things of the spirit as taught by the Buddha, though profiting by all professions, yet far above being absorbed by them; benefiting all beings, going wheresoever he pleases; ever teaching the young and ignorant when entering the hall of learning; manifesting to all the error of passion when in the house of debauchery; persuading all to seek the higher things when at the shop of the wine-dealer; preaching the Law when among wealthy people; teaching the Kṣatriyas patience; removing arrogance when among Brahmins; teaching justice to the great ministers; teaching loyalty and filial piety to the princes; teaching honesty to the ladies of the court; persuading the masses to cherish virtue.' The Mahāyāna system with its Advaita metaphysics and theistic religion is akin to the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* in many of its principles and their detailed application.

7. BUDDHISM IN CHINA

WHILE Gautama the Buddha was preaching in the Ganges valley, Confucius and Lao Tzu were reforming the primitive animistic beliefs of the Chinese people. These teachers with their distinctive traditions were yet agreed in their common purpose, which was to impress on the minds of their followers the importance of moral law, Dharma or Tao. They all believed in the unity of the universe and a moral purpose at work in it. In obedience to the mandate of the founder, Buddhism was preached in many lands, even in the centuries before the birth of Christ. As it advanced from land to land, it acquired greater enrichment by assimilating valuable local elements.

When Buddhism entered Chinese thought, it mingled with the Confucian and Taoist philosophies and developed into a type distinctive of China. It emphasized contemplative wisdom as well as social service. By its integration of the cognitive (jñāna), the emotional (bhakti) and the volitional aspects (karma), Buddhist thought attracted the interest of the intellectual and the spiritually minded classes.[1]

At the time when Buddhism became known in China, conditions for its acceptance were quite favourable. Confucianism did not provide any answers to the deepest questions of metaphysics or cravings of religion.[2] On the other hand, Taoism aroused a desire for religious speculation, for an undefined something which would fill life with the light and hope of eternity. It even hinted that such a religion was to come from the West, i.e., India. The glowing spirituality of the Buddhist religion with all its splendid forms of ritual and worship was greatly admired.

1. 'Buddhism had made a complete spiritual conquest of China. Not only in Chinese sculpture, and in a certain sense Chinese painting too—but intellectual life as a whole was steeped in it.'—*A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, by Wilhelm (1929), p. 245

2. 'It gave no answer to the deepest questions of existence; it gave neither strength for the battle of life nor comfort in the hour of death.'—*Truth and Tradition in Buddhism*, by Reichelt, E.T. (1927), p. 9

The Chinese piety towards departed parents Buddhism conserved in its masses for the dead. It also satisfied the natural human hope for life beyond death. In the sixth century the great Indian scholar Bodhiruci, who translated the *Amitayus-sūtropadeśa* into Chinese, rebuked a Taoist alchemist for his vain search for the elixir of life:

> How vain these prayers for five score years
> Of such poor life as this
> When life is yours in endless stores
> Of Amitāyu's bliss.[1]

The deeply moral nature of the Chinese people was stirred by the Buddhist emphasis on salvation through moral effort and the law of moral causation or karma. To men haunted by the idea of capricious deities and the fatalism of a determinist philosophy, the Buddha says: 'Do not bother about the questions of beginning and end, time and eternity.' 'This is the truth—that being present this must follow; from the rising of that this arises. That being absent this does not come into being. From the cessation of that this too ceases.'[2] It is a great comfort to the rational-minded to be told that the universe is orderly and man is free to shape his own destiny in it. The Taoist ideals of inwardness and passivity were already the precious heritage of Buddhist mysticism. Some of the Taoist deities were taken over into Buddhist canon.

LITERATURE

The earliest Buddhist work rendered into Chinese is the *Sūtra of the Forty-two Sections* translated by Kāśyapa Mātanga. It consists of extracts of Buddhist teaching set forth in the style of the Confucian *Analects*. Each paragraph begins, after the manner of the *Analects*, with the words 'Thus sayeth the Master'. It teaches the doctrines of karma and rebirth, meditation and austerities and the sanctity of all life including the animal. The arhat is held

1. Saunders: *Epochs of Buddhist History* (1924), p. 122
2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, 79

up as the ideal and there is no reference to the bodhisattva conception. To soften the emphasis on monastic life which can never be popular in a land of filial piety like China, the Sūtra extols and sublimates family life. If a monk meets women, he should treat the young as sisters or daughters and the old as mothers. Other Hīnayāna works were translated by the third century A.D. After 400 A.D. there was a decline of the Hīnayāna literature, though Hiuan-tsang, after his return from India, took interest in getting the Sarvāstivāda works translated into Chinese. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa Śāstra* was translated fairly early. The Hīnayāna did not become popular in China on account of its predominantly scholastic metaphysics and puritanical ethics.

The schism that developed in India could not be kept out of China. Mahāyāna works made a profound impression on the mind of China on account of the stress on the great ideals of compassion, purity and gentleness. Mahāyāna metaphysics is mystical and contemplative as well as rationalistic and rigorous; its ethics is both individual and social.[1] Besides, Mahāyāna Buddhism itself was in a fluid and formative condition when it entered China and so could receive distinctive developments there. The Parthian prince Anshikao and his Indo-Scythian colleague Lokarakṣa rendered into Chinese the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* in 148 A.D. This work set forth a powerful theism for which China was getting prepared for centuries. Portions of the greater *Sukhāvati Vyūha, Prajnāpāramitā* and *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* were translated into Chinese by 150 A.D. and translations of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and *Lalitavistāra* appeared about 300 A.D. Dharmarakṣa (266-313 A.D.) who translated *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* popularized the *Ullambana Sūtra* which gave a place in Buddhism for the Chinese veneration of the dead. Kumārajīva who came to China in 383 A.D., translated into Chinese the biographies of Aśvaghoṣa and

1. Dr Hu Shih, who is not a great admirer of the Buddhist religion, admits that 'Buddhism came with irresistible force .... it broke down the fatalism of Confucianism and Taoism .... and brought home to the Chinese the idea of the indestructibility of the soul.'

Nāgārjuna and also some philosophical works such as Nāgārjuna's commentary on *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* and Harivarman's *Satyasiddhi Śāstra*. The Indian monk, Paramārtha translated into Chinese Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda* in A.D. 550. Many other works of the Mahāyāna school were later translated into Chinese.

The rulers of China, Emperors Wu (265–290 A.D.) and Min (313–316) showed great interest in the spread of Buddhism and built over 180 religious establishments in the two cities of Nanking and Chang-ngan. Buddhism was patronized by the later monarchs, Yuan ti (317–322), Ming ti (322–325), Chang ti (326–342), Kien Wen ti (371–372), Hiau Wu ti (373–396) and Ngan ti (397–417). The Wei dynasty which was founded by the foreign tribes of the North in 386 A.D. and continued in power till the middle of the 6th century A.D. encouraged the spread of Buddhism and many of the translations of Buddhist texts, such as those by Kumārajīva, Puṇyatrāta and others, belong to this period.

THE PURE LAND OR THE LOTUS SCHOOL

A Chinese Buddhist, Hui-Yuan (333–416 A.D.) born in Shansi in northern China, founded the most prominent of all Mahāyāna schools called the Pure Land School, with the help of the Indian teachers Buddhayaśas and Buddhabhadra. As his brotherhood was first established in a monastery near a pond in which lotus flowers grew, it came to be known as the White Lotus School. Since a secret political society adopted the same name about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the followers of the School, anxious to avoid entanglements, changed its name into the Pure Land School. Hui-Yuan and other Taoists found an answer to their deepest religious longings in the form of the Mahāyāna which looks upon Amitābha as the All-Father. *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* and *Sukhāvati Vyūha*, the longer and the shorter, and Aśvaghoṣa's *The Awakening of Faith* are used as texts by this School.

The doctrine cuts across all metaphysical subtleties and teaches that simple faith in Amitābha (Amida) and invocation of his name lead to salvation. The origin of this teaching is ancient and its influence universal. Therefore it has not developed into a distinct sect. Other schools adopt the worship of Amitābha as a permissible road to salvation, if not the only or the most excellent way. Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* quotes a sūtra which says: 'If a man sets his mind to think only of Amitābha Buddha who is in the happiest realm of the West, and if his good deeds are in the right direction, and if he desires to be born in the happy paradise, he will be born there and, as he is always in the presence of the Buddha, he will never fall back.' 'If we reflect on the eternal nature of Amitābha Buddha and constantly practise this method, we shall in the end reach the place of future wisdom.'[1]

Different accounts are given of the way in which the conception of Amitābha arose. It is said that, after having gone all the steps to Buddhahood, he was born for the last time in the land of bliss, the Western Paradise, as the Chinese call it (Sukhāvati). From that time he could not become incarnate again and so works through the two bodhisattvas who help the created world. Some represent him as standing three generations away from Gautama; others look upon Gautama as one of Amitābha's last incarnations. Still others maintain that Amitābha is a collective name for all the Buddhas. The very name symbolizes the virtues necessary for Buddhahood. O is goodness, mi is moral conduct, to is contemplation, fu is wisdom: The *Sukhāvati Vyūha Sūtra* describes Gautama's account of how Amitābha took the forty-eight great vows to rescue living beings from distress, how he stored up boundless merit and saving power for innumerable lost souls and how he is the 'Buddha of Boundless Age and Light'. If we wish to follow the Amitābha to the uttermost limit, we will find him in our

1. IV

own soul. Gautama the Buddha is revered as the earthly founder of the teaching and the society.

