

INCLUDING THE

Pink Pages

NEWSLETTER 19

JUNE

1999

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- Forum

- People

- Institutional News

- Research Project

- Report

- Call for Papers

- Publication

- Asian Art

- Vacancy

- Internet

- Agenda

- Short News


GENERAL NEWS



At the IIAS annual lecture **Professor James Scott** argued that the oldest state project in the world is fixing its population in space. He illustrated this with the Malay distinction between hill people and valley people. 'Though more a continuum than a dichotomy, the cultural divide between hill and valley is stunningly constant as an experienced and lived essentialism.' - (pp. 3 & 45)

3 ▶ 6

THEME: TOURISM IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC

This Newsletter features the first thematic issue, **Tourism in the Asia-Pacific**. Heidi Dahles and Toon van Meijl spark off the discussion with their full-page article 'Local Perspectives on Global Tourism in the Asia-Pacific Region'. They have asked twelve colleagues to explore what steps local people in the region have taken to redirect external tourist development in order to keep control of their own lives, or to initiate tourism developments for their own benefit.

7 ▶ 12



CENTRAL ASIA

The Orientalist **Johan van Manen** (1877-1943) can be regarded the founder of Tibetology in the Netherlands. His legacy comprises 2105 Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints, 500 South Indian palmleaf manuscripts in Sanskrit, as well as 350 objects including Tibetan Buddhist scroll-paintings. Yang Enhong describes a life almost sunk into oblivion. - (p. 13)

13 ▶ 14

INSULAR S.W. ASIA



The ancestors play a significant role in the lives of the Malagasy people. In the book '**Ancestors, Power, and History in Madagascar**' eleven specialists explore what local models of identity and personhood ancestors embody, how ritual around ancestors engages with history, what kinds of social and political contradictions ancestors reveal, and more. - (p. 15)

15

SOUTH ASIA

According to Pancha N. Maharjan **democracy in Nepal** can only be consolidated if politicians are prepared to pull up their socks and confront their own immorality. People have started to express their disillusionment with democracy, stating that all it means is 'for the parties, by the parties, and of the parties'. - (p. 16)

22 ▶ 27



The **Kern Insitute in Leiden** possesses an impressive collection of nineteenth and twentieth century photographic prints on art and archaeology of South and Southeast Asia. A project has now been launched to preserve the prints and to make them accessible to the public. Gerda Theuns-de Boer reports. - (p. 19)

16 ▶ 21

SOUTHEAST ASIA

W.S. Rendra, Indonesia's most celebrated poet, playwright, and theatre director, wants his art to be contextual. 'I do not make films, which can be put into storage. Theatre is in the here-and-now.' Earlier this year Rendra was a guest of the IIAS. Matthew Cohen seized the opportunity to interview him about his life and the circumstances that influenced his work. - (pp. 22 & 23)



Though 'continuity and change' might be a cliché, the contemporary **Philippines** demonstrates that clichés sometimes have validity. However, the city's growing slums and impoverishment, the increasing problem of pollution, and renewed challenges to government authority suggest that change may soon catch up with continuity. Paul A. Rodell reports on his recent visit to the country. - (p. 27)

36 ▶ 39

EAST ASIA

David Ip and colleagues have indicated that there are considerable advantages to **diaspora Chinese business** in the use of trust-based, long-term relationships and networks. In view of the current financial crisis that has struck many regions in Asia, these scholars are now prepared to ask how far have networks been crucial to survival, success, and new beginnings since the crisis? - (p. 29)



Food may be one of the most sensitive indicators of the problems of cross-cultural communication and interaction. Five scholars study **Chinese Immigrant Cuisine** (in Canada, Britain, Belgium, and Singapore) in relationship to cultural identity and come up with some highly entertaining material. - (pp. 30/31)

28 ▶ 35

ASIAN ART



The Taiwanese exhibition **Face-to-Face** will to come to Australia in September. In the post-industrial society where modernization, urbanization, and commercialization co-exist, young Taiwanese artists are exploring issues concerning Taiwan's identity and its history, as well as political, environmental, and gender issues, in an effort to find deeper, personal meaning. - (p. 36)

Pink Pages

IIAS NEWS

A preliminary evaluation of the IIAS after its first six years of existence.

41

CLARA NEWS

News from the research programme **Changing Labour Relations in Asia**.

46

IISH NEWS

Asian Collections at the International Institute of Social History

47



ALLIANCE NEWS

The Institut für Asienkunde has recently joined the Strategic Alliance.

48

SHORT NEWS

Calls for papers.

49

ESF ASIA COMMITTEE

Introducing the new ESF Asia Committee.

50

SEALG

A survey of library resources in Europe.

52

INSTITUTES IN THE LIMELIGHT

The New ANU Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora

53

INDEX IIASN 19

40

CONFERENCE AGENDA

54

PRODUCTS & SERVICES

56



IIAS NEWSLETTER No 19
June 1999
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See also page 56

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Editorial

Notwithstanding the positive reactions to our Newsletters over the years, sometimes undercurrents of rumours reach our ears urging us to change its format and focus and to transform it into a solid academic journal.

We still believe that the concept for our Newsletter as developed about six years ago is an effective one. It has been designed as an informal channel for all colleagues in Asian Studies: a loosely structured, pamphlet-like project, its pages crowded with all kinds of information. See it as a sign of life, a postcard from the IIAS, to be read in between activities or in bed on a Sunday morning and then to be discarded: use it to wrap your fresh fish in or to stuff your wet shoes with after a rainy day.

By ELZELINE V.D. HOEK

Heidi Dahles (HD) wrote her PhD thesis on an Anthropological study of hunting in the Netherlands. Shortly after, she redirected her interest to more distant places. Since she was the only anthropologist working at the Department of Leisure Studies, Tilburg University, it seemed logical she would be the staff member to be sent abroad, to Indonesia. There she studied tourism, the local people, and small entrepreneurs such as guides, becak drivers, and salesmen. In Indonesia she coached students in the framework of a research programme that resulted in the publication 'Tourism and Small Entrepreneurs: Development, Policy, and Entrepreneurial Culture'. During the first half of 1998 Heidi Dahles worked at the International Institute for Asian Studies as a research fellow and now she holds a post at the Free University of Amsterdam.

Toon van Meijl (TvM) wrote his PhD on the politics of tradition of the Maori in New Zealand at the ANU, Australia. After that he was appointed a research fellow at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). Currently he also teaches Anthropology, Development Studies, and Research Methods at the University of Nijmegen. In addition, he is Academic Secretary of the Centre for Pacific Studies in Nijmegen. The centre co-ordinates research on the Pacific and disseminates information on the Pacific in the Netherlands. ('The strangest question we were asked was 'How much does a stuffed bird of paradise cost?'). Toon van Meijl studies New Zealand, Hawaii, and the Pacific in general from an anthropological-historical point of view.

Q: How did the two of you team up? And how did you bring the rest of the authors together?

TvM: I had never actually done research on tourism, but I was annoyed by the one-sidedness of the discourse. The general view was that tourism disturbs local communities. I then organized a workshop on the subject and that is from where the co-operation with Heidi started. Opinion has done an about-face since then. It is

However, to accommodate those who would like to have more substance, we have invited a series of co-editors to add their talents to subsequent newsletters. They have been asked to introduce a certain research topic and to approach colleagues for reactions. The first co-editors are Heidi Dahles (Free University of Amsterdam) and Toon van Meijl (University of Nijmegen). Their theme is 'Local Perspectives on Global Tourism in the Asia-Pacific Region'. The leading article in the next issue will be by John Knight (IIAS) on 'Wild Life Trade'.

Needless to say, reactions and contributions from readers are very welcome. ■

WIM STOKHOF

Director of the IIAS

CO-EDITORS HEIDI DAHLES & TOON VAN MEIJL



Toon van Meijl and Heidi Dahles in the Botanical Garden, Leiden.

gradually being recognized that local communities also benefit from tourism.

HD: We have worked on a special issue of *The Pacific Tourism Review*, yet to be published, with some workshop participants. This formed the basis for the current IIAS Newsletter special. We found the other authors through our personal networks.

TvM: Of course, in the seventies Heidi and I had already studied anthropology together at the University of Nijmegen.

Q: Why is it so important to study tourism?

TvM: The implications of tourism are tremendous, both socio-culturally and economically, and publications have an enormous spin-off. Many students are taking up the subject.

HD: The tourism sector is so highly susceptible to various factors. The image people have of a country is rapidly affected by negative news. Political instability makes tourism collapse immediately, but on the other hand it does not take long to put this to rights.

Indonesia provides a good example of this. The year 1991 was promoted as the 'Visit Indonesia' year. This failed because of the war in the Gulf. But soon after business was booming again.

Q: Are the effects of the Asian economic crisis purposely being left out in this issue?

HD: The economic crisis does not play a role in this issue, since all the research was done before the crisis. Historians, sociologists, and political scientists are now looking more

closely into this matter, but anthropologists need more time for conducting fieldwork.

Q: Do you plan to continue working on this subject?

TvM: I would like to carry on studying tourism in New Zealand and Hawaii, while I am curious about Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Also I would like to continue the dialogue we initiated here. I therefore welcome any reactions to this first endeavour from other scholars.

HD: The tourism industry in Indonesia is temporarily in recession, but as soon as the situation takes a turn for the better, it will revive again. Indonesia is crying out for educated people at every level of the sector. There were plans for setting up an educational programme for Indonesians (and at a later stage other Asians) in the Netherlands. At the moment this would be far too expensive, in the light of the crisis. Therefore we have opted for a less costly project. With some colleagues from Tilburg University, the University of North London, and ITB Bandung, I shall teach a summer course on Tourism Management for government officials in Indonesia.

In addition, I have been seconded to the Brokers in Capital Knowledge programme at CASA (Centre for Asian Studies) for two years, to study the service sector in Asia. This has roused my interest for cross-border regions in Southeast Asia. The growth triangle Singapore-Malaysia-Indonesia invests heavily in tourism. While the service sector is burgeoning in Singapore and manufacturing takes the lead in Malaysia, Indonesia again seems destined to cater for tourists, not only from Australia, Europe, and the United States but increasingly for visitors from the region itself. So, in the end, my research will lead me back to tourism again. ■

Please refer to page 7 for the special issue on 'Local Perspectives on Global Tourism in the Asia-Pacific Region'. Heidi Dahles can be reached at h.dahles@scw.vu.nl, Toon van Meijl at t.vanmeijl@mailbox.kun.nl.

IIAS

The International Institute for Asian Studies is a post-doctoral institute jointly established in 1993 by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam (VUA), the University of Amsterdam (UvA), and Leiden University (RUL). It is mainly financed by the Netherlands' Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sciences.

The main objective of the IIAS is to encourage Asian Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences (the alpha and gamma sciences, ranging from linguistics and anthropology to political science, law, environmental, and developmental studies) and to promote national and international scientific co-operation in these fields. One of the tasks undertaken by the IIAS is to play an active role in the gathering, co-ordination, and dissemination of information on Asian Studies. The Institute plays a facilitating role by bringing (inter)national parties together. Situated in a small country of which the political influence is rather limited, the Institute has opted for the flexible role of mediator on an international level. Furthermore, in keeping with the Dutch tradition of transferring goods and ideas, the IIAS serves as a clearing-house for knowledge and information.

This entails activities such as providing information services; constructing an international network; setting up international co-operative projects and research programmes; and providing facilities for Dutch and foreign scholars to conduct research at the IIAS (and/or at corresponding institutes in the Netherlands and abroad). Through its so-called 'Schiphol function' the IIAS establishes contacts between Asianists from all over the world.

Research fellows at a post-PhD level are temporarily employed by or affiliated to the Institute, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme, or on an individual basis.

The IIAS organizes seminars, workshops, and conferences, publishes a newsletter (circulation approximately 20,000 copies), and has established a database which contains information about researchers and current research in the field of Asian Studies within Europe and worldwide.

The Guide to Asian Studies in Europe, a printed version of parts of this database, was published in 1998. The Institute also has its own server and a website on the Internet to which a growing number of institutes related to Asian Studies are linked.

In 1994 the IIAS was appointed to run the secretariat of the European Science Foundation Asia Committee (Strasbourg). The IIAS shares with this committee the objective of improving the international co-operation in the field of Asian Studies (additional information can be acquired at the IIAS).

In 1997 the IIAS-NIAS Strategic Alliance was established: an international co-operation between the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen, and the IIAS. The Alliance was set up to enhance research on (contemporary) Asia and to create networks in Asia and Europe with academic and non-academic institutions and actors. Both the Dutch Minister for Education and the Nordic Council of Ministers have contributed to this new form of co-operation. The Alliance was recently joined by the Institut für Asienkunde in Hamburg.

Upon the initiative of the IIAS, and in close co-operation with NIAS, the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL) was established in Seoul in October 1998 during a meeting of 35 researchers from ASEM (Asia-Europe Meetings) member countries, representing leading Asian and European Studies departments and institutions for research funding. PEARL seeks to enhance Asia-Europe research co-operation and a top level Asian/European presence in the ASEM process. The IIAS provides the secretariat for PEARL.

How the valleys make the hills in Southeast Asia

The State and People Who Move Around

On 14 December 1998 James Scott,

Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Anthropology at Yale University and former President of the Association for Asian Studies, delivered the IAS Annual Lecture in the Academy Building of the University of Utrecht. An edited version of his speech is printed below.



By JAMES SCOTT

In preparing this talk, I have come to appreciate quite consciously, how much my argument owes to Dutch scholarship. This is perhaps not the place for me to recount my many intellectual debts, but I would like to make one exception. That is for Professor Wertheim who died recently. I believe that, twenty or thirty years from now, his works on Indonesian society and elite formation, his book 'Evolution or Revolution', and his concept of 'counterpoints' will still be consulted for their imaginativeness and their foresightedness. I came to visit him in 1974. We went for lunch and as we left, we came to an intersection at which the traffic lights were against us. But, since there was no traffic coming, I stepped out into the street and Wertheim said: 'James, you must wait'. Admonished by my elder, I stepped back onto the pavement and said: 'But, Doctor Wertheim, nothing is coming?'. And Wertheim said to me: 'James, it would be a bad example for the children'. I have always been impressed by the relationship between those two qualities of Dr Wertheim: a radical scholarship and a strong sense of correctness and civic spirit.

The talk I am giving today is essentially the talk I would have given five years ago if I had not taken the detour that led to my recent book: 'Seeing Like a State'. The question I ask is 'why has the state almost always been the enemy of people who move around?' Whether these people are Bedouins, Berbers, gypsies, wandering Jews, hunter-gatherers, nomadic pastoralists, slash-and-burn cultivators, the so-called sea-gypsies or 'Orang Laut' of the Malay world, masterless men, vagrants, sturdy beggars, the homeless. Why has it been the project of nearly every state to concentrate and fix its population in space?

My guess is that sedentarization is the oldest state project in the world. In many respects it is the prerequisite to perhaps the second oldest state project, which is taxation. This helps to explain, I think, the great social cleav-

age in much of mainland Southeast Asia, between hill peoples and valley kingdoms. The permanent settlement of population is a state project in Southeast Asia that spans pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial regimes.

The relationship between hill peoples, who are relatively mobile and valley peoples who are relatively fixed, is also in the Malay world the distinction between the upstream, 'the Hulu', and the downstream, 'the Hilir'. I suspect this distinction would also help us understand aspects of traditional state-craft and frontier people in China; the 'peripatetic Hakka', and perhaps many of the hill peoples of 'Yunaan' province bordering Southeast Asia. In India it might help us understand the relationship between the 'Mogul rulers', and later the colonial regime on the one hand, and hill peoples, or nomads, on the other.

It is worth noticing that this phenomenon is not a uniquely Asian phenomenon. Take for example, the gypsies, the 'Roma' and 'Sinti'. They are in constant movement. In the gypsy-holocaust, perhaps even more than that of the Jews, one can say that gypsies were seen as the original outsiders who belonged nowhere, who had no place of residence, and no social affiliation. Post-war efforts to sedentarize them make it clear how permanent the state-project tends to be.

Let me return to Southeast Asia and start with a demographic fact that in 1700 there were roughly six people per square kilometre in Southeast Asia and that this compared to something like thirty per square kilometre in India or China. The point that I wish to make is that rounding up people and concentrating them in a particular place was the central preoccupation of statecraft in Southeast Asia. No people, no state! The state then had a perfectly obvious preference for a certain demography and a certain geography, which it typically tried to promote and maintain. I like to think of these arrangements or situations, as what I shall describe as 'state-

spaces'. The key to a state-space is that any state-making enterprise will require a ready supply of manpower and foodstuffs close at hand.

Given the logic of appropriation in pre-modern settings, such state-making required something like wet-rice cultivation on a sufficient scale to allow the production of a reasonably reliable surplus within a small radius of the court. The 'central place theory' elaborated by Von Tunen, Christaller, and G. William Skinner explains this in considerable detail. Within less than a hundred miles, for example, two oxen will have eaten the equiva-

Palembang, and Pasai. This is a very special case which would seem to be against my thesis. These were all states that controlled 'choke points' on a river system or in a navigated strait. They were all trading kingdoms, concentrated in the Malay world, in these Hulu-Hilir systems. They were, I think, the exceptions that proved the rule. Their problem was always a lack of manpower and they were all, without exception, slaving states that ranged far and wide to grab manpower wherever they could find it. But the problem was most severe in the coastal kingdoms that did not have an irrigated wet-rice core. The Malay states resemble nothing so much as the Viking system of trading, raiding, and slaving. Several very important consequences follow for statecraft and for social structure.

The first is that Southeast Asian classical states had no interest in territory per se, especially territory far from the core area unless it was a valuable mine or an important pass controlling vital trade routes. As a court proverb from Siam says 'Yes, a soil, but no people. A soil without people is but a wilderness'. Both Burma and Thailand were organized by personal service and bondage, not territory.

A second characteristic, that has to do with the shortage of manpower, is that warfare was all about grabbing people and settling them back near the central core area. For example, by 1800 up to three hundred and fifty thousand people, perhaps one-fifth of the agricultural population of Upper Burma, consisted in military deportees or their descendants, concentrated on irrigated royal service lands. A kingdom defeated was a kingdom whose population was quickly swept up by its neighbours. After the 1569 Burmese sacking of Ayudhya and the deportation of tens of thousands of captives, the Khmers swept in, in turn, for the next two decades, sweeping up all the captives they could find. In 1767, after sacking Ayudhya, the Burmese left with at least thirty thousand captives, including much of the court and the nobility. In fact you

could say that much of Eastern Indonesia was scoured clean of manpower.

A third characteristic of statecraft is that the ferocious desire for manpower meant generally that captives and slaves were relatively easily assimilated into the society of their captors. Manpower needs tended to reduce ethnic contempt, especially, but not only, for lowland peoples. Better put, systems of kinship and social organization were remarkably inclusive.

I believe it can be argued that Malayness, far from being an ethnic identity in some original, primordial sense, was rather simply the terms of cultural accommodation necessary to the creation of a cosmopolitan mini state at the coast. If you spoke Malay, professed Islam, and generally followed local dressing customs, you were very quickly a Malay, no matter where you came from and what your original tongue was.

The fourth characteristic of the manpower-starved state is that wars were not very bloody. Why destroy what is basically the prize or objective of war in the first place? Capture, not killing, was the objective of most military campaigns.

Finally and perhaps most important, flight was the basis of freedom in Southeast Asia. It was far more common than rebellion historically. I invite you, in this sense, to see statecraft as a never-ending struggle between the in-gathering of people through war, slaving, and resettlement on the one hand and the scattering and dispersion of people through movement away on the other.

The job of state-making is the creation of legible state spaces at the core of the kingdom. In pre-colonial eras this involved rather crude techniques: attempts to enumerate population listed by settlement and dues, very primitive forms of cadastral survey, *corvée* to expand the productive land concentrated at the core, and the like. Forced settlement and efforts to stop the leakage to the periphery (and the leakage to officials and nobles who were themselves trying to comman-

■

'Even the Punan in Sarawak, often the poster-children for the protection of old-growth forests, were in fact a sort of lowland people who moved into the hills.'

■

lent of the load of grain that they could pull in an oxcart. It does not pay to bring basic foodstuffs long distances, although water transport can modify this logic greatly. Other things being equal, of course, the greater the distance goods are carried, the greater their value per unit weight and volume. It follows then that mainland Southeast Asian states were located in areas of concentrated production, usually wet-rice agriculture. These places favoured state-formation, they raised the odds for state formation, but they did not guarantee it.

You could also get state formation without large irrigated wet-rice cores, for example Melaka, Srivijaya, Jambi,

Continued on page 45

20 > 28 AUGUST 1999
BANGKOK, THAILAND

65th IFLA Council and General Conference 1999 'Libraries as Gateways to an Enlightened World'

Short News

&

IFLA's conference and exhibition is the biggest international event of the year for professionals in the library and information sector. IFLA (The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) offers an excellent opportunity for thousands of delegates, experts, and library and information providers from all over the world to exchange ideas and experience as well as to introduce new innovations and products. The 65th IFLA Council and General Conference 1999 will take place at Bangkok International

Trade & Exhibition Centre (BITEC), Bangkok, Thailand, August 20-28, 1999.

In the information era, the library must transcend its present role as producer and purveyor of knowledge and information by acting as a gateway to a wide range and variety of information resources and services which are in constant flux. This requires recognition that quantity and availability do not necessarily guarantee quality and desirable information. In this information environment, libraries have to do more than act as hosts. As agents of change, they have a role to play in converting

data into information, information into knowledge, and knowledge into wisdom by providing the means to seek a better future, an increasingly more enlightened world where such universal aspirations as peace, social and economic justice, intellectual freedom, respect for human dignity and rights, and a healthy social and natural environment, are reinforced, enhanced, and converted to reality. Libraries must act as 'gateways to an enlightened world'.

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, which could mark the beginning of a new and hopefully enlightened era, library and infor-

mation professionals should take up challenges to provide the means for a better world. The 65th IFLA Conference proposes that the international library community commit itself to meeting the challenges of building a more enlightened world by focusing on the quality of its collection, contents and services, reaching out to all levels and groups of society, ensuring equitable access to knowledge, and strengthening its position in the dynamic global information market place.

The sub-topics of the 65th IFLA Conference are:

1. **Strengthening the Gateway:** Legal aspects of information access; Library staff education and training; Affordable and efficient communication links; Education at all levels as a component of the life-long learning process.
2. **Assuring the Quality and Quantity of Information:** Development of quality information sources; Development of 'search engines' and other means to access information sources; The changing roles of Universal Bibliographic Control - UBC and Universal Availability of Publications - UAP; Publishing in all media for an enlightened world; Conservation of documentary heritage and provision of wider access.

3. **Networking for 'Quality of Life':** Libraries for peace and conflict resolution; Libraries for cultural development and aesthetic appreciation; Libraries for healthy bodies and wholesome minds; Environment and culture information networks; Networking services for the disadvantaged and abused.

An International Trade Exhibition has been arranged at BITEC in connection with the IFLA Conference. The Exhibition will be held for 3 days: 23-25 August, 1999. ■

For further information of reservation exhibition booths, contact:

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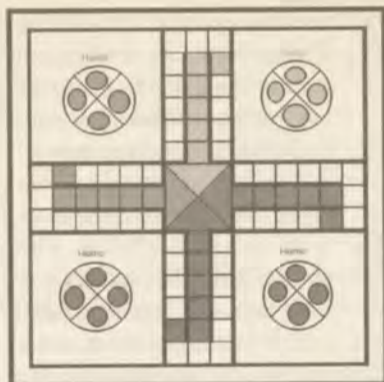
Colloquium 'Board Games in Academia III'

By ALEX DE VOOGT

Report

The regular meetings and the academic journal 'Board Games Studies', which was launched in 1998, have created a field of research which is growing both in number of researchers and in academic significance. There was no doubt about this in Florence. There were lecturers from Italy representing the expertise present at the Fondazione Bennetton Studi Ricerche, an Italian institute which publishes a journal and various books on games and culture. But lecturers new to the field, from Japan, the United States, and France, showed that offering a location different from Leiden is not the only reason for attracting new people to the field.

The significance of board games research has shown itself repeatedly at the previous two colloquia. This time, a surprisingly interesting lecture on the game(s) of Monopoly and another on North American board games history showed that questions of distribution and development can be applied to both traditional and commercial games. A lecture on the theories of the development and distribution of Madagascar and South Asian *mancala* games demonstrated that progress in the field of board games studies may have a broader significance. The questions and methodologies presented in games research assist scientists who address similar



The 'Ludo' boardgame, a commercial version of 'Pacheesi' from India.

questions in linguistics, cultural history, or even biology.

Asia has assumed a special place in the growth of board games research. Not only have new Asian researchers presented themselves at each colloquium, but the region itself also attracts particular attention. In 1995 and 1997, *mancala* games and historical records of games that used to be played in Asia attracted most of the attention. This time, commercial games also pointed towards Asia, in this case India. *Pacheesi* (also known under various other names) has been studied extensively through collections in Europe and fieldwork in India. This game was introduced to Great Britain where in the course of time its Indian origin was forgotten. It was also introduced to the United States where it was consistently promoted as a game from India. Gradually the name *Ludo* became more common in Great Britain and the *Ludo* version of *Pacheesi* was exported back

to India as a commercial game. This has led to Indians playing a commercial version of their own traditional game alongside a still existing tradition of playing *Pacheesi* the Indian way.

