

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE ECAFE REGION— AND THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

*Talk by A. Rashid Ibrahim¹ at the meeting of the Siam Society,
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1. The question might be asked—why talk of culture which involves *aesthetic and emotional* values, in the context of an institution² which is patently concerned with the *material* aspects of human life, with economic development and with improving the physical conditions of living. The answer is that human life is an organic whole, and its cultural aspects cannot be divorced from the material aspects. The two interact: economic well-being and availability of leisure foster the growth of culture; and cultural attitudes and responses have a bearing on the speed and course of economic growth. Incidentally, I would like to correct a popular misconception that ECAFE is concerned only with *economic* development; it is also concerned with *social* development and social progress, which is intimately linked with cultural progress. I should add that culture, in its comprehensive sense, would encompass the material achievements as well as the aesthetic expressions of a people and their moral values and social institutions.

2. When we view the ECAFE region, which extends from Iran to the Philippines and from Korea to Indonesia and practically

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2. ECAFE is one of the regional commissions of the United Nations, and it is concerned with the promotion of economic and social development in Asia and the Far East. (Member countries in the region are—Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Federation of Malaya, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and Viet-Nam, and associate members—Brunei, Hong Kong, North Borneo and Sarawak and Singapore)

embraces the whole of Asia, we find that although in terms of material wealth there is at present widespread poverty, this geographical area is extremely rich in terms of cultural heritage and spiritual attainments. In fact, other regions of the world had little to boast of in comparison, until comparatively recent times. There is not only immense wealth, but also immense diversity in what might be regarded as the basic components of culture—in racial origin, in religion, in language and script, in dance and drama, in music, in poetry and literature, in painting and architecture, in handicrafts and sculpture, in legal and educational systems, in social institutions and habits, indeed the whole way of life which would include foods and festivals, dress, cosmetics and jewellery, marriage and other customs and traditions.

3. All the great religions of the world were born within or near the ECAFE region—Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the western part and Confucianism, Hinduism and Buddhism in the eastern part. This is not the place to raise the questions whether some of these are religions or philosophies, and what is the difference between a religion and a philosophy. In south-east Asia, Buddhism seems to be the dominant religion—its two branches encircle the entire area: the *Mahayana* covers Tibet, China, Korea, Japan and Viet-Nam, and the *Hinayana* covers Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. Of course, in China, there are many people who continue to profess Taoism or Confucianism as such, and consider it perfectly reasonable to profess two or three religions at the same time. In Japan, Buddhism has acquired several special forms including Zen Buddhism, and it has been said that a Japanese is born a Shintoist but dies a Buddhist. Taken together, the followers of Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism in the region would number over 600 million. Hinduism is essentially confined to India and Nepal where it has 400 million adherents, but there are sizable Hindu minorities in Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya, and in Indonesia, the Bali island is almost entirely Hindu. The followers of Islam span a much larger geographical area, but their number within the ECAFE region is only about 300 million. Iran,

Afghanistan, Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia are predominantly Muslim countries and there are substantial Muslim minorities in India, China, Thailand, and the Philippines. The Christian population in this region is mainly confined to the Philippines with about 20 million followers, though there are Christian minorities in India, Pakistan, Viet-Nam, Ceylon, Burma, China, Malaya and the city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore. In India, there are about 7 million Sikhs. In Pakistan and India, there is a small community of Parsis or Zoroastrians, probably less than a quarter million. There is a considerable number of animists and pagans spread over the whole region, mostly among the tribes of India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Viet-Nam, Laos and Borneo.

4. The main races in this region are Mongoloids, Aryans and Malaynesians, their approximate numbers being 900 million, 400 million and 100 million, respectively. There are also over 90 million Dravidians, mostly inhabiting south India and Ceylon. But, within these broad ethnic groups, there are sections and sub-divisions. For instance, in the Mongoloid group, there are Burmese, Karens, Kachins, Thais, Annamites, and of course, the main stock of Chinese, Koreans and Japanese. There are also aboriginal populations, mostly the tribes in various countries like Gonds, Nagas, Sea Dayaks, Papuans, which do not fall into any of these ethnic groups. Over the centuries, the various racial and religious groups have moved from place to place and there has been considerable fusion and fission, and a variety of cultures and traditions has developed native to the different soils. Chinese, Indians and Arabs who migrated to several areas and held sway over some of them, disseminated their cultures and traditions. The dominance of western colonial powers in this region from the seventeenth century until recently, made its own impact. The national boundaries were redrawn by them, irrespective of ethnic, religious or linguistic affinities, but little fusion occurred because of the "protection" and special privileges given to minorities by the colonial powers. A sizable group of Eurasians came into being in the colonies, and more often than not, they found it difficult to be integrated with the local population and culture. The Muslims,