The following beautiful appeal is addressed to Amitābha:

Thou perfect master,
Who shinest upon all things and all men
As gleaming moonlight plays upon a thousand waters at the same time.
Thy great compassion does not pass by a single creature.
Steadily and quietly sails the great ship of compassion across the sea of sorrow.
Thou art the great physician for a sick and impure world,
In pity giving the invitation to the Paradise of the West.[1]

The Chinese monk Yun Ch'i describes the promise of Amitābha in these words:

If there is any creature
Who desires to be born into my kingdom
And who in glad assurance of faith
Dwells upon my name in tenfold invocation,
Not one of them
Shall be shut out from that great experience.
All shall attain to an understanding of my plans,
Yes, shall attain to God.[2]

This devotional religion based upon pure idealism, has for its central prayer: 'I turn to Amitābha in reverence and trust',[3] which rings from South China to Manchuria, from Japan and Korea to the borders of Siberia. This prayer opens the way to the heart of the Divine, to the name which is above all names, the name through which every individual may find himself and become the Buddha.[4]

1. Reichelt: *Truth and Tradition in Buddhism* (1927), p. 137
2. *Ibid.*, p. 139
3. Nau-mo O-milo Fu Chinese
   Na-mo Amido Butsu Japanese
   Na-mo Amido pul Korean
4. 'It is nothing less than the ancient *unio mystica* from the mystics of the Church in the Middle Ages which appears here again on the soil of Asia—that inner contemplation and merging of the self with God, the very soul of meditation.'—*Truth and Tradition in Buddhism*, by Reichelt, p. 116

The next great teacher of this school is T'an Huan (502–549 A.D.). He elaborated further the conception of Amitābha. Through the teachings of Shan-tao (died A.D. 681) the thoughts of eternal life and of vicarious saviour were added to the conception of Amitābha. Amitābha and the two great revealers of his power and grace become a trinity, and salvation is achieved by faith in the three-fold Fu. Though the Pure Land School believes that the way to the heart of Amitābha of glowing compassion and grace is through devotion, study and meditation are not excluded. Faith in Amitābha is prepared for by the knowledge that the whole of existence is included in him and by the meditation which has Amitābha for its centre. There is a hall of meditation in Buddhist shrines. Hsi Ming who lived in the last years of the Ming dynasty says: 'I respectfully exhort all who call on the name of the Buddha to keep on with a sincere heart and thus gradually attain to the point when the heart cannot be disturbed any more, when the lotus blossom will unfold itself, and the heart see Buddha.'[1]

This school is a development of the Mahāyāna as it looks upon the historical Buddha as one of the many manifestations of the eternal reality called Dharmakāya or tathatā which cannot be defined in words. It believes in the bodhisattvayāna or the way of the bodhisattvas. To be initiated into it, we have to lead a life of sacrifice for struggling mankind. This school of Mahāyāna, with its emphasis on faith as the saving fact, and the great new birth which leads us into the Western paradise, where the great merciful father of all reigns, he who has sent the mightiest one down to earth in human form, who now with his gracious spirit (Kuan-yin) draws men to himself, gives the religious souls of China a faith that stirs their hearts.

CH'AN BUDDHISM

The founder of Ch'an or Zen Buddhism is Bodhidharma, a teacher from Conjeevaram in South India who claimed

1. Quoted in the *Catechism of the Pure Land Doctrine.*

to be the twenty-eighth patriarch in apostolic succession from Gautama. He spent nine years of his life in China (527–536 A.D.) in the Shao Lin monastery near Loyang. He did not gain much popularity, but earned the reputation of being the 'Wall-gazing Brahmin'. Mahāyāna Buddhism at the time of Bodhidharma leaned on external supports. When the Emperor Liang Wu ti, who lived in Nanking, explained to Bodhidharma how he erected buildings and encouraged literary work to further the progress of Buddhism and secure for it a sure foothold among the common people, Bodhidharma replied: 'These are all outward things which are of no benefit. The truly valuable things are attained only by that inner purification and enlightenment which comes through quiet reflection and meditation.' The Absolute is beyond all expression. When Vimalakīrti asked Mañjuśrī about the doctrine of non-duality as revealed by a bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī replied: 'As I understand it, the doctrine is realized when one looks upon all things as beyond every form of expression and demonstration and as transcending knowledge and argument. This is my comprehension. May I ask what is your understanding?' Vimalakīrti remained silent. Silence is the proper mystic response. The new insight which the Buddha attained under the Bo-tree, he tried to pass on to his followers. Bodhidharma taught that the experience of immediate insight is what one should acquire through methods of meditation and concentration.

Bodhidharma interprets the Mahāyāna view as the account of a process which is to be unfolded in the heart of man. He explains that there are universal truths underlying the mystical imagery. These spiritual truths are not contingent on scriptural authority or popular worship. The kingdom of heaven is in the heart of man. Bodhidharma does not attach importance to the attractive imagery of Amitābha's paradise or the legendary histories of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. The Buddha is to be found not in images or scriptures but in the heart of man. He avoided image worship and condemned the evils of priestcraft.

In spite of the marked tendency of the Chinese people to disbelieve in asceticism and contempt for the world, there has always been a school which found happiness in the hermit life. To the many who looked upon the rapture of contemplation as the true life of the soul, Buddhism gave opportunities. Right rapture, samyak samādhi, with its characteristics of wisdom, peace and joy, is the goal of the eight-fold path. Bodhidharma encouraged the habit of meditation or the discipline by which we control our thought and concentrate the mind on a particular object to the exclusion of all else. By means of meditation we acquire mental calm and refreshment. The essential aim of religion is to know the eternal truth which is ever expressing but never expressed. Even the scriptures are valuable only if they lead to the realization of the truth. We can learn the truth from a study of nature.

The discourse said to have been delivered by Bodhidharma at the court of Wu ti gives a good summary of his teaching.

'The heart is Buddha. Outside of it there is no reality. Apart from thought all is unreal. There is neither cause nor effect apart from the mind and heart. Nirvāṇa itself is a state of the heart. See in thyself the true Buddha nature, know that thou art the Buddha and canst not sin. There is neither good nor bad, but only the heart, and this is the Buddha and impeccable..... One sin only is there, to ignore thine own Buddhahood..... This ignorance it is which makes the wheel of saṁsāra to rotate; it is enlightenment which destroys the power of karma. The enlightened can neither sin nor be reborn. O heart of man, so great that thou canst embrace the world, so little that thou canst not be touched by a needle's point—thou art the Buddha. That is my word to China.'[1]

Bodhidharma's teaching welded together a number of Buddhist sects into a comprehensive school. While his insistence on meditation led many of his followers to the

1. Quoted in Saunders: *Epochs of Buddhist History* (1924), p. 138

enlightenment and deep peace, it also produced a passive dreary religiosity which did not always result in purposeful work for the welfare of humanity.

T'IEN T'AI SCHOOL

Chih I is the chief representative of the T'ien T'ai School. He lived in the latter half of the 6th century and spent most of his life in the province of Chekiang, where he died in 597 A.D. Here in the T'ien T'ai mountains, where monastic life was strongly developed, he founded his school and ordained over four thousand priests.

Chih I's main principle is to reconcile the different utterances of the Buddha by allotting them to five different periods in his life.

I. The first period covers the first three weeks of the life of the Buddha after his enlightenment. The teaching about bodhisattvas belongs to this period.

II. When the Buddha found that his teachings could not be understood by ordinary persons, he laid down the four truths and pointed out how one could achieve the dignity of an arhat. This period of twelve years found its expression in the Hīnayāna scriptures.

III. When the disciples felt that this was the whole truth, the Master corrected them and made out that there was still more. They will not only become saints but also share in the work of saving the world. The Mahāyāna scriptures represent the teachings of this period of eight years.

IV. When there was confusion in men's minds about the mutual relations of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, the Buddha explained that the Hīnayāna was the preparatory stage for the Mahāyāna realm of thought. This was the work of the next 22 years and a scripture like the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is typical of the teachings of this period.

V. When the Buddha reached the ripe age of 72 he taught the lofty doctrine that every individual may attain to nirvāṇa, that he had come down to earth for this purpose

and had taken upon himself the bonds of birth for preaching this universal salvation. The teachings of this period are found in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Lotus of the Good Law*), which is the principal scripture for the T'ien T'ai school. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and *Sukhāvati Vyūha Sūtra* were later assigned to this period.

This ingenious classification makes room for varieties of thought and practice and promotes the spirit of toleration. It shows the endless grace of Amitābha that he should have permitted numerous ways for suffering humanity.

This school rejects the view that contemplation was all-sufficient and held that, though the Buddha mind is present in all beings, instruction is necessary to remove error and establish true ideas. The school was more catholic and found place for literature, ritual, discipline and rapture of contemplation. Chih I accepts the view that, from the standpoint of absolute truth, all phenomena are unreal, though they are real for all practical purposes. Phenomena exist and do not exist. Chih I views the nature of the Buddha in somewhat theistic terms. He would not describe the Reality as personal as 'such terms are all relative: words limited by our human experience'. Buddhahood is not merely the highest reality but is also constant activity exerting itself for the good of all beings. In later times the T'ien T'ai School lost its distinctive character and got mixed up with magical formulas and the worship of Amida.

MANTRAYĀNA BUDDHISM

The Mantrayāna or the Tantrayāna first made its appearance in the 8th century A.D. and is akin to Tibetan Buddhism. Vajrabodhi who is reckoned the first of the Chinese patriarchs of this school brought this sect from India about 720 A.D. His successor, who is also an Indian, Amoghavajra, popularized masses for the dead. While in its philosophical aspect it is a symbolic pantheism which represents the one Supreme Spirit as manifesting in a series of emanations, in its popular form it was polytheism,

fetishism and magic. Its principal deity is Vairocana, answering to Amitābha. The Dharmakāya or the Bhūtatathatā is represented as Mahāvairocana. The school promises salvation to those who accept certain formulas and ceremonies. It makes a distinction between esoteric and exoteric doctrines. The adept who knows the esoteric phase becomes a living Buddha, possessing full intrinsic knowledge.

Vairocana is the whole world and has two aspects, material (garbhadhātu) and indestructible (vajradhātu) and the two together form the dharmadhātu. The manifestations of Vairocana's body to himself are represented symbolically by diagrams of several circles. As the universe is merely idea, thoughts are the powerful forces. The use of spells, charms and magical formulas becomes prominent.

Chinese Buddhism accepted these beliefs of the Mantrayāna about the latter part of the eighth century. Funeral ceremonies are an important part of Chinese religion, and ceremonial which controls the fortunes of the soul becomes important. The masses for the dead which play a prominent part in the life of the Chinese Buddhists are mixed up with a good deal of superstition. In the continuous cycle of birth and death six orders are distinguished. The highest is heaven where the good dwell. Until they attain the Absolute, they are not outside of time. The bodhisattvas belong to this region. We get next the human order, where the law of karma operates in determining the destinies of the individuals. Here there are many grades. The Chinese are trained to reverence their ancestors and the Buddhists satisfied this national characteristic. These ceremonies which are at present cumbrous and elaborate require to be made more simple and solemn.

LAMAIST BUDDHISM

Lamaism developed in Tibet in the 8th century A.D. Mantrayāna was the dominant sect in India at that time, and when it came to Tibet, it got mixed up with the local demonolatry. Padmasambhava is one of the most celebrated

exponents of Tantric Buddhism. He built the monastery of Samye about 30 miles from Lhasa and Śāntarakṣita became the abbot and from this period dates the foundation of the order of Lamas. The helpers of mankind are depicted in the shape of raging fiends in order to strike fear into the hosts of evil, with the result that the Lama temples look like houses for devil worship.

The chief features of Tibetan Lamaism are: (1) use of spells (dhāraṇi) and magical figures (maṇḍalas) for overcoming demons and acquiring supernatural powers; (2) the belief that by such methods an adept can not only summon a deity but assume his form and become himself the deity; (3) the worship of Amitābha and a belief in his paradise; (4) the performance of ceremonies on behalf of departed souls and offering of sacrifices, though not of flesh; and (5) the worship of departed and living teachers.

In the eleventh century, under the advice of Atiśa and other teachers, a new development called the Kālacakra (the wheel of time) was introduced. According to it there is an Ādi Buddha from whom other Buddhas are derived. Any particular deity is identified with the Ādi Buddha. On the principle that the Supreme became male and female for the purpose of producing the universe, the principal Buddhas and bodhisattvas were provided with spouses. The general effects of this new teaching were unsatisfactory.