The diversity of participants extends beyond their various disciplines and countries of origin. An important part of the participants is collecting, manufacturing, inventing, or just playing games. This diversity has been particularly useful in research where commercial and traditional games come together such as research on *Pacheesi*, but also in the lectures on Astrological Chess or 'Dissymmetrical Blockade Games'. The games collectors and manufacturers present a wealth of information on the distribution and development of games in the Western world, while historians and fieldworkers trace these games to other regions.

Research on board games has centred on their distribution and development. It appears that experts on cultures from a variety of disciplines contribute as much to this field as the experts on commercially produced games. The colloquia and publications show that distribution and development affect not just the games themselves but also extend to games research. Fribourg, Switzerland, will be yet another occasion at which to show the results of yet another step in the spread and development of board games research. ■

Dr Alex de Voogt is an affiliated fellow at the IIAS. E-mail: devoogt@rullet.leidenuniv.nl.

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POETS OF ALL NATIONS (PAN)

Poets of All Nations (PAN) was founded in 1997. The foundation aims at propagating literature and freedom of expression, and at advising of and rendering services to poets, authors, and translators, as well as to publishers of literary works, associations, institutions, and other organizations in the literary and development area. It fulfils this aim by assisting in the preparation and realization of international festivals, events, meetings as well as literary publications, not only in its own linguistic regions, but also elsewhere in order to rendering living literature accessible to all those interested.

In the recent past the foundation was involved in the preparations and organization of the new festival *Poetry Africa* in Durban, South Africa in 1997; in the encounter of Dutch and Indonesian poets in Jakarta, Depok, and Bandung in December 1998; in the festival *Poets in the Elzenveld* in Antwerp, Flanders, already taking place several years. PAN also busies itself with the *IX Festival Internacional de Poesía en Medellín* in Colombia and with the preparations of the *Yearbook of International Poetry* in Beijing, China.

In a close co-operation with the *PoëzieCentrum* in Gand, Belgium a *Poets of All Nations Series* will be published. PAN has also taken over some former activities of *Poetry International* in Rotterdam such as the *Poetry International Award* (now *Free Word Award*) and the *Ludo Pieters Guest Writer Fund*.

With the award the foundation shall distinguish an imprisoned poet, who is in serious political trouble owing to his literary work. It is a continuation of the former award that was founded in 1979 and since given to eighteen poets. Fifteen of them are free now, two died in captivity and one is still imprisoned. Also, each year with the *Ludo Pieters Fund* an author encountering difficulties with publishing his (or her) work in his own country shall be invited as a writer-in-residence to a university in the Netherlands.

Poets of All Nations is a small foundation backed up by a wide variety of specialists who can be engaged per project. These specialists are skilled in administration, PR, programming, translating, presentation, and so on. The foundation has no financial resources of its own. Apart from allowances for services, it depends on grants, donations and subsidies. The board consists of: Neelie Kroes (*President*), Martin Mooij (*Secretary*), Winfried van den Muijsenbergh (*Treasurer*), Remco Campert, Joachim Sartorius and Christa Widlund (*Members*).

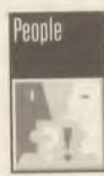
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Three politically inspired poets To Those Who Are Dancing

Ogaga Ifowodo, the young Nigerian poet, lawyer, and human rights-activist, was the first poet to whom the Free Word Award of the foundation Poets of All Nations (PAN) was presented, in June 1998. The award is more or less a continuation of the Poetry International Award, founded in 1979 and terminated in 1996. The aim is to give some support to poets who have encountered severe political difficulties because of their literary work. In Rotterdam on 25 February the special programme 'To Those Who Are Dancing' was dedicated to Ogaga Ifowodo. The poets Duo Duo (from China) and Rendra (from Indonesia) were also present.

By MARTIN MOOIJ



Ogaga Ifowodo could not attend at the award in 1998; he was not able to leave his country. He had participated in Poetry International 1996, in the Young Poets Workshop, where his work clearly revealed he engaged in what was going on in his country. The Dutch poetess Ilse Starkenburg had some talks with him and she wrote: 'His poems are strongly interwoven with the culture and politics in his homeland, the country of the Ogonis in the delta of the Niger. Ogoniland is rich in oil and looks like a gigantic industrial area: petrochemical plants, an artificial fertilizers factory, eight refineries, and a forest of drilling-frames. Thousands of pipelines are littering the environment.'

The poet and lawyer Ogaga Ifowodo has been active in the human rights movement. On returning to Nigeria from Scotland November 1997 he was arrested and kept in gaol until May 1998. The Writers in Prison Committee of International, PEN, and other organizations organized a campaign on his behalf and that of other prisoners. Individuals, like the Flemish poet Jo Govaerts and her Dutch colleague, Ilse Starkenburg also tried to win support for his case.

Ogaga Ifowodo was released and in September 1998 he went to Germany for about half a year as a writer-in-residence at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Bremen and in Stuttgart. Then at last he was able to visit Rotterdam. At the poetry programme, *To Those Who Are Dancing*, he read some of his poems himself. Several other poets also took part in the programme: the poetesses Jo Govaerts, Gerry van der Linden, and Ilse Starkenburg from the Netherlands and from Flanders, and two other poets, who had encountered political difficulties in their home countries: the Indonesian Rendra, and the Chinese Duoduo.

Indonesian prophet

For three months, until April 1999, Rendra was a guest of the Ludo Pieters Guest Writer Fund and the IIAS. Rendra has participated in poets' festivals and writers' meetings in the Netherlands several times since 1970. He is not only a poet, but has also proved his worth as a playwright and actor. In Indonesia he founded the Bengkel Teater, a theatre workshop which caused a great stir because it staged plays which had hardly any

dialogue. Rendra published his first collection of poetry in 1957: *Balada Orang-Orang Tercinta* (Ballad of the Beloved People). The theme that has imbued his entire poetic and dramatic oeuvre was already present in it. Rendra has always remained aware of the victims of human society; he is filled with compassion for the loneliness of old people and for the poverty



Ogaga Ifowodo

and misery of the poor and the oppressed. He has developed into the Indonesian prophet of humanity. He is a rebel who constantly tries to throw back the limitations of the human condition by stimulating the responsibility and creativity of the individual man through all manner of unconventional campaigns. It has repeatedly set him on a collision course with the authorities and he has been gaoled on several occasions.

Rendra places his poetry in the tradition of Indonesian oral culture; he considers poetry to be a performing art, his poems are written in directly aimed language, meant to be heard. His fine voice and acting talent guarantee a penetrating delivery. He and his wife, Ken Zuraida, usually live in Depok, where his Bengkel Teater is also situated. Until recently, the theatre was not allowed to perform. Rendra's poetry has been banned many times and it was very difficult for him to have his work published in his country. During the last few years he has written various articles for newspapers and given lectures at meetings, including in Malaysia and other countries in the Far East, giving his commentary on the present situation in Indonesia.

For several decades now, Rendra has been recognized in Indonesia and abroad as his nation's most important living poet. From the very beginning of his work, he has protested corrup-

tion, the abuse of power, and the exploitation of people. He did not protest as a politician, but as a human being and an artist. Sometimes he has read his poetry in soccer stadiums, because it makes sense to everybody, even illiterates. He has always been much in the public eye. The themes of his poetry are immediately recognizable to his audience, everywhere in the world.

Exile

Duoduo (pseudonym of Li Shizeng / Beijing, 1951) was, like many of his contemporaries, unable to finish his secondary education and was put to work in the countryside in 1969, during the Cultural Revolution. In 1975 he returned to his native town. Duoduo wrote his first poetry in 1972 and three years later he also started to

write prose. Since then, his poems and short stories have been published in magazines and anthologies. In 1988 he was awarded First Prize at the Beijing University Art and Literature Festival.

On June 4, 1989, when the student rising in Beijing was crushed, Duoduo left China for the first time, at the invitation of Poetry International.



Ogaga Ifowodo adds his name to the list of the persecuted poets to whom from 1979 the Poetry International Award was adjudged. Next to the mural by Breyten Breytenbach in Rotterdam.

After his participation in the festival it became clear that he could not return to his country and since then he, along with many other Chinese artists, has been living in exile in the West. Duo Duo stayed in Leiden, where he still lives, as a guest of the Institute for Sinology and the Ludo Pieters Fund.

At the invitation of the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* Duoduo wrote columns for some years, which also were published in the collection *Bang dat ik verloren raak* (Afraid of getting lost). In these, he observes the West and compares it to China. Other publications have followed. His work has been published in Dutch, English, German, and Italian translations. Duo Duo has become a Dutch citizen and with his Dutch passport he has even been able to visit his native country. His citizenship may be Dutch, but he is a Chinese and as confirmed by Chinese colleagues and other experts, he can be counted among the most important poets of his language and generation. ■

Martin Mooij is a publicist and a translator. He lives in Capelle a/d IJssel, in the Netherlands.

Please refer to page 22 for an interview with Rendra by Matthew Cohen.

BOOKS RECEIVED



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Remembering and Forgetting: The political and social aftermath of intense conflict in Eastern Asia and Northern Europe

■ By ROBERT CRIBB & MICHAEL SCHOENHALS



The 20th century has seen many cases of brutal repression by governments of both the Left and the Right. Civil war, wholesale execution, mass exile, and systematic discrimination against ethnic and political groups have marred the history of dozens of countries. As the century draws to a close, we can be pleased that the period of acute conflict and repression seems to have ended in many countries, even though we recognize that it is at its height in others. Despite the lessening of conflict and repression in many countries, however, the political, social, and psychological trauma of repression lives on to blight the process of democratic transition.

On 15-17 April 1999, some twenty-three scholars gathered in Lund, Sweden, to discuss the aftermath of intense political conflict in five regions: Finland, the Baltic states, Mongolia, China, and Indonesia. The conference was organized by Michael Schoenhals (Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Lund) and Robert Cribb (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies). As well as tackling one of the most difficult issues in political memory in the late twentieth century, the conference was intended to promote contact between scholars working on similar themes in Asia and Europe.

Three papers outlined the little-known Finnish civil war of 1918, in which tens of thousands died. They described the gradual and incom-

plete process by which the War has come to be seen as a shared national catastrophe rather than as a simple victory of Whites over Reds. Two papers discussed the way in which repression and population displacement during the Soviet era have bedevilled the Baltic states' relations with both Russia and their own Russian minorities.

Papers on Inner and Outer Mongolia described the Chinese and Soviet repression of Mongolian identity and the difficulties of recording the extent of atrocities when the authorities are reluctant to sanction a search for

truth. The papers on China reflected especially on the Nanjing massacre of 1937 and the Cultural revolution, but also discussed issues such as the status of former heroes and their families in a rapidly changing society.

Finally the papers on Indonesia discussed remembered and forgotten pogroms against Chinese residents, problems in official memorials to the past, and the still suppressed memories of the mass killings of 1965-66.

This combination of five regions proved to be a remarkably fertile basis for comparisons. Discussion focused on issues of memory, on the impor-

ance of remembering the past so as not to repeat it, and on the difficult issue of loss as a crippling factor in societies which are at some point on a road towards democratization. The participants discussed the role of truth-seeking, contrition and compensation in seeking solution to the legacy of intense conflict, but we concluded the conference with the sobering observation that effectiveness of such measure remains unproven. ■

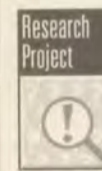
Papers from the conference can be read at <http://www.lu.se/ace/trauma/>.

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Dr Michael Schoenhals is Director of the Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University. He can be reached at michael.schoenhals@ace.lu.se.

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Phonological and Typological Studies in Siberia



Our group of phonological studies of Siberian languages is looking forward to establishing close contacts with colleagues throughout the world in the field of phonetics.

Three years ago I organized a small group of students at Novosibirsk Ped. University to work on the texts the following languages: 1. Japanese; 2. Nivh; 3. Ket; 4. Mansi (Vogul); Syg-va, Sosva, and Konda dialects; 5. Hanty (Osjak); Kazym and Eastern dialects; 6. Hungarian; 7. Komi-Zyrian; 8. Udmurt (Votiak); 9. Mari (Cheremis); Mountain and Lawn dialects; 10. Mordovian; Erzia and Moksha; 11. Vepsian; 12. Vodjan; 13. Karelian; Tihvin, Livvikov, and Ljudikov; 14. Saami (Lopari); 15. Finnish; 16. Nganasan; 17. Azeri (Azerbaijani); 18. Tatar; Siberian and Kazan; 19. Altai (Kizhi); 20. Kumandin; 21. Turkish; 22. Turkmen; 23. Jakut (Saha); 24. Karakalpak; 25. Kazah; 26. Kirgiz; 27. Tofalar; 28. Shorjan; 29. Dolganian; 30. Hakas; 31. Ujgur; 32. Uzbek; 33. Nanai; 34. Negidal; 35. Evenk (Tungus); 36. Even; 37. Uljch; 38. Orok; 39. Oroch; 40. Nivh; 41. Mongolian; 42. Buriatian; 43. Kalmykian; 44. Russian; 45. Ukrain-

ian; 46. Belorussian; 47. Sorbian; 48. Serbo-Croatian; 49. Gilian; 50. Persian (Iranian); 51. Tadjikian; 52. Pushto; 53. Iteljmen (Kamchadal); 54. Chuckchian; 55. Jukagir; 56. Eskimo; Siberian and American; 57. Arabic; 58. Mangarayi (Aboriginal Australian).

Our main goal is to calculate the phonological distances on the basis of the frequency of the occurrence of phonemes and phonemic groups. Then we plan to publish the word frequency dictionaries of the languages mentioned above. Many of these languages are on punch-cards, but we have to transfer them to PC diskettes. Many of the texts (e.g. Japanese, Persian, Arabic, etc.) are fed in in the form of phonological transcription. We can share or exchange some of the material in the electronic form. We would be also happy to work together on joint projects with linguists all over the world. ■

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In diesem Sammelband werden die Reaktionen der führenden asiatischen Wirtschaftsmächte Indien, Japan, Südkorea und China sowie der Länder Südostasiens auf die Asienkrise untersucht.

Folgende Themen werden behandelt:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Christian Wagner: | Indien: Von der Krise unberührt, zum Wandel verdammt? |
| Jürgen Rüländ: | Südostasien: Zukunftsängste statt Fortschrittsoptimismus |
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| Patrick Köllner: | Die Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise in Südkorea: Ursachen, Auswirkungen und Perspektiven |
| Sebastian Heilmann: | Chinas Reformpolitik und die Risiken einer „Ballon-Wirtschaft“ |

Eine *Gesamtanalyse* der Asienkrise bietet Rüdiger Machetzki mit seinem Beitrag „Krise(n) in Asien: Versagen von Politik und Märkten?“. Den Abschluß des Bandes bildet eine *Auswahlbibliographie* zur asiatischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise von Günter Schucher.

Zu beziehen durch:

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Local Perspectives on Global Tourism in the Asia-Pacific Region



The articles brought together in this special issue of the IIAS Newsletter are centered on the question of how people at the grassroots level in the Asia-Pacific region have responded to international tourism. In view of the widespread negative view of the potential impact of tourism on local cultures and societies, it is interesting that recently it has also been suggested that local people in popular tourist destinations should not be regarded simply as powerless victims of tourism, as many earlier studies have implied. Tourism world-wide is not infrequently characterized by situations in which the 'host' society has a great deal of control over tourism development, which enables local people to turn 'impacts' creatively into economic and cultural opportunities. In this special issue, too, the focus is on strategies that use the interest of tourists in local culture to strengthen local identity. After all, a striking characteristic of tourism is the way in which it promotes self-awareness, pride, self-confidence, and solidarity among people in host societies, as most of the contributions to this special issue demonstrate.

By HEIDI DAHLES & TOON VAN MEIJL

The twelve abstracts following this introduction aim to take a look at what steps local people in the Asia-Pacific region have taken either to redirect external tourist developments in order to keep control of their own lives or to initiate tourism developments for their own benefit. The editors do not pretend to provide a representative overview of tourism in the region. Geographically the focus is on Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, and the Pacific, in particular Australia and Papua New Guinea – with the exception of one contribution on Mongolia. In terms of academic disciplines, the approach is interdisciplinary; many scholars contributing to this special issue have established themselves in interdisciplinary academic fields, including anthropology and leisure and tourism studies. The issues addressed and the perspectives applied all revolve around four key-concepts that shed light on the way local people 'respond' to tourism by making use of it, i.e. ethnic identity, authenticity, sustainable development and entrepreneurship. Before elaborating these concepts, however, we present a brief outline of the Asia-Pacific region as an important tourist destination.

The Asia-Pacific region as tourist destination

The Asia-Pacific is the world's fastest growing tourism area in terms of visitor arrivals. It has shown the strongest increase in the world market share, rising from 7.3 per cent in 1980 to 12.3 per cent in 1992, and tourist arrivals grew almost threefold in the same period from 21 million to 58 million, representing an average growth rate of 8.9 per cent annually, which is higher than that in any other region of the world (Hailin Qi & Hanquin Qui Zhang 1998). The Asia-Pacific region is a popular destination area for visitors from other continents, particularly Australia, North America and Europe, while intra-Asian travel is also beginning to reach significant levels (Hall 1996) – although temporarily hampered by the economic crisis.

The rapid increase in tourist arrivals and income from international tourism have encouraged ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) governments – except for Brunei – to label the tourism industry the most important foreign exchange earner and provider of employment. This applies in particular to Indonesia where – under the New Order government – the promotion and development of tourism was focused primarily on the role of tourism as a foreign exchange earner rather than on the development of outbound or domestic leisure travel (Hall 1996). As Hitchcock points out below, for a long time the image of Indonesia as a tourist destination has been associated with the island of Bali, that has gained a reputation as a superior sun, sand, surf, and sea area. In recent years, however, Bali has come to represent a major problem for Indonesian tourism planners, as the enormous growth in demand for hotel rooms has led not only to large-scale construction of new hotels but also to a proliferation of 'informal' economic activities. The ways in which these petty entrepreneurs respond to the pressures emanating from fierce competition is discussed by De Jonge for Bali and by Timothy for another high-pressure tourist area, the city of Yogyakarta in Java. With what is now a more experienced and sophisticated tourism market, Indonesia has recently been adding value to its existing tourism product by diversifying into 'environmental' and 'heritage' tourism. A fine example of the former is the agritourism project in Central Java as presented by Telfer. With an example from Sulawesi Wall illustrates the Indonesian policy of 'regionalization', which aims at developing and promoting other areas in Indonesia as tourist destinations through the establishment of regional Tourism Development Corporations. The Indonesian government has been favourably inclined towards cultural tourism in particular. How this policy affects the life of villagers in a newly developed tourism area on the island of Lombok (Bali's closest neighbour) is dis-

cussed by Bras, while Schlehe shows how traditional religious and leisure activities merge with international tourism on a Javanese beach.

In global terms, tourism in the Pacific is minute. The region does not account for a significant percentage of the world's international tourism arrivals, while the majority of these are taken up by Australia and New Zealand, and by Fiji and Tahiti. In regional terms, however, tourism is a vital component of the economy and it is also a major employment provider for many of the countries in the region. In view of the predicament that faces many Pacific countries, tourism has been assigned an even more important role in the future. Although many Pacific islands appear to have competitive advantages in terms of tourism they generally lack the capital required to develop the necessary infrastructure and the required transport facilities adequately. For that reason, too, foreign investment is essential for the further development of international tourism in the region, which, in

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Indigenous traditions are nowadays often reevaluated, reconstituted, if not 're-invented', to support the search for a distinct cultural or national identity.

■

turn, will reinforce the economic dependence of Pacific states on foreign powers (Hall & Page 1996:3). Interestingly, in the paradoxical situation of political autonomy and economic dependence that has emerged over the past few decades, indigenous traditions and traditional forms of culture have acquired new meanings and values. Indigenous traditions are nowadays often reevaluated, reconstituted, if not 're-invented', to support the search for a distinct cultural or national identity against the background of the increasing global influences (Keesing 1989; Linnekin & Poyer 1990, Van der Grijp & Van Meijl 1993). The implications of the recent view on the authentication and validation of contemporary cultural practices as traditional, however, have as yet scarcely been stud-

ied in the context of cultural tourism. In this issue Senft, Silverman, Timmer, and Venbrux analyse the implications of cultural tourism for local identities in the Pacific.

Ethnic identity

The issue of identity is omnipresent in discourses on tourism – not only in academically informed discourses on tourism, but also in discourses from inside the tourism 'system', i.e. the local participants – as the contributions by Bras, Schlehe, Senft, and Venbrux exemplify. Whether we look at Sasak people on the island of Lombok, Javanese people celebrating traditional events, Trobriand islanders, or the Tiwi people in Australia, the encounter with tourists has stimulated reflection about indigenous traditions and culture and has revitalized their arts, crafts, and rituals with which traditional culture can be visually and audibly expressed. What these local and ethnic groups are experiencing may be labelled, following MacCannell (1973), 'reconstructed ethnicity'. It is a strategy that aims, among other objects, at maintaining and preserving ethnic forms for the entertainment of tourists. Reconstructed ethnicity and ethnic identity invariably involve the objectification and reification of ethnic images and are produced particularly during the process that engenders a global network of interaction. Ethnic groups begin to utilize their traditions, both as commodities to be sold to tourists, and as rhetorical weaponry in internal dealings (MacCannell 1992).

Authenticity

The emphasis on distinctive cultural identities in many non-Western societies generally meets the demand of Western tourists for authenticity. The pursuit of the exotic and the 'Other' has been termed a quest for authenticity by MacCannell (1973). With respect to tourism, the term carries two pejorative connotations: first, tourists rarely obtain access to 'authentic' cultural experiences, as a result of the commercialization of culture in tourist destinations; second, tourism tends to transform 'genuine' cultural traditions by turning them into commodities. As Hitchcock shows for Bali, however, local people do not necessarily conceptualize the changes coinciding with tourism and affecting their way of life in terms of cultural denigration. Nor do the Balinese seem to regard tourism as an enrichment of their culture. Instead, they indicate that tourism contributes to their village solidarity, while it also provides them with opportunities to practice their traditional performances. Tourism often provides the setting and the opportunity for people to reconsider their idiosyncratic manners of identification, and how they relate to the rest of the world. As Cohen (1988) argues, authenticity is a socially constructed concept, and its social connotation is, therefore, not given,

but negotiable. Fine examples of these processes of negotiation of meaning are provided by Silverman and Timmer. Silverman demonstrates how a wide spectrum of tourist art produced by Papua New Guineans in the Eastern Iatmul village of Tambunum attests to the ability of local people to utilize tourism as a context in which to represent and even to create novel forms of tradition. Timmer argues that Huli men revive their tradition of bodily adornment, triggered off by its world-wide fame, in an attempt to pursue goals of self-determination. The fact that tourists take Huli body art as a sign that these people are unspoiled and authentic makes Huli wigmen a typical tourist attraction.

Sustainable development

Much has been written about the economic costs of tourism development: the leakage of foreign exchange because of the necessity to purchase foodstuffs, capital goods, and other items to support the tourism industry, and the repatriation of profits when multinational firms are involved. Other economic implications of tourism development that are frequently mentioned concern the acceleration of inflation because of increasing tourist expenditure, the displacement of labour and increasing dependence on a fickle industry, the loss of the best agricultural land to tourism, and the reduced access to reefs and shorelines for fishing (Hall 1996: 167). Government policies towards the local tourism sector vary widely, and there is no consensus regarding the ways in which tourism should be developed and the major objectives that this development should pursue. Where state-bureaucracies expect tourism to contribute significantly to national development, tourism policy is directed towards large-scale investments in co-operation with transnational enterprises and project developers that inhibit the participation of local people. The result is that profits remain beyond the reach of local communities, while their residents are often denied access to resources, such as beaches, which they previously enjoyed. This has also been the case in Indonesia. However, more recently regional governments have been investigating the potential of tourism for sustainable developments, as Wall shows for Sulawesi. To counter environmental, social, and cultural problems that often emerge with tourism, scholars, planners, and policy makers are calling for new forms of tourism that consist of smaller-scale, dispersed, and low-density tourism developments located in and organized by communities (Brohman 1996). In Mongolia, as Weber points out, government-supported planning and programmes directed at educating and training local people in co-operation with foreign experts offer promising initiatives for a more sustainable development of tourism.