with their concept of universal brotherhood, often had broader sympathies over-stepping national boundaries. The Chinese are a class by themselves, as they generally maintain a separate entity wherever they are and, except in Thailand and to some extent in Burma and the Philippines, have not intermarried. The Indians are another distinct minority in several ECAFE countries, but, while they could give up their nationality, the Chinese could not, as the Chinese nationality law places emphasis on parentage and not the place of birth.¹

5. In the ECAFE region, there is also a tremendous variety of languages and scripts. Some people write from left to right and some from right to left and some others from top to bottom. The number of languages spoken is almost infinite: India alone is said to have over 300 languages and major dialects.

6. The arts and literature flowered in Asia as nowhere else. And the cultural traditions have been maintained, though in varying and perhaps decreasing measure. In literature, we have names like Firdausi and Omar Khayyam of Iran, Iqbal of Pakistan, Kalidas and Tagore of India, Sunthorn Phu and Prince Bidhyalongkorn of Thailand, Li Thai Po and Tu Fu of China, Lady Murasaki of Japan and Charil Anwar of Indonesia. New forms of literature were created, and both the lyrical intensity of poets and the scholarship of philosophers remain unmatched. There were great thinkers like Ghazali and Avicenna in Iran, Manu and Shankaracharya in India, Lao-tzu and Confucius in China and Ikutaro Nishida in Japan. The movement of mysticism had its exponents in Persian *sufis* like Rumi and Hafiz, and Indian bhagats like Kabir and Tulsidas. In painting and sculpture, there are recent names like Chughtai and Zainul Abedin of Pakistan, Abanindranath Tagore and Jamini Roy of India, Kian Yimsiri of Thailand, Amorsolo of the Philippines, Hsu

1. In the case of Indonesia, an agreement was signed by President Sukarno and Communist Chinese Premier Chou En Lai in 1955 at Bandung, whereby the Chinese in Indonesia were enabled to give up their Chinese nationality and adopt Indonesian nationality at their option, but in practice even this has failed to work.

Pei-hung and Chi Pai Shih of China, and Kokei Kobayashi of Japan, and famous names of old like Mani and Behzad of Persia, Sesshu and Kano of Japan, Wu Tao Tzu and Han Kan of China and Raden Saleh of Indonesia. However, the painting and sculpture of earlier days was mostly anonymous, prompted by religious and devotional urges, as seen in the Ellora and the Ajanta Caves in India, the Tun Huang and the Yun Kang Caves in China and the Horyuji Temple in Japan. The Persian, the Indian, the Chinese and the Japanese styles of painting are well known all over the world. In India, the best contributions came from the Rajput and Moghal Schools; in China, during the Sung, the Ming and the Ching Dynasties; and in Japan, during the Kamakura and Tokugawa Dynasties. Music, which was mainly inspired by religious and devotional themes, was collective and few individual names have come down. However, there have been great masters like Amir Khusro and Tansen in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and Ssu Ma and Hsiang-Yu of China. The Indian and the Chinese patterns of music are very different from the Western—while Western music is based on harmony, Indian music is based on melody and Chinese on cycles of notes. Eastern music and dance have a luxuriant variety of tunes and styles, and although they make much greater demands on the time of both the artist and the audience, they have incomparable artistic beauty. Masked plays like the *khon* of Thailand and shadow plays like the *wayang* of Malaya and Indonesia have a grandeur of their own. In architecture, the Chinese, the Cambodian, the classical Indian and the Moghal Schools all have distinct styles which have given the world a galaxy of artistic creations. The tombs of Ispahan (Persia) the Badshahi Mosque of Lahore (Pakistan), the Taj Mahal of Agra (India), the Shwe-Dagon of Rangoon (Burma), the Wat Arun of Bangkok (Thailand), the Angkor Wat of Cambodia, the Boro-budur of Indonesia, the Forbidden City of Peking (China) and the Todaiji Temple of Nara (Japan) are examples which retain their grandeur to this day. And the archeological monuments of Persipolis (Iran), Mohenjodaro and Taxila (Pakistan), Nalanda and Khajurao (India), Sagaing Temples (Burma), Pimai (Thailand), and the Great Wall of China—all show what grace architecture had reached even in those