Lamaist Buddhism spread in North China during the Mongol dynasty (1280–1368). Lamaism and other forms of Buddhism were not regarded as separate. The followers of Lamaism did not insist on the celibacy of the clergy and we find increasing numbers of persons who acted as priests but married and did not live in monasteries. Since the Lamaistic form of Buddhism was introduced into China under the Mongol rulers in the middle of the thirteenth century, Tibetan monks have been taking a leading part in the affairs of Chinese Buddhism.[1]

1. At the monastery in Chin Yuin mountains presided over by Abbot Tai Hsu, I found an eminent teacher who was training the young monks

BUDDHISM AND OTHER RELIGIONS

The Emperor Wan li (1573–1620) said that Confucianism and Buddhism are like the wings of a bird. Each requires the co-operation of the other. Confucius gives us maxims for the life of a good citizen. He accepts the current ideas of his age and time and commends the worship of Heaven and sacrifice to ancestors and spirits, but he had no definite metaphysics and did not connect the moral law with the worship of Heaven. The emotional and speculative sides of religion were neglected by Confucius. It is here that Buddhism is of value.

Taoism is the other religion of China from which Confucius took up the ethical elements. It became degraded somewhat by its acceptance of grotesque legends of materialistic superstitions such as the belief that physical immortality could be secured by drinking an elixir. To attain consistency of doctrine and discipline, Taoism adopted in later years much of Buddhist religion, triads of deities, sacred books and monastic institutions. Sir Charles Eliot observes: 'As an appeal to the emotional and spiritual sides of humanity, Taoism was, if superior to Confucianism, inferior to Buddhism.'[1]

An English Christian missionary who believes that all the three religions of China 'together, as a spiritual agency, are of an inferior order enveloped in superstitions and inadequate for the development of an enlightened spirituality,' says that 'Buddhism has been the most effective spiritual factor in the religions of China.'[2] Speaking of the profound impression made by Buddhism on the soul of the Chinese people, a Norwegian Christian missionary writes: 'Deep, deep have the lines been chiselled in thought, in view-point, in hope for the future, in resignation, in unutterable pain and

in Tibetan Buddhism. I had the pleasure of meeting a 'living Buddha' from Tibet in Chunkging who said that he was 'spending his time in praying for world peace'. For political reasons also Tibetan Buddhism is encouraged in China.

1. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III (1921), p. 229
2. Soothill: *The Three Religions of China* (1929), p. 254

grief, in deep longing after enlightenment and peace, in inexpressible sympathy with all that lives, and in a quiet and strong hope for the salvation of all living. If one wishes to understand China, one must see it in the light of Buddhism.'[1]

CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

The Chinese are lovers of beauty. The whole country is a vast temple of art. All objects, the Chinese try to make beautiful, their cities and temples, their fields and gardens, their tables and chairs, their little tea-cups and chopsticks. The poorest servants eat off vessels beautiful in their own way. Beauty is in the tissue of their life. It is a colour in their landscape. Many of the Buddhist temples and monasteries are built on beautiful sites, picturesque mountain tops, hill slopes, river banks. In these shrines we get away from the tumult and traffic of the world into the calm and beauty of nature. The temples are of varying sizes and have meditation halls, guest rooms, libraries and lotus ponds. Among the images we come across in the Buddhist temples are: I. The heavenly Buddhas, among whom Gautama the Buddha, Amitābha (Bhaiṣajyaguru, the physician of the world), Vairocana, Loṣana and Dīpankara are to be found. II. The bodhisattvas of whom the best known are Kuan-yin, Maitreya, Manjuśrī Sāmantabhadra. III. The arhats including Buddha's first disciples and other saints as Bodhidharma. IV. Tutelary deities.

The conception of the trinity has been variously understood. The three well-known sentences in the daily ritual have for their basis the Mahāyāna doctrine of the three Kāyas.

'I take my refuge in the lucid and fine body of the Law, Vairocana,
'I take my refuge in the perfect body of the celestial revealer Loṣana,
'I take my refuge in him, who through innumerable ages appears bodily on earth, Śākyamuni.'

1. Reichelt: *Truth and Tradition in Buddhism*, E.T. (1927), p. 311

While some of the images are still instinct with beauty, many are not. The image of Kuan-Yin seated upon a lotus that rears itself straight and graceful above a tumult of wild waves is full of spiritual suggestion. The serene face, wonderfully tender and yet tensely grave, with its closed eyes gazing into infinity, is a picture of sublime tranquillity. In the droop of the left arm is infinite love and mercifulness; in the uplifted right arm with the raised fingers held together as in the act of preaching is an indescribable holiness. The repose of the crossed legs resting softly on the lotus, the ideally pure countenance gazing stilly into eternity are all intended to impress on us the beauty of holiness. The images are the visible symbols of the invisible spiritual reality. The intelligent Buddhists do not believe that the image is God and the spiritually advanced do not need images or temples, for they know that the temple is one's own heart.

By an easy and eager accommodation to the prevailing animistic beliefs, gods and saints whom the common people ignorantly worship, have multiplied. The view of the eternal is obscured and the vision of the people dulled. In Chinese Buddhism we find emphasized, communion with the divine in prayer, the rapture of God, the yearning to partake of His moral and spiritual nature and share in His holiness. The music of the bells and the drums and the chanting of the hymns convey to the people the fact of religion, the reality of the spiritual life. By visiting the temple and listening to the solemn music, any one, however low and degraded, can catch a glimpse of the divine light, an intimation of a higher life.

As in other parts of the world, here also religion has a tendency to degenerate into mechanical repetition and formal worship without inward piety. Outward piety and low morality are often found together. There are light-minded individuals who sin against grace in the hope that Amitābha in his boundless mercy will save them. The monasteries are largely recruited from orphans who are left uncared for. Naturally the Buddhist clergy are not strong in

intelligence, piety or energy. Laxity in life is not special to Buddhist monks. There are always a few learned and devout monks who are not generally in the public eye. They live withdrawn in their shelters and are hardly known to the world. The monks who are skilled in worldly wisdom and who make their way up to important positions are not of the highest class, and yet they have helped ordinary people to grow in earnestness, character and charity. They have piloted the affairs of their organizations in difficult times, when many of the Buddhist holy places have been turned into schools and otherwise taken over by the Government. Buddhist hospitality to give food is so used as to turn monasteries into hotels for commercial travellers and visitors. There is a feeling that the Government authorities frown upon all religious organizations, except those of the Protestant Christian Church.

Chinese Buddhism stands in need of urgent reform. If belief in animism is to be destroyed, education is the means. The people will have to be educated in a correct knowledge of nature and its laws. Only by this means can the fear of devils and belief in animism be removed. The strangest forms of magic and superstition enjoy public esteem. The rationalism and the ethics of the elite have not leavened the mass of the people. As in India, the educated people ridicule in public the superstitious rites, but practise them all the same. To effect an improvement in the quality of religion, a return to the historical Buddha is essential. If we are to be saved from the life of sorrow, he insists, it is only by the attainment of perfect wisdom and the practice of unselfish work. I find that there is much attention paid to Tibetan Buddhism, but the Chinese Buddhists will have to get back to Gautama the Buddha and his method of meditation and work for the world. Buddhism in practice requires drastic changes and some of the leading Buddhists are aware of this need. The most outstanding representative of Buddhism in China is Abbot Tai Hsu, who is learned, religious and energetic. He is the President of the Buddhist Academy. In the few

hours which I was privileged to spend with him at his monastery he made me realize his feeling of the urgency of reform and the need to get back to the inspiring example of the Founder of Buddhism. He outlined his scheme for a general revival of Mahayana Buddhism at a meeting of Chinese and Japanese Buddhists held in Tokyo in November, 1925. 'The first thing we should do is to organize an international Buddhist University to train men for the propagation of Buddhism. In the said institution, there should be two departments; one is to teach the students such liberal subjects as languages, sciences and philosophies and the other to teach the Buddhist sūtras and religious disciplines, Buddhist esoteric teachings, etc. Besides the educating of the monks, we should preach Buddhist doctrines to the masses by means of schools, publications, lectures and dramas. The preaching should take place in the market places, on the highways, in trains and on boats, in soldiers' barracks, hospitals, factories and prison wards. Our immediate object should be to teach the masses such good virtues as loving their fellow-men, obeying the law of the land, diligence in the pursuance of their daily avocations, muttering of prayers and the names of the Buddha, etc., etc. Our social services should be: (1) famine relief work, prevention of natural calamities and medical aid to those wounded in war; (2) promotion of industry by establishing factories and encouraging land reclamation; (3) aiding such helpless people as the aged and crippled persons and helpless widows; and (4) to build bridges and roads and provide street lights, free ferry services and such like public utilities for the travellers.'[1] If his programme is successful, the spread of scepticism and materialism in China will be checked. If the rulers of China adopt the traditions of the early Emperors and respect all religions and if the Buddhist temples and monasteries modernize themselves, there will be a great religious awakening in China.

1. *The Young East*, I. 181–82

1944

8. WAR AND WORLD SECURITY

I AM glad to have this opportunity of meeting distinguished leaders in the diplomatic field and earnest students of international affairs. I have not come here to set forth any simple scheme of world order and security but have come to share with you some of my hopes and fears about the complex and complicated international situation and learn from you how we can develop a little more of human justice and civilized relationship among men and nations. These are crucial days for the human race, days of searchings of heart. With groanings and travail pains, the earth heaves and shudders, bringing forth death and destruction, perhaps also life and creation. The Buddha assures us that the wheel of Law, Dharma, ever revolves. This nightmare world cannot last for ever. There will be a change.

Speaking at Cairo on the 8th of December, 1943, Field Marshal Smuts said that that would be the last Christmas of the war and added: 'There must not ever be a recurrence of these disasters which have devastated human civilization from age to age. I hope that all the sacrifices made by the human race, colossal suffering, will not have been in vain.' That is the hope of the world and yet there is much fear for the future.

We are told that the main objective of the Allied Nations is to crush the enemy and establish human freedom for all. It is the love of freedom and the sense of justice that is inspiring the fighters, the peoples of Russia, Great Britain, America, China, India, the Free Czechs, the Poles and the Free French. Our past experience and present indications do not inspire hope. The most decisive years will be not so much the years when we march towards victory as those which will succeed the victory. The last war was fought to make the world safe for democracy and its actual result was the growth of dictatorships. What happens is entirely different from what we aim at. Our objectives do not

coincide with our achievements. All those who had placed faith in the promises of the statesmen, all those who had dreamed of a new and better world, all the mothers who had sacrificed their children and all the soldiers who had returned, some of them weary and in rags, as beggars drawing figures and selling matches on the pavements, all of them had been betrayed, and the gamblers in human sorrow got into power and played the old game in which our whole existence, our happiness, our future are at stake. Recriminations are useless, but we must look at the past and learn from it what we should do, if both the victory and the peace are not to be taken away from us.