Continued on page 8



Continued from page 7
**LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON
 GLOBAL TOURISM IN THE
 ASIA-PACIFIC REGION**
 Heidi Dahles & Toon van Meijl

Local entrepreneurship

If tourism is to contribute to sustainable developments, the role of small and micro entrepreneurs in formal and informal economic arrangements becomes vital. The advantages of small-scale entrepreneurship in tourism are manifold. Small-scale activities are less disruptive and have more modest capital requirements that permit local participation. In addition, they are associated with higher multipliers and smaller leakages, leave control in local hands, and they are more likely to fit in with indigenous activities and land uses, as Telfer's study of an agritourism project in a fruit-growing region in Java exemplifies. Small-scale enterprises depend on ownership patterns which are in favour of local, often family-owned businesses rather than foreign-owned transnational companies. If local businesses benefit from tourism and opportunities exist for active resident involvement in the ownership and operation of facilities, local tolerance to tourism activities is significantly enhanced. A good example is provided by Tiwi, Trobriand, Iatmul as well as Huli involvement in tourism as discussed by Venbrux, Senft, Silverman, and Timmer below. Their participation in tourism entails empowerment. As Timothy shows for street vendors in the city of Yogyakarta, their success in the souvenir trade engenders on organizational capacity among the small entrepreneurs themselves. The emerging local organizations act as a means of power in dealing with the local authorities. Small-scale operations can also respond more effectively to changes in the marketplace and fill gaps overlooked by larger, more bureaucratic organizations (Echtner 1995), as the contribution by De Jonge shows. Migrants from other islands of the Indonesian archipelago – in this case people from Raas, a tiny island between Madura and Java –, attracted by the economic opportunities offered by the Bali tourism sector and pushed into this sector because of the lack of economic opportunities at home, have successfully established themselves in street vending. ■

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This editorial introduction and the contributions by Karin Bras, Michael Hitchcock, Huub de Jonge, Eric Silverman, Jaap Timmer, and Eric Venbrux will be published in more extensive form in a special issue of Pacific Tourism Review (New York, Cognizant Communication Corporation) on the same subject. The contribution by Gunter Senft has been published in article form in Anthropos 94: 21-33 (1999).

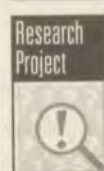
CENTRAL LOMBOK, INDONESIA

The (Re)presentation of 'Traditional' Sasak Villages



ETHNIC IDENTITY

■ By KARIN BRAS



Lombok, one of the islands of the Indonesian province West Nusa Tenggara, is developing rapidly as an important tourist destination. In the 1980s the island was promoted as Indonesia's 'second Bali'. More recently, efforts have been made to do justice to the uniqueness of Lombok by focusing on the cultural identity of the Sasak, the indigenous inhabitants of the island. Sasak villages in central Lombok, like dusun ('hamlet') Sade and Rembitan, were made the centrepieces in the promotion of Lombok's cultural identity. The regional government designated the villages heritage sites suitable for the presentation of 'traditional' local culture, with the rice-barn – lumbung – as Lombok's primary identity marker. Regional initiatives to regulate tourism development should be understood against the background of the promotion of tourism by the national government in Jakarta as a strategy to unify and modernize the country. Although foreign tourists are attracted by a large variety of cultural identities,

their presentation is not supposed to conflict with the government's emphasis on cultural unity.

The Sasak communities have discovered themselves through the tourists' interest in their everyday life. By being looked at, examined, and questioned by strangers, locals have become aware of their cultural and ethnic distinctiveness. The majority of the tourists visit the village on a guided tour. Local tourist guides accompany them and provide information about the architecture and the daily life in the village. Young people, in search for additional income, act as local guides and accompany the tourists during their walk through the village. Their narratives are fairly standardized and reflect the ideas of the regional government about the mediation of knowledge of local culture as transmitted through the formal training of guides. What local guides learn at the government training sessions is supplemented by 'on the job' training which adheres strongly to received historical and cultural facts and figures. As a consequence, the narratives about Sasak villages highlight traditional archi-

ecture as an expression of a distinctive way of life; the shape of the Sasak houses and rice barns assumed to be the main features attracting tourists to the region. The tourists are confronted with a strongly simplified image of local village life – a frozen image – that is tuned to the assumed expectations of the visitors. Not much is said about present-day village life. Like travel brochures, local narratives generally leave out tales of economic hardships, internal conflicts, land tenure issues and, of course, the problems caused by tourism.

However, merely transferring standard information about the built environment is no longer sufficient to satisfy the increasingly demanding and volatile tourists. More and more tourists seem to be in search of meaningful cultural experiences and therefore they require a local guide who communicates and interprets 'meaning'. Tales of mundane aspects of everyday life, that describe the daily chores, the joys and worries of the people living in the villages, instead of series of 'dry' facts and figures would be engraved more deeply on the visitors' memories and create a better un-

derstanding of the Sasaks' unique identity among the tourists.

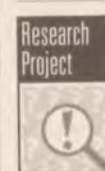
For the time being however Indonesian tourism policy strongly favours the standardized narratives which present a static image of village life on Lombok. Regional tourism policy leans heavily on the national state ideology 'unity in diversity', which emphasizes one national culture. At the same time, the great variety of local cultures in Indonesia is precisely what attracts most of the tourists. By presenting a local culture as a static icon – as is the case of Lombok's Sasak villages that are reduced to the lumbung – without focusing on the underlying multivocality and processes of change, local culture is reduced to the size of one state-controlled image. Rather than being neutral reproductions, Lombok tourist attractions and their narratives reflect less the commercial interest of the tourism industry than the cultural politics of the national government. ■

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JAVA, INDONESIA

Tourism to Holy Sites

■ By JUDITH SCHLEHE



The motivation of both international and domestic tourists is highly complex, stratified and multidimensional. Pilgrimage should be understood to be just as diverse as tourism. Furthermore, the distinction between tourist and religious significance is not always clear. In Java, where the pilgrimage to Mekka is highly important for Moslems, there is also a great and even growing number of people going on pilgrimage to tempat keramat ('holy sites'), for example to graves of religious or national heroes, and to potent places where spirits are believed to dwell or are said to appear. The motives for travelling to tempat keramat near and far are manifold. There are always people in search for spiritual enrichment, but even more visitors pray and make offerings hoping for practical support or material rewards. For instance, pilgrims going to certain places at the south coast of Java, preferably on special nights, often perform the rituals – meditating, praying, making offerings – in order to get help in everyday problems from Ratu Kidul, the mythical Queen of the South, or her spirit followers. The spirits are 'modern', they



defend the people in the threatening world of labour and politics.

During my field research on the beliefs and rituals connected with Ratu Kidul, besides those serious tempat keramat pilgrims, I observed the emergence of a considerable number of people, often young, coming to these sites for amusement, curiosity, or in search of a love affair. Some of them are like the post-modern tourist or the flâneur characterized by Bauman (1996), without any specific purpose, just strolling around. But still, it is no coincidence that they come to such places on these special nights. Many of them expect some general positive influence on their lives just from being there, even if

their behaviour is entirely profane. If they get the chance to pick up some offerings, considered to have already been accepted by the spirits, they hope that this will bring them good luck. However, these two categories – 'serious' pilgrims and 'frivolous' tourists – are not the only sorts of Javanese people at holy sites on special nights. Many pilgrims actually combine different purposes. Going to a tempat keramat in order to make offerings to the spirits is also an opportunity for travelling and leisure, and it leaves time for chatting, looking around or buying trifles from vendors who usually show up at these nights. Thus, a considerable number of pilgrims will perform the proper

rituals first, and then enjoy their nocturnal jaunt to the beach.

Conversely, it is interesting that not only is tourist behaviour intruding itself into holy places, but popular religion is entering the environment of modern tourism as well. As early as 1966 the Samudra Beach Hotel, a luxury hotel in West Java, permanently reserved a hotel room for Ratu Kidul. To date there are often visitors who stay in this room for meditation or inspiration, and newspapers regularly write about prominent people (actors, politicians) who achieved supernatural permission endorse their activities while in this room. A few years ago the goddess was even presented with a tourist bungalow complete with furnishings, garments, and three meals per day on Bali, at the famous Bali Beach hotel. Hence petitioners can visit her there as well – and as a spin-off the hotel receives publicity. Considering the interrelationships between spirituality and tourism, and between belief and commercial goals, here we find an example of the vivid blending of elements of tradition, modernity, and post-modernity. ■

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A Case Study from the Trobriand Islands The Presentation of Self in Touristic Encounters

ETHNIC IDENTITY

By GUNTER SENFT

Research Project
Visiting the Trobriand Islands is advertised as being the highlight of a trip for tourists to Papua New Guinea who want, and can afford, to experience this 'ultimate adventure' with 'expeditionary cruises aboard the luxurious Melanesian Discoverer. The advertisements also promise that the tourists can 'meet the friendly people' and 'observe their unique culture, dances, and art'. During my research in Kibola and Nuwebila, two neighbouring villages on the northern tip of Kiriwina Island, I studied and analysed the encounters of tourists with

Trobriand Islanders, who sing and dance for the Europeans. The analyses of the islanders' tourist performances are based on Erving Goffman's now classic study *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, which was first published in 1959. In this study Goffmann analyses the structures of social encounters from the perspective of the dramatic performance. The situational context within which the encounter between tourists and Trobriand Islanders takes place frames the tourists as the audience and the Trobriand Islanders as a team of performers. The inherent structure of the parts of the overall performance presented in the two vil-

lages can be summarized - within the framework of Goffman's approach - in analogy with the structure of drama. We find parts that constitute the 'exposition', the 'complication', and the 'resolution' of a drama; we even observe an equivalent to the importance of the 'Second Act Curtain' in modern drama theory. Deeper analyses of this encounter show that the motives of the performers and their 'art of impression management' are to control the impression their audience receives in this encounter situation.

This analysis reveals that the Trobriand Islanders sell their customers the expected images of what Mali-

nowski (1929) once termed the '... Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia' in a staged 'illusion'. With the conscious realization of the part they as performers play in this encounter, the Trobriand Islanders are in a position that is superior to that of their audience. Their merchandise or commodity is 'not real', as it is sold 'out of its true cultural context'. It is staged - and thus cannot be taken by any customer whatsoever because it (re)presents just an 'illusion'. The Trobriand

Islanders know that neither they nor the core aspects of their culture will suffer any damage within a tourist encounter that is defined by the structure and the kind of their performance. Their pride and self-confidence enable them to bring their superior position into play in their dealings with tourists. With their indigenous humour, they even use this encounter for ridiculing their visitors. It turns out that the encounter is another manifestation of the Trobriand Islanders' self-consciousness, self-confidence, and pride with which they manage to protect core aspects of their cultural identity, while at the same time using and 'selling' parts of their culture as a kind of commodity to tourists. ■

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Tourism in an Australian Aboriginal society Tales of Tiwiness

ETHNIC IDENTITY

By ERIC VENBRUX

Research Project
Indigenous people figure prominently in the international marketing of Australia as a tourist destination. Increasingly, indigenous Australians also participate in the industry. In Australia expectations of the development of tourism involving Aborigines are high, especially in remote areas where Aboriginal people face a lack of employment opportunities and often depend heavily on the welfare state. Simultaneously, the supposed attractiveness of Aboriginal lands and culture to tourists is considered to assist the development of Australia's tourist industry in general. Views of the impact of tourism on the Aboriginal host societies differ widely, ranging from seeing it as a means for both the improvement of economic status and cultural survival to an endeavour undermining local autonomy and identity. The local response to tourism sometimes takes the form of an active engagement, as in the case of the Tiwi Aborigines from Bathurst and Melville Islands, which enables local people to represent themselves in a way they consider proper.

Tiwi people have been at the forefront in the development of so-called Aboriginal tourism. Because of land rights legislation (passed in 1977), the Tiwi are and have been in the position to exert control over access to

their lands as well as the development of tourism in the islands. The Islanders have established their own land council. Since the early 1980s tourist enterprises have been operating on their lands. In 1986, the Tiwi, represented by the Tiwi Land Council, went into business themselves. Their business holding reached joint venture agreements with non-Tiwi operators. The next step was when the holding got an equity share on behalf of all Tiwi. In 1995, total ownership of the tourist enterprises was obtained after a buy out of joint venture partners. It became the task of the newly established Tiwi Tourism Authority to control tourism on the islands for the benefit of Tiwi interests. The Tiwi Aborigines, in other words, have taken tourism into their own hands.

Despite limited direct economic benefits, in terms of financial income and employment, Tiwi people have gained from their involvement in tourism. My point in relation to the Tiwi case is that the involvement in tourism, by means of articulating 'Tiwiness', generates symbolic capital. The increased visibility of the Tiwi because of their tourism and, closely related, arts industry pays off in the wider political arena. It also accommodates competitive entrepreneurship in terms of the local prestige economy. Local guides are in charge. Contacts with international tourists, access to transport, and the surplus food obtained in foraging trips with tourists appear to

be a matter of prestige at grassroots level. At stake are not only prestige and goodwill (especially of the development-oriented governments), but also the need to curb local political fragmentation for the sake of maintaining a certain measure of autonomy.

Tiwi communal identity happens to be a fairly recent phenomenon: the term Tiwi ('human beings') was coined by an anthropologist who needed a name for 'his tribe'. It has gradually become accepted by the Islanders as a label to distinguish themselves from other people in the second half of the twentieth century. The tourist encounter might be seen as a dialogue in which both parties engage in an exploration of 'Tiwiness'. This mutual construct in flux results from the meeting of tourist demands and the hosts' attempts to give the former a feel of what it is like to be Tiwi Aboriginal. Tourists, for instance, might find themselves in the muddy mangroves, fishing in a creek, visiting workshops or a Roman Catholic church, or being a spectator at football games. Tourism is kept small scale and performed with a great deal of flexibility, albeit not everything is exposed to the tourist gaze. Tourism has given the islanders the opportunity to educate other people about their way of life, to counteract stereotypes, and to preserve their dignity. While Australia is in the process of redefining its national identity, the symbolic value of Aboriginal tourism has only increased in the context of a politics of reconciliation with 'the oldest surviving culture on earth', which would also improve its international standing and uniqueness as a tourist destination. ■

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Bali A Paradise Globalized

AUTHENTICITY

By MICHAEL HITCHCOCK

Research Project
Globalization in Bali is closely linked to tourism, and a substantial literature has emerged decrying the alleged threat posed by this industry to traditional society. Wood (1993), however, takes issue with the view that tourism in Southeast Asia may be likened to a game of billiards, in which the moving ball (tourism) acts upon an inert ball (the local culture). Wood maintains that this approach treats indigenous culture as uniform, passive, and inert and he has argued that international tourism neither destroys local culture nor simply conserves it. Instead tourism is caught up in an on-going experience of cultural invention, in which Westernization is but a part of a wider process of cultural change. The new world system, instead of creating global cultural homogeneity, supplants one set of separate diversities with another set based on inter-relations.

Picard (1993) suggests that tourism cannot readily be isolated from many other aspects of culture, especially where there is a long history of tourism. The treatment of tourism as a solely exterior force may ignore how tourism can become an inseparable part of local reality. If culture is conceived of as static entity, then the actions and motivations of local participants are overlooked. Artistic styles, performing arts, and even changes in dietary habits can be seen as local attempts to accommodate the experience of tourism.

Studies by Picard and others suggest that the distinction between indigenous and touristic culture is not clearly maintained. Performances designed for tourists have, for example, been imported back into religious settings; Western theatrical conven-

tions have been incorporated into hitherto sacred dances. Performances created for national arts events and international audiences come to be regarded by the Balinese themselves as representatively Balinese. The culture that emerges reflects interaction with various interlocutors, including the overlapping networks of global tourism and the Indonesian state.

Despite attempts by various interest groups to modify Bali's image, the tropes used by international tourism predominate in marketing. Research interest in brochures is, however, relatively new and the coverage has been patchy. These global images of Bali are not necessarily closely linked to the original Bali and often exist independently of the island. The symbol of 'Bali' has come to stand for almost anything tropical, exotic, and leisurely and the use of 'Bali' as a brand name continues to flourish.

The debates concerning tourism in Bali have turned to global kinds of questions such as sustainability. There is the competition from other Indonesian islands such as Lombok, which is being promoted as another Bali. There is also a debate concerning the quality and economic status of the tourists. In addition, there have been protests against certain kinds of tourism development, though they should be treated on a case by case basis and should not be taken as a generalized anti-tourism stance on the part of the islanders. Sustainable forms of tourism need to take account of social and environmental concerns, and address the needs of both tourists and the Balinese. ■

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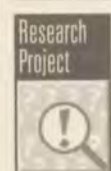
THE SEPIK RIVER, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Favouring the Local over the Global



AUTHENTICITY

By ERIC SILVERMAN



Tourism, without question, is a process that is fuelled by the interests and privileges of countries which in world-systems theory are classed as the 'core'. Papua New Guinea, of course, is a Fourth World country located in the 'periphery'. From this perspective, tourism is often averred to be a form of cultural prostitution, as it were, whereby local people commodify their culture into staged performances and cheap trinkets.

Tourism, in other words, erodes local culture of its 'authenticity' since the sole function of touristic practices is to get money. This macro perspective, however, is naive and ultimately ethnocentric. Yet this perspective studies the local experience of tourism from an idealistic ideology that, in the end, foregrounds Western yearnings and concepts, and backgrounds local experiences. Furthermore, this view of tourism denies local people the ability to act with intention, to create meaning, to resist

hegemony, and to forge hybrid forms of culture. It is a perspective, in sum, that privileges the global over the local.

By contrast, I would like to develop a perspective on tourism in which the local is privileged over the global, based on my research in the middle Sepik River of Papua New Guinea, focusing on tourist art in the the Eastern Iatmul village of Tambunum. It is true that some categories of tourist art are indeed commodifications and even examples of what Walter Ben-

jamin termed 'mechanical reproduction'. Nevertheless, the spectrum of tourist art and artefacts reveals the presence of complex, hybrid, and innovative aesthetic creations. These works attest to the ability of local people to utilize tourism as a context in which to represent and even to create novel forms of personal identity and ethnicity.

It is also interesting to analyse the implications of the construction and the role of a tourist guesthouse in village social life. This 'place' has engendered a complex dispute within the village that enhanced rather than replaced or deteriorated local politics, leadership, and totemic prestige. Furthermore, the guesthouse enabled local men to utilize vocational skills and to create, in a sense, a new 'centre' of the village that is located in a new concept of regional space. Finally, the guesthouse, like many genres of tourist art, is ornamented with mythological themes that express sexuality in ways that seem unique to the

touristic encounter. I want to pose the question: Why do local people make erotic assertions in tourism? The guest house, then, is a touristic location that enables the reproduction and even the re-creation of local culture.

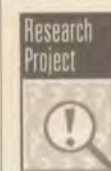
Finally, it is important to discuss language and literacy in the touristic encounter, as well as the suggestion that the touristic 'gaze', usually attributed only to Westerners, is often 'turned' to visitors themselves. This may be done by focusing on a written sign that requested donations for the Tambunum school. This sign, in many respects, exemplifies the paradoxes of tourism. Indeed, the concept of paradox perhaps best sums the touristic encounter between local people and Western visitors in the Sepik River. ■

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Huli Wigmen Engage Tourists

AUTHENTICITY

By JAAP TIMMER



Soon after they were first encountered by white explorers, the Huli of the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea became renowned worldwide for their magnificent wigs decorated with colourful plumes, feathers, and flowers. In 1934, while prospecting for gold with his twin brother in the area between Mount Hagen and the border with the Dutch territory, Jack Fox wrote of encounters with men wearing 'half moon' shaped hats made of human hair and decorated with flowers. Capitalizing on the fascination for these 'Stone Age' people, a series of popular books, magazines, and travelogues boosted the image of Huli as wigmen. Subsequently, photographs of Huli faces enhanced by headdresses and decorative face painting began to adorn advertisements, tourist broch-

ures, and guide books. Now, about six decades after the first whites visited Huli land, Western tourists regularly set off with guides and carriers to make contact with Huli wigmen in the Tari basin of the 'last unknown'.

While the first white explorers were recognized as non-human spirits filling Huli with fear and amazement, Western tourists are now seen as human beings, albeit wealthy and powerful ones. The sightseeing tours are far less dramatic than the Fox brothers' patrol, yet tourist brochures suggest the opposite. These brochures foster a variety of tourism that promises an adventure in 'savage unknown lands', where 'wigmen' play the 'Stone Age warriors' with an 'authentic tribal culture'. The labelling of Huli as wigmen, however, is not only the outcome of Western representations that privilege exotic styles of bodily adornment as an index of authenticity. The Huli actively engage in showing themselves to pre-

sent-day visitors as they would like to be seen: sporting magnificent wigs, their appearance embellished by painted faces and shiny skins, all expressing vitality and distinctiveness. At present there are several groups of Huli men who continue a tradition of bodily adornment and dance self-confidently to display cultural strength and pride to Western tourists in order to forge a path into the future.

The Huli consider the dance performances, called *mali*, to be a highly competitive and prestigious occasions. Individual dancers attend these events to acquire prestige and to celebrate their traditions at local, regional, national, and international levels. They see self-adornment as part of a core of skills and knowledge (*mana*) inherited from their ancestors. *Mana* distinguishes the Huli from their pre-contact and current cultural neighbours. The shapes of their haircuts and the wigs symbolize this *mana*, and also express masculinity. The bright red-and-yellow face paint motifs are associated with death, danger, and destruction, and they are required for raids, hunting, and dispute meetings. *Mali* celebrated the death of an enemy or ritual cycles which involved competitive reciprocal exchange of pigs. The *mali* dances were occasions on which to enhance a man's own performance, and to diminish that of an opposing



team. Nowadays, dancing for tourists, the Huli feel a sense of superiority and empowerment in the face of foreign strength and beauty.

For the tourists, Huli decorative styles are the 'authentic culture' of a timeless ethnographic present. The wearing of Western clothing instead of traditional costume is for many tourists a sign of cultural degradation. Thus, for both the Huli and their white visitors, bodily adornment has been and still is the most distinctive and characteristic feature of Huli culture, in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times. The revival of Huli dance performances, which have acquired worldwide fame, allows this indigenous population to pursue self-determination and affect its own des-

tiny. The encounter with tourists and the creative tradition of self-adornment and display in performances for tourists expresses Huli desire and agency within the modern world system. Apart from economic motivations, the Huli embrace tourism to express and protect their own traditions and identity. The new role of dances in a tourist context give the Huli wigmen a new perspective on their past which many find important to continue. ■

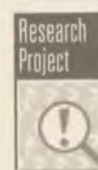
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SULAWESI, INDONESIA

Tourism, Environment, and Community

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

By GEOFFREY WALL



For both biological and historical reasons, Sulawesi can be viewed as the Galapagos of Asia as it sits astride the Wallace Line, the convergence zone of the Australasian and Asian geological plates, and has a variety of endemic and endangered species. Wallace was a contemporary of Darwin, undertaking similar research related to species diversity and the origin of

species and making similar discoveries at the same time.

Although rich biologically, Sulawesi is a poor area and both national and provincial governments have identified tourism as having the potential to contribute to development in Eastern Indonesia, of which Sulawesi is a part. This tourism would be based substantially on its natural resources and, depending upon the form which it takes, could help to sustain or further under-

mine them. To date, our research has concentrated upon North Sulawesi. We have argued that both the protection of natural resources and the enhancement of local communities are essential if Sulawesi is to be moved in the direction of sustainability, and that positive synergistic relationships should be sought between tourism, biodiversity, and local communities and implemented through appropriate management. Analytical frameworks of wide applicability

have been developed to assess the status of ecotourism in parks and protected areas and have been applied to a marine and a terrestrial park and a nature reserve. The frameworks provide a diagrammatic means of identifying the presence or absence of major attributes of ecotourism as identified from the literature. Missing links reveal aspects of ecotourism requiring managerial attention. It has been shown that, although rich in natural resources, the

parks and protected areas fall short in many ways of meeting the requirements of ecotourism, strictly defined.

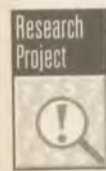
Indonesia has well-developed environmental impact legislation, Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan (AMDAL). The AMDAL process and its requirements have been examined from both theoretical and practical perspectives and an assessment has been made of the application of AMDAL to two major resort developments in North Sulawesi. While admirable in theory, it has been shown that the practical ap-

Tourism development in Mongolia Travel to the Land of Chinggis Khan



SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

By **HELMUT WEBER**



As a land-locked country between its giant neighbours Russia and China, Mongolia was isolated from most of the world for nearly seventy years until 1990, when democratic forces ended the centralized political system. After the breakdown of the former planned economy, the Mongolian authorities began implementing a wide-ranging programme of monetary, fiscal, and structural reforms designed to reduce the role of the public sector and to promote rapid development of the private. Facing an enormous amount of economic and social problems, the national government places special emphasis on international tourism as a promising strategy to be used in its national poverty alleviation plan and

in its attempt to reduce the chronic imbalance between national income and expenditure.

Despite all efforts to boost tourism in recent years, the number of international arrivals is steadily declining instead of growing. Between 1990, when some 147,000 visitors come to Mongolia, and 1995 the country noted a drop of around 25% (110,000), and until 1997 the figure dropped again to some 82,000 international arrivals. In sharp contrast to the declining tourism demand, Mongolia has experienced a booming supply side. The number of tour operators and travel agencies, monopolized by only one state-owned company until 1990, increased up to more than 300 licensed small-scale companies in 1998. We find a similar trend of mushrooming growth in the accommodation sector, including the traditional Mongolian felt tents which are used as country-

side accommodation. The growing imbalance between supply and demand necessarily leads to a highly competitive market situation with a sharp polarization favouring a few strong enterprises.