ancient times. Chinese and Korean pottery Viet-Nameese lacquer work, Cambodian dance-costumes, Indonesian painting, Thai flower arrangements, Japanese packaging of gifts, Pakistani inlay work, Indian ivory carvings, Persian calligraphy, Nepali and Tibetan gold and silver work and the Filipino embroidery—all reflect, in their own way, the inner artistic urges of the oriental peoples. The inexhaustible varieties of dress, jewellery, foods and festivals in the East have lent their own colour to the cultures of this region. The deeper one studies the growth of civilizations in Asia, the more is one struck by the richness, the beauty, and the variety of the expressions of art and culture.

7. In the midst of all this variety and plenitude of cultures in the ECAFE region, we can discern common strains, strains which might be called "oriental" and which distinguish these cultures from the modern Western culture. These are most visible in the ways of life, in mutual courtesy and politeness (which is reflected also in the languages and figures of speech), in modesty and lack of exhibitionism which is sometimes mistaken for diffidence, in tolerance and lack of violence, in hospitality, in respect for elders and teachers, and in several other aspects of daily conduct. Eastern life is essentially a life in a rural setting, simple and unaffected. Family ties are strong and there is a built-in social security system in the way members of the family look after one another. Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam all preach "the middle way", the golden mean, the way of give and take, and of mutual adjustment. Orientals are, by nature, individualists, and are great lovers of detail. This is reflected in the unique character of each handicraft, in the precise ritual of Chinese ceremonials, in the Japanese tea ceremony and the different tea cups used there and in the miniature paintings of Persia. There is also much greater love and regard for religion in the east, and the best memorial that a man could leave after his death is a pagoda, a temple or a mosque.

8. In the heyday of oriental cultures, it was not only the arts which flourished but also scientific thought which, as I said earlier, must be regarded as an essential part of culture in its comprehensive

sense. The development of astronomy, the concept of zero, the invention of the compass, the introduction of printing, the manufacture of several materials such as paper, silk, ammonia and other chemical products, are some achievements of the Asian countries. However, the ECAFE region did not keep up its progress and we find now that all discovery and invention is practically reserved for the Western countries, so much so that modern technology is known as Western technology. Why has this happened? It has been attributed to "the dominance of (western) maritime power over the land masses of Asia",¹ and to the discovery of the steam engine in Europe. But why did not Asia keep pace? Basically, it is because the spirit of enterprise, the desire to experiment and the quest for adventure disappeared from our lands, and people became so proud of what they had already gained and acquired that they started living in the past, wedded to tradition and disdaining new ideas and inventions. Things became static and static things became worthy of praise. The arts also declined as the courts and nobles, who had provided patronage and leisure, lost power, and as poverty began to descend on the Asian countries with the inexorable growth of populations. So much had conservatism and inertia taken hold of the Eastern peoples that they sometimes doubted even the desirability of material progress. Where a society prefers to bask in the sunshine of its past glory, the struggle for progress seems too much. A peasant in the backwaters might well question why he is asked to grow more and to seek things which he has never seen or desired. Similarly, a conservative city dweller of the city might question the utility of new gadgets and new institutions, because of the disturbance they create in the old and placid order of life.

9. Let us, therefore, see what has been the impact of Western technology on the Asian way of life and in what way it disturbs the existing scheme of things. There is a general trend towards urbanization and village life is losing its charm and stability. As a result of industrialization and the search for employment, family ties have

1. K.B. Pannikar— "Asia and Western Dominance", George Allen and Unwin, London, 1953.

become loosened and, where mothers have started working, the children are neglected. The life in crowded towns and hutments is unclean and unhealthy. The intermingling of sexes has its adverse aspects.