BETWEEN THE TWO WARS: 1919–1939

In 1919 and 1920 it was hoped and thought that the people weary and disgusted with war would want only to agree to establish peace. President Wilson's fourteen points and proposals for a League of Nations were heartily welcomed, and it was thought that peace which was the common aspiration and the common need of all peoples was about to be realized. On December 4, 1917, President Wilson delivered an address before the House and the Senate in joint session in which he said: 'When the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe, and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world — we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice — justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect our enemies as well as our friends.' In the same speech he expressly stated: 'We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principle we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout

our life as a nation.' The hopes of the German people were confirmed by President Wilson's address on January 8, 1918 in which he set forth his fourteen conditions which were accepted by the Germans as the basis for peace negotiations. But the period which followed the victory had not created an atmosphere of peace. It had multiplied the causes of divisions and conflicts.

At the end of the last war Germany was weakened and humiliated. She was forced to assume the sole guilt for the world war. German navy was sunk to the bottom of the sea and her army was reduced to a police force of a hundred thousand men. She was disarmed under promise of a general disarmament, though no other great nation in Europe had the slightest intention of disarming. Preposterous reparations were imposed which made not only the generation involved in the war but their children and grandchildren helots and slaves. In Sir Eric Geddes' words, 'we squeezed Germany until the pips squeaked.' Germany was encircled by a network of small states, the Saar was set up as an independent State under the auspices of the League of Nations, the Rhineland was occupied and the Ruhr was invaded. All this was done on the principle that might was right. Germany was left in the middle of Europe like a suffering and dangerous animal, more dangerous because she was wounded, hungry, angry and put in a cage. Any proud nation that was thus treated would have been plunged into an abyss of despair and accepted the destructive dynamic of Hitler and Nazism which proclaims that 'anything is better than the present state.'

In spite of the bad treaty with Germany, men had hopes that the League of Nations which was established as a part of the Treaty of Versailles would promote international collaboration and further the settlement of disputes among nations by the methods of persuasion, negotiation and arbitration, but these hopes were not fulfilled. When the League was established, Britain and France had control over it. United States, Germany and Russia were outside the League,

and Mussolini's Italy, though a member of the League, had no faith in its principles and treated with contempt the peace which it was endeavouring to establish. Though the League ultimately had more than fifty member states, its power rested with Britain and France. In the light of later events, it is clear that they had no common policy. The Disarmament Conference broke up, as the French, who were in a state of national panic since the war, maintained that security should precede disarmament and the British held that security was impossible without disarmament. Several treaties were concluded without a reference to the League, such as the British naval agreement with Germany in 1935 and the French treaties with Russia, Czecko-Slovakia and Poland.

If in Germany young men and women who are simple and strong, fresh and good, are hypnotized into fatal obedience, if they are inspired with a fanatic desire to crush and subjugate their European neighbours, it is certainly unjustified but by no means unintelligible. Germany in the pre-Axis period was badly handled by France and Britain. The complaint of Stresemann to Mr Bruce Lockhart about the western Powers, especially Britain, explains the position. He said that he had won 80 per cent of the German population for his policy. He had brought his country to the League of Nations. He had signed Locarno. He had given, given, given, until his countrymen had turned against him. 'If you had given me one concession I could have carried my people. I could still do so today. But you have given nothing and the trifling concessions you have made have always come too late. Well, nothing remains now except brute force. The future is in the hands of the new generation, and the youth of Germany which might have been won for peace and for the new Europe, we both have lost. That is my tragedy and your crime.'[1]

As for Italy, though early in 1935, Abyssinia appealed to the League about Italy's attitude, at the Stresa Conference

1. *New Statesman and Nation*, March 29, 1941

in April 1935, the British, the French, and the Italian Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries who met to consider the European situation and the rearmament of Germany carefully avoided any reference to Abyssinia, perhaps on the ground that Abyssinia should await the judgment of the League to which appeal had been made. When Mussolini left Stresa, he felt confident that he could have his own way in Abyssinia and there was little to fear from France or Britain.[1] At the session of the League Assembly in September 1935, when Italy was about to invade Abyssinia, Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, said: 'The League stands and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and in particular for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression.' Only a few months later, Sir John Simon, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government said in the House of Commons: 'I am not prepared to see a single ship sunk even in a successful naval battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence.' France naturally was frightened by the menace of a rearming Germany and did not dare to pick a quarrel with Italy for the rescue of Abyssinia. Though the League declared Mussolini to be an aggressor, and imposed sanctions in October 1936, France supported Hoare-Laval proposals. During the period of this unrest, Hitler took advantage of the position and reoccupied Rhineland. In the meantime, Abyssinia was conquered, the sanctions were withdrawn, confidence in the League was destroyed and the smaller and the subject nations felt profoundly discouraged. Here is Lord Cecil's comment on this episode. 'The feebleness of the action from the start and the subsequent abandonment of resistance to aggression was not due to any

1. Such a typical Englishman as Mr Amery wrote these significant words in 1936: 'Mussolini's claim on history will be that of an original thinker on the fundamentals of politics, as well as a great patriot, a shrewd and far-sighted statesman and a remarkable administrator..... He has lifted Italy to a new plane of confident energy, of joy in achievement, of eager co-operation, of strenuous manliness'.—*The Forward View*

reasonable fear of the consequence to us and France of League action against Italy. It was the result of the view held at that time vigorously in France, and actually, though not explicitly, in Britain, that to regard prevention of war, by force if necessary, as our highest interest and duty was a piece of visionary nonsense and that nothing of that kind should be attempted, unless some fragment of national territory or a section of national trade was also threatened.'[1]

As for the third Axis Power, Japan, by 1931 she felt that the League was powerless to interfere with her ambitions. It was only a machinery set up by the victorious powers for the smooth working of their power politics. Italy defied it in 1923 by bombarding Corfu and demanding a large indemnity from Greece for the murder of some Italian officials in Albania. When on the 18th of September 1931, Japan attacked Manchuria, China appealed to the League on 21st of September 1931 under Article XI of the Covenant. Japan insisted that the settlement of the Manchurian question was a matter for China and Japan and not others. A Chinese offer to submit the question to arbitration was rejected. China made a fresh appeal on 25th January 1932 to the League under Article X, which guarantees the territorial integrity of members, and also under Article XV which is more exacting than Article XII, because failure to comply with its provisions brings the sanctions Article XVI into operation. When China's representative appealed to the League, Mr Stimson, the U. S. Secretary of State, promised support for League action. In January 1932, the U.S.A. announced that they would not recognize as valid any arrangement imposed by force.[2] The British Foreign Office struck a different note. Sir John Simon, explaining British policy to journalists at Geneva, declared that 'Japan needed to

1. *A Great Experiment*, p. 271

2. When the U.S. was asked to take action which would restrain Japanese aggression, Mr Stimson wrote: 'To a great many of our people, Manchuria was an unknown part of the earth and they wondered what we had to do with any controversy there at all.' A school child in Britain said that the capital of China was Japan.

expand, that she was only doing for herself today what Great Britain had done in the past, and that the trouble with the League Covenant was that it did not allow sufficiently for the dynamic forces of history such as those which had carried us into India, and were carrying Japan into Manchuria'.[1] The British Ambassador in Japan stated: 'The Japanese had much provocation for their actions in Manchukuo. They had driven the Russians out and thereby gained rights for themselves, and the way in which the Chinese were undermining their rights exhausted their patience.'[2] Even such a detached observer as Lionel Curtis was carried away by the Russian bogey and wrote: 'The nightmare which troubles us in the East is not fear of Japan but fear of China.'[3] The best that the League Council could do (16-2-1932) was to point out to Japan that the members of the League would not recognize the infringement of the territorial integrity of a member brought about in disregard of obligations under the Covenant. In March 1932 the League Assembly passed a resolution of non-recognition which meant the moral disapproval of the Japanese act of aggression by the civilized nations of the world. That resolution, however, did not deprive the aggressor of the fruits of the aggression. However painful a war might have been in 1931, it could scarcely have found the democratic states less prepared or more preoccupied than in 1939. If we wish to avert a greater calamity in the future, we must face a present evil of limited dimensions. If we tolerate lawlessness in one part it will create greater lawlessness in other parts. Japan resigned from the League and followed up her occupation of Manchuria by that of Jehol and two other provinces of inner Mongolia, Chahar, Suiyuan. Encouraged by the inaction of the League and the indifference of the great powers who controlled the League, the rise of Nazi Germany and the fiasco over the sanctions against Italy's

1. Vigilantes: *Inquest on Peace* (1935), p. 34
2. Curtis: *The Capital Question of China* (1932), p. 25
3. *Ibid.*, p. 299

adventure in Abyssinia, Japan renewed her attack on China in July 1937. On 22nd May 1939, China's delegate, Dr Wellington Koo, appealed for effective aid for China, for financial assistance, the withholding of war materials for Japan, help for refugees and fulfilment of the League's pledges. Lord Halifax, supported by his French colleague M. Georges Bonnet, let slip an excellent opportunity for mobilizing the collective aid of the League.[1] America and Britain, though they were signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty, signed at Washington in 1922,[2] refused to take any steps to restrain the flagrant and unprovoked Japanese aggression. On the other hand, Great Britain yielded to the demand of Japan to close the Burma Road for the transport of certain munitions of war, though only for the three months of July to October 1940. This was done in violation of the Nine-Power Treaty and Britain's solemn pledge at Geneva to 'refrain from taking action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance'. Yet Mr Churchill defended the closure of the Burma Road as an act of peace intended to facilitate the end of the Sino-Japanese war 'by a process of conciliation and not by war or threat of war'. The natural result of it would have been an effective blockade of China, leading to capitulation. Even the British today are thankful that their hopes were not fulfilled. The Great Powers followed the policy of appeasement, and all arms, oil, rubber, scrap iron, iron ore, and aluminium were sold to Japan. It was Japan's attack

1. On the same day at Geneva, 'Great Britain and France vetoed China's proposal to extend an anti-aggressor front to the Orient. The Soviet, New Zealand and Bolivian delegates supported Dr Koo's requests, which, however, were flatly opposed on several occasions by the British and French Foreign Ministers, when the Soviet Foreign Minister showed disagreement with the British and French. Dr Koo's argument was resisted by Lord Halifax and M. Bonnet. Their opposition has virtually killed the scheme. M. Maisky said the conviction is growing throughout the world that firm resistance against aggression is only a war to prevent a general war. "This principle is fully applicable to China," he said.'—*United Press*, 22nd May 1939

2. The Powers at the Washington Conference pledged themselves to accept 'the sovereignty, the territorial and administrative integrity of China'.

on Pearl Harbour on 7th December 1941 that brought U. S. A. and Great Britain into line with China which had been fighting the battle of civilization and world order for nearly four and half years by that time. It was then that the deep-rooted tradition of isolationism in the United States was broken. With a clear vision, China declared war on the Axis powers as soon as Japan attacked Great Britain and the United States.