As a relatively new tourism destination, Mongolia has to deal with various natural and historical disadvantages. The geographical position between the Siberian part of Russia and the Gobi Desert with a harsh continental climate keeps the tourism season, with about four months per year within very narrow limits. Furthermore, the long political isolation from the Western world has resulted in an obvious lack of professional skills in and experiences with the 'rules' of the international tourism market. The tourism sector (including the government authorities) is still dominated by 'displaced employment'. The breakdown of the Soviet

system left behind a high number of well educated specialists from various fields jobless, and many of them considered the international tourism sector as a chance for a new future. But because of the fact of limited professional skills, the way in which they carried out their business was in many cases based on a 'trial-and-error approach', instead of sitting down and designing a feasible business development strategy. Here we can identify an important reason for the failure-cum-stagnation of many companies and the tourism sector as a whole. Complaints from travellers and the international counterparts of Mongolian enterprises are rife and lead to a declining reputation and an eclipse of the attractiveness of the tourism sector.

Responding to the negative trends, several projects have been implemented in recent years in order to restructure the Mongolian tourism sector and to improve human resources and marketing. Since 1997 two international teams (the Japanese International Co-operation Agency - Jica - and the Tacis Programme of the European Community) have been working simultaneously on two (!) comprehensive master plans for tourism development in Mongolia, including the identification of potential target groups, legal aspects, investment needs, and human resources issues. In 1995, a private company established the first Mongolian college for profes-

sional tourism management which has been supported by the German government since 1998. In early summer 1999, the first graduates will enter the tourism labour market. Another promising example is an attempt of the 'Mongolian Society of Ecotourism' to define a comprehensive concept of environmentally and socially acceptable tourism to suit the Mongolian reality. This project, supported by the German 'Technical Co-operation Agency' (GTZ) and the German Ministry of Economy and Technology, includes the establishment of environmental protection measures for sensitive areas; the protection of the traditional nomadic culture, and the increase of the benefits for local people; and the implementation of individually designed training programmes for tourist enterprises to improve their professional skills. ■

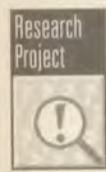
Helmut Weber is Associate Professor at the Department of Geography and Tourism Sciences, University of Bielefeld, Germany, since January 1998 he is also 'Integrated Expert for Human Resource Development' and Deputy Director at the Institute of Tourism Management, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, supported by the 'Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM)/ German Technical Co-operation Agency' (GTZ).

BALI, INDONESIA

Street and Beach sellers from Raas Trade and Ethnicity

LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

By **HUUB DE JONGE**



During the past decade, many publications have investigated tourism in Bali, looking in particular at the tourists who visit the island and the impact of tourism on local communities. Yet not much is known about the thousands of Indonesian migrants who work in the Balinese tourism indus-

try. Enterprises both large and small provide employment not only for Balinese but also for job-seekers from all over the country. Young people, especially, see Bali as their promised land. Everywhere in the island, but especially in tourist centres such as Kuta, Sanur, Nusa Dua, and Den Pasar, large numbers of migrants have settled either temporarily or permanently.

To obtain a job, it is necessary to enter into relations with people who know the labour market and who are

on good terms with employers or their confidants. Without investing in these contacts and without paying bribes, it is almost impossible to find employment. These conditions ensure that quite a number of branches in the tourist industry are controlled by people who know or trust each other, such as individuals from the same place or members of the same ethnic group. The souvenir trade in stalls along the road in Kuta, for example, is dominated by Bataks and Sundanese, while Sasaks from Lombok, Madurese, East Javanese, and Balinese from poor areas have control of the *asongan* or ambulant trade. Within both sectors, the degree of ethnic control differs according to the commodity. One of the most successful groups among the street and beach sellers in Kuta are the migrants from Raas, who almost completely dominate the trade in fake designer-label caps and watches. Raas is a small, poor island on the southern fringe of the Java Sea that belongs to Madura administratively and culturally. *Merantau* (to leave own's home for any length of time) is a well-established aspect of life on the island. For centuries, the inhabitants of Raas have been accustomed to look for opportunities to make a living beyond their island. Since the end of the 1980s, Bali has been their most important desti-



nation. Their domination of the trade of fake brand caps and watches in Kuta is the outcome of a number of changes in the tourist industry. Initially, the migrants engaged in the sale of these products when this was strictly forbidden. When eventually such activities were tolerated, the people from Raas had already established close contacts with the Chinese suppliers who preferred them to vendors from other ethnic groups because of their diligence and reliability. The establishment of local trade associations, on the initiative of authorities who could not control the violations of the trade laws, offered the migrants the opportunity to consolidate and strengthen their position within the ambulatory sector. They have succeeded in dominating both the government-sponsored associations and the trade network. Nowadays, vendors at all levels of the network are increasingly frequently recruited from their own circles. Ethnicity has become a crucial medium of organization, and, as such, a new source of power.

Ethnicity looms large in more than the economic field. It also plays a prominent role in other spheres of

life. The migrants from Raas live together in separate quarters or scattered homestays, they share each other's joys and sorrows, and they try to protect their culture from outside influences as much as possible. Both in the public and private spheres they hardly mix with Indonesians of other ethnic origins. Because of the competition with other groups, the distance between them has widened considerably, which has reinforced the ethnic identity within the local Raas community. With tourists, mainly Westerners and Japanese, they maintain an ambiguous relationship. They live off them and often, in particular on the beach in front of the big hotels, they enter into brief friendly or joking relationships with them, but they are not susceptible to the foreign way of life, in fact many even have an aversion to it. If the truth be told, small differences between fellow-countrymen frequently cause more tensions than great differences between total strangers. ■

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plication of AMDAL has been deficient at both study sites. At the same time, the consequences of essentially similar resort developments for people living in and around the sites has been substantially different, leading to the conclusion that the nature of project implementation has substantial implications for the associated impacts of tourism on destination area communities.

Our research continues in two major directions: an assessment of the implications of park designation for residents living in and around Bunaken National Marine Park and an investigation of the status of and potential for ecotourism in the Togian Islands. In the former case, interviews will be conducted in communities to ascertain the distribution of benefits and costs asso-

ciated with the park. In the latter case, a two-level SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis will be undertaken, initially for the whole of the Togian Islands using secondary information and then for selected villages based on fieldwork. We will probably also undertake some additional tourism research in an urbanizing environment near Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, where reservoir construction and coastal 'reclamation' are modifying resource capabilities. ■

Geoffrey Wall is Associate Professor and Associate Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1, Canada.

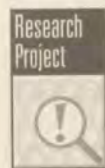
VILLAGE OF BANGUNKERTO, INDONESIA.

The Role of Agritourism in Community Development



LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

By DAVID J. TELFER



Agritourism is receiving increased recognition in rural development strategies as part of a wider trend of expanding rural tourism. In order to evaluate the potential of agritourism generating community development, the initiatives taken by the residents of the village of Bangunkerto, Indonesia were examined. Located 20 km to the north of the city of Yogyakarta in the highly productive agricultural lands of Central Java, the community is utilizing local resources to attract tourists and to promote development. Altering their production to the more profitable salak (snake fruit) crop in 1980, the villagers have established a plantation centre for tourists, assisted by the Provincial Agricultural Department. The purpose of the project is not only to expose tourists to the natural environment but also to stimulate awareness and demand for the product thereby increasing local in-

come and promoting community development.

The site consists of a small guide centre, a small store, a dance platform, and a fishing pond with a viewing platform. Visitors can take a guided tour or are free to wander along the hand-made path through the plantation viewing traditional methods of cultivation. To foster community development, student guides from the twelve surrounding villages have been hired. The project co-ordinators want to build a home stay (small accommodation unit) and a swimming pool at the site. Across the road, locals have responded to the new opportunities and have set up a small market to sell salak to the tourists. The agritourism site is included on day trips for a Yogyakarta-based tour agent often combined with stops at nearby Prambanan and Borobudur temples. From September 1994 to May 1995 the monthly visitor totals at the site ranged from a high of 1076 in October 1994 to a low of 50 in February 1995.

The majority of the guests were domestic tourists while foreign tourists only accounted for 20-25 visits per month. The money raised from entrance fees is used for staff salaries, the creation of new buildings, and to help pay for the harvest of the salak from the site.

In order to get a preliminary understanding of how their lives had changed since the introduction of tourism and the adoption of salak as the dominant crop, thirty-seven area farmers were interviewed through available sampling in June of 1995. A survey with fifty-four questions was developed divided into the following categories: demographics, agriculture and tourism, agricultural practices, marketing practices. Results indicate that the farmers are very positive toward the initiative in the community and wish to see it develop further. All respondents want more tourists to visit the site and have a positive feeling toward tourists. In addition, 89% feel that the agritourism project will

create more jobs in the community and 87% feel that the project has increased the value of their land. Those who have more direct contact with the project, have a stronger belief that tourism is also leading to an increase in production and marketing of the product. The committee leaders want to maintain and control production and marketing locally. The survey also indicates that the respondents do not want to sell out to a private company as they want to keep a traditional atmosphere within the project.

This case study represents an initiative taken at the community level utilizing local resources to promote development. All aspects of the attraction are controlled at the local level and in doing so the operation has strengthened local identity along with the conservation of the natural environment. Cultural heritage has also been maintained through the performance of traditional dances at the site. While the project has not created a lot of income for the communi-

ty directly from tourism, they are hoping to expand the facilities and markets. Although village life in Indonesia is very cohesive and may have provided the framework for this project to develop, this case study has implications for small rural communities in both developing and developed nations utilizing tourism as a development tool. These rural regions may learn from the level of co-operation and community involvement from this developing country example. ■

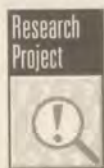
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YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

Tourism and Street Vendors

LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

By DALLEN TIMOTHY



Informal economic activities are of considerable importance in many tourism destinations. Characteristics of the informal sector generally include lack of legal recognition and registration, evasion of taxes, ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership, small scale of operation, labor intensiveness, skills acquired outside formal education systems, part-time labour, locally-based ventures, and unregulated and competitive markets.

This research adopted this framework to investigate the role of street vendors in the informal tourism sector in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In 1995, some 967 vendor stalls were identified along Malioboro Street, the primary tourist shopping area in Yogyakarta, and a thorough inventory recorded the variety and frequency of products being sold. Additionally, 78 surveys of vendors were completed using a systematic sampling method, followed by in-depth interviews with forty vendors and tourism planning officials.

In terms of work attributes, unlike the traditional view of informal ventures, most Yogyakarta vendors worked at their stalls full-time. Earnings were significantly higher than many other informal initiatives, although some variation was found. Clothing was the most common item

for sale (262 vendors), followed closely by leather and wood products. Tourist-related goods were concentrated along certain parts of the railway station and the guest house cluster adjacent to it. Other zones were identified that catered mainly to the domestic market. The street vendors have considerable backward linkages to the community since much of their raw materials and finished products are purchased from both small-scale, informal producers in squatter settlements and formal suppliers. As a result, most of the money stays in the local economy, although some goods are purchased from out-of-province suppliers. Forward linkages are less common.

Until the mid-1980s, the vendors along Malioboro functioned illegally, albeit without much interference from government officials. Beginning in 1984, however, some of the hawkers began to realize that they had common goals and interests, and they sought to be recognized collectively. This led to the formation of a co-operative known as 'Tri Dharma', which gave the vendors legal status under the auspices of a formal organization. In 1993, other vendors formed the 'Pernalni' association, whose purpose was to act as a legal liaison between the peddlers and the municipal government. As of 1995, nearly all vendors belonged to one of these two organi-



zations, and over ninety percent had acquired vending permits.

As part of the vendors' legal status, they are required to pay local taxes, which are collected three times every day and in 1995 ranged from Rp 200 to 600 per day depending on the size of their business and the organization to which they belonged. The vendors had not at that point been involved in tourism planning efforts by government officials. They were, however, instructed by bureaucrats to keep their stalls and the adjacent pavement clean and safe, and officials were planning to provide training programmes for them in areas such as hygiene, accounting, and foreign languages.

The findings demonstrate that the street vendors of Yogyakarta were a heterogeneous group and exhibited several characteristics commonly associated with the informal sector:

small scale of operation, individual or family ownership, high labour intensity, and reliance on indigenous resources and skills acquired outside the formal sector. However, other characteristics contrasted with those described in literature. Most vendors work at their stalls full-time and few were migrants from other provinces. They are legally recognized, licensed, enumerated, and taxed, and they have their own business associations. Furthermore, the claim that informal-sector activities are easy to enter should be qualified for Yogyakarta. The spaces are already crowded and there are now legal and association mechanisms for controlling small-scale entrepreneurs. It is clear that the street vendors in Yogyakarta do not completely fit the informal-sector stereotype. They can at best be considered only semi-informal owing to the considerable official recognition and regulation of their activities. This study shows that, with modernization and as governments become more involved in controlling the nature of the resident-visitor encounter, the clear-cut distinction that has traditionally been drawn between formal and informal tourism activities is becoming increasingly blurred. ■

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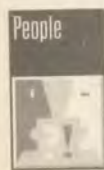
Central Asia



AFGHANISTAN • KAZAKHSTAN
KYRGYZSTAN • MONGOLIA
TAJIKISTAN • TIBET
TURKMENISTAN • UZBEKISTAN
XINJIANG-UYGUR

The now largely forgotten Dutch Orientalist Johan van Manen collected a wealth of material in the fields of Tibetology and Oriental Studies. Thanks to him numerous manuscripts, block-prints, and other objects, are now preserved in Leiden. Only few people know this. Hence this introduction to the public so that we should remind ourselves of the Dutch Orientalist Johan van Manen and the sterling service he rendered Tibetology in particular and Indology in general.

By YANG ENHONG



People know little about the research of Tibetology in the Netherlands and far fewer know of Johan van Manen, the founder of

Tibetology there. I am honoured to have had a chance to visit the University of Leiden and the International Institute for Asian Studies from November 1998 to May 1999, which enabled me to become acquainted with him and his work. During this period, I first came across the name of Johan van Manen when glancing over the rich Tibetologic

material here. This chance encounter aroused my curiosity about this person: a Dutch Orientalist, who had been working in India in the first decades of the twentieth century. I would like to thank the Tibetologists Dr Henk Blezer and Drs Peter Richardus and the Sinologist Drs P.N. Kuiper who have helped me to find material on and to correct my article re-introducing Johan van Manen. Peter Richardus is the author of a biography of Van Manen (Richardus, 1989) and was the first man to introduce Van Manen to the public.

M.A.J. Van Manen (16 April 1877 – 17 March 1943) was born into a well-to-do family at Nijmegen. As a youth he became a follower of Theosophy and was eager to introduce Hinduism and Buddhism to the public in the West. He travelled to Adyar near the South Indian city of Madras to serve as a secretary to Charles W. Leadbeater of the Theosophical Society in 1910. From then on he devoted his life to the cause of Oriental Studies. He acted as the General Secretary of the Theosophical Society and Deputy-Librarian at Adyar (1910-16), as the Librarian of the Imperial Library (1918-22), and as Assistant-in-Charge of the Anthropological and Ethnographic Galleries of the Indian Museum at Calcutta (1922-23). Having been elected General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1923, he dedicated himself to improving the research and daily work of this Society for the next sixteen years. He passed away in India in 1943.

Van Manen had a good knowledge of languages having command of Tibetan, various Indian languages, Sanskrit, and Chinese. His spoken

Lhasa dialect was very pure, compared to that spoken by other foreigners. He did much research while engaged in collecting material on religion, cultural relics, and folklore. His field of interest was very extensive including Buddhism, Hinduism, linguistics, and geography,



The founder of Tibetology in the Netherlands Johan van Manen

as well as the research about the Dao De Jing, by the Chinese philosopher Lao Zi.

The bulk of the materials collected by Van Manen is now preserved in the Kern Institute Library and the National Museum of Ethnology, both at Leiden. His legacy comprises 2105 Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints, 500 South Indian palmleaf manuscripts in Sanskrit (Kern Institute Library), as well as 350 objects, mainly Tibetan Buddhist scroll-paintings and Himalayan ethnographica. He regularly organized exhibitions in Calcutta, introducing the materials to the public and offering them to scholars to facilitate their studies.

Van Manen made good friends with the Tibetan Phun-tshogs Lungstogs and sKar-ma Sumdhon Paul as well as with a Chinese called Ts'anchih Chen. They all worked together during his stay at Darjeeling from 1916-18. Van Manen asked them to write their autobiographies, now published as a valuable source of data (Richardus, 1998). In addition, he asked a Tibetan named Phun-tshogs Lung-rtogs to copy twenty-eight Tibetan manuscripts on to Western paper. These included two volumes (five books) dealing with the Tibetan epic of King Gesar. These old versions are now of enormous benefit to the research into this epic.

Van Manen used to spend the whole of his time at his office, year in year out when he worked in Calcutta. He wrote some 30,000 letters to keep in contact with the members of the society and drew up all the official documents while serving as General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Only twice did he return to his homeland during the thirty-six years of his sojourn in India. The first was for health reasons and to visit his eighty-year old mother. He spent four months in the Netherlands in

1927. The second visit was also for health reasons, and it lasted six months in 1936. Preserving his moral integrity in order to give full play to his professional knowledge, when still a young man, he gave up drink and became a vegetarian. Reading was his only real interest. Keeping a promise was almost sacrosanct to him. He always said: 'A man a man, a word a word'. Being of a friendly disposition, he always helped others when necessary, especially Tibetans. He used to say: 'Hatred is not conquered by hatred, but by love, this is the spirit of an understanding mankind'.

Her Majesty the Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands conferred the rank of Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau on Johan van Manen on 20 August 1937. By so doing the Dutch Head of State gratefully acknowledged everything he had done to add lustre to the name of the Netherlands abroad. It is to be hoped that Van Manen also considered this honour a recognition of his great merits in one of those rare fields in this world which knows no boundaries, the fruits of which have since been harvested by national as well as foreign scientists.

Now more than half a century has passed since his death, people have forgotten the name Johan van Manen. His collections are preserved here in Leiden for the benefit of all

◀ Johan van Manen, c.1898
From: 'The Dutch Orientalist Johan van Manen - His Life and Work'.

who want to use them. We should be grateful to people such as him for contributing to the conservation of human cultural heritage, for the culture of humanity knows no boundaries.

Today, as I read this material, I have grown steadily more aware of Johan van Manen's great qualities as I read this material. I think it is important to research these materials, but it is also important to research van Manen himself.

We should remember and honour him: Johan van Manen, a Dutch Orientalist. ■

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Professor Yang Enhong is attached to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and was an affiliated fellow (KNAW) at the IIAS from 1 November 1998 to 1 May 1999. E-mail: yangenh@public.fhnet.cn.net.

Tibetans 1959-1999: Forty years of colonization

As the title of this volume indicates, it is now forty years since the Chinese communist take-over of Tibet forced the Dalai Lama into exile and transformed Tibet into a colony, but the Tibetan question remains a major issue in China's foreign relations and scholarship on Tibet continues to flourish. This work marks that anniversary but encompasses a far broader scope than is suggested by its title. It brings together six articles by Tibetan specialists, along with an introduction by co-editor Charles Ramble, which discuss major issues of contemporary Tibetan studies, in particular the issue of Tibetan identity.

By ALEX MCKAY



George Dreyfuss demonstrates the significance of events in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in the construction of essential elements of Tibetan Buddhist nationalism, steering us away from narrow Eurocentric definitions of nationalism. Per Kvaerne describes the primary historical features of the Bon faith, the rich (and in some form) in-

digenous Tibetan tradition. Samten Karmay discusses issues of contemporary Bon identity in a conversation with co-editor Katia Buffetrille whose own contribution concerns the role of pilgrimage and sacred mountains in Tibetan identity. This includes an ethnographic account of a contemporary pilgrimage to Amnye Machen, a major sacred mountain site in eastern Tibet. Here and elsewhere, at Mount Kailas and the Halase-Maratike caves in Nepal for example, an ongoing process of 'Buddhization' has occurred, trans-

forming these 'power places' into sacred Buddhist space.

Robbie Barnett takes up the issue of Lhasa's architecture, describing the changes in the Tibetan capital and the implications of the imposition of Chinese models upon traditional Tibetan architecture, particularly in the Barkhor area in the heart of Lhasa. This transformation has distinct political consequences above the wider issues of tradition and modernity in conflict. The final contribution is by Jigme Namgyal, a Lhasa resident since 1951, who bears witness to the tumultuous years of Chinese colonialism, which he compares to that of the Nazis in the Second World War.

This work provides a valuable French-language summary of contemporary work in the field of Tibetan identity, includes maps and a chronology of Tibetan history, and contains much that will stimulate the student and interested reader. ■

Buffetrille, Katia and Charles Ramble (Eds)

TIBÉTAINS 1959-1999:

40 ANS DE COLONISATION

Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1998.

ISSN 0336-5816 ISBN 2-86260-822-X.
120FF.

Dr A.C. McKay is a scholar of Indo-Tibetan frontier history. He lives in New South Wales, Australia.

Ninth Seminar International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS)

In the last week of June 2000 some two to three hundred and fifty members and invitees of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS) are expected gather at Leiden University for their ninth IATS seminar. The seminar is hosted by the International Institute for Asian Studies.

Short News



It all happened in Zürich in the summer of 1977. On the initiative of Per Kværne and Martin Brauen a group of young scholars of Tibet convened for a 'Seminar of Young Tibetologists'. This gathering started off a series of what have now been eight international meetings of Tibet scholars. Over the last twenty years, these seminars have developed into the world's largest convention for such scholars. In 1979 the idea for the International Association for Tibetan Studies promoting the study of Tibet in all its aspects was conceived, and the Zürich initiative was retrospectively recognized as the first seminar (for a brief history of the IATS see IIAS newsletter #17). In 1989, in Japan, during the fifth seminar, the IATS adopted formal statutes and instituted a periodically elected board of advisors and managing officers. This minimal organization serves mainly to guarantee the continuity of the seminars and the publication of its proceedings.

In its seminars the IATS attempts to mobilize the broadest possible basis for Tibetan Studies and to provide a platform for study and discussion running the full gamut of Tibetan cultural phenomena. Though, generally speaking, proficiency in classical and modern Tibetan, or one or the other, may be assumed for most of the participants, the reflection and dialogue with regard to Tibetan culture is attempted from all relevant angles and disciplines of academia, not only via written or spoken Tibetan. The meetings have an informal character and their primary aim is to facilitate and encourage interdisciplinary exchange and international co-operation. The seminars as a whole therefore do not have an overall topic, though specialized workshops and round-table panels are very much encouraged. All participants are generally required to contribute a paper and discuss the latest developments in their own work or project(s).

Invitations to the seminars are extended on the basis of the growing

invitation list of members of the IATS (now numbering to about one thousand members), all of whom have attended at least one previous seminar, yet new people can solicit invitation. Participation of members and new invitees alike is decided mainly on the basis of an abstract that each participant is required to submit. Moreover, new participants are also requested to submit evidence of their academic qualifications (CV, list of Tibetological publications, and the like).

We have been able to witness a steady increase in the participation of Tibetan scholars over the last seminars, especially from T.A.R. and from the P.R.C. in general. The seminars have become a unique and fruitful opportunity for the modern scholarly and academic heirs and representatives of Tibetan culture and 'Western' academics to meet and exchange ideas. Needless to say, this is a fortunate development, which, in spite of the heavy financial burden it puts on the organization of the seminars, deserves to be very much encouraged.

The first circular and pre-registration form for the ninth seminar of the IATS were sent out at the end of January this year. The deadline for pre-registration was 1 May 1999. I should like to request those scholars who have attended an IATS seminar in the past (and are interested in participating in some future seminar), but have not yet received the first circular to inform us of their (new) address. Unfortunately close to one hundred addresses of IATS members were found to be no longer up to date.

Lastly I should like to inform those who intend to participate in the ninth seminar of the IATS that our seminar will coincide with the European soccer championships 2000, which this time also will be held in the Netherlands. If you want to avoid entering into a cheek-by-jowl wrestling match with hooligans and

Dr Henk Blezer

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Dear Editor,



As my review of Nikolai Kuleshov's *Russia's Tibet File* (IIAS Newsletter 13), has attracted responses both from the author (IIASN 17) and from Rene Barendse (IIASN 18), might I as briefly as possible make the following observations.

Professor Kuleshov rightly emphasises Tibetan agency. Tibet under the rule of the 13th Dalai Lama (1895-1933) attempted to develop foreign relations with a number of governments, including Russia. Their understanding of foreign policy was not necessarily identical to the European understanding but Tibet, as the British discovered, was a pawn in no-one's game. My review indicates that I also accept my Russian colleague's primary finding; that Moscow's Foreign Office was not seriously interested in Russian control of Tibet. That does not mean, however, that it was not to their advantage to include Tibet in negotiations as part of a wider agreement with the British over Central Asia. Nor does it mean that other Russian organs of government, and individuals, 'explorers and scientists', and the Tsar himself, had no such interest in Tibet.

My own work on the British imperial presence in Tibet demonstrates that (many) British officials attempted to bring Tibet into closer association with the Government of India and that an informal network of scientists, explorers, travellers, and missionaries all provided information which assisted that aim, including information on Russian activities in the region. Thus, while finding his work stimulating, I remain unconvinced by Professor Kuleshov's statement that 'explorers' and 'scientists' such as Przevalsky and Grombchevsky were not 'Great Game' players. Nineteenth and early twentieth century scientific exploration often contained an

intelligence component, formal or informal, particularly when the scientists were military officers – as most of the Russian 'explorers' were. Perhaps future research in Russian military archives will throw more light on this question.

