

The Rejection of West by East

"Asia and Western Dominance," by K. M. Panikkar (John Day Co. 530 pp. \$7.50), is an Indian diplomat's interpretation of Asian history from 1498 to 1945. Harold H. Fisher, who reviews it below, is chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University.

By Harold H. Fisher

... the principle that the doctrines of international law did not apply outside Europe, that what would be barbarism in London or Paris is civilized conduct in Peking (e.g., the burning of the Summer Palace), and that European nations had no moral obligations in dealing with Asian peoples (as, for example, when Britain insisted on the opium trade against the laws of China, though opium-smoking was prohibited by law in England itself) was part of the accepted creed of Europe's relations with Asia. ... Till the end of European domination the fact that rights existed for Asians against Europeans was conceded only with considerable mental reservation. ... In fact, except in Japan this doctrine of *different rights* persisted to the very end and was a prize cause of Europe's ultimate failure in Asia.

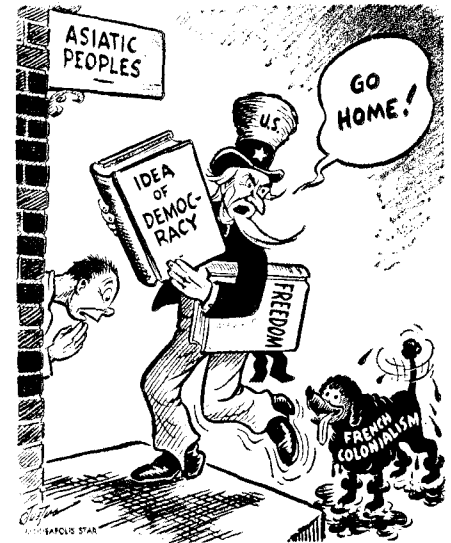
THE account of how the West came to set up, enforce, and finally abandon this doctrine of different and unequal rights, given by K. M. Panikkar, formerly Indian Ambassador to China and currently Ambassador to Egypt, in his book "Asia and Western Dominance," will be read with more appreciation behind the Iron Curtain than outside it. The author is not a Communist; in fact, he belongs to a class and a political party the Communists intend to liquidate when they get around to it. But Communists will find in his book a view of history that appears to support Lenin's theory of imperialism; they will find a sympathetic interpretation of Russia's Asian relations before and since the Bolshevik Revolution. These views compensate somewhat for Ambassador Panikkar's failure to recognize that the alternative to colonialism is Communism. To be told all this may irritate the Westerner who does not believe in the inevitability of Communism or the current Soviet version of Russian history, but it will do him a lot of

good, for Mr. Panikkar's views are held by a great many Asians in positions of influence.

Many will agree, for example, with his contention that Christian missionaries failed not only because of the strength of Hinduism and Buddhism but because they had an attitude of moral superiority, because they exalted European culture, and claimed to have a monopoly of truth while disagreeing among themselves as to which denomination had the real monopoly, and especially because missionary activity was identified with imperialism.

Mr. Panikkar believes that the great influence of the West on Asia, exercised principally during the last century, will remain strong even though Western dominance is ended. He mentions the significance of the "imposing and truly magnificent legal structure" and the principle of equality before the law. He speaks of the replacement of "Oriental despotisms" with republics, the growth of great cities with their complex administrative machinery of boards, commissions, committees, and citizen responsibilities, the integration into national states of vast areas like India and China, the introduction of new art forms, the spread of knowledge that caused Asians to realize that Asia was not the center of the world. The Western imperialists also introduced nationalism, which in time destroyed their dominance. Mr. Panikkar suggests that the unity inherent in the "racial arrogance of Europeans" aroused a countervailing unity of Asians, especially among the common peoples, who in spite of linguistic, intellectual, and other differences have common features in Buddhism, ancestor reverence, and family relationships. It appears to me that he may overestimate both the unity of Asia, with its explosive communal and particularist problems, and the unity of Western attitude and policy toward Asia.

NO ONE is likely to question the importance Mr. Panikkar attributes to the effects of World War I—"a civil war within the European community of nations"—in weakening the imperial powers and strengthening the Asian movements for self-determination. But, unlike previous civil wars within that community, the issues were transformed from imperialist vs. imperialist to democracy vs.



—Justus in The Minneapolis Star.

"Book Salesman"

autocracy and self-determination vs. imperialism, not only in Asia but in Europe and Russia as well. Mr. Panikkar mentions the importance of President Wilson's declarations, he emphasizes the significance of Lenin's formula that the self-determination of colonial peoples was part of a struggle against capitalism, but he does not note how the Communists down-graded self-determination by insisting that the "right of proletarian internationalism" is a higher right, and that only the Communists acceptable to Moscow are entitled to speak for those who have the right of self-determination. The Communists have given practical effect to this doctrine by attempting to overthrow the non-Communist governments of liberated countries such as India and Indonesia and by the imposition of Communist dictatorships on the captive states of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Panikkar's treatment of Russia as separate from Europe is sound, but his notion that Czarist imperialism was somehow gentler than the European brand and that the sovietization of the Central Asian republics was the work of Asians themselves is very bad history. It follows the current Soviet historical line, but it is not supported by contemporary accounts or by the Communist interpretation, thirty years ago, of Czarist conquest and Soviet reconquest of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Bad history or not, the inclination of many Asians to think the best of Russian relations with Asia, past and present, and to suspect the United States as the heir to European imperialism is one of the important facts of life of our international relations. Ambassador Panikkar, with skill and persuasiveness, shows why they feel this way. That is important for us to know.