Religion is being relegated to the background and the moral code is becoming lax. In general, there is a pursuit of things material, while emotional and sentimental values are losing ground. There is more rushing about and less contentment. The fine arts are also facing an ordeal, as their development tends to be more utilitarian e.g., music is leaving its old elaborate forms and there is preference for film songs and other lighter varieties; traditional dance and drama are considered to consume too much time; in painting, quick production and commercial designs are becoming popular; architecture is assuming straight practical lines. Indeed, almost all tastes, customs and habits are being affected.

10. In more sophisticated language,¹ one might say that under the impact of Western technology, adaptation is required (a) to new functions, (b) to new patterns of living and (c) to new social strata. As regards new functions, since the structural pattern of production must change with greater emphasis on industry and on modern techniques in agriculture and on output and productivity *per capita*, new types of labour force are needed, and the skills of old craftsmen and peasants, even of old businessmen and administrators, must be suitably modified. A greater premium has to be put on scientists technicians and artisans, and there must be a greater respect for machines. With regard to new patterns of living, the subsistence type of economy yields place to market exchange, the towns become the centre of activity, members of the family separate under centrifugal economic attractions and business connexions acquire greater value than decorous relationships. Finally, new social classes develop; industrialists and entrepreneurs become more important than landed gentry or government functionaries; incomes

1. United Nations ECLA—*Economic Review of Latin America*, August 1955—
“ Three sociological aspects of economic development ”.

are redistributed and initially there may be greater disparities between the richer and the poorer classes; the factory labourer and the town worker become more important and certainly more vocal than the village peasant. However, these changes should not be viewed as a one-way process—there are not merely “social consequences of technical change,” but technical change also may be a social consequence”¹ In fact, it is believed that unless there is a change in social attitudes and institutions there can be no lasting economic transformation.

11. Anyway, the advent of western science and industry involves a change in the established order. This poses the big question as to whether oriental cultures and western technology can co-exist, whether, in order to attain the western standard of material well-being, we have to give up the whole of our traditional civilization and culture and, if not, how far we have to go. To what extent can western progress be reconciled with Asian values? If we want steel factories and aircraft, dams and atomic-reactors, must we also have cowboy comics, cha-cha-cha, hula-hoops, bikinis and jeans?

12. According to Professor Toynbee, there can be no *via media*. He has said: “. any civilization, any way of life, is an individual whole in which all parts hang together and are interdependent” This notion that, in adopting a foreign technology, one is incurring only a limited liability may, of course, be a miscalculation. The truth seems to be that all the different elements in a culture-pattern have an inner connexion with each other, so that, if one abandons one’s own traditional technology and adopts a foreign technology instead, the effect of this change on the technological surface of life will not remain confined to the surface, but will gradually work its way down to the depths till the whole of one’s traditional culture has been undermined and the whole of the foreign culture has been given entry, bit by bit, through the gap made in the

1. S. Herbert Fankel.—“*The Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies*,” Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1953-p. 18.

outer ring of one's cultural defences by the foreign technology's entering wedge".¹

13. On the other hand, there are many thinkers who do not agree with Professor Toynbee's thesis and consider that it should be possible to achieve western progress in an eastern setting. It sounds dogmatic to assert that progress should be possible only within a particular social framework; this seems to deny human ingenuity and flexibility. The example of Japan holds out the prospect that Asian values and customs might be preserved in spite of a high rate of economic growth.

14. It is, of course, true that the apparatus and processes of technology and economic development cannot be just transplanted, without disturbing anything. There has to be some adjustment, some change. But we should attempt to define the fields of western science and the fields of national culture; and, though such definition is by no means easy or simple, we should be able to make certain judgments. And then, as the old Arabic saying suggests: "Take what is good and discard what is bad". In other words, we should identify and adopt the essential and most desirable features of western progress and their requisites, and leave aside the superficial symbols and trappings. And we should not simply adopt, we should adapt in the light of our conditions and on the basis of our requirements. In Thailand, this is exactly what the great King Mongkut tried to do, a century ago, by reorientating Buddhism, by assimilating western influences, by introducing liberal laws.² There is certainly no point in disrupting eastern values where they are not in conflict with progress merely because the position in the West is different. We could perhaps be modern without being Western. For instance, we could learn to understand and work machines without becoming automa-