Dr Barendse takes exception to our use of the term 'Great Game', preferring to follow the usage of some historians of wider imperial policy, (not least Malcolm Yapp). They choose to apply that term to the wider Anglo-Russian strategic struggle, which resulted in the policy by which buffer-states were used to separate the Russian and British empires. But I reject that usage, which, if I may follow Dr Barendse's

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

use of metaphor, is like defining the 'Space Race' as the 'Cold War'.

The term 'Great Game', which is incidentally, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as 'spying' (or golf!), was apparently first used by the British Political Officer, Captain Arthur Conolly. In 1837, he wrote two letters to his fellow 'Political', Lt. Henry Rawlinson, who was then in Kandahar facing a Persian army with Russian 'advisers'. In these letters Conolly wrote that, 'You've a great game, a noble one, before you' and 'If only the British Government would play the grand game'. In the latter part of the nineteenth century this typically Victorian sporting metaphor came into popular usage in imperial and military circles to describe the clandestine Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia, a competition between frontiersmen of both empires for control of the regions between their empires. It was

used in this context in Rudyard Kipling's famous novel, *Kim*, first published in 1901, and it is from this novel that the term passed into common usage.

Tibet was very much the later, and eastern front, of the 'Great Game', which was fought most fiercely in the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, and the use of the phrase for the period after the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention should generally be qualified. But within Tibetan studies the term has never, to the best of my knowledge, meant anything but a frontiersmen's struggle. This can be confirmed by consulting the works of both populists such as Peter Fleming and Peter Hopkirk and specialists such as Alastair Lamb, Patrick French, John Snelling, Lars-Erik Nyman, and many others. Francis Younghusband in particular is universally described as a Great Game player, and his meeting in the Pamirs with Captain Grombchevsky is one of the most famous episodes of the 'Game'.

The policy of 'buffer states' was referred to in British India as the 'system of protectorates' (e.g. by Indian Foreign Secretary, Sir Alfred Lyall), a policy which, as Dr Barendse notes, drew heavily on the precedent of the Roman empire. It was also known, and best described, as the 'Forward policy', in that buffer-states implied an extension of imperial responsibilities beyond existing boundaries. Thus when historians use the term 'Great Game' in the wider context of political policy, they attempt to transform accepted contemporary, academic, and popular meaning for no great purpose. Whether the 'Great Game' was 'myth', as Malcolm Yapp describes it; (Yapp, M., *Strategies of British India*, 1980, p.580) or reality may be debated; its meaning, however, is clearly established and alternative meanings have found little favour. ■

Dr A.C. McKay is the author of

Tibet and the British Raj: The frontier cadre 1904-1947, (Curzon Press, 1997)
and of numerous articles concerning Indo-Tibetan frontier history.

Dear Editor,



In IIAS Newsletter 18 I read R.J. Barendse's critical notes on the discussion between Dr McKay and me (issues 13 and 17). I am grateful for his attention, but I would like to make some remarks.

Neither me, nor McKay, I suppose, wanted to show our wide erudition in policy and history. Our task was limited, namely to discuss the problem of relations between the World Powers and Tibet during the short period of 1900-1915. Barendse extends the discussion to Afghanistan, Mashad, Marw, Napoleon's plans for an Indian and Persian expedition in 1809, the Treaty of Tilzitz, and so forth. I did not wish to discuss these themes as

they are beyond the scope of Tibet, and certainly beyond the scope of my book *Russia's Tibet File*. Moreover comparisons and extrapolations from other cases demand great accuracy and carefulness. Analogies do not prove a case; they merely illustrate it.

Barendse is perhaps convinced that the so-called 'Russian threat to Tibet' and 'the Great Game' were British India's main concerns. Nevertheless he asks himself: 'Why was Tibet included in the negotiations leading to the Triple Entente?' At the beginning of the twentieth century Tibet became subject to outside forces: Younghusband's military expedition and the aggressive troupes of Chao Erfang. The Tibetans then decided to

take destiny into their own hands. Lhasa first tried to establish political ties with Russia, but was turned down by the Russian government. Goldstein (in *A History of Modern Tibet*, 1989, p. 47) wrote: 'The tsar was not interested in getting entangled in the Tibetan situation and returned a polite answer, but no more.' Lhasa then turned to other European countries for support and attracted the attention of the press and the public. Tibet was included in the Anglo-Russian negotiations, not to eliminate the so-called 'Russian threat', but to confirm that there was no Russian threat to Tibet.

I am always happy to read any critical remarks as they help me to fine-tune my arguments on this theme. ■

NICOLAI KULESHOV

Moscow

Insular SW Asia



MADAGASCAR
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Ancestors, Power, and History in Madagascar

Madagascar is often described as the 'island of ancestors'. But what exactly does this evocative turn of phrase mean? In a book to be published by Brill Academic Publishers in May 1999, eleven regional specialists draw on a range of ethnographic and historical data to reassess the significance of ancestors for changing relations of power and emerging identities in Madagascar.

By KAREN MIDDLETON



Madagascar is an island of marked contrasts. Its landscapes range from the rain-forests of the east coast to the arid ecologies of the deep south. Its political and cultural history also shows great diversity. Yet all the peoples of Madagascar are renowned for the prominence they give to the dead. Indeed, there are few monographs on this South West Indian Ocean island that do not emphasize the role ancestors have played and continue to play in Malagasy peoples' lives. Whether studying pre-colonial processes of state formation or describing life in a multicultural migrant town today, researchers are drawn to consider the relationship between the living and the dead.

For anthropologists and historians, this common thread of Malagasy culture can only be the starting-point for analysis. They ask a number of questions. What local models of identity and personhood do ancestors embody? What kinds of agency are vested in living people on account of the powers that are vested in the dead? How does ritual around ancestors engage with history? What part do ancestors play in historical consciousness? What kinds of social and political contradictions might ancestors reveal?

In an edited volume of essays to be published in May, eleven regional specialists, ranging from well-established scholars to PhD students, explore some of these questions through empirical case-studies. Written from a variety of perspectives, they underscore the complexity and variability of Malagasy cultural practice around ancestors, and explore transformations within localized cultural practice over time.

Royal Ancestors

Three chapters explore the meaning of royal rituals past and present for historical agency. Pier Larson (Johns Hopkins University) reconsiders the *Fandroana* or Royal Bath that took place in the capital of the expanding Merina kingdom in 1817. Explicitly playing his historical ap-

proach against anthropologist Maurice Bloch's 'ideal' reading of the ritual, Larson shows how the 1817 performance can only be understood in the broader context of early nineteenth-century southwestern Indian Ocean politics.

One of the challenges for students of northwest Madagascar is to understand why royal ancestors from the precolonial period continue to play such an important role in contemporary identities and political life today. In her essay on succession in an urbanized Sakalava kingdom, Lesley Sharp (Columbia University) highlights some of the paradoxes faced by the Bemazava, a people otherwise renowned for their 'modernity', as they draw upon royal ancestors to situate themselves within the nation-state.

For the Antankaraña, a neighbouring people, 'tradition' is embodied in a ceremonial cycle that culminates in the raising of a mast over the royal capital. Michael Lambek and Andrew Walsh (University of Toronto) explore the key role this ritual cycle, and the historical narrative it enacts, plays in constituting the Antankaraña polity. Addressing contemporary debates around 'ethnicity' in Madagascar, they also argue that

Antankaraña identity is constructed primarily through popular participation in this event.

Ancestors and Power

For many readers, the study of Madagascar will be synonymous with the work of Maurice Bloch (London School of Economics). His often controversial contributions to the anthropology of ideology, ritual, and power have made the Merina of the Highlands familiar to non-specialists. In his chapter in the present volume, Bloch turns his attention to the Zafimaniry. Noting the paradox that violence in young Zafimaniry men is both encouraged and punished, he suggests that their vitality is deliberately constructed so that it can 'eaten' by the elders and the ancestors.

The significance of sacrifice in Madagascar is often overshadowed by more exotic rituals such as the exhumation and reburial of corpses (*famadihana*) or possession by the spirits of dead monarchs (*tomba*). In her essay on the east coast, Jennifer Cole (Harvard University) shows just how important sacrifice, and especially the narrative that precede it, is to the Betsimisaraka social imaginary. She also highlights the ambivalence of ancestral power as it both enables and constrains the existence of the living.

It is important to ask how colonial experience in Madagascar was shaped by a culture in which ancestors are prominent and how this experience shaped ancestors in turn. Examining Karembola narratives relating to the decline of circumcision ritual, Karen



The cow is purified and marked with white clay ('tany mavo') prior to a 'Betsimisaraka' sacrifice.

Middleton points up the highly deceptive, multivocal role ancestors may play in Malagasy historical consciousness. Ostensibly a register of powerlessness at the hand of French colonizers, the uncircumcized body is also a idiom for reclaiming Karembola history and identity.

A similarly complex play between passivity and activity also preoccupies Karina Hested Skeie (University of Oslo) in her work on nineteenth-century Norwegian missionaries to Madagascar. Focusing on the mission-station and its symbolic contradictions, Skeie shows the difficulties the missionaries had in articulating visible embodied practice with invisible spiritual power, and openness with closure, as they sought to build 'God's kingdom' in the unfamiliar cultural landscapes of Madagascar.

Ancestors, Memory, and Slaves

Everyone today seems to be talking about memory, in Madagascar studies as in history and anthropology generally. In most parts of the island, 'history' or memory of the ancestors is closely linked to privilege; indeed,

in many Malagasy dialects both are known by the same term. Not everyone can claim history, and history is often a matter for intense conflict, as three chapters on the cultural politics of ancestors in the Highlands make clear.

The chapter by Sandra Evers (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam) is particularly poignant because it documents the re-construction of slavery in the southern Highlands, one century after manumission and four decades after Independence. It shows how established members of rural communities exploit cultural idioms of ancestors and tombs to further their own interests by turning later incomers into 'slaves'. It also charts the obstacles young 'slave' men encounter when they migrate to towns in the hope of escaping this ascribed identity and the social exclusion it brings.

The manipulation of seemingly enduring symbols of ancestors and tombs in the context of social competition also interests the historian Françoise Raison-Jourde (Université de Paris 7). Fieldwork in a village in rural Imerina over several decades has enabled her to chart on-going processes of 'historical bricolage' as local factions struggle to gain control of sacred places and to re-order their communities against the backdrop of a socialist revolution and economic reforms imposed by the World Bank/IMF.

The theme of painful memories is taken up by David Graeber (Yale University) in a chapter that looks at how descendants of former slaves in Imerina cope with the cultural legacy of the past. He documents the various ways in which people, who epitomize the condition of being 'lost to the ancestors', reconstruct their identities and reclaim their power to speak. ■



The 'mpisoro' (priest) is seated on the threshold of his dwelling; his adjunct anoints family members with the blood of the slaughtered ox.

'Ancestors, Power and History in Madagascar', edited by Karen Middleton, will be published in May 1999 by Brill Academic Publishers in the Studies of Religion in Africa Series, Leiden: Brill, 348 pp. + illust. ISBN 9004112898, Price: NGL 160,- US 94.50.

South Asia



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NEPAL

Problems of Democracy in South Asia

Democracy in South Asia is facing innumerable hurdles such as the problems of free and fair elections and of corrupt politicians whose immoral behaviour constantly undermines the stability of the government. For instance, corruption charges levelled against the former prime minister, Narasimha Rao (Congress I), Tamil Nadu chief minister, Jayalalita, Bihar chief minister, Lalu Prasad Yadav, the former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, of Pakistan, the boycott of the previous parliament by the opposition parties on charges of electoral fraud in Bangladesh, and ethnic as well as electoral violence are genuine examples of the problems of democracy in South Asia.

■ By PANCHAN. MAHARJAN



Nepal once again restored parliamentary democracy in 1990 through a people's movement, ending thirty years of autocratic rule (previously, it had enjoyed democracy for 18 months in 1959). The restoration of a parliamentary system marked a new beginning in Nepalese politics. Over the last eight years, Nepal's experience with democracy

has witnessed some major events, trends, and developments. Some of these were the promulgation of a new constitution in 1990, which provided a polity based on a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy; general elections and the formation of a majority government in the Nepali Congress (NC) in 1991; the dissolution of the House of Representatives in 1994, leading to a mid-term poll which produced a hung parliament. The formation of the subsequent minority and coalition govern-

ments which have succeeded each other since 1994, has been the outcome of that hung parliament. In the power equation, most of the political parties in parliament have not shunned 'dirty games' (offering bribes, 'kidnapping' and sending MPs abroad at the time of a no-confidence motion) simply to acquire power. In fact, the hung parliament has proved an unfortunate state of affairs for the democratic process in Nepal because unscrupulous politicians have thereby obtained sufficient space to play their dirty games in parliament. These developments have not only made politicians more corrupt, they have indisputably polluted the democratic process. Undeniably, they have stimulated public debate on the quality of leadership, the role of political parties, and the performance of the government. However, because the new hopes and aspirations raised in the people by the People's Movement in 1990 have been shattered by

these developments, people have started to question whether democracy can survive in this situation.

The dirty politics played out in parliament to acquire power have been guided by inter-party and intra-party conflicts which overshadowed the main national problems: price rises, corruption, unemployment, insecurity, politicization, ethnic problems, and a Maoist insurgency. These problems have emerged as serious impediments to consolidating democracy in Nepal, because of the ignorance of politicians in matters other than their own power game.

If these problems continue to be underestimated by the politicians, and if the democratic system fails to deal with the welfare of the people in general this will surely prove unfortunate for the consolidation of democracy in the future. The majority of the people are living below the poverty line and concerned with their own hand-to-mouth existence rather than with democracy. As history has shown once before, by manipulating the attitude of the leaders, the king could postpone democratic elections until 1958 and could dismiss the democratic system after 18 months in power. Hopefully, it will not happen again. But, the Brahmin-controlled bureaucracy and the political parties exacerbate the situation by their arrogant attitude towards ethnic groups

and stir up demands like: language rights, local autonomy on the basis of ethnicity, an upper house of parliament as a house of nationalities, a federal state, and so on and so forth. As a result of the Maoist insurgency, more than 600 people have already been killed. In a reaction to this, some of the old guard of the previous autocratic regime have begun to ask the king to involve himself directly in politics. As matters stand, the outlook is bleak, but this does not spell the end of all hope. The ordinary people, including intellectuals, have begun to express the idea that only Maoism has the clout to control corrupt politicians. People have grown weary of these politicians and have started to express their disillusionment with democracy, stating that all it means is 'for the parties, by the parties, and of the parties'. Therefore, the main problem of democracy in Nepal is the undemocratic culture pursued by the politicians themselves. Democracy can only be consolidated if politicians are prepared to pull up their socks and confront their own immorality. ■

This article is an abstract of a lecture delivered by Pancha N. Maharjan at IIAS on February 5, 1999. Dr Pancha N. Maharjan was an IIAS senior visiting fellow from 1 January to 15 February 1999. He can be reached at cnastu@htp.com.np.

28 > 31 DECEMBER 1998
CHENNAI, INDIA

International Conference Skanda-Murukan

Even if the Hindu gods Skanda and Murukan remain distinct for academic purposes, they have a great many mythological traits in common. And to argue about these popular Saivite gods, about twenty European and North Indian scholars joined over a hundred Tamil academics and devotees, both from Tamil Nadu and the diaspora, to accept the open-armed hospitality of the Institute of Asian Studies (IAS).

■ By T. WIGNESAN



The cultural programmes of Carnatic music, popular dramas, featuring Lord Murukan in his Casanova-role with his spouses Valli and Teivanai, and the free sumptuous feeding of participants, together with the grandiose opening ceremony soon turned the conference into a typical Tamil religious festival. If anything, the festive atmosphere took precedence over the more serious business of the discussion during which the participants quite often burst into *tevarams* (hymns) in honour of Murukan.

No other people maintains a more intimate relationship with Murukan than the Tamils. To understand the influence Murukan wields in Tamil society, it is necessary to examine some imaginative claims. Even if the over sixty-million Tamils spread out over the world today find a common cause in Murukan, albeit an ethno-political cause, the iconoclastic anticlerical followers of Periyar E.V.S. Ramasamy and the atheistic *ajivika(s)* would earnestly beg to differ. To the visionary founder-director of the IAS, Dr G. John Samuel, a Methodist from Nagercoil, Tamil Nadu, the conference was intended to bring Tamils closer together at a time when they sought permanent attachments else-

where. 'Murukan serves as a unifying symbol, for he is a cultural hero of the Tamils. The newly founded International Association for the Study of Skanda-Murukan augurs well for Tamil unity,' he felt.

Who is Murukan? Or indeed Skanda? Both 'deities' have several names. Murukan, the Dravidian god: *Sanmukam, Arumukam, Velan; Skanda, the Aryan counterpart: Kartikeya, Subramanya, Kumara, and so on.* P. Marudhanayagam recounted the myth of Murukan being reincarnated as the saintly Tamil mediaeval poet, *Nanacampantar*, and Skanda as the eighth-century anti-Buddhist, *Kumarila Bhatta*.

In Hindu mythology, Murukan is the second son of the destroyer-creator Siva who, together with the creator, Brahma, and the preserver, Vishnu, forms the Hindu Trinity of supreme gods. In the course of Tamil imaginative development, Murukan usurps his father's place in the cultus, and Saivism, the principal Tamil religion, advocates enraptured worship of Murukan. To make this ontologically possible, Murukan is first 'humanized'. Early in classical Tamil *cankam* literature, he features as a handsome hunter-warrior and lover.

At the same time, the Murukan myths spun themselves into *puranam(s)*, the repository of Hindu Olympian sagas. In a dramatic episode, the sulking child Murukan is

depicted as having forsaken his parents, Siva and Parvati, out of resentment of the latter's preferential treatment of his elder brother, Ganesha, and he went to reside all alone at Palani Hill, one of the six pilgrimage centres or Murukan houses.

Six Faces

At the conference serious scholars made sincere attempts to explain the myth and cult of Murukan, while starry-eyed devotees, among them *swamis, sadhus, and acharyas*, sang the praises of their Lord whom they even deigned to address as lovers. Skanda and Murukan, however, are portrayed as a 'human' with six pairs of arms and six faces. The diaspora Tamils mainly described the celebration of *Taipusam* in their countries when devotees publicly performed *kavari*, the carrying of wooden arches supported by steel spikes driven into bare bodies, and other feats like walking barefoot on beds of smouldering embers, or undertaking long treks to centres of Murukan worship.

The bulk of the papers sought to define and elucidate the Murukan cultus by attributing *thamaturgic* powers to the god. Murukan temples built in mediaeval times came under special scrutiny, their history, architecture, and sculpture in particular. Raju Kalidos detailed the Skanda-Murukan iconography. Attempts were also made to trace Murukan's prehis-

toric origins and his role in classical literature. In short, the propagation of the myth and cult reinforced the deification process throughout the ages. The foremost authority on the subject, Fred W. Clothey, however, was not present.

I. Mahadevan, Raju Ponnudurai, and Poorna Chandraseva made much of the deciphering of the Indus script and seals to proclaim the ancestry of the Tamil Murukan tradition. Their papers validated the views held by the first excavating archaeologists John Marshall and Ernest MacKay insofar as the phallic *lingam* symbol of the Indus Valley Civilization could be associated with a seated (*lotus asana*) destroyer deity, the later Siva.

R. Champakalakshmi averred that the universalization of the Murukan cult made the tribal heroic warrior deity of the *cankam* classics into a transcendental god. Since the motherless Skanda, as legend has it, was begot only through Siva's sperm, S. Krishnaraja extrapolated the Skanda myth in terms of a mythological description of the victory of patriarchal authority of the *deva(s)* (Aryans) over the matriarchal system of the *asura(s)* (Dravidians).

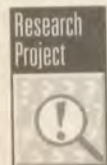
Seventh House

In Kundalini yoga, the seventh *cakra* called *sahasrara* is the region of Siva or pure consciousness where the devotee merges with the Infinite in

North Kerala, India Visualizing the Teyyam Ritual

Last December, a video produced by the Leiden University Department of Visual Ethnography won an award for excellence from the Society for Visual Anthropology (American Anthropological Association). This was not a surprise to those who had seen the video at previous exhibitions, e.g. *Film South Asia 97* (25-28 October 1997, Kathmandu, Nepal) and *Film South Asia* at the ICAS (25-28 June 1998, Noordwijkerhout, Netherlands), as almost everyone has been very impressed by the film.

By ERIK DE MAAKER & NETTY BONOUVRIÉ



Made by Erik de Maaker, the film *Teyyam: the annual visit of the god Vishnumurti* provides a 57-minute account of a Teyyam, a North Kerala Hindu ritual of possession. The video film exposes the structure of the ritual, while attempting to provide some sort of understanding of the Teyyam performers' and devotees' personal involvement in the ritual. The jury of the Society for Visual Anthropology wrote: 'In the course of this documentation of a village ritual, we are informed on many levels. The Teyyam performers are seen first as lower caste individuals, conscientiously preparing their costumes and make-up; then transformed by their role into the god himself. The anthropologist/camera-man clearly knew when and where to film to communicate this complex event.'

The most Teyyam rituals are performed as part of annual festivals held at small village shrines. All major communities with the excep-

tion of brahmins maintain such temples. The shrines are dedicated to violent deities, often demanding offerings like sacrificed chickens and palm wine. As the priests of the Teyyam temples always come from the community of the temple owners, brahmins are not involved in the puja which is held. Each temple festival involves performances of a number of Teyyam rituals, every single one dedicated to a specific god. Using props, costumes and make-up, a ritual specialist, a Teyyam performer, dresses up as the deity concerned and is possessed by him or her. Then, by making offerings, devotees are able to consult the deity about their concerns in everyday life. The deity is incarnated by a performer belonging to a scheduled caste, who thus acquires a position superior to that of the devotees during the ritual. As these devotees consist of people from higher as well as lower castes, the rituals to some extent include a reversal of social statuses.

In the 1970-s, authors like the Kerala historian K.K.N. Kurup (1977, 1986) lamented that the days of Teyyam numbered, describing it as a 'vanishing cult'. At that time, in the wake of relatively far-reaching land reforms, previously existing sponsorship for the rituals' performances was waning. With many temples short of funds, annual festivals were scaled down or even discontinued. However, throughout the 1980-s and 1990-s, important transformations have taken place with respect to temple management and funding. Once temples were managed and sponsored primarily by landed families, now multi-caste temple boards have taken over responsibility. Dominated by the most prosperous communities, these have often been highly successful in attracting donations from a wide range of devotees (including Christians and Muslims).

Establishing contact

The performance of Teyyam rituals is primarily the work of ritual specialists, Teyyam performers. They work in groups consisting of male kinsman. Throughout North Kerala, there are dozens of such groups. Some two months preceding the recording of the video, De Maaker, at that time an anthropology student, became acquainted with the Pallai. Consisting of 20-odd members, the group performed Teyyams at shrines spread out over a large area. They informed him about forthcoming temple festivals, among them the festival held at the temple at Nattakal, where Teyyam: the

annual visit of the god Vishnumurti was recorded. Vishnumurti is worshipped at numerous temples throughout North Kerala, and is one of the most prominent Teyyam gods. Before recording the film, De Maaker observed several performances of the Vishnumurti Teyyam.

On two occasions, video recordings were made which covered the rituals full length. When logging these recordings and later discussing them with the Teyyam performers, he attempted to understand which parts were crucial to the structure of the ritual. As the rituals follow a set protocol quite strictly, this analysis served to formulate a list of sequences that ought to be included in the film, as well as concomitant camera positions. Days before the festival, De Maaker went with C.K. Rajen (field assistant, interpreter) to see Mr Damoderen, the then chairman of the Nat-



A Teyyam ritual for the God Vishnumurti. Possessed by the God a performer dances in front of a shrine.

takal temple board, and asked his permission to make video recordings at the festival. Having consulted other members of the temple committee permission was granted, on condition that no hindrance would be caused to the conduct of the ritual.

The committee members' concern was obvious, as in their efforts to achieve aesthetically satisfactory results, previous filmmakers covering Teyyam had generally intervened drastically. Often large camera platforms were built, floodlights installed, and performers as well as devotees directed. De Maaker assured them that he did not intend to make such intrusions, as he wanted to record the ritual as much as possible as it happened. The only additional lighting which would be used was a high-pressure paraffin lamp, of a type very common in the region. A few shots were taken standing on a chair, but for the rest no aids were used.

All recordings were made with one camera, operated by De Maaker. The sound recording was done by Lisa van Hamel, while C.K. Rajen acted as lighting and production assistant.

Part of the crowd?