The League was unable to protect the lawful government of Spain against the rebels who were supported by the Fascist Powers. When trouble arose in Czecho-Slovakia, Mr Chamberlain acted with the best of intentions. He loved peace and there is nothing wrong about it. He was aware of Britain's lack of preparations. He sent Lord Runciman to try to compose the quarrel between the Czechs and the Germans and persuaded the former to agree to the cession of the Südeten provinces to Germany and set up cantons in other provinces. The Czechs agreed to this, as they said, 'under irresistible pressure from Britain and France'. So in Munich time was bought at the price of honour. The unfortunate part of it is the cynicism with which Mr Neville Chamberlain said in his broadcast on 27th September 1938: 'However much we may sympathize with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on her account. If we have to fight it must be on larger issues than that.' The policy of appeasement of the Powers who were branded by the considered judgment of the League as 'aggressors' is dictated more by military necessities than by political considerations. It is for governments to decide whether they can undertake wars successfully and if they are not able to do so, they will have to make compromises and reconcile political ideals with military necessities. But it is not wise to forsake ideals altogether.

At the Münich settlement, Russia was ignored and the impression was produced that the western Powers were

contemplating an Anti-comintern pact with Nazi Germany. That the impression was not altogether imaginary is evident from Neville Henderson's Memoirs, *The Failure of a Mission*. Appeasement is a game at which two can play. Soviet Russia came off with a non-aggression pact with Germany. She did so in the interests of her own security. She sought to gain time to prepare the Red Army and postpone war until Russia was in a better position to meet the German enemy.

What are 'the larger issues' which justify armed intervention by the British? Here is Mr Chamberlain's answer: 'If I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted.' In other words, if Britain's power in the world is challenged, she will throw her might against the challenging Power. All talk about 'fight for civilization', 'protection of smaller nations' and even balance of power is a camouflage for the operating motive of self-interest and self-preservation. We will fight only to crush our rivals and slake our pride. This principle of national egoism is not peculiar to Great Britain. U. S. A. entered this war only when Pearl Harbour was attacked. She did so, not so much for safeguarding the peace of the world, but because there was a direct attack on her territory, a threat to her interests and an assault on her pride.

In the years between the two wars, the hopes of millions who accepted willingly suffering and anguish and even gave up their lives in the faith that the world will be made safe for democracy and the spirit of man, were dashed to pieces and the peace was lost. We passed through the fire but perished in the smoke. From these twenty years we learn that national patriotism is strong and intense in all countries and feeling for world community weak and tepid. The League, with Great Britain and France as its chief members, left China to the mercy of Japan, sacrificed Abyssinia to Italy, let the legitimate Spanish Government become a prey of Germany and Italy, deserted Czecho-Slovakia in her hour of need

and steadily helped the Axis Powers to grow in power and prestige.[1] The League, in spite of its strong convictions, was unable to enforce its resolutions. If it is to be effective, it must be in a position to meet military challenges with military measures. Besides, the League tried to retain old colonial imperialisms under new names. It took no notice of the eastern races and their struggle for freedom.[2]

THE AIMS OF THE WAR

The immediate aim of the War is to defeat the enemy, but we cannot crush the enemy and win the war, unless we have an inspiring vision of the future for which we are fighting. It will not do to say: 'Let us crush the enemy and leave the rest to chance or providence;' for that would be to cheat the common man out of whose valour and endurance, pain and death, victory is being won. There must be a common purpose animating the victors. Men and women everywhere are in the mood for sacrifice and are prepared for essential changes. They are sustained by the conviction that the world will be made anew, that enslaved humanity will be freed, that there will be a great revolution in human history and that the common man will have freedom from fear

1. Sagitarius writes in *Nation and New Statesman* dated 15th Jan. 1944 about President Roosevelt's suggestion that Geneva should not be the seat of a future League 'because of the aura of failure overhanging that city.

> When accusations reached their ears from immolated lands,
> The Council called for water, the Assembly washed its hands.
> Greece, Vilna, Abyssinia, Manchukuo, Spain, Corfu,
> These will not be forgiven them, for what they did they knew.'

2. 'In the Orient, Japan could see few signs of European "democracy". It seemed this was a privilege which perpetuated white men as lords of the brown. Down in the rich East Indies, three times the size of Japan, a few thousand Dutchmen continued to amass fortunes out of the labour and resources of 60 million under-fed natives. In Indo-China (also larger than Japan) a few thousand Frenchmen squeezed handsome revenues out of peoples whom they had detached from China. Japan saw a few thousand British gentlemen raking in the pounds across vast territories they ruled as colonies from Baluchistan to the South Seas. Above all, Japan's rulers noted that the wealth and riches of the East had been seized by violence and was held by force—but was not immune to the blows of a powerful and unscrupulous fist.'—*Scorched Earth*, by Edgar Snow (1941), p. 364

for all peoples are the corner-stones of our fighting faith..... There will be neither peace nor hope for future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small. Having herself been the victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and towards them China feels she has only responsibilities—not rights. We repudiate the idea of leadership of Asia because the "Fuehrer principle" has been synonymous with domination and exploitation precisely as the "East Asia co-prosperity sphere" has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over grovelling subject races. China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or anyone else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional groupings, which in the end make for bigger and better wars, to an effective organization for world unity. Unless real world co-operation replaces both isolationism and imperialisms of whatever form in a new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us.'

We are today in the final phases of the great struggle. Even as we are marching towards victory, there is a fear that our minds are yielding to the inherent cruelty, narrowness and crudity of vision produced by the war. We know how, while Woodrow Wilson gave an eloquent statement of the aims of the last war, some of the Allies entangled themselves in secret treaties. Even so, in the present war, the signatories to the Atlantic Charter and other declarations are expressing their dissent from them in decisive terms.

The Prime Minister of England said that 'the authors of the Atlantic Charter had in mind primarily the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke' and that the provisions of the Charter 'did not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional

and want. It is this hope that is sweeping across the earth today, and it is encouraged and stimulated by the statements of the leaders of the Allied nations. We have the Atlantic Charter, the proclamation of the Four Freedoms by President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin's declaration on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Soviet: 'Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations and integrity of their territories, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes, economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare, restoration of democratic liberties, the destruction of the Hitlerite regime'. Mr Churchill, addressing the Harvard University on 6th September 1943, said: 'We must go on. It must be world anarchy or world order. Tyranny is our foe whatever trappings or disguise it wears. Whatever language it speaks, be it external or internal, we must for ever be on our guard, ever mobilized and vigilant, always ready to spring at its throat.' President Franklin D. Roosevelt said recently: 'It is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won... We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow, and, under God, may live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and sudden death.' Commenting on Dr Sun Yat-Sen's phrase, 'The Revolution is not yet achieved,' Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said: 'The answer is that what we mean by revolution is the attainment of all three of Dr Sun's basic principles of national revolution; national independence, progressive realization of democracy, and a rising level of living conditions for the masses..... Insisting on national independence for all peoples, Dr Sun's vision transcends the problem of China, and seeks equality for all peoples, East and West alike. China not only fights for her own independence, but also for the liberation of every oppressed nation. For us the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's proclamation of the Four Freedoms

government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire.' Add to this his further statement: 'We mean to hold our own. I did not become His Majesty's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.' General de Gaulle defined the political aims of the Free French as including 'the restoration of the complete integrity ....of the French Empire'.[1] In the Armistice terms accepted by France in 1940, Hitler guaranteed the integrity of the French Empire. Other imperial Powers like the Dutch look forward to the restoration of the *status quo* after the War. Our tricky conscience deludes us into the comfortable assumption that there is a difference between dominating a distant race whose whole system of civilization is different from ours and dominating a close neighbour whom we had known for centuries. If we revert to the past pre-war conditions, if we think of the future in terms of holding on to what we have, preserving our privileges and maintaining our class position at home and possessions abroad, this war is a criminal waste.

Great Britain entered this war with the declaration that it is her duty to stand by her pact with Poland, to protect her integrity and independence. When Germany attacked Poland, Russia occupied the eastern part. Russia has now liberated Poland from the Nazi invaders, though the Polish Government in London does not recognize the new situation. Russia affirms that her only desire is to have a strong, independent and friendly Poland. She does not wish other countries to interfere with her policy about the eastern frontier of Poland, even as Great Britain resents the interference of other Powers in matters relating to her imperial possessions. If the Allied Nations insist on the sanctity of 'existing obligations' in their respective spheres of influence and severely exclude questions of doubtful validity from reference to international arbitration, we will certainly revert to the pre-war pattern of society, with its colonial rivalries and all their disastrous consequences. The Soviet Union

1. 24th June 1942

decreed that the Republics forming part of it will have independent armies and foreign offices. It is interpreted by some as intended to make the way smooth 'for acceptance by the outside world of incorporation within the U. S. S. R. of territories which did not belong to it in 1938'.[1] This is perhaps a misjudgment. If, however, it be true, even before victory is won, we will be planting the seeds of another war.[2]

PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THE WORLD SHOULD BE MOBILIZED

There is the great danger that while during the period of the war we seek to create a new world, the moment it is over we struggle hard to save the old. T. E. Lawrence was completely disillusioned at the end of the last war when victory was won, and said: 'We had been brought up with ideas vaporous and inexpressible but to be fought for..... yet when we achieved and the new world dawned, the old men came out and took from us our victory and remade it in the likeness of the former world they knew.' If we are to avoid a recurrence of the terrible humiliation of a war, it is essential that we should be vigilant and see to it that our leaders do not sabotage the peoples' endeavours for lasting peace based on a just settlement. The problems of war are emotionally more compelling and so receive general support, while the aims of peace, which cannot be defined in detail until the war is over, do not receive as much attention. But, if the peace is to be won, the progressive elements in all countries should mobilize their resources and see to it that the lessons of the past are not forgotten.

1. *Economist*, February 5, 1944

2. Mr Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States of America, wrote on the 10th of April 1944, in the *New York Times:* 'Fascism in the post-war world will inevitably push steadily towards Anglo-Saxon imperialism and eventually towards war with Russia. Already American Fascists are talking and writing about conflict. Often big business gives unwitting aid to Fascism. Many British businessmen would be incensed if they were branded as Fascists. Yet, before playing the cartel game, they supported policies that led towards Münich and finally to the Düsseldorf agreement signed a day after Hitler's seizure of Czecho-Slovakia. They seek to bring the common man to his knees and make him a grovelling suppliant who will keep to his place.'