India's Influence: 500 to 1500 A.D.

"The Culture of South-East Asia." by Reginald Le May (Macmillan, 218 pp. \$9.50), is an account of the artistic, architectural, and religious influences of pre-British India on the various states of Southeast Asia. It is reviewed here by Richard J. Coughlin, member of the Southeast Asia Studies staff at Yale University.

By Richard J. Coughlin

NOT too long ago it was Guadalcanal, more recently it was Korea. Now Southeast Asia is the latest of the little-known areas of the globe to become vital to the defense of the free world. Almost any information on the peoples and cultures of Southeast Asia must be welcomed; the greater the fund of our knowledge the better will we understand the political and social challenges facing us there. Fortunately, we now have "The Culture of South-East Asia," by Reginald Le May, a leading British authority on the area, one of those sympathetic diplomat-scholars so rare today in any Foreign Office, who has spent more than twenty-five years in the Far East and twenty in the systematic study of its art.

Historically the peoples occupying the great Southeast Asian peninsula which separates China and India have been molded by those two powerful cultural centers. The range of mountains running down the spine of Annam in French Indochina marks the dividing line between Indian and Chinese culture: north of this range, as in Vietnam today, we find Chinese cultural and social patterns, while everything west and south is based on India. Dr. Le May in this book is concerned exclusively with ancient Indian influences on this area.

Therefore this is not an up-to-date analysis of the cultures of Southeast Asia—as the title might seem to imply—but rather a chronologically-arranged account of the artistic and architectural (and therefore religious) influences of pre-British India on the various states of Southeast Asia, inferred from archeological finds and inscriptions and a few ancient Chinese documents. The time-span covered is roughly one thousand years, from 500 to 1500 A. D., when Indian influences on the area were

most pronounced, and the author treats in turn the several Indianized states of Burma, Malaya, Java, Bali, Cambodia, and Siam within this period.

Indian ways of life which permeated this vast area were spread entirely through the remarkably pacific means of missionaries and traders; some colonization certainly occurred, but no attempt was ever made to control or to dominate any of the people of Southeast Asia. At times the Indian migrants were Buddhists, at other times Hindu, as these two great religious systems rose and declined in India itself. By the fifth century A. D. Hinayana Buddhism had spread through Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula, while Hinduism flourished in Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Cambodia. The seventh and tenth centuries witnessed the gradual decline of Hinduism and the rise of Buddhism in most countries of the area. By the eleventh century with the decay of Buddhism in India the flow of this cultural stream ceased, but Indian influences continued to be felt vicariously by Southeast Asians until the close of the fifteenth century.

WITH Buddhism and Hinduism went Indian art and architectural styles and techniques. Indian literature, drama, written language and vo-

cabulary, popular and royal ceremonies and festivals. This rich and varied infusion on the relatively simple Southeast Asian cultures acted like a forced draft on indigenous artistic genius, and from the sculpture and temple ruins remaining today we know that genius attained summits seldom equaled in the world's history. This was indeed the Golden Age of Southeast Asia, and that Indian heritage patterns the life of the simple peasant today. Little wonder that the Southeast Asian peninsula is often termed "Further India," or that Dr. Le May's book is dedicated to the greatest living representative of India today, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.

This timely book should appeal to that wide group of intelligent laymen who are already somewhat familiar with Southeast Asia. Dr. Le May's comprehensive account of art finds in the area is the first such compendium in any language. The 216 illustrations of sculpture and temple architecture usefully appended to the volume are superb. In addition, the author has presented for each country a summary of historical events up to 1500 A. D. and a description of ancient kingdoms from which many of the present states have descended. His scholarly description of the Angkor ruins could be profitably read as a guidebook. In fact, anyone traveling to Southeast Asia or stay-at-homes charged with interpreting the area to others would do well to read this book. Although concerned with the past, it may help to dispel some modern misconceptions, thereby assisting in the understanding of the future.

Haying in Connecticut

For Winifred Welles

By Louise Townsend Nicholl

OH look, they're haying in Connecticut
(You know you wrote me once the rick was blue);
A landscape pulsing with the present, but
A legacy, a legend proven true.
Time running in the circles of the years
Comes to this spot again, and slows, delaying,
As the great vista of the field appears,
Set with the spacious pageantry of haying—
The classic repetition of the stack.
The generous fork upflung in epic gesture.
High-riding figures poised upon the rick,
Wearing the immemorial stance and posture
Of those who bear unflinching into story
All they can glean and pack of summer glory.