Like most Teyyam performers, the Pallai are becoming increasingly aware of the artistic skills they possess. Making the film was a confirmation of this for them. Earlier, they had

been shown video recordings we had made and had been offered a look through the camera's viewfinder. Apparently, this familiarized them to a certain extent with the idea of film-making. The film team's relationship with the devotees present at the festival was naturally quite different. In advance of the festival, De Maaker and C.K. Rajen had paid only a brief visit to the village, and people were thus unacquainted with the team. However, as the team took up residence at the temple in the hut built for the Pallai and kept its equipment in their custody, it somehow came to be thought of as an extension of their group. As a result, people accepted the film-making. What probably helped is that the Nattakal Teyyam festival is very much an effort of the larger village community. The rituals are not held in seclusion, but are meant to be seen, to be exposed. Film-making does not conflict with this attitude. In fact, it fits in rather well.

The ultimate test

As part of research conducted in 1997, the finished film was screened for the Teyyam performers, temple committee members, and devotees in general. They were all quite aware of the fact that the film would be seen in other parts of India, and even abroad. Thus, although the film was appreciated as a whole, they were keen to



The God Vishnumurti acts and speaks by means of the Teyyam performer. Here Ramakrishna, performer, applies make-up to transform himself to God.

point out mistakes they considered had been made in the performance of the ritual, and examined the construction of the film critically. Young members of the temple committee observed changes which had taken place in the conduct of the ritual in the decade that had passed since the film was recorded and when it was edited. Some even said seeing the ritual shown in the film was an example, a blueprint maybe, of how the ritual ought to be performed in Nattakal.

The outcome of the research will be published in an ethnographic film monograph and study guide (*Teyyam: the annual visit of the god Vishnumurti* reviewed - forthcoming), which as such will complement the video film. ■

TEYYAM: THE ANNUAL VISIT OF THE GOD VISHNUMURTI

is distributed by Documentary Educational Resources, 101 Morse Street, Watertown, Massachusetts 02472-2554, USA. Web catalogue: <http://der.org/docued>.

Research carried out preceding the making of *Teyyam: the annual visit of the god Vishnumurti* and after, was made possible thanks to grants from the University of Amsterdam (1988) and the Leiden University Research School CNWS (1997). A grant was awarded by the J. Gonda-Fund (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences - KNAW), which enabled us to edit the film.

Erik de Maaker works as a research fellow of the Dutch National Science Foundation on lifecycle rituals and social structure among the Garo in Meghalaya (India).

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Dr T. Wignesan (Wignesh@aol.com) served with the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and taught courses at the Sorbonne.

7 > 11 DECEMBER 1998
NEW DELHI, INDIA

Indo-Portuguese History, Science, Technology, and Culture

The Indian National Science Academy (INSA) in New Delhi hosted the IXth International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History, Science, Technology, and Culture (15th to 18th centuries). It was sponsored by the Indian National Commission for History of Science with contributions from the Portuguese Centre of the Embassy of Portugal in New Delhi. The seminar marked a departure from the precedents set at the previous seminars in the series. The thrust of this seminar was in sectors such as science, technology, and material culture viewed from the perspective of interaction, exchange, and assimilation.

By JAN BROUWER

Report

The seminar evolved around the themes: Early Interactions; Science and Society; Science and Technology; and Cultural Interaction. In the inaugural session, the convenor of the Organizing Committee, Professor S. Sriramachari, and the leader of the Portuguese delegation, Dr Antonio Hespanha, drew attention to the importance of simultaneous in-depth technological studies and to those studies that place their findings in a wider cultural context. The INSA President, Professor S. Varadarajan, announced the publication of a remarkable book: 'The Rahmani of M.P. Kunkunhi Malmi', or 'A Traditional Sailing Manual of Lakshadweep'.

In the session on Early Interactions, Professor Rosa Maria Perez (University of Lisbon) questioned the conventional way of studying Christianity in Goa, urging that the nature of the cultural encounter of

Hinduism and Christianity be rethought.

Professor Jaweed Ashraf's (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) contribution in the session on Crop Introductions and Interactions in Medicine was thought-provoking. He argued that 'nowhere in India the conditions required for plant introductions according to contemporary Indian and European norms could be fulfilled until about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is unreasonable to assume that any European power in India was deeply interested in such introductions for the simple reason that they would not have been in their own economic interests without full imperial economic and administrative consolidation.' His paper for the first time reveals Persian-language Portuguese sources about New World plants in traditional India.

In the session on medicine, the discussions focused on the impact of Dutch, French, and Portuguese emigrants on medicine and medical treatment in sixteenth-century India.

A few participants highlighted the interactions and exchange of medical knowledge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the wider context of Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Arab poems

The papers in the session on Navigation and Instrumentation were of very high quality. Dr Michel Nieto (Institute Français d'Etudes arabes de Damas, Damascus) presented the paper 'The Arab Nautical Tradition in the Indian Ocean'. The originality of this contribution lies in the sources used: two Arab poems of 29 and 64 stanzas respectively, which Nieto translated and interpreted not only as a scholar, but also as an avid sailor. To check the contents of the poems which are dated between AD 1802 and AD 1805, Nieto used the 'earth' method of navigation completed by the 'sea and star' method. He also made use of modern astronomical programmes for computers. The poems give valuable information about the extraordinary tradition of Arab navigation and enable us to understand how, three centuries later, this tradition resisted the modern influence of Western navigation.

Dr Lotika Varadarajan (INSA, New Delhi) presented a detailed paper entitled 'Indian Rutters - the Indigenous Tradition'. She concluded that although three predominant sets of maritime tradition existed in the Indian Ocean: the Arab, the Indian, and the Chinese, there was an under-

lying similarity in approach with regard to direction-finding through azimuthal start charts and ancillary instrumentation and with regard to the determination of latitude on the basis of the altitude of the pole star. It is not clear, given the greater star visibility in the Indian Ocean, whether instruments such as kamal and balisti obviated the use of the compass in these waters. The compass, which indicated direction rather than location, was more useful in a culture like that of Europe in which maritime charts, such as the Portulano, could be utilized as a tool for direction fixation. It may have been this basic similarity which allowed regional schools of navigation to develop.

'Conversion'

The most inspiring session covered theoretical issues, language, food, and architecture. Three contributions provoked a lively debate: Dr Manuel Lobato's (Lisbon University) discussion of European perceptions of Nature and Culture in the Maluku Archipelago (Indonesia) in the early modern period; Dr Bhaskar Mukhopadhyaya's (Calcutta) examination of the question of the Other; and Dr Brouwer's (CARIKS, Mysore) on Indigenous Knowledge and Cultural Interaction. Dr Mukhopadhyaya argued that the question of the cognitive superiority of the West did not determine the parameters of contact or interaction, at least not in Bengal. He focused on the cultural construction of the pre-modern European Other in Bengali culture. He called for a historiographical revision of the conventional wisdom about the Portuguese impact in Bengal. His argument tallied with that of Dr Brouwer who argued that cultural interaction is also an interaction of knowledge systems. Based on the axiom that 'thinking' precedes 'doing', he put forward the idea that acceptance or rejection has its roots in the conceptualizations of the local knowledge system concerned. His analysis of case studies on corrup-

tion, Christianity, and conversion in the 16th century Goa showed that knowing the concepts behind practices on either side of the encounter leads to an understanding of the interaction. He questioned the conventional use of the term 'conversion'. The issue then is whether conversion of faith, for whatever reason, is also a conversion of world view and perception. The debate following this paper concluded that more attention should now be paid to the linkages between technology and mentality. Dr Brouwer's plea for serious attention to be given to oral tradition was supported in particular by participants who study navigation and shipbuilding.

In the concluding panel session, Dr Lotika Varadarajan proposed a resolution on the protection of maritime (under water) cultural heritage to be presented to UNESCO. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The seminar was overwhelming in its scope and depth. Almost all contributions were of high quality. The Organizing Committee have to be complimented for having brought together such a large group of original scholars from India, France, Portugal, and Sweden. They have definitely succeeded in opening new vistas on Indo-Portuguese History. The papers will be published by the INSA later this year. ■

Dr Jan Brouwer is the Director of the Centre for Advanced Research on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (CARIKS) in Mysore, India. He can be reached at cariks@bgl.vsnl.net.in.

3 > 7 OCTOBER 1999
HEIDELBERG, GERMANY

Western India and the Indian Ocean

By PETER FLÜGEL & HELENE BASU

Call for Papers

The rapid social changes that were generated by the recent opening up of India to the world market, the increasing influence of a growing diaspora of non-resident Indians (NRI), and of cultural nationalist politics, pose fresh problems for South Asian Anthropology, which, until recently treated South Asia as a coherent civilizational unit in virtual isolation from the rest of the world. With the increasing awareness of the dynamics of imperialism and orientalism as two-way interactive processes, and

the growing interest in the impact of international trade and migration on the already existing transregional networks (business, administration, military, religion), in the last decade, perspectives began to shift from the comparative study of civilizations, to the interaction between the local and the global.

Within this context, the anthropological study particularly of the coastal regions of Western India, which are traditional sites of interaction between the Subcontinent and the West (Africa, the Middle East and Europe), acquires new relevance. The importance of establish-

ing Western India and the Indian Ocean as an analytic field for anthropological research derives from the necessity to study empirically the interaction between local, regional, national, and global social dynamics. Western India as a category was once employed by the British colonial administration, but abolished after Indian Independence both by administrators and researchers, only to be revived as a field of study by historians such as K.N. Chaudhuri, who sensed that, already in pre-colonial times the Indian ocean had its own unity, a distinct sphere of influence. Means of travel, movements of peoples, economic exchange, climate, and his-

torical forces created elements of cohesion. Religion, social systems, and cultural traditions, on the other hand provided the contrasts. Looking at Western India from the point of view of its historical integration in global networks of trade and migration generates new perspectives on the production of local culture in the context of Indian society. However, with few exceptions, anthropological studies of processes of globalization and cultural interaction in South Asia are still missing. This panel intends to bring together scholars working in various fields of Western India, especially history, social anthropology, and gender. We would like to invite contributions on a broad spectrum of topics that currently dominate academic discussions of Western India such as the split image of trade and kingship; connections between trading patterns (including the slave-trade) and religious affiliation; interdependencies between migration, pilgrimage, religious reform and religious nationalism; a reconsideration of caste, class and gender; issues of globalization, modernization and

identity; and of the impact of modern technology and the media. In addition, we address scholars working on related subjects within the context of the Asian Diaspora in East Africa, the Middle East and other regions bordering the Indian Ocean and beyond. ■

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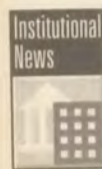
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An unknown source of Asian art information Photographic Prints at the Kern Institute Leiden

Besides books, rare books, manuscripts, and epigraphical rubbings, the Kern Institute possesses an impressive collection of 19th and 20th century photographic prints (70,000). They all deal with the art and archaeology of South and Southeast Asia. In January 1999 the Photographic Project Kern Institute Leiden was launched, with the aim of preserving the prints and of making this enormous potential of visual information accessible to the public. Ten thousand of the oldest prints have been digitalized; relevant information on all prints will be searchable using a database in two and a half years from now.

By GERDA THEUNS-DE BOER



When the Kern Institute was founded in Leiden in 1925, the board announced with great pride that it could provide the Institute with an interesting scientific collection of photographs. In those days when travel was far more difficult this would enable the students and scholars of Indology to study Asian art and material culture in a much broader sense. Looking at the list of board members it is not surprising they succeeded so well, as it bares the names of some well-known international scholars. Prof. J.Ph. Vogel (1871-1958), chairman, was both a Sanskritist and archaeologist. His links with the Archaeological Survey of India were very strong, as he himself had held various positions within the Survey in the period 1901-1914, ranging from Superintendent of the Northern Circle to Deputy Director General; Prof. N.J. Krom, vice-chairman, the most important scholar and the leading author of that time on Hindu-Javanese art and Borobudur; Lt. Col. Th. Van Erp, member, the surveyor who produced the architectural drawings of Borobudur, and Dr F.D.K. Bosch, appointed commissioner for the Netherlands Indies. Thanks to their scientific fame and widespread networks, they built up an impressive collection of 40,000 prints. Besides this active contribu-

tion, most of the scholars later bequeathed the Institute their private photo collections.

At present, we can - roughly speaking - distinguish 4 groups of photographs:

1. 19th Century Indonesian photographs: The first group comprises the work of Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905); Series Antiquities of Java I and II (officially produced between 1863 and 1867) and the Borobudur Series (1873-1874). Looking at the relatively minor deterioration, it is hard to believe that these albumen prints were produced some 125 years ago. The second big name is Kassian Cephass (1844-1912), court-photographer to the sultan of Yogyakarta, who was responsible for the Prambanam Series in 1889 and the Borobudur plinth Series in 1890. Whereas the work of Isidore van Kinsbergen is almost complete, the Cephass collection is complete.
2. 20th Century Indonesian photographs: Mainly consisting of the Prof. Krom collection and the photographic prints of the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands Indies, taken between 1901 and 1941; later continued by the Indonesian Archaeological Service between 1945 and 1955. Although the collection does have gaps, most of the 21,855 Leiden originals

are kept in the Kern Institute. In the early nineties they were all safely stored, duplicated, and made accessible within a database by the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania.

3. 19th and 20th Century South and Southeast Asian photographs from the Prof. Vogel collection. Although the main focus is pre-partition India, there are also splendid old prints of Burma and Sri Lanka. It is a surprising mixture, ranging from: How on earth did we come by this? to the more systematic excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India in modern North Pakistan in the 1870-s.
4. 20th Century photographs of the former Institute of Asian Art and Archaeology in Amsterdam. This 'modern collection' (1960-1980) has been built up systematically and with great care. In ca 34,000 prints, South and Southeast Asian art is presented in photographs taken on location and from museum and private art collections.

Preservation

In order to protect but at the same time to be able to study a print to ensure the least amount of damage, each one is stored in a transparent polyester sleeve, prepared by a photographic manufacturer. This container is perfectly safe, but the relative humidity should be watched with great care. If the rate is very high, then the gelatine present in most of the prints made after 1900, could become soft. In order to avoid any possible (small) change of the electrostatic charge of the sleeve, the prints are stored in 6 cm. high boxes, thereby also avoiding the effect of pressure by 'overweight'. The prints are stored



▲ Reverse view of the upper body part of the Baroda colossus, India, 1st cent. BC. The black curtain has been hung to create a neutral background. ASI 1911-12, nr. 1330. Silver Gelatine Developing Out Paper.



◀ Triple-headed Shiva, AD 9th, Rajasthan, India. Print ca. 1915. Celloidin Paper, toned.

horizontally. The boxes are manufactured according to the PAT (Photographic Activity Test) standard. All older prints are stored in an acclimatized room on metal shelves with a baked-enamel finish. The Relative Humidity is kept at 40%, the temperature at 19°C. Although for these prints it is best not to exceed 18°C, it is even more important to keep humidity and temperature constant all the year round. The environmental control also includes air filtration.

The Kern Photographic Database

The information system, called Skopeo, has been developed by the Netherlands Institute for Scientific Services (NIWI). Skopeo consists of a

description, a thesaurus, and an access module. The modules work in a Windows-NT client-server environment. The data are stored in an SQL-server database. The 25 description fields are split up into registrational, phototechnical, and subject fields, based on common photo catalogue systems and adjusted to the Kern Institute collection. In order to make the data entry as efficient as possible, incremental field lists are available in the description module. The 10,000 oldest prints are digitalized with a resolution of 300 dpi and stored as a jpeg-compressed image. CD-ROM backups are available. Skopeo contains image manipulation functions, like zooming and contrast enhancement in order to get better access to the details of the digital photo. The system supports the TCP/IP network protocol which makes it possible to create an Internet access to the database and images.

The photographic Project is financed by the Mondriaan and the Jan Gonda Foundations. ■

◀ General view of the remains of the Buddhist monastery at Takhti-Bahi, Pakistan, AD 1st-4th cent. Frontier Circle 1910-11, nr. 767. Gelatine Printing Out Paper, toned.

Drs Gerda Theuns-de Boer,
project manager at the Kern Institute,
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Dear Editor,

Letter to
the Editor

I am a research fellow at the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris. My subjects are history and anthropology, and my fields Tibet and especially Bhutan, where I spent and still spend a considerable amount of time: ten years from 1981 to 1991, and three months every year since then. I have received the IAS Newsletter for at least four years. Not only do I enjoy reading it, I also find it an invaluable source of information on Asia, given the high academic standards of the contributors. These details are, I think, necessary to explain my surprise at reading, in IAS Newsletter 18, the article (p. 19) entitled 'Bhutanese refugees: middle of nowhere' by Rajesh Giri.

From the title, I thought this would be an assessment of the situation of the refugees who have been in the camps in Nepal since 1990/91, and whose predicament, which nobody contests, should be solved as quickly as possible. In fact, the article is an undisguised attack

on Bhutan, and is ridden with errors of historical and ethnic fact. I would like to mention a few of them:

1. Mr Giri writes that 'the Drukpas form 20% of the population, occupy the northern part of Bhutan and speak Dzongkha. Sharchops of Indo-Burmese origin, in the eastern region constitute around 30% of the population. The Nepalese speaking people of Indo-Aryan origin, the Lhotsampas make up about half of the population.'

The term Drukpa, a complex blanket term, has three meanings in Bhutan today: a) it is the name of the State school of Buddhism; b) it is the official Dzongkha term for all Bhutanese citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin; c) it designates all people of Tibetan and Tibeto-Burmese origin living in central and northern Bhutan and practising Buddhism. Therefore the Sharchops are also considered, and they consider themselves, Drukpas. To say that the Sharchops are of Indo-Burmese origin has no meaning as this classification simply does not exist.

They are of Tibeto-Burmese origin and do constitute 30% of the population.

Northern Bhutan is sparsely populated by pastoralists who are of Tibetan descent, speak dialects of Dzongkha, and are called by the generic term of 'Bjop'. To say that the king belongs to the Drukpa group of northern Bhutan, is therefore a terminological error as the ethnic description leading to this statement is inaccurate.

As for the Lhotsampas, the Dzongkha term for 'people of the

LETTER
TO THE
EDITOR

southern border', although they are all called Nepalese (another complex blanket term), they are not all, as Mr Giri assumes, of Indo-Aryan origin and Hindu. A part of them are, but what about the groups of Tibeto-Burmese origin like the Lepcha, Limbu, Rai, Gurung, and Newar? Most of them are Hindu but a few are Christians or Buddhist. There are

also the groups of even more direct Tibetan descent like the Sherpa and Tamang, who are also Buddhist. The 'Nepalese' population of Bhutan is far from being unified and to say that they are all Indo-Aryan and Hindu seems to me a very light assessment.

2. To say that 'Other than members of the ruling feudal class, no person may become a member of the National Assembly' is a factual error. It is also an insult to the Lhotsampas ('Nepalese') living in Bhutan and who have members representing them in the National Assembly.

3. Contrary to what Mr Giri says, contacts with foreign countries were never cut off and media were not dismantled. In fact the weekly newspaper 'Kuensel' never ceased, even for one week, to publish its Nepalese edition, and the daily radio (BBS) programme in Nepalese was never dismantled. Major Western publications such as 'Newsweek' and 'Time' were always available, as well as all the Indian magazines and newspapers.

4. Nepalese is in daily use all over Bhutan and is one of the languages at the National Assembly as well as at the Court of

Justice. If Nepalese is not encouraged in the schools, it is the same with other languages such as Bumthangkha and Sharchopkha, in order to promote Dzongkha as a national language.

5. Contrary to what Mr Giri says, Bhutan has, for several years, regularly received delegations of the UNHCR, the Red Cross, and the UN Working Group for Arbitrary Detention in order to discuss the issues of refugees and prisoners, as well as to seek advice on reform of the judicial system. As for Amnesty International, a delegation visited Bhutan as recently as November 1998, and travelled to eastern and southern Bhutan.

Because of its high standard, I have always considered the IAS Newsletter as a forum where academics can debate their ideas, but never thought it was a political tribune for the spreading of biased information. Therefore I feel it is my duty as a historian and an anthropologist to correct some of the errors found in this article, which project an inaccurate picture of Bhutan to readers. ■

DR FRANÇOISE POMMARET

The Author Replies

Letter to
the Editor

Thank you for your response to my article 'Bhutanese refugees: Middle of Nowhere.' First of all, my article was not based on the viewpoint of either a historian or anthropologist. I attempted to discuss the issue in humanist as well as political terms. You mentioned that the article was biased, but you forget how reluctant Nepal has been to host over 100,000 people for over eight years. How pitifully these people are forced to spend their lives in the camps! Do you feel anything for these people?

About the 'classification problem and about the ethnic groups': Yes indeed I do put them under a complex blanket term, but the tiny country of Nepal has over seventy different spoken languages. In order

to simplify such a complicated problem, one necessarily has to use 'a complex blanket term'. Besides, this blanket term was not my invention. I used it because I found it in many reports written by university students and journalists.

You say that it is 'a gross misrepresentation' when I wrote that other than members of the ruling feudal class, no person may become a member of the National Assembly. If Lhotsampas (or any others for this matter) were satisfied with the National Assembly, why should they demand democracy?

Newsweek and Time might have published on the issue, but are these written in Bhutan? And Kuensel is no different from The Rising Nepal, by and large a

mouthpiece of the government.

Turning to the language: if Nepalese was used daily and if Lhotsampas were respected, they would never flee from Bhutan. The Bhutanese government banned the use of Nepalese; the language spoken by the majority.

Whatever international organizations claim, little has been done to resolve the refugee issue. Up to November 1998, when I sent in my article, no international organizations had been allowed to visit southern Bhutan where people's homes and properties were being demolished by the police and the army. ■

RAJESH GIRI

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE UTRECHT

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publication



Brunner-Lachaux, Hélène

SOMASAMBHUPADDHATI

Rituels dans la tradition Sivaïte selon Somaśambhu, Quatrième partie, rituels optionnels: pratiṣṭhā
Institut français de Pondichéry, 1998, 503 pp. ISSN 0073-8352

Goodall, Dominic

BHAṬṬA RĀMAKAṆṬHA'S COMMENTARY ON THE KIRAṆĀTANTRA

Volume I: chapters 1-6, critical edition and annotated translation
Institut français de Pondichéry, 1998, 487 pp. ISSN 0073-8352

Madsen, Stig Toft (ed.)

STATE, SOCIETY AND THE ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTH ASIA

NIAS Man and Nature in Asia Series, no. 3
Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999, ISBN 0-7007-0614-3

Vogt, Beatrice

SKILL AND TRUST

The Tovil healing ritual of Sri Lanka as culture-specific Psychotherapy
Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1999, 358 pp. ISBN 90-5385-590-3

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(also see page 56)

APRIL 2 > 4, 1999,
FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

Thirty-third Conference Bengal Studies

This year the 33rd Bengal Studies Conference was held at Fayetteville State University, (FSU). It was very well organized by Dr Rama Datt and Dr Derick Smith. Both are professors at FSU. This remarkable university (in what was once Confederate territory) was founded by African Americans just after the Civil War to promote the cause of education among former slaves.

By VICTOR A. VAN BIJLERT



In his welcome speech FSU's Chancellor, Dr Willis B. McLeod, emphasized the importance of events such as the Bengal Studies Conferences, which he was proud to host, because they build bridges between different civilizations. In his short address for the round table discussion Prof. Clinton Seely (Chicago) teased the participants into considering the controversial view that perhaps the Bengali language is not a unifying factor for both Bengals, and that we impose unity on something that is no unity. After all, Bengal is divided between two nation-states.

Prof. Enayatur Rahim (Washington DC) drew attention to the fact that by the year 2000 there will be about 220 million speakers of Bengali in the world. It is an arduous task to convince deans of faculties of arts to invest in the study of Bengali, which already has many more speakers than French. Further points were made to the effect that political divisions do not prevent the study of Bengal as a unity. Before the Parti-

tion of 1947 Bengal did exist as a single province. Regional co-operation on an economic basis could overcome political differences. Co-operation and cultural exchanges are absolutely necessary as an antidote to abused nationalism with its horrendous results as can be seen in the Balkans. The fact that both Bengals share a common history going back to pre-Mughal times cannot be dismissed lightly.

Literature

Clinton Seely (Chicago) argued that the *Annadamangal Kavya* by the eighteenth-century poet Bharat Chandra was a homogeneous work in praise of the Mother Goddess. Moreover, it was composed with the intention of proving that Raja Krishnachandra's royal line owed its kingship directly to the Mughal emperor, Jahangir. Sanjukta Dasgupta (Calcutta University) spoke on Bengali women's poetry. Although there is no feminist movement in Bengal, there is feminist awareness. Sanjukta read poetry by women poets Mallika Sengupta, Krishna Bose, Joya Mitra, and Taslima Nasrin, both in Bengali and her own translations in English.

Religion and culture

Umesh Gulati (Eastern Carolina University) held up the life and teachings of Sharada Debi (1853-1920), wife of Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886), as those of an ideal religious prophet for the modern world. Through her life Sharada Debi had demonstrated that democracy should not merely be a form of government but a supreme ethical ideal. Narasingha Sil (Western Oregon University) compared Vivekananda (1862-1902, noted disciple of Sri Ramakrishna) and Friedrich Nietzsche as two *fin de siècle* critics of Western modernity. Sil noted some striking similarities and dissimilarities between these two cult-figures. Whereas Nietzsche was a great scholar and writer, Vivekananda was primarily an orator but no scholar. Victor van Bijlert (NIAS-IIAS, Leiden University) spoke on Bankim's creation of the Indian national icon in his song *Bande Mataram*. This song praises the Goddess Durga as Mother of the country Bengal. It transformed the traditional devotion to Durga into patriotism. Subhra Nag (Perimeter College, Georgia) interpreted Sri Aurobindo's philosophy from her own experience: one could do one's daily work as a valid form of meditation.