Soviet Russia will have a powerful voice in the peace settlement. It is easy to say that we are not fighting this war to make the world safe for bolshevism. But what is turning the younger generation to communism is not a love for it but a determination to end the appallingly low standard of living of hundreds of millions of peasants and workers who always live near the starvation level and drop below it when there is a flood or a famine. The way in which Russia liquidated poverty and ignorance in a vast region of the world inspires our love for her. Besides, she was not a party to the selfish policies adopted in the period between the two wars. Soviet Government has given an explicit assurance of the restoration of Czecho-Slovakia in its pre-Münich form. It supports also its claim for Teschen province incorporated by Poland after Münich. M. Stalin has assured the Moscow correspondent of the London *Times* that the Government of the U. S. S. R. desires to see a strong and independent Poland after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, and after the war the relation between Poland and U. S. S. R. should be based 'upon the fundamentals of solid good-neighbourly relations and mutual respect, or—should the Polish people so desire, upon the fundamentals of alliance providing for mutual assistance against the Germans as the chief enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland.'[1] In Soviet Russia are included several races and nationalities who find ample scope for their natural development. From her geographical position, outlook and character she is able to understand and enter into relations with Asiatic nations on terms of equality. These are great advantages.

The United States of America has the goodwill and affection of all peoples. There is a genuine and wide-spread feeling that America did not enter this war for profit or territory or mandatory powers over others. She does not wish to impose her rule on other people. By the Independence Act of 1934 the Philippines were given a self-governing constitution and full independence was promised for 1946. Mr Cordell Hull,

1. 14th May 1943

the Foreign Secretary for the U. S. A., said on 23rd July 1942: 'It has been our purpose in the past — and will remain our purpose in the future — to use the full measure of our influence to support attainment of freedom by all peoples, who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it.' It is an exhortation to the subject nations to work for their freedom. Mr Hull reiterated his view at a recent Press conference: 'That has been our consistent record, a record of championship of liberty for everybody, encouraging them at all times and in all places.' China trusts U. S. as she realizes that her differences with Japan centred round China.[1] America has the goodwill of all nations striving for freedom. The only danger is that she may withdraw from the Peace talks if the victorious Powers go back on their pledges and attempt to restore the pre-war pattern of imperialisms. But she must resist this temptation and work for a better world order in co-operation with the saner elements.

Public opinion in Great Britain is very much in advance of its Government spokesmen. The heart of Great Britain is sound. Her conscience speaks clearly, though her actions lag behind. When the Republic of Spain was injured by designing nations, numbers of Britishers chivalrously fought and died for the Republic. When the British Government dismissed in the early days the conflict between China and Japan as a minor incident, her people were disappointed. British public opinion is strongly for the establishment of a national government in India which will be able to answer effectively Japanese propaganda that Britain is making a mockery of the ideals for which she professes allegiance. But the prestige of Mr Churchill who is determined to preserve the traditional British Empire is proving too much for it. Mr Churchill's policy in this matter is as much against the world movement for a higher form of civilization as that of the Axis Powers. It is completely opposed to the

1. China was, however, somewhat disturbed when America promised to return Indo-China to the French Empire.

higher mind of Britain.[1] Mr Churchill has some fixed ideas about India which he does not care to change. Mrs Roosevelt said the other day in regard to his attitude about Spain: 'I think Mr Churchill has thought a certain way for 60 years and I do not think he wants to change and that is the way he thinks of Spain.' If Mr Churchill does not break with the habits of the last century, however great he may be as a leader of Britain at war, he will be the greatest enemy of world peace. He has led his country from the darkest hours of extreme peril to a bright dawn when victory is about to crown his efforts. If he realizes the cost of suffering and anguish through which millions are passing for achieving the victory, he will be human enough to do his best to avoid a recurrence of such a holocaust. If he is touched on that side, with his magnificent courage he will help the world onwards. His spectacular and generous offer to France on the 16th of June 1940 to pool the forces and institutions of the French and the British Empires shows what he is capable of.[2] He has a tremendous duty of not only crushing Hitler's

1. Exactly a hundred years ago (1844) Lawrence of Lucknow wrote: 'We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves .... as, when the connexion ceases, it may not do so with convulsions but with mutual esteem and affection and that England may then have a noble ally.'

2. On June 16th, 1940, the British Government communicated a draft declaration as follows to the French Government:

THE DECLARATION OF UNION

At this most fateful moment in the history of the modern world, the Governments of the United Kingdom and the French Republic make this declaration of indissoluble union and unyielding resolution in their common defence of justice and freedom against subjection to a system which reduces mankind to a life of robots and slaves.

The two Governments declare that France and Great Britain shall no longer be two nations but one Franco-British Union. The constitution of the Union will provide for joint organs of defence, foreign, financial and economic policies. Every citizen of France will enjoy immediately citizenship of Great Britain, every British subject will become a citizen of France.

Both countries will share responsibility for the repair of the devastation of war, wherever it occurs in their territories and resources of both shall be equally, and as one, applied for that purpose.

During the war there shall be a single War Cabinet, and all the forces of Britain and France, whether on land, sea or in the air, will be placed under

military power but of bringing about a better world than the pre-war one. America, Russia and China who are powerful members of the United Nations have no sympathy with Churchill's nineteenth century imperialism and believe that they are fighting for India's freedom as much as for their own. If they are not making open protestations, it is because they wish to avoid any rifts among the Allies, when the war is on.

The objectives to which the Allied Nations have solemnly put their signatures require to be implemented. The Allied Nations, the large as well as the small, will have to work together and the Peace Conference should not be dictated by any combination of two or three powers however influential. Lady Astor said: 'I would like China and Russia to be in the framework of a new society formed by America and the British Commonwealth, but they would have to get into the British way of thinking.'[1] The hope of the world is in the fullest and closest co-operation of Great Britain with America, the Soviet Union and China. United, these Powers can lead the world in the direction of the common ideals, but if mutual suspicions keep them apart, the Axis policies will triumph in spite of the defeat of the Axis powers.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF A JUST WORLD PEACE

If the peace is to be won, if we are not to defeat the great hope and vision of an ordered human society, we have to defeat tyranny in the realm of thought and accept the elementary principles of a just world peace. Men are sacrificing themselves for the sake of a new social order, not at some distant date, brought about by the slow and uncertain process

its direction. It will govern from wherever it best can. The two Parliaments will be formally associated.

The nations of the British Empire are already forming new armies. France will keep her available forces in the field, on the sea and in the air. The Union appeals to the United States to fortify the economic resources of the Allies and to bring her powerful material aid to the common cause.

The Union will concentrate its whole energy against the power of the enemy no matter when the battle may be. And thus shall we conquer.

1. *News Chronicle*, Oct. 1942

of drift but for an equality which is deliberately aimed at and planned.

(1) RACE EQUALITY

The principle of race equality was put forward at the last Peace Conference but was negatived. Whatever explanation may be given for the rapid advance of Japan in Asia, we must admit that there was not effective liberal leadership which would inspire the Asiatic peoples with the will to resist. For the most part they remained passive and indifferent spectators of Japan's victories. The other day the Archbishop of Canterbury said that 'this war has resulted in a new respect for the coloured races'. It is sad to think that the civilized values for which China and India have stood for centuries, the priceless philosophic and artistic riches of the Chinese tradition, the metaphysical and religious treasures of India did not give them a title to equal treatment, but the conquests of Japan, the heroic resistance of China and the magnificent achievements of India in the battle-fields of Europe, Asia and Africa compel recognition. We are identifying moral worth with military strength. The Allies have declared that this war is being fought for race equality, as against the Axis Powers who believe in master races. The Allied nations are not all of one race or colour, but they profess to be of one objective. It should not be necessary for subject nations to convert their corporate manhood into military machines, to turn their countries into concentration camps to develop efficiency in war at the expense of humanity. It will be a sad day for the human race, if justice is not conceded as a matter of right, but is admitted only on the basis of military strength. Nations are great not because they have tanks, bombers and battleships, but because they have a power for good. China and India have passed through many political upheavals and convulsions. Their soil has been laid waste time and again by external invaders; their riches have been exploited by greedy nations; yet their civilizations have not perished but

have resumed their march forward, often conquering their conquerors who were victorious on the battle-field. They possess a secret of amazing vitality and endurance which may be of value to the world which is today ill at ease.

(2) A WORLD COMMONWEALTH

In a world which is closely knit together, which is indivisible in essence and pressing to become indivisible in fact, both isolationism and imperialism are out of date. Isolationism is not possible even for the most powerful nation or group of nations. This war has demonstrated that even large groups like the British Commonwealth, American Union, or Soviet Russia cannot defend their liberties alone. No one of them is sufficient unto itself; least of all the British Commonwealth whose possessions are scattered over every region of the world. Not self-sufficient freedom, but an interdependence of peace-loving nations should be our aim. Nations which adopt the policy of isolationism will lose their liberty and die of suffocation.

Imperialism means the sacrifice of the liberty of some other nations. It is because the victorious nations in the last war did not give up the rights which they had been enjoying as the fruits of past aggression, that this war had to be faced. Even now the British, the French, the Dutch and other 'owners' of colonies will not easily yield. If a greedy individual is a nuisance, a greedy nation is a catastrophe. Not only the countries which are overrun by the aggression of the Axis Powers, but all nations subject to foreign control in all parts of the world, should be granted freedom to shape their own destinies without external interference. All nations are potential members of a world community, which cannot go along with political empires. We are not fighting Axis exploitation simply to substitute for it our own.

Side by side with the growth in the spirit of internationalism, the feeling of nationality is becoming intense. The two tendencies are not mutually destructive. They are complementary to each other. Even as a democratic state

cannot be built out of slaves, but only out of free, self-respecting men and women, a world community cannot be built out of slave nations. We must set up a commonwealth of nations where there will be equality of opportunity for every one. The United Nations should form a Council with Great Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia, and China as the leading members. Field Marshal Smuts suggests a possible association for defence of Great Britain and democracies in western Europe. But such regional groupings can only work under a World Council; otherwise they will be potential for mischief. Regional pacts can create regional security and check internal disturbances but these regional groups cannot live in isolation from world forces. If total war means a world at war, total peace means a world in security. Humanity must march forward as one. The World Council should not be exclusive but invite into the general organization even the Axis nations when they are reconstituted.

(3) INTERNATIONAL POLICE

Gandhi is right when he declares that war is an evil and non-violence, man's will not to fight, is the only permanent cure for it. Peace is the crown of self-sacrifice, humility, repentance and surrender and not of violence and conquest. Believers in God, whatever their religious denominations may be, affirm their faith in non-violence. On a noisy motor road leading into the ancient but now industrialized town of Görlitz in German Silesia, in the centre of Europe that is now a vast battle-field, there was placed a few years ago a statue in honour of the great but little known Christian Jakob Böhme, on the base of which have been inscribed his own words, 'Love and humility is our sword'. The salvation of the world can be achieved only by such soldiers of spirit who willingly accept pain and sacrifice even unto death in the faith that it will redeem and raise up both victims and violators. We may laugh at Gandhi as an unpractical dreamer. He is really one of those creative spirits who disclose themselves to the world at vast intervals.

Through the power of his life and teaching, this lonesome man who embodies the conscience of humanity has borne into the world so much passion and hope. He asks us to wake up to consciousness and realize the madness of our present life. If we grow accustomed to the savage excitements and brutalities of war and believe them to be normal to man, then there will be no humanity left in our race. Gandhi has perhaps the most wide-awake eyes in this blinded generation, the eyes of one who is cognizant of the full significance of the present catastrophe.