1. Arnold Toynbee—*"The World and the West"* Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 26 and 55.

2. See 'King Mongkut as a legislator,' by Seni Pramoj and 'King Mongkut in perspective' by A.B. Griswold in *"Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal, Vol. IV"*, Bangkok, 1959.

tons, we could participate in a system of assembly lines and mass production without every one losing his love of detail, we could seek fuller employment without necessarily promiscuous intermingling of sexes, we could seek material things and yet retain finer sentiments and urges. They say Asian countries are lands of contrast—if it means that there are products of western technology to be seen alongside the traditional features of eastern life, let it be, so long as the essentials of western technology can have their free play.

15. On the other hand, culture is not all tradition. Of course, what is traditional may be regarded worth conserving as against what is novel, but, if that were wholly so, it would mean a static society. “. . . . there is no tradition that has not been changing in one way or another with time; it is equally true that such change has seldom resulted in total loss of continuity or disruption”.¹ The traditions need to be reviewed, in the light of new ideas, new world environments and new requirements. Our religions need to be re-interpreted on a rational basis, and matters of inner faith need to be separated from matters of extraneous dogma. Our habits and customs need to be modified if necessary, so long as the essentials of culture are retained. Not everything old is gold. Slavery is no longer acceptable, although at one time it was an ornament of civilization; feudalism is no longer tenable although once it was the basis of society; letting the poor continue as poor and teaching them the virtues of proverty is no longer fashionable, and maintaining a hereditary stratification of society is no longer in good taste; the caste system is now reprehensible though, in one form or another, it was an essential feature of the old social organization; nepotism is no more agreeable and corruption no more a valid means of getting things done; the confinement of womenfolk to the house is no longer regarded as a sign of respect for them but as an obstacle to the contribution they can make to social progress; and so on and so forth. We must reorientate our attitudes, our habits and social institutions, to seek and facilitate economic progress and technological change.

1. “*Traditional Cultures in South East Asia*” — published under the auspices of UNESCO, Orient Longmans, 1958—p. 1.

We should develop a new dignity for labour and should be ready to work hard. "A sort of human humus" should be developed, prizing "accuracy, reliability, a sense of time and duty, application and . . . general sense of good workmanship".¹ It would be a calamity for Asians to accept in toto a civilization not entirely their own; it would be an equal calamity for them to stick to ancient concepts and institutions, regardless of their intrinsic merit and their compatibility with the modern times.

16. Critics have said that religion in Asia is an obstacle to progress, a check to scientific advancement. The religions are supposed to lay too much emphasis on contentment, and to regard material riches as a corrupting influence. Conquest of self is stressed, almost to the exclusion of conquest of nature. I may quote here a western writer: "*Hinayana* Buddhism in Burma, with its other-worldly orientation, calls for a philosophy of life which is not conducive to economic advancement."² Hinduism with its caste system and 60 million untouchables in India and the concept of trans-migration of souls was also considered to create an unfavourable climate. Islam, as currently practised, was regarded as too rigid to permit the adjustments demanded by technology. Such criticism might have been valid at one time, but it is no longer accepted by the followers of these religions, and not even by foreign observers. At an international symposium on Southeast Asia held not long ago,³ the conclusion was: "There has been remarkable unanimity in the recognition that there is no fundamental conflict between technological progress and the various religions represented here. This conclusion, which runs counter to certain appearances, superficial but fairly common, is very important". The example of Japan is there to show that Buddhism is not inconsistent with scientific advancement and economic progress. Hinduism has been reinterpreted

1 Wilhelm Ropke in "*A Humane Economy*", Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1960—p. 119.

2. Bert F. Hoselitz in "*Economic Development and Cultural Change*", March 1952 issue.

3. "*The South-East Asian Round Table*" — published by SEATO Headquarters, February 1958, p. 87.

to make room for all adjustments required by technological developments. The followers of Islam have always believed that their religion is most scientific and rational, and adaptable to all changing conditions.¹ Religion is not therefore the obstacle: "..... to say that people do not work hard because their religion does not encourage them to may not be to give a fundamental explanation; it may equally be that the religion does not *at present* stress work because the other circumstances of the community, environmental or social, do not bring hard work to the forefront of values".² On the other hand, it has been said that secularism is the chief weakness of our age, and religion should provide the roots on which the superstructure is built, if man is to have real satisfaction as well as material wealth.³ We need not therefore be ashamed of our religions or be apologetic about them. Only we must view them in proper perspective and reinterpret them in the new settings and demands.