History and Politics

Enayetur Rahim (Georgetown University) reported on his study of the State Department and White House papers dealing with the Bangladeshi War of Liberation in 1971. Nixon and Kissinger had favoured Yahya Khan in order to preserve the territorial integrity of Pakistan. This support helped the last in perpetrating grave atrocities in former East Pakistan. The State Department had assessed the situation in East Pakistan much better than the White House, but the latter carried out its own diplomacy without consultation with the State Dept. Serajul Alam Khan (independ-

ent scholar, political activist, and former right hand of Mujibur Rahman) argued for the introduction of a bicameral parliament in Bangladesh. Zillur Khan (University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh) hoped for more investment in education in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh education on a large scale is necessary to establish the genuine empowerment of people. The elites should be trained to let go of what they perceive as their privileges. There was a suggestion that perhaps the elites do not want to achieve to more equitable economic relations. Before they acquiesce in this, a great deal of convincing and education will have to be undertaken.

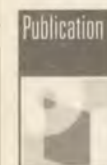
Economy and Business

The lack of any work culture in West Bengal was considered the root cause of economic problems, according to three speakers: Amitabh Chatterjee (Fayetteville University), Sabyasachi Ghosh-Dastidar (SUNY), and Amalendu Chatterjee (telecom consultant and co-sponsor of the event). Amitabh Chatterjee moreover maintained that unlike the situation in nineteenth-century England urbanization in West Bengal did not create economic growth. Dastidar pointed out that the work culture in West Bengal is seven times worse than in the rest of India and West Bengal has most of the industrial strikes. On the positive side: Calcutta is one of the safest cities in India. Amalendu Chatterjee gave many examples drawn from his own experience of the lack of efficiency in public sector services. Inconveniences, lack of efficiency, customer-unfriendliness, and lack of work culture have to be overcome by a total change of attitude. This means more client-orientedness and creating better relations between supplier and customer. ■

Tagore Translated

Interest in Rabindranath Tagore's work is growing steadily and this interest is being satisfied by good translations of Tagore's Bengali works. A tradition of a high standard of translation was started by William Radice in the mid-eighties with his poetically sensitive renderings of Tagore's Bengali poetry into English. Radice wished his translations to be both as accurate as possible and to convey as much of the original as was possible in the target language. By now Radice's example has been followed in other European languages. 'Mein Vermächtnis' by the distinguished indologist, Rahul Peter Das, belongs fully to this new tradition.

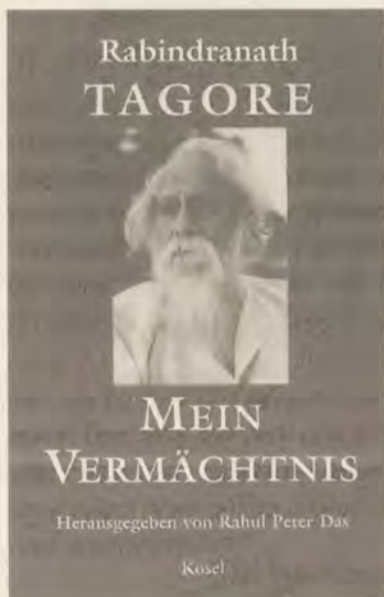
By VICTOR A. VAN BIJLERT



Mein Vermächtnis contains fresh translations directly from Bengali into German of selections from Tagore's essays. Das has selected his passages from all the periods of Tagore's writing career. The earliest passages date from 1883, the last ones from 1937. This enables the reader to observe the developments and various trends in Tagore's thinking during the crucial

period of the Indian anticolonial struggle. Tagore himself had richly contributed to defining Indian national self-consciousness in his numerous writings. The translator has chosen not to present the selected passages in chronological order but has arranged them under four major subject headings: religion and culture; politics and society; literature and art; autobiographical. These correspond neatly to the major concerns in Tagore's thinking.

Das has provided the texts with explanatory endnotes and full biblio-



graphical details about the original sources. This greatly enhances the scholarly value of this book. The reader who knows Bengali is thus able to compare the translation with the original. This is quite unlike the sloppy fashion in which Tagore himself 'translated' his Bengali essays beyond recognition into English, invariably without any references to originals.

This book contains a representative but necessarily lean selection taken from hundreds of pages of Bengali originals. Das has made his selection judiciously. It is representative but very thinly so. This, however, seems quite in line with Tagore's own inten-

tions in writing. Tagore realized that his work could easily and effectively be presented in diluted selections. He himself did this throughout his career, greatly harming his reputation as a writer and a poet. Not only did Tagore dilute his often majestic Bengali originals into weak English compositions; through his own sloppy translations he has also encouraged bad translations of his works by others. But that was during his lifetime. Apart from presenting Tagore in selection, Das' work has nothing in common with that old Tagorean convention, for Das follows the best traditions of meticulous and professional rendering. Not only does Das leave the Bengali original intact, he also conveys the vitality of the Bengali originals. Perhaps the lapse of half a century is necessary to translate Tagore properly. The distance enables us to assess the real value of Tagore's intellectual, spiritual, and literary achievements. Das' book is one more contribution to a renewed acquaintance with Tagore. The book makes for inspirational reading. ■

Rabindranath Tagore. Mein Vermächtnis. Aus dem bengalischen essayistischen Werk ausgewählt, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Rahul Peter Das. Mit einem Vorwort von Martin Kämpchen. München: Kösel Verlag, 1997, 160 pp. ISBN 3-466-20428-3



Contributions to this Bengal Studies page as well as letters with suggestions are very much welcome. Please send to:

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NEXT BENGAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

The 34th Bengal Studies Conference will be held in the first weekend of May 2000 at the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh campus Gruenhagen Conference Center University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh Wisconsin 54901 USA

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Proposals for panels and papers should be sent to either or both of these contact-persons.

CONFERENCE VOLUME (31ST BSC)

The volume: 'Contributions to Bengal Studies: An interdisciplinary and international approach', by Enayetur Rahim and Henry Schwarz (eds), (Dhaka: Pustaka, 1998, ISBN 984-497-010-5, pp. 592, price: Taka 500.00; US \$ 25) contains all the papers presented at the 31st Bengal Studies Conference, Georgetown University, May 3-5, 1996. The book arranges the papers according to the main themes that are always present at Bengal Studies conferences: culture and society, economics, history, language and literature, politics. The sheer variegation of the published papers reflects the variety of the Bengal conferences themselves. The book contains much information for all audiences interested in both Bengals. The editors have done their best to bring out the volume as quickly as possible, to keep those interested up-to-date about the state of the art of Bengal Studies. The only criticism which might be levelled is the absence of a subject index, but this is partly compensated for by the extensive table of content at the beginning of the book.

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Southeast Asia



BRUNEI • MYANMAR • CAMBODIA
INDONESIA • LAOS • MALAYSIA
THE PHILIPPINES • SINGAPORE
THAILAND • VIETNAM

People



Rendra has visited Leiden three times in the past, but experienced these earlier trips as overly rushed. The current visit has been more relaxed, allowing time for participating in cultural and political dialogues, long walks, as well as giving poetry readings. It follows upon eight months of intense political activity in Indonesia, during which Rendra acted as an advisor for a presidential candidate.

Matthew Isaac Cohen (MIC): Is it true, as they say, that you were put forward as a presidential candidate yourself?

W.S. Rendra (WSR): Ah! What people will say ...!

Ken Zuraida (KZ): When he read poetry in Yogya recently, there were shouts of 'Rendra for president, Rendra for president!' And there were banners.

WSR: That was popular sentiment, without due thought for the future. I feel most effective as an ordinary citizen, as a poet. I can speak freely, communicate with Islamic fundamentalists, peasants, nationalists, the military, former communists, Sukarno followers. There is need for a mental *reformasi*, a *reformasi* of the way people think. I am more free to talk about *reformasi* if I am not motivated by political ideology, but by humane concerns.

Rendra's visit to the Netherlands is a moratorium from this swirl of political activity. It allowed the interviewer a rare chance to probe in detail aspects of a complex life in progress. Rendra's artistic career is emblematic of the post-colonial cultural history of Indonesia. A cultural icon, his life can be read from the public record. Well known are Rendra's literary efforts as a teenager; the growing political involvement of his art during the Sukarno period; the founding of *Bengkel Teater* upon his return from the United States in 1967; his conversion from Roman Catholicism to Islam in 1970; his folk-tinged protest dramas of the 1970s; his imprisonment in 1978; his links to the industrialist Setiawan Djody; his multimedia productions with pop idol Iwan Fals and rock group Swami. His trade-mark long, flowing hair, denim clothes, and communal lifestyle complete with organic vegetables, make him more than Indonesia's last hippy; he embodies an alternative to the state's vision of modernity for many Indonesians.

★

Rendra's father was a language teacher and Roman Catholic missionary, progressive and modernist in outlook. He firmly believed that modernization could only be achieved through Westernization, a view Ren-

dra would later actively contest. Rendra sees, however, much of his artistic temperament and personality as being formed through his Roman Catholic educational background, with its emphasis on empirical observation and deductive logic.

WSR: Indonesians, especially Javanese, think Platonically. Truth lies in the heart. Known history, history that is worth remembering, is the shadow image [*wayang*] of history. My education stressed changing such a world view, developing an appreciation for objective facts. Most important in the classification of objective facts was the study of syntax. This was the basis for later studies of logic, taught in high school. That does not mean that there were no subjective facts. We learned about charity and love through song, composing poetry. 'The only subjective facts are the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Creed. Everything else should be ...' (mimes drawing a line through the air).

MIC: Crossed out!

WSR: 'Crossed out!' (Laughs.) That was my father for you.

Rendra also was able to enjoy and absorb Javanese and emergent Indonesian theatre forms as a child growing up in the city of Surakarta, Central Java. He recalls seeing performances of *sandiwara*, *kethoprak*, and *wayang wong*. He was entranced by the special effects of the Hollywood film *Words and Music*. Many years later, he saw the movie again and found it 'corny.' But as a child, it was nothing short of miraculous. Rendra wrote his first play in 1948. His 1953 plays, *A Flower Red as Blood* and *The First Jolt*, are recognized as landmarks in the history of Indonesian drama.

WSR: I wrote essays about Hemingway, Steinbeck, Frost. These were broadcast on radio. And I got paid for them! With the money I received, I bought more books. I had a friend who could read Dutch, who would also write essays for the radio. There was a friendly competition between us. This helped me form my artistic character. I was able to pay for my tuition from my literary activities, to the surprise and delight of my father.

MIC: This was when you were still in junior high or high school?

Timely Art An Interview with Rendra



W.S. Rendra (b. 1935), Indonesia's most celebrated poet, playwright, and theatre director, was a guest of the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, the Netherlands, from 1 February to 27 April 1999. Matthew Isaac Cohen interviewed Rendra and his wife-collaborator, Ken Zuraida, on 22 March 1999 and 22 April 1999 regarding Rendra's life and work in the theatre. Presented here are excerpts from this interview, translated from Indonesian.

■ By MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN

WSR: High school. There were other high schoolers who were active in literature, Ajip Rosidi, Ardan, Sobron Aidit. We would travel through West Java together. I liked being with them, as we all enjoyed poetry. We also all loved to watch puppet theatre, and folk theatre.

I was never really serious about theatre, though. For me, theatre was only for social purposes. My plays would be performed by friends at campfires. I only became serious about drama after reading *The Human Image in Dramatic Literature*.

Rendra recalls student life at Gadjah Mada University as all politics and clashes that often made him 'dizzy.' He found his studies in English literature unchallenging. At Gadjah Mada, Umar Kayam, an upper-classman studying pedagogy, and Prof. Poerbatjaraka pushed him to become more familiar with Javanese tradition.

WSR: When I was in high school, I won a prize from the Ministry of Culture. In magazines, I won contests for the best short story. But for me, it was like receiving my report card from school. It was not a true gauge of artistic worth, for art is the expression of a particular moment. I have to strive continuously, so I can't pay too much attention to prizes. When in high school my popularity affected me negatively. Now I can deal with this but then, I couldn't. That was when I started to study [the Javanese mystical science of] *tapa ing rame*. I learned how to perform harsh devotions in the bustle of life.

MIC: Did you graduate from Gadjah Mada University?

WSR: I was about to be given my diploma, but was told I would have to first endorse *Manipol-USDEK* [Sukarno's 'Political Manifesto,' the 1945 constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy, and Indonesian identity].

'Huh!' I exclaimed. 'How's that connected to English literature?'

'Listen, all you've got to do is take this test. There's no need to wait for the results; all I need is your test number.'

I took the test and then came back to the head of the Comparative Literature department.

'I can't go on like this.'

'Calm down. I know this is all nonsense. You've passed all your courses and tests. All that's left to do is to sign that you've taken the *Manipol-USDEK* test. I've got the letter now with your test number on it.'

'Could I see this letter?'

'Sure, here it is.'

Tear-rip-tear! I tore it to pieces.

If I went back, I might be able to straighten things out. But what for? There's no connection between that and what I do. Education like that is pure *dhagelan* [slapstick comedy].

At Gadjah Mada University and in the years following, Rendra became embroiled in the intense cultural politics of the era. He was courted by LEKRA (the cultural arm of the Indonesian Communist Party) and, by the early 1960s, he allied himself with the anti-communists, resulting in an effective ban on publishing his work in major periodicals owing to the strong influence of LEKRA at that time.

WSR: I became serious about drama when my work was banned. What could I do? I Nyoman Moena, a director of the Bank Indonesia, approached me.

'Create theatre in my salon. I'll invite people from the banking world to watch.'

'Won't there be repercussions?'

'Don't worry, I know people in the security forces. I'll bribe them.'

So I created salon theatre.

MIC: What kind of plays did you do?

WSR: Chekhov, 'The Wild Duck.'

KZ: There were lots, at least thirty. He did free adaptations of European and American plays in English.

WSR: Later, Arifin C. Noer encouraged me to form my own theatre group.

KZ: These were the people who later spread 'the Rendra method,' performing Western scripts adapted to Indonesian sensibilities. If you read Ionesco's *The Chairs* and Rendra's adaptation, there is no direct connection.

WSR: All of this is connected to my early education. It is of primary importance that people shouldn't just draw or create realist theatre in imitation of a Western style. I felt impelled to teach the Western paradigm.

KZ: Rendra and his colleagues brought 'the West' to Indonesia. 'The West' to us, to Indonesia, was Europe, America, Japan, and India.

MIC: Everything through English.

WSR: Yes. I was interested in concepts like 'fear and trembling' bringing about 'catharsis.' But how could this be translated into terms understandable by Indonesians? Balinese gamelan music, for example, may not have one big climax, but it has small climaxes. *Neng-neng-neng-neng*. When I first read Aristotle, *The Poetics*, I realized for the first time the extreme difference between West and East. [-]

Sin, irony. How to translate irony? Someone who does not intend to sin ends up sinning. Sophocles treated irony seriously, with respect. Human life is filled with irony. But Easterners don't see it. Why? Simply because it is a Western observation. But that doesn't mean the idea can't be introduced. [...] Java had no tradition of causal thinking—things were conceived of only according to parallel processes. I wanted to introduce something new, causality.

MIC: Through the medium of?

WSR: *Oedipus*. I am a Javanese myself, but as I was educated in a particular way, I could grasp the concept, as could my father and his friends. I wanted people, particularly politicians who were becoming increasingly dogmatic, to be able to think analytically. I felt this was critical, something of universal significance. Most importantly, I wanted to introduce my countrymen to Western paradigms that open up new possibilities for human consciousness, emancipat-

ing human consciousness. I produced Eastern rites integrated with a Western awareness.

Rendra's politics and general antipathy towards Sukarno resulted in periods of imprisonment in 1962 and 1963. Interrogations during the late Sukarno period were frequent, and when an opportunity came to visit America in 1964, Rendra seized it.

KZ: When he left for America [in 1964], it was more like being in exile than anything else.

MIC: But you were initially brought there by the U.S. State Department, weren't you?

WSR: Yes, they were my first sponsors. It was due to the journal *Encounter* which brought together many anti-communist intellectuals. During this time, such collaborations were necessary because of the Cold War. We would not be strong enough if we didn't work together in like this.

MIC: So you were brought to the U.S. for a cultural tour?

WSR: No. I was invited to attend a humanities seminar at Harvard. I was curious about what 'humanities' was. 'Yes,' I said, 'I'll go.'

KZ: Among those attending were the most important of Indonesian intellectuals: Soedjatmoko, Harsja Bachtjar, Umar Kayam. They changed Indonesia's curriculum for higher education, introducing the study of the humanities in the 1970s. Before that, it didn't exist.

A brief visit got expanded three years (1964-67) in the United States, during which time Rendra studied theatre at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York and social sciences and the humanities at New York University, with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. He was particularly impressed by the theatrical phantasmagoria of Alan Schneider, as well as the dramas of Edward Albee, Archibald MacLeish, Arthur Miller, and Robert Lowell, and the work of director José Quintero. Rendra would later return to Indonesia with a deep appreciation for the power and pleasure of theatre.

MIC: You saw many Broadway musicals, like *Fiddler on the Roof*, during those years, correct?

WSR: Yes, people would tell me, 'these plays are just light entertainment.' They were, but I enjoyed them. The pleasure I got from them was the same sort as I got out of watching Javanese shadow puppet theatre. There was a freedom of imagination, an honesty.

Upon his return to Indonesia, Rendra formed a theatre collective in 1967, the first of its sort in Indonesia, which he called Bengkel Teater, 'Theatre Workshop.' Over the next eleven years, Rendra transformed the face of Indonesian modern theatre. He wrote and directed the plays he is best known for in this period, including *Bip-Bop* (1968), the first work in the genre of 'theatre of minimal text' (*teater mini kata*), and the powerful protest dramas *Mastodon* and *Condor* (1973), *The Struggle of the Naga Tribe* (1974), and *Regional Secretary* (1976). His plays during this time presented pointed critiques of corruption, political repression, and the destruction of

the environment. The most important venue for his theatrical work during this time was *Taman Ismail Marzuki* (TIM), the arts centre in Jakarta, established by Ali Sadikin, the anti-communist, anti-Soeharto governor of Jakarta, and a group of like-minded artists in 1968.

WSR: The problem was how to make an arts centre, with funding from Ali Sadikin, that would be controlled by anti-communists, without people affiliated with LEKRA, or with Soeharto supporters, without Soeharto's presence being felt there. The model was the Balai Budaya ['Cultural Centre'], which was controlled by anti-communists like myself during the period when communism was most powerful. Balai Budaya was a centre of resistance against Sukarno, LEKRA, and the Communist Party. It would be expanded as a Jakarta arts centre. When my work was performed at TIM, I was protected by Ali Sadikin. Later, it was the Ali Sadikin appointed Dewan Kesenian [Arts Council] or the Jakarta Academy that backed me up.

The cultural politics of Indonesia shifted during the mid-1970s, and in 1978 Rendra found himself without political support for his work. Rendra was imprisoned under suspicion of subversion, and spent much of the next decade being interrogated and going through cycles of imprisonment and release.

WSR: In 1978, I was seen as obtuse by politicians. The general elections had just ended. They asked, 'why are you still being openly critical in your work?' I received a threatening letter. Only then were my eyes opened. Everything was in shambles. I was defended only by intellectuals, not by politicians. I was put into a military prison.

KZ: Conditions were horrendous.

MIC: How many months were you there, five?

KZ: Almost eleven.

WSR: According to the law, as someone under suspicion, I could be held for questioning for up to eleven months. Longer than that, my case had to come to trial, or I had to be freed. So they said, 'we'll hold him for eleven months and let him go free for a month. Then we'll imprison him again!'

MIC: So what happened to Bengkel Teater? Did it disband?

WSR: No, she [Ken Zaida] took charge of it when I was in prison.

KZ: Officially, Bengkel Teater came under a committee, headed by Edi Haryono. I have produced Bengkel Teater myself since 1986.

MIC: Were you performing in theatres during this period?

KZ: No, at best in sports arenas. We also did impromptu performances in community halls, private homes, and so on. Also, during the period following Rendra's release, he was not officially permitted to hold interviews, make any sort of public appearance, publish, or speak on radio. For nine years, it was as if he was dead, completely inactive. The activities of his group could only be minor, as none of us had a name. We were only known in our own limited circle. We traveled throughout urban areas of Java, Bali, and Lombok, performing theatre, showing films. This was made all the more difficult as this period was the height of the New Order's power. Things were tightly controlled.

WSR: But this was also just the moment that protest was most necessary.

KZ: Nobody would support us. We had lost all our friends. That hurt.

MIC: Were you being watched during this time?

KZ: Yes, wherever we went, we were being watched.

MIC: When did this stop?

KZ: 1992.

MIC: And before that you couldn't go abroad?

WSR: Oh, I could go abroad, but needed permission from BAKIN [the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency].

KZ: There was some leniency shown, because of the influence of friends in the Asian Cultural Council. Rendra had lived in New York, had often performed there, and had many friends there. These were the people who helped.

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Rendra returned to theatre in 1986, coinciding with a national effort to create more 'openness' and allow room for 'divergent opinions.' His first production was of a new play entitled *Panembahan Reso* (Baron Reso). It was the first large-scale theatre work of the New Order to deal with the theme of succession. The play has been criticized, however, for its dramatic incoherency and structural

looseness. Some critics have found Baron Reso and Rendra's subsequent theatrical work of the 1980s and 90s to be less barbed than his earlier dramas.

MIC: How was it that you were able to start doing theatre again in 1986?

I do not make films,
which can be put into storage.
Theatre is in
the here-and-now.

WSR: It was then that an anti-Soeharto faction of the Indonesian armed forces started to gain strength, as there was a new generation of high-ranking officers. I didn't work together with the Indonesian armed forces as a whole, but with a reform-minded faction of it.

MIC: So you had the backing of an armed forces faction?

WSR: Not backing, really. We had a joint interest. The point of fact is that Baron Reso would never have been produced without permission from the armed forces. But I am my own man.

KZ: Baron Reso was a work in progress for years.

WSR: I found that the point of the play in its original version was not clear. The final version of Baron Reso was graphic and lucid. It shows a process springing from the abuse of power. This abuse results in the closing of society. Without openness, there can be no political involvement in succession.

MIC: So the changes made were your own artistic choices?

WSR: Yes, nobody can ask me to make changes. This is my artistic discipline. All my work must be free, truthful, and beautiful.

KZ: Only eight minutes were left of the originally three-hour-long play.

Rendra's 'theatre of minimal text' work, *Selamatan Anak Cucu Suleiman* (A Ritual for Suleiman's Descendants), performed in 1988 at the first International Festival of the Arts in New York

City, received mixed reviews. In Indonesia, Rendra has been roundly criticized for the extravagance of his multi-media stadium spectacles, especially *Kantata Taqwa* (A Cantata to Piety; 1990), with its lasers and special effects.

WSR: *Kantata Taqwa* was a massive spectacle. It had to be, because it was also an *upacara* [ritual celebration]. It was an *upacara* to say no.

MIC: What were you saying 'no' to?

WSR: To the government and its repression. The poetry I read, the song lyrics I wrote for this occasion were graphic and systematic vehicles for strong social protest against unemployment and the like. It was done on a large scale to involve the largest number of people. It was an *upacara* to raise consciousness and enthusiasm. [...] The ticket price was low; anyone could buy a ticket. Jakarta's

Senayan stadium was overflowing; people were climbing the walls to get in. Spectators got a free audiocassette. This was done for the sake of propaganda, for the struggle. These cassettes, with their protest lyrics, became known with the public at large.