Some day, man will grow weary of slaughter, but in the present circumstances force has to be employed—but by an impartial judge who administers law. For the unregulated use of force is infinitely worse than the use of force under the sanction of law. The League Covenant broke down in Manchuria, in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Albania, in Austria, to say nothing of what happened at Münich, because the League had no effective sanctions. It was like a gun that fired blank cartridges. The new League should have an international police, and national governments should surrender a part of their sovereignties to it. Those who subscribe to the doctrine of international authority and co-operation should be prepared to sacrifice a part of their present sovereignty. If we want peace and security, we should not hate the means that produce them. The powerful governments of the world, especially those which are victorious in the war are not likely to yield easily to such a demand, but the defeated and the enslaved nations as well as the idealistic elements of the victorious nations will welcome such a world organization.

To enforce collective security by co-operative military action which will leave to the nations the power to raise armies, navies and air forces, will not be so effective as the establishment of a standing international police force, if we take human nature and the pride of patriotism into account. Nor can the world be run by the big Powers only. We should have a central world organization, with Courts of Justice to settle international disputes, and organized military

strength which will enable the Courts to enforce their decisions. The world organization should frame a customs union, fix a common currency and insist on the compulsory arbitration of international disputes. There must be international insistence on certain decencies which should be observed by all governments. The world organization must not only provide for security but be an effective instrument of peaceful change. Nations which are backward in material welfare should be helped to advance economically and politically by the more advanced nations, and international boards of control for such purposes should be set up. There must be financial, technical, industrial and other help to backward countries, which must adopt a programme of development on the basis of state-directed co-operative economy.

CONCLUSION

In an article[1] on 'War and Working Class', M. Boris Stein, former Soviet Ambassador to Italy, declares that unconditional surrender cannot be regarded as an absolute rule to be blindly imposed, irrespective of concrete facts in specific cases. M. Stalin speaks not of the unconditional surrender of Germany, but only of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany.[2] Any tendency to despise the vanquished and

1. 7th May 1944

2. It is said that when in Moscow the documents of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 were drawn up, the draft contained the words 'Germany' and M. Stalin took a pen and altered it to Hitlerite Germany. He said on another occasion: 'We are not burdened with the problem of destroying Germany because it is no more possible to destroy Germany than it is possible to destroy Russia. But to destroy the Hitlerite State is possible and necessary.' *Cp.* Neville Chamberlain: 'In this war we are not fighting against you, the German people, for whom we have no bitter feelings, but against a tyrannous and forsworn regime, which has betrayed not only you, its own people, but the whole of western civilization and all that you and we hold dear.' September 5th, 1939. The Lord Chancellor, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, formally declared in the House of Lords on March 10, 1943: 'We agree with Premier Stalin, first that the Hitlerite State should be destroyed, and secondly, that the whole German people is not thereby doomed to destruction.'

produce thereby a deep sense of injury is fraught with grave consequences. The difference between the victors and the vanquished is not necessarily a distinction between the righteous and the wicked. War does not decide the rights and wrongs of a dispute. Besides, there is no finality in violence.

We must guard ourselves against the internal hardening which every form of power brings about in man, the spiritual numbness which overtakes an entire people in the hour of victory. There are some who tell us that in the last war Germany was not properly subjugated. She was defeated but not disintegrated. We must not make that mistake again. We must destroy Germany so completely that there will be no hope of any recovery, 'raze the cities to the ground, plough up the land and sow it with salt, as the Romans did with Carthage'.[1] This way lies madness. Mr Churchill said on the 25th May 1944: 'Scarred and armed with experience, we intend to take better measures this time than could previously have been conceived to prevent a renewal in the lifetime of our children or our grandchildren of the horrible destruction of human values which marked the last and the present world wars.'

1. Calling for a 'moderate peace' with Germany, the leading British weekly, *Economist* in an article dated August 10, 1944, on 'Terms for Germany' says that although the precise terms are not yet known, there can be no doubt that the Allies' terms add up to a Carthaginian peace. Semi-official statements, declarations from the smaller Allies, rumours and Press reports, all point towards a peace with indemnities, reparations, annexations of territory and transfers of population.

According to reports, East Prussia would be split up between Russia and Poland, large slices of Pomerania and Silesia would go to Poland, the Rhineland to France and parts to Holland. In some areas the annexations would be accompanied by massive transfers of Germans, covering as many as 10,000,000.

Declaring that this, far from banishing fear of war, would make it a certainty, the paper appeals for a moderate peace which would include punishment of war criminals, physical reparation, some frontier rectification in the East where exchange, as opposed to transfers of population, would be possible. Allied opinion in the West would not be willing to lift a finger to enforce the kind of territorial settlement now proposed, the paper adds.

If he wishes to remove the threat of war from the world, if hope is to be revived in the hearts of men, if even in Germany and Japan the people are to feel that this is truly, in Marshal Stalin's phrase, a war of liberation, that all nations which are under foreign control will be freed, whether under Axis Powers or other Imperialisms, the way to set about it is to proclaim here and now that this is the great objective and no nation on earth need have apprehensions about its future fate. If there is the fear that disruption, anarchy and bitter humiliation are the consequences of defeat, the Axis Powers will fight with the courage born of despair to avert them.

If we love peace, if we wish to shorten the agony, if the military victories are to be swifter and their cost less terrible, the Allies should use the political arm in unison and strength. If they now and here declare that they will maintain and guarantee the independence of all small states, including the Balkan States, of all dependencies and colonies, the policies of the latter would swing into a new channel and even the Axis Powers may sue for peace. Have we the vision and the courage, the strength and the spirit of sacrifice for this great achievement?

APPENDIX I

LECTURE PROGRAMME IN AND AROUND CHUNGKING

May, 1944

7th : Sunday	..	7–00 P.M. Met the 'Living Buddha' from Tibet.
9th : Tuesday	..	9–00 A.M. Press Conference in International Department, Ministry of Information.
		11–00 A.M. Visited Nankai School.
		2–00 P.M. Public Lecture in National Central University on 'The Rôle of Philosophy in Civilization'.
		7–00 A.M. Welcome Banquet by Minister Chen. Reply : 'China and India'.
10th : Wednesday	..	11–00 A.M. Visited Central Training Corps. Lecture on 'The Meaning of Democracy'.
		4–00 P.M. Tea Party given by Sino-Indian Society. Reply : 'China and India'.
11th : Thursday	..	8–00 A.M. Visited Central Political Institute. Public Lecture on 'The Aims of Education'.
		8–00 P.M. Lecture at Central Library under the auspices of Sino-British and Sino-Indian Cultural Societies, on 'China, India and Britain'.
12th : Friday	..	5–00 P.M. Tea with the Association of the Four Faiths. Reply : 'Religion in China'.
13th : Saturday	..	3–00 P.M. Public Lecture in Fu-tan on 'Is Religion Essential ?'
14th : Sunday	..	Noon. Lunch in the Buddhist Institute. Lecture on 'Hindu Thought and Chinese Buddhism'.
15th : Monday	..	8–00 A.M. Visit to Rural Reconstruction Centre and National School of Social

Education. Speech on 'Chinese Ideals of Education'.
8–00 P.M. Talk at Rev. Cressy's house on 'War and World Security'.

18th : Thursday .. 11–30 A.M. Arrived at Kumming.

19th : Friday .. Visit to the Buddhist Temples.
3–00 P.M. Lecture at the Associated Universities on 'Is Science Enough ?'

20th : Saturday .. 11–00 A.M. Lecture on 'The Meaning of Democracy', Yunan University.
4–00 P.M. China Philosophy Society : Lecture on 'Advaita Vedānta and Mahāyāna Buddhism'.

21st : Sunday .. Departure for India by plane.

APPENDIX II

[WELCOME SPEECH OF THE HONOURABLE MINISTER CHEN LI-FU AT THE BANQUET IN HONOUR OF SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN : 9–5–1944]

Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Gentlemen :

This evening I have great pleasure in welcoming a world-famous scholar who is visiting Chungking, at the invitation of the Chinese Government—Sir S. Radhakrishnan. I wish to take this opportunity to state the object of our inviting Sir S. Radhakrishnan and the possible effects of his visit and lectures in this country, as an expression of our gratitude to his gracious coming.

We welcome Sir S. Radhakrishnan, first because he is a well-known philosopher, who has made profound studies of, and written many books about, Oriental Philosophy and Religion. Philosophy is the key to all learning. 'The reason why philosophy is so valuable and its power so big,' says Chairman Chiang, 'lies in its spirit of studying and explaining the universe and of regulating all things therein. Nothing but philosophy is able to tell the real significance of life and to solve the problems of man.' In both the East and the West the study of philosophy started very early. It was, indeed, earlier than the study of any other branches of learning. For instance, *The Book of Change*, a great book of philosophy, ranks first according to the time of writing in the ancient Chinese Classics. Even in the present age of

science, many famous scientists are also philosophers, such as Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell and Hans Driesch, who visited China, whose study of science eventually comes back to philosophy. Hence we may say that philosophy is the first and also the last learning. In the present time when science is urgently needed for fighting the war of resistance, we need all the more the study of philosophy. We need especially a beautiful and sublime ideal of philosophy to lay the foundation for post-war world reform and perpetual peace. Therefore, we invite Sir S. Radhakrishnan to lecture in China in the hope that, from his profound study of Oriental Philosophy and Religion and from his thorough understanding of Western thought and culture in lecturing to the English and American Universities, we may learn from him about such reflections and revelations that he may bring us.

We welcome Sir S. Radhakrishnan further because he is a representative scholar of India, which nation is so closely connected with our country. The interflow of the cultures of India and China started very early. In the past Indian culture had great influence on Chinese civilization; and also *vice versa*. Since the visit to our country of the late great poet-philosopher Dr Rabindranath Tagore and the visit to India of the Honourable Tai Chi-tao, the cultural relations between India and China have become closer than before. In the year before last, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang brought to India the friendship of the whole Chinese nation, thus deepening the affection between the two countries. Last spring Dr Ku, Vice-Minister of this Ministry, headed an Educational and Cultural Mission to India and paid a visit to the Benares University. I am glad to mention that at present we have three students in that University which has sent a student to study in our country, too. After the return of the Educational Mission, we decided to invite representative scholars of India to lecture in China. Sir S. Radhakrishnan is the first to come to this country at our invitation. We firmly believe that both the Indians and the Chinese are great peoples in the Orient that have a long history and a high culture. On the basis of mutual understanding and co-operation, they will no doubt contribute equally to the stability and progress of the Orient and of the world. We believe that the close co-operation between the educational and academic people of the two countries will

serve to intensify and augment this mutual understanding and co-operation. We further believe that Sir S. Radhakrishnan who is so versed in both the Oriental and Occidental Philosophy and Religion, is most fitted for this task. We can be assured that the cultural relations between India and China will, after Sir S. Radhakrishnan's visit to this country, be more closely developed.