17. While Western science and technology must be brought in and a conscious effort made at finding the equilibrium between economic and cultural development, the basic values, and the cultural strands which are not in conflict with progress, should be fostered.

1. "Islam is the only religion which cannot become out of date in any age or climate or mental of material progress and if today there is disparity between our life and our faith, the fault is our own and not of Islam"—President Ayub of Pakistan in a statement reproduced in the "Dawn", Karachi, 11 June 1961.

2. Prof. W. Arthur Lewis — *The Theory of Economic Growth* — George Allen and Unwin, London, 1955—p. 35.

3. "In the void left by the removal of tradition, morality and religion, others are putting in vague sentiments of race and power. The modern mind is shaped by Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Marx's *Capital*, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* and Spengler's *The Decline of the West* . . . We must discover our roots in the eternal and regain faith in the transcendent truth which will order life, discipline discordant elements, and bring unity and purpose into it. If not, when the floods come and the wind blows and beats upon our house, it will fall . . ." Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in "*Religion and Society*", George Allen & Unwin, London, 1957 — p. 23.

The values which a society regards as basic depend upon it—these may be love of truth and integrity, human dignity and freedom of spirit, liberty of expression, right of ownership, sanctity of home and family, or any other set of values. The cultural strands which do not conflict with progress similarly need to be identified. A positive campaign should be launched through training at home, curricula in the schools and through special institutions for preserving basic values and developing culture in harmony with progress. Special forums and periodical gatherings might be organized. The mothers have a great part to play in this and not only should they be aware of this responsibility but should be educated for the purpose. A healthy pride needs to be fostered in one's culture which could be judiciously promoted as well as reorientated. Fine arts should be given due place in the universities, and modern trends harmonised with indigenous patterns. Academies of literature, music, painting, should be established. Libraries should be spread all over the country. Permanent museums as well as mobile exhibitions should be organized no less for arts, than for natural history, science and industry. The people should be surrounded by good example of art, and the radio and other media of publicity should be used for education in culture as well as for the mobilization of economic effort. Separate Ministries of Culture might well be created and the governments could help further by extending material patronage to exponents of art. When the planners make their projections and programmes, let them not forget the cultural aspects and their requirements. A development plan should aim at balanced growth in social and cultural as well as economic terms, embracing both cities and rural areas. Not only should the various aspects of cultural activity be fostered and adapted, but they should be made to contribute to economic growth as far as possible—through the exploitation of pride in village society, of team spirit in each family, of the leadership available in cultural and social groups, and of other existing customs and institutions which might lend themselves to the purpose.

18. Asia is undergoing change, and it must undergo change. In the race for economic development, we should not be left behind.

Even for the growth of culture, we need economic and material progress. A starving man can have little dignity, and will scarcely be interested in culture. And, as Aristotle said long ago, we must live before we can live well. Therefore, we should have more material things and comforts, and greater leisure. We must strive for economic development and bend our fullest energies to the task. But "good food, soft cushions and fine raiment are not enough to satisfy us". Economic development is not the end: it is only a means to the end, which is a better and more satisfying life. Economic development must therefore help to promote cultural development, and not destroy it. Culture provides Asia with its basic moorings and pride and sense of fulfilment. In a blind quest for development, we might for one reason or another, fail to gain our material objectives and yet may lose our cultural and spiritual bearings. On the other hand, we should not give up the struggle, for fear of change. We must go forward and to the extent necessary, we must change. The only question is whether the change should be permitted to take us unawares and to impose its own pattern, or we should try to create a harmony between western science and eastern culture. So long as we are conscious of our final objective and have confidence in our ability to sift and select, to adopt and adapt, we need not be afraid.