I remember I once said 'bright stars may shine in the East just as in the West'. I said also that nations that understand each other most will be most sympathetic to each other. I wish to welcome Sir S. Radhakrishnan with great respect and in deep earnestness and may I drink a toast with all the guests present to Sir S. Radhakrishnan for his good health and happy sojourn in China.

APPENDIX III

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Chungking, CHINA

At the invitation of this Ministry, Sir S. Radhakrishnan has come to China to lecture, giving us much enlightenment. On his departure, I write the following lines to show my appreciation and also to wish the interflow of the cultures of India and China as long and perpetual as the Ganges and the Yangtse :

'Both your country and mine exist worthily between Heaven and Earth, with much affinity in culture and spirit :

We have had intercourse for two thousand years ; in spite of physical barriers, our hearts are one.

Thou art the fine product of Nature, whom, since good wind blew here, I have known more and better.'

—Composed with lines from a rhythmic writing entitled 'On Poetry' by a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

From CHEN LI-FU

In the fifth month of the thirty-third year of the Chinese Republic.

APPENDIX IV

[MESSAGE OF WELCOME AT A TEA PARTY IN HONOUR OF SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN BY DR CHU CHIA-HUA, PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMIA SINICA (10-5-1944)]

We have the great honour and pleasure of welcoming Sir S. Radhakrishnan who has come to this country. Sir S. Radhakrishnan is not only a great authority on philosophy in India, but also a world-famous scholar. He is not only a great authority on Indian philosophy and religion, but also a first class scholar of eastern and western thought as well. At the same time he is a close student of international politics.

(After giving details of his academic career and attainments, he continued) :

The cultural relation between India and this country has a long history of several thousand years ; particularly in the field of philosophy and religion, we had owed much to our great neighbour, India. Since Mātanga and Gobharaṇa, there had been such great numbers of learned monks of India coming to China from time to time that no history record would be complete on the events. They were all respected by their contemporaries, and were able to hand the light of wisdom down to eternity. They set good examples for the literati, and acted as the people's teachers. There were many Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by those eminent Indian monks. Chinese monks who came to India to search for truth were innumerable. The records of travels of Fa-Hian and Hiuan-Tsang fill up the gaps on Indian history. Of those noble monks leaving Chang-an to seek after the Buddhist truth, not ten in the hundred were so lucky as to be able to reach India, and those that could return still less. Yet in spite of this, the cultural intercourse between these two nations was not at all hindered. Translations of Buddhist writings into Chinese in this period reached the high figure of over ten thousand volumes. Besides, innumerable books on science and medicine, on art and literature, had been also rendered into Chinese.

As we know, the flourishing periods of the dynasties of Han and Tang were the golden ages in Chinese history. In fact, Indian culture began to penetrate into this country during the Han dynasty and the fusion of Indian culture with Chinese culture

reached its peak during the Tang dynasty. From this point of view the position of Indian culture in the history of China may be estimated. At the same time, it will be seen that the close intercourse between these two nations has immensely contributed to the prosperity of both. The cessation of the exchange of students between these two nations in recent times is therefore not only a disaster to both civilizations but actually affects adversely the whole human race as well.

Some twenty years ago, Dr Tagore visited China. His visit, besides promoting friendship between China and India, has helped much to revive Chinese culture. Since the outbreak of the war, the Indian people have given much moral help to the Chinese, and the international friendship, severed for several hundred years, is thus revived. This great event is a sign of the revival of the two cultures and of the regeneration of the two nations ; hence it also marks the dawn of humanity.

As we have said that Sir S. Radhakrishnan's understanding and interpretation of Indian culture are profound and unique, so his visit to China is just like the Indian culture re-entering this country. Here we may quote some of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's own words in order to understand Indian culture. In his article 'Hinduism and the West' he said : 'India is the home of a civilization which in its origins is probably as ancient as either the Egyptian or the Sumerian, but unlike them is yet functioning as a vital factor in the lives of nearly a fifth of the entire population of the world. It has produced and still produces saints and sages, poets and philosophers, artists and statesmen. It has thrown out movements of world significance such as Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism.' In his classical treatise, *Indian Philosophy*, he said that philosophy in India is essentially spiritual and the spiritual motive dominates life in India ; the ultimate truths are truths of spirit, and in the light of them actual life has to be refined. Radhakrishnan does not only interpret the traditional Indian Philosophy and Religion as they are ; he has also made an effort to absorb the essential spirit of modern philosophy and religion in order to reconstruct those of India and to enrich the new life of modern India. He belongs to the reforming sect of Hinduism. Although Hinduism and Buddhism are not the same religion, the essential teachings of Buddhism have been adopted by Hinduism. Although not all Chinese are Buddhists, Buddhist

thought and teachings have been generally accepted, and that is to say the thought of India has been accepted by the majority of the Chinese.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan has already made a remarkable contribution to Indian thought and learning ; no doubt, he will give a new inspiration to the field of learning during his short stay in this country. His contribution to China will be as great as what Dr Tagore had contributed during his visit to China some years ago.

At last, I on behalf of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in China, congratulate on the promotion of the friendship between India and China, and wish that the intercourse of Indian and Chinese cultures last forever.

(Sd.) DR CHU CHIA-HUA

Great and lofty are the ancient cultures of India and China whose two peoples have a history of friendship based on ideals beneficial to the whole world. The radiance of its light has been most precious to the whole world in the past few thousand years. In the old days, when our two cultures were flourishing and our countries prosperous, the friendship between us was deep. This period was also the period when mankind enjoyed great happiness. Let us hope that we will treasure and respect this historical heritage and put forth our best efforts to radiate its influence to bring the world and mankind from misery into bliss. Such was the wish of the sages of our two countries and we shall not fail them.

With this aim and with all sincerity and respect, we welcome Sir S. Radhakrishnan who has come to our country from afar.

TAI CHUAN-HSIEN

10th May, 1944 *President of the Examination Yuan*

APPENDIX V

[WELCOME SPEECH FROM THE CHAIRMAN, GENERAL LU CHAO, MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA TO SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BELIEVERS IN RELIGION IN CHINA, GIVEN AT 3 P.M., MAY 12, 1944 IN THE MOHAMMEDAN RESTAURANT, CHUNGKING]—

It is really a great pleasure for us to have this reception this afternoon under the auspices of the Association of Believers in Religion in China in honour of our distinguished guest, the eminent Indian scholar and philosopher, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, for we have the privilege of seeing him and hearing from him as well.

China's war of resistance will soon enter its 8th year. During the years past the Chinese people have been fighting bitterly and vigorously at the very front for safeguarding the righteousness and peace of mankind. Though we are inferior to our enemy in many things, yet we are never idle. We are very much indebted to our good neighbour, India, for her great assistance to us both spiritually and materially. Certainly it has been true that, since the furious fire of invasion has been spread over the Far East and over the whole world, the peace-loving nations would naturally join hand in hand fighting against their common foe. But because of the geographical contact of these two lands and also the religious and cultural intercourse of the two countries, China and India can understand and sympathize with each other. Their fortunes and misfortunes are mutually concerned during the time of war ; and they will share with each other both their prosperity and adversity after peace is obtained.

As we are approaching toward our final victory, there may still be some people who suspect that whether or not the Chinese nation is really an absolutely peace-loving people. Now, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, as a philosopher and an executive who is in charge of a religious university and has travelled so extensively both in Europe and in America, by his presence in our midst and contact with our nationals, will verify this fact. Thus, this very organization of believers in religion which brings together at least some people of the four leading faiths in this country, namely, the Buddhists, the Mohammedans, the Catholics and the Protestants, is a symbol of harmony and peace. The Chinese people

have been for centuries immersed in the spirit of broad-mindedness, loyalty, forgiveness, love, peace and mercy ; otherwise this sort of organization can hardly come into existence. The Association has only a very short history for a little over a year and its purpose has been the promotion of friendship of these believers of the leading religions in China which are characterized by its national and international features. The specific objects of this organization are the respect of religious freedom, the emphasis of spiritual cultivation, the initiation of social service, the support of national resistance and reconstruction and finally the promotion of world peace.

Therefore we would like very much that our distinguished guest today will be kind enough to give us his comments and advice and hope also that he will introduce this organization to those with whom he may come into contact in his own country or in other lands.

During his visit in China Sir S. Radhakrishnan will not only make great contributions in the realm of technics and learning, but he will also have keen observation of Chinese conditions of all phases. That will naturally be helpful for the future co-operation of these two great nations. From the standpoint of religion, we particularly hope that we will have the most valuable enlightenment from our distinguished guest. Let all of us who are here this afternoon take up our cups and greet our distinguished guest with this simple but refreshing tea, wishing him good health and every success in his mission.

From the Association of Believers in Religion in China to Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

Ancient nations like India and China
Have had cultural intercourse for centuries ;
Fortunes and misfortunes mutually concerned,
Brothers are we.
Since the outbreak of the second great war
We fight hand in hand as allied nations
For humanity as a whole,
Yet also for our own liberty and freedom.
By your presence in our land
Our friendship is greatly strengthened ;
This hearty reception is given in your honour
By Buddhists, Mohammedans, Protestants and Catholics.

Let earnest prayer be offered with deep sincerity
That holy religion be uplifted in the world ;
So that heaven and man may become one,
And the brotherhood of man be fully realized.

APPENDIX VI

[POEM BY HIS HOLINESS ABBOT TAI HSU PRESENTED TO SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN AT TSIN-YUN HILLS]

For centuries Buddhism permeated China.
Today Confucian and Hindu thoughts interflow.
As humanity suffers from discord and strife,
May your visit bring eternal harmony and peace.

Translated by Y. H. KU

APPENDIX VII

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
Chungking, CHINA

ON SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S VISIT TO CHINA

Once he came to China.
Those whom he had not met
Put the mark of friendship on his forehead
Calling him their own.
He felt the Chinese heart, knew the Chinese mind.
This he said to his friend ;
Wherever saints and sages are, culture is born anew.

Y. H. KU

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[Names of Sections are given in Capitals]

WORKS BY DR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

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'If this noble and in many places inspired work be read with a longing to explore the eternal spirit of truth, the earnest seeker will find much that he will be able to know in himself by direct inspiration.'—J. D. BERESFORD in *ARYAN PATH*

'In his capacity to attract by beauty of diction, by telling phraseology, by an appeal to our æsthetic nature when he is reasoning with us, he is like Cardinal Newman. But Radhakrishnan has an advantage over Newman who was pleading for a sectarian and a narrow view of life. If we read Newman today it is not because of his philosophy, but for his literary worth. Radhakrishnan's books will be read more and more for the ideas and truths which they contain. Newman's writings are like photographs which fade, but Radhakrishnan's works are like paintings which endure.... For all who are looking for the rising of the sun of a new day this book will prove the sweet and mellowing light which refreshes the mind and energizes the body for the labours which await us all.'—*THE P.E.N.*

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