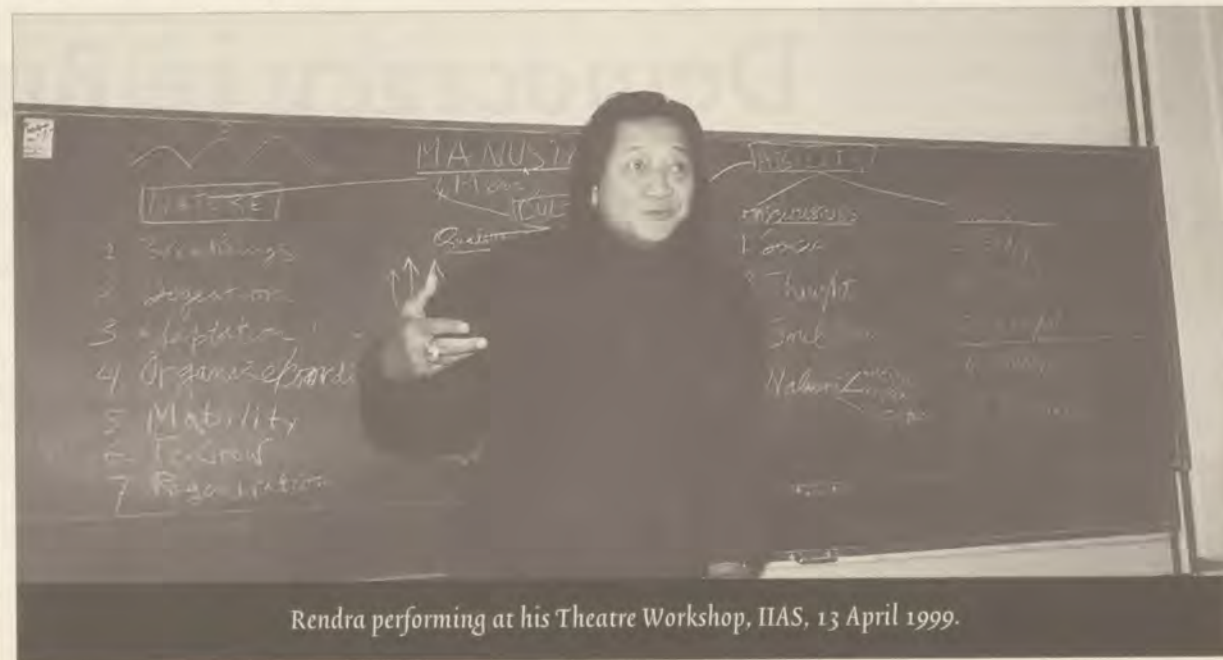
I used lasers, though I admit I don't really know how to use them effectively in my work as a theatre director. I didn't use them for artistic effect, but for lighting up the sky, to excite the surrounding populace.

It is now 1999 and Rendra is preparing to embark on a new direction in his theatrical career, directing works on a more intimate scale than in the past.

WSR: I am now thinking about the most micro levels of expression. Every word should be embellished, and re-embellished. This needs, however, a sustained environment of intimacy. If I have an opportunity, I would like to embark on such a tack now. Opportunities, or lack of them, depend on societal conditions at a particular moment of time. Everything must be contextual. I do not make films, which can be put into storage. Theatre is in the here-and-now. [...] That doesn't mean that formerly I didn't want to do such work. But I had no opportunities to do it. A potential sponsor would say: 'Why should I subsidize work like that? I have no qualms about losing money, but the work should have a large public impact.' Okay. I had no problems with that. After all, we're only talking about techniques.

KZ: Theatre is very situational and incidental. We have to judge what is most urgently required for where we perform.

WSR: Yes, theatre needs to be contextual. ■



Rendra performing at his Theatre Workshop, IIAS, 13 April 1999.

Dr Matthew Isaac Cohen is a cultural anthropologist and scholar of Indonesian and intercultural performance. He is currently a research fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies, in the 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation' programme. E-mail: mcohen@rulle.leidenuniv.nl.

From 'Indonesia Circle' to 'Indonesia and the Malay World'

Beginning with its March 1997 issue, 'Indonesia Circle', the SOAS-based journal of Indonesian studies, changed its name to 'Indonesia and the Malay World'. Explaining the change, Russell Jones, an editor of 'Indonesia Circle' since its foundation in 1973, wrote in an Introduction to that issue: '... while remaining the only journal published in Britain that is focused mainly on Indonesia, it has become less exclusively so than before, and for a long time has carried articles also on Malaysia and the Malay language ... By changing the journal's name, the editors are both reflecting this broadening geographical scope and signalling their wish to broaden it still further by publishing research ... no longer solely on Indonesia but also on all parts of the Malay world.'

By NIGEL PHILLIPS



Indonesia Circle had itself been the result of a shift from Malay to Indonesian in language teaching at SOAS. From the opening of SOAS in 1917 until 1970, the Malay language had featured in the curriculum, and, to quote Jones, 'former colonial servants from Malaya taught Malay to their prospective successors'. This was understandable, given the recognition, since 1824, of present-day Indonesia as a Dutch sphere of influence, and the history of British colonial rule in the Malay peninsula. However, with Indonesia's emergence as an independent state at the end of 1949, 'it gradually dawned on interested academics and others in Britain that this former Dutch empire need no longer remain the province of Dutch scholarship alone; the argu-

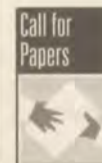
ment became the more compelling when in the 1950s the links between Indonesia and the Netherlands were beset with problems, and scholarly contacts between the two states were inhibited'. In 1967 SOAS established a



A 1983 cover of 'Indonesia Circle'.

21 > 23 OCTOBER 1999
AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Coastal Burma in the Age of Commerce



On 21, 22, and 23 October 1999 Dr J. J. L. Gommans and Drs S. E. A. van Galen of Leiden University will organize (in co-operation with the IAS and the Research School CNWS) the 'Academy Colloquium on Coastal Burma in the Age of Commerce'. The colloquium will be held in Amsterdam, in the 17th century 'Trippenhuis'.

The colloquium will focus on Lower Burma, an area which not only emphatically links the Indo-Islamic world of Bengal and the eastern Decan to the Theravada-Buddhist communities of mainland Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka, but also gives space, especially through Portuguese, Dutch, and British sources, to investigate the growing European involvement. Located at the periphery of modern Bangla Desh, Myanmar, Thailand, and

Malaysia, coastal Burma (in particular its western and eastern extensions) has suffered from a lack of scholarly attention during the last decades, partly due to the nationalist agendas of these states. Only recently publications by Lieberman, Eaton, Raymond, Subrahmanyam, Charney, Leider, and others seem to point in new, promising directions. It is our intention to bring together the existing expertise on Lower Burma, of scholars who work on the area proper, and those with extensive expertise on important neighbouring regions, such as eastern Bengal, Upper Burma, Sri Lanka, India's east coast, Thailand, Malaysia, and insular Southeast Asia. ■

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Russell Jones

new post, Lecturer in Indonesian, and Russell Jones was appointed to it.

In 1973, inspired by the success of a society set up by students of Indonesian at Sydney University, where he had taught before coming to SOAS, Jones and his colleagues founded the *Indonesia Circle*, an association whose objects were, among other things, 'to foster interest in, and knowledge of, Indonesia and its culture', and whose members were SOAS staff and students, Indonesian nationals, and others having an interest in Indonesia, such as former volunteers and members of the British Council and Foreign Office. Its thrice-yearly newsletter, which first appeared in July 1973, was called *Indonesia Circle*.

Indonesia Circle's early numbers not only kept members in touch and informed about past and future meetings, but also contained news about research, book reviews, and before long some brief original contributions to research (for example Mark Hobart's article 'Some Balinese uses of animal symbolism: are aristocrats pigs?' in *Indonesia Circle*, 5). In March 1977 the publication doubled in length to about 50 pages and began to contain a respectable proportion of original research, increasingly international in provenance, so that the editors felt able to call it a journal rather than a newsletter.

Humanities bias

The scope of the articles published by *Indonesia Circle* and *Indonesia and the Malay World* is defined as 'the languages, literature, art, archaeology,

history, geography, religions, and anthropology of Indonesia', and most contributions have been in these traditional 'humanities' subjects. Nevertheless, the journal has occasionally ventured into the natural sciences with articles on fossil pollens and plant ecology; and more often - especially in recent years - it has published research in the social sciences, for example on population growth, cocoa and coffee production, salt wells, oil prices, general elections, reformasi, Indonesia's future as a unitary state, gender and the sexes, the media, and tourism.

The journal's humanities bias has been reflected in its editorial board, whose members are based at or linked to SOAS. For years nearly all have been specialists in language and literature, anthropology, or archaeology like Russell Jones, Ulrich Kratz, Annabel Gallop, Ben Arps, Vladimir Braginsky, Angela Hobart, Elizabeth Moore, and Ian Glover. However, the balance altered somewhat in the early 1990s when the economist Ann Booth, the economic historian Ian Brown, and the political scientist John Sidel joined the board. The board benefits from the expertise of Helen Cordell, for years librarian of SOAS's South East Asian and Pacific collections; and the standard of technical editing has been exacting since Doris Johnson, former Editorial Secretary of the *SOAS Bulletin*, joined *Indonesia Circle* in 1979.

Most issues of the journal cover a variety of topics, but some are devoted to particular subjects, e.g. archaeology, gender, healing, music, poetry, textiles, tourism. Other numbers have concentrated on a geographical area, e.g. Bali, Java, the Moluccas, and - especially after the demise of the *Sumatra Research Bulletin* - Sumatra. Even before 'the Malay world' became part of the journal's title, articles on the Malay world outside Indonesia had appeared in *Indonesia Circle*. These especially concerned Malay manuscripts and traditional Malay literature, and more recently labour issues in modern Malaysia.

Design

Not only the contents but also the form of the journal have changed. The covers of the first 21 issues carried a symbolic circle divided, also symbolically, into red and white semicircles, but were otherwise unadorned. Casting austerity aside, the next 20 issues

sported a succession of attractive coloured designs by the artist Christine Wilson, based on Indonesian textiles and wood-carvings. They have since been succeeded by photographs, but the red and white theme remains. The pages of *Indonesia Circle*, too, were for some years enlivened by pen-and-ink representations of Indonesian designs by Jeune Scott-Kemball, the expert on the Javanese gamelan.

For nearly 20 years the *Indonesia Circle* managed to publish its journal in-



Copy of a recent issue of IMW

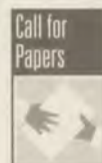
dependently, thanks to support of various kinds from SOAS, the British Academy, and the Indonesian Embassy, and to the selflessness of the technical editor, Doris Johnson, and the typist, Pat Weaver. By 1992, however, financial stringency caused publication to be taken over first by Oxford University Press, and then in 1997 by Carfax, publishers of a wide range of academic journals. Thus relieved of immediate financial pressure, the editors have felt free to reverse the colonial carve-up and open their pages to research on the entire Malay world in its widest sense. ■

Enquiries about subscribing to *Indonesia and the Malay World* may be e-mailed to gary.bowerman@carfax.co.uk; and about Carfax's Scholarly Articles Research Alerting service (SARA), to sara@carfax.co.uk with the word 'info' in the body of the message.

Dr Nigel Phillips can be reached at South East Asia Department, SOAS, Thornhaugh St, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG, or by e-mail at np4@soas.ac.uk

27 > 28 AUGUST 1999
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Democracy in Burma



This is the first international research conference on the struggle for democracy and peace in Burma since the military coup d'état in 1962. It is mainly a research conference but professionals engaged in the affairs of Burma are also welcome.

The aims of the conference are:

- to present research studies on socio-economic conditions as well as the democratic and human rights situation in Burma;

- to shed light on the Burmese people's struggle for democracy and peace over the past 37 years;
 - to discuss international co-ordination for possible democratisation process in Burma;
 - to plan co-operation among researchers, professionals, and activists in the case of Burma.
- The following sessions are planned:
1. Military Dictatorship vs Democracy Movement's Strategies;
 2. Burma's Democracy Movement and International Community;
 3. Promotion and Sustainability of

Democracy during the Period of Transition from Military Dictatorship to Democracy; 4. Options and Prospects for the Future. ■

If interested, please send your name, address, telephone & fax numbers, e-mail, institution, and a resume of your proposed paper before 30 June 1999 to

MAUNG MYINT
Centre for Pacific Asia Studies (CPAS),
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Tel: +46-8-161 309, Fax: +46-8-168 810

7 > 9 JANUARY 1999
BERG-EN-DAL, THE NETHERLANDS

The Impact of the Crisis on Rural Java

From 7 to 9 January 1999 a workshop on the impact of the Indonesian crisis on rural communities and urban settlements was held in Berg-en-Dal, The Netherlands. The workshop was organized by the Dutch Universities of Nijmegen and Amsterdam, together with Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, as part of a joint research project on 'Social Security and Social Policy in Java'. The workshop presented a large number of case studies on recent developments in rural Java.

By HENRY SANDEE

Report
Villagers in Java have been through periods of economic hardship before. There are many similarities in the adjustment strategies adopted by the village population today in comparison to those employed in previous periods of hardship. Rural households now adjust wages rather than employment levels to accommodate workers who have been dismissed in the cities. Boomgaard argued that this crisis will again lead to more landless villagers which as in the past will cause invasions of land and encroachment on forest land. He discovered that in the 1930's rich households in rural areas helped out the poorer segments of the village economy to cope with the economic adversities.

Historical perspectives are also useful in searching for a methodology to assess the impact of the crisis on village economies. Timing of fieldwork is crucial. Some suggested that it is too early to assess the total impact of the crisis as changes in the national and urban economy have not yet fully trickled down to the rural areas. In general, the current crisis needs to be viewed as part of an ongoing process of change that has been transforming the countryside in Java.

Getting down to brass tacks, the workshop arrived at the following working definition of a crisis: it is a sudden shock to which conventional adjustment strategies do not apply. This crisis comes after 25 years of economic

growth during which many households were able to save and prepare a buffer for bad times ahead. Vel argued that the economic crisis needs to be seen in conjunction with ecological problems (El Niño, La Niña) and the current social and political crisis. Consequently, this crisis may be referred to as *krisis total*.

Diverse impact of the crisis

In general the workshop concluded that the impact of the crisis on rural Java has been diverse. This diversity concerns the impact on various groups, strata, or classes in the village economy. Landowners appear to be faring better than others. Households with no access to land, which are firmly embedded in the cash economy, appear to be most hit. Another aspect of diversity is the evidence on the rural non-farm sector tends to present different pictures. Wiradi reports that rural brickmaking in West Java has been severely hit and wages have been cut substantially to accommodate more workers. Sandee found that small-scale tile and brass handicrafts enterprises working largely for the rural markets appear to do better than their counterparts that concentrate on urban markets.

Thirdly, there is diversity among villages. Breman, Wiradi, and Wolters underlined the fact that rural communities are in disarray while White, Agus Dwiyanto, Hüsken, and Koning pointed out that the crisis has, so far, had only a limited impact on the developments in the villages that they studied. Various factors were discussed that might explain this diver-

sity in impact such as the location and cropping patterns of the village, the characteristics of its non-farm activities, and the importance of migrant labour. The degree of monetization of the village economy seems to matter in determining the local capacity to adjust to the changes in the economic environment.

The issue of returning migrants was debated repeatedly. In her overview paper on social security, Saptari stressed that most social relations in rural Java are directly reciprocal by nature and returns are expected in a well-defined period in time. It is argued that this is also true for migrants for whom it is important to pay their remittances (as a social premium) in good time to secure their access to the social safety nets in their rural communities in time of economic distress. Evidence on the re-integration of returnees is mixed. On the one hand, there are reports that rural wage rates have been adjusted downwards to accommodate more workers in the village labour markets. There are reports that fewer workdays are available per worker during harvest, as more workers need to have a share of the jobs available. On the other hand, there are return migrants who are neither willing nor able to work in agriculture and look for opportunities to go back to the cities.

Prior to the crisis there was increasing evidence that access to land is no longer the sole indicator of economic and social status. Commuting and migration are nowadays very important sources of income for rural households. It is very common to find that more than 40 per cent of the working population of villages in Java are economically active outside their rural communities. The current period of rapid inflation and declining wage employment opportunities have made land once more a crucial asset and an important source for social security. Irwan Abdullah and

'Villagers sensed that there was a crisis going on because the village was being supplied with such an amount of aid programmes in such a short time.'

Hüsken found declining landsales in the villages that they studied. More labour appears to be employed in agriculture than in previous years albeit at lower wages.

Financial relieve

Finally, two other issues that needed to be highlighted were the impact of the crisis on rotating savings and credit associations (*arisan*) and gov-

ernment programmes to develop a social safety net in the villages. Lont and Marianti found that there are no substantial withdrawals from *arisan*. It appears that *arisan* are more than just a way to save money; they also provide households with access to networks of assistance and information that are sorely needed during the crisis. Dwiyanto mentions some problems created by the implementation of social safety net programmes (*Jaringan Pengamanan Sosial*). Local government agencies are suddenly confronted with large sums of money that need to be disbursed within a strait jacket of tight time schedules. This has given rise to a rural construction boom as building activities can easily absorb large sums of money. In her paper Koning mentions that villagers sensed that there was a crisis going on because the village was being supplied with such an amount of aid programmes in such a short time ■

Henry Sandee, Department of Development Economics, Free University Amsterdam, can be reached at e-mail: hsandee@econ.vu.nl.

Publication



BOOKS RECEIVED

Aguilar, Filomeno V. Jr.

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The history of power and sugar planter hegemony on a Visayan island
Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998, ISBN 0-8248-2082-7

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The literary and intellectual impact
Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999, ISBN 3-8050-0424-9

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The Manwangdui medical manuscripts
London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998, ISBN 0710305826

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Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1999, 145 pp. ISBN 0-87727-726-5,
Introduction by Benedict Anderson

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Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1999, 258 pp. ISBN 0-87727-724-9

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Richmond: Curzon, 1999, ISBN 0-7007-1125-2

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Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1999, 272 pp. ISBN 0-87727-725-7,
revised edition

Ninth-century Javanese Dance Computer Graphics

Short News
&
This is a new project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board. The project uses computer-animation techniques to create a time-sequenced recording of the movements seen in the reliefs of the ninth-century Prambanan temple complex in Central Java, decoded using the analytical system found in the Sanskrit text on dance and drama known as *Natyaashastra*. Earlier research has shown that the dance technique described in this ancient text

influenced the development of dance in Hindu-Buddhist Java. The computerized re-creation will make the reconstruction accessible to a greater number of people, including practising dancers and choreographers interested in working with or knowing about obsolete movement forms and will focus on issues of interpretation in the context of reconstruction. The *LifeForms* modelling programme will be used, and an image transformation programme (*Morph*), in order to interface photographic and computer-created images at key frames in the ani-

mation. Other software (*Director*, *LabanWriter*) will also be used. The project will allow an assessment of all these graphic and modelling programmes which will be adapted to suit the dance form. The output will be a digital video and CD-Rom or one or the other. ■

Further information, contact

DR ALESSANDRA IYER

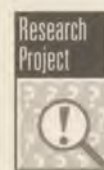
by e-mail: a.iyer@surrey.ac.uk, or write to: Dance Studies, School of Performing Arts, University of Surrey, Guildford GU2 5XH.

Dutch and Indonesian endeavours to control the River Solo in East Java

The Long Battle against the Auspicious Lord of the Waters

In Java the downstream region of the Solo River: the Solo Valley, remains a problem area because water control there is inadequate. Although Indonesian engineers are currently working hard to improve the situation the Solo, as Dutch engineers discovered around 1900 when a giant irrigation project of theirs ended in disaster, is not easy to control. This episode in colonial irrigation history will be elucidated in this article. The story of the Solo works is remarkable in itself and instructive to modern engineers, not to mention topical. Though it was finally abandoned the project has remained a subject of discussion up until the present day!

By WIM RAVESTEIJN



In a letter dated 29 October 1887 the Resident of Surabaya, C.H.A. van der Wijk, informed the director of the Civil Public Works Department for the Netherlands East Indies that the situation in Bengawan Jero, one of the Solo Valley districts, was so pitiful that for part of the year people were forced to live in flooded houses, camping on raised couches, or attached to bamboo rafts. The problem was not just that of persistent flooding in the rainy season; in the dry season rice cultivation suffered because of the scarcity of water. All in all, the 720,000 or so Solo Valley inhabitants led a sorry existence, but despite everything the Solo River, 540 km long and the longest river in Java, was still known as the Bengawan: the auspicious Lord of the Waters. The letter from Van der Wijk was instrumental in prompting the Public Works Department, after forty years of planning, finally to swing into action and set up the biggest irrigation project in the history of the Netherlands East Indies in 1893.

The project emanated from a master plan for the entire valley, the aim of which was to improve drainage and the irrigating of approximately 156,000 hectares of agricultural land. The idea was to force up the level of the Solo by about eight metres thus allowing water to be transported to the rice fields along a main canal 165 kms long plus a network of smaller canals with a collective length of 900 kms. There were also plans to redirect the Solo that flowed into the Madura Strait at Surabaya, transporting with it so much silt that it was feared shipping movements would be seriously hampered. The plan was to excavate through a ridge of hills and cause the river to flow out into the Java Sea. The recouring would necessitate the digging of a canal to provide shipping

links between Surabaya and the hinterland and drinking water supplies for the area cut off from the Solo. It was a highly ambitious project and one that could be termed impressive, even on a global scale.

The project did materialize; its execution was entrusted to the engineer J.L. Pierson who also drew it up. By 1898, though, when it became apparent that it was leading to a major deficit, J.Th. Cremer, the Minister for the Colonies, ordered that it be abandoned. He then set up a weighty advisory commission consisting of four technical experts and in 1900 a comprehensive and thorough report came

reservoirs that would be particularly beneficial to the people of the Bengawan Jero region (around 60,000 souls).

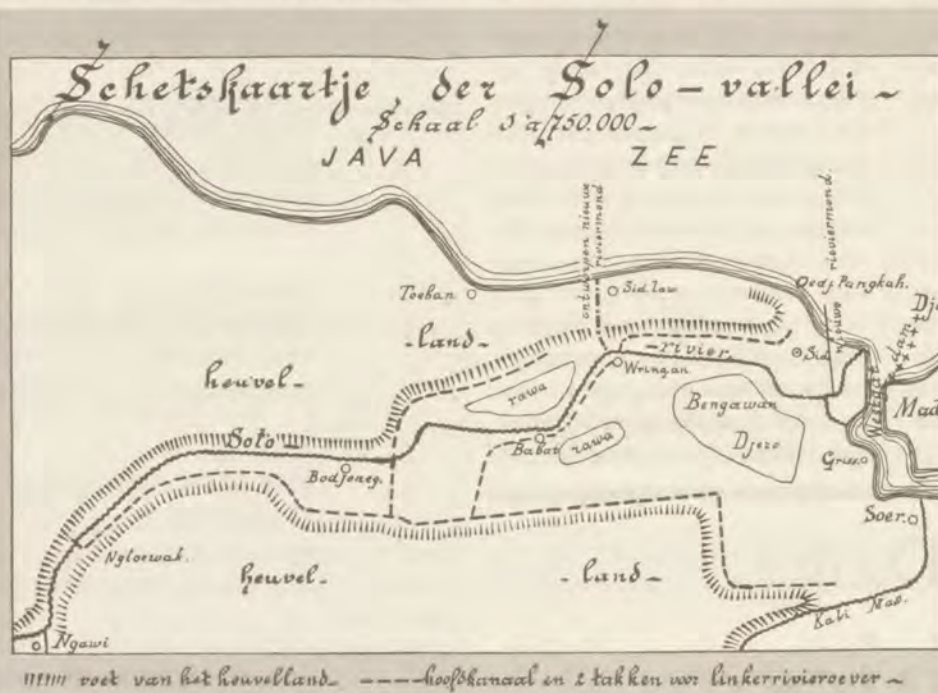
The deferment and subsequent cancellation of the Solo works gave rise to great consternation in engineering circles. On various occasions hydraulic engineers tried to give the project new impetus, not least because the alternative measures presented no satisfactory solutions. However, their efforts were in vain.

Background

The Civil Public Works Department (first a Public Works Bureau) was established in 1854 after a series of famines in Java caused, to no small extent, by the prevailing policy of exploitation. In its early decades the Department stood in the shadow of the Civil Service. The construction of dams and other waterworks was predominantly initiated and executed by Residents (using forced labour) who, when confronted with technically complicated tasks, would occasionally turn to the Public Works Department

cerns. The engineers had been given plenty of leeway in 1885 but this began to be curtailed when profitability became an issue. In 1897 the Profitability Commission was introduced to assess the economic viability of projects, especially in relation to land tax. Since there were civil servants as well as engineers on this commission, this again gave civil servants an important say in matters. The Solo project was extremely expensive. Originally budgeted at around 19 million guilders, the commission later decided that it would cost nearer 50 million. Most of the Solo commission members found that the project was running well but there was one, the engineer J.E. de Meyier, the Public Works Department director in the Netherlands Indies, who had his reservations. It was bowing to his views that Idenburg's decision to halt the Solo project was taken.

In Ethical Politics attention was turned to improving agriculture and this placed the profitability discussion in a different light. When an agricultural expert was introduced to the Profitability Commission, the manoeuvrability of engineers was even more restricted. Silt, essential for soil fertility, became a central issue and renewed objections were raised to the Solo works. With the long canals that were planned would silt actually reach far-away fields? How could agriculture be co-ordinated in such a large region? These were the new questions now being asked. In short, the prevailing views of Ethical Politics made the project look less attractive. The planned dam and large main canal structures also came in for heavy criticism. Because of the new policy and the Solo Valley disappointment,



out recommending that the project be continued in a modified form. In 1903 the then Minister for the Colonies, A.W.F. Idenburg, decided to drop the project altogether. In so doing he contravened the commission's conclusions, the wide support that the project enjoyed among engineers, and even the opinions of leading Ethical Politics supporters of the day such as C.Th. van Deventer, who felt that the project fitted in well with a policy introduced in 1901 aimed at improving public welfare. Idenburg's alternative was to provide a small-scale improvement programme and the creation of a number of large

for the help of an engineer. In such circumstances irrigation engineers were only able to construct a few headworks. By 1885 the Department had gained greater autonomy, which meant that engineers were able to develop and realize plans for the whole of Java according to the 'scientific' methods they upheld, i.e. carrying out investigative research before designing and laying entire irrigation systems.

What the Solo Valley works proved was that modern large-scale approaches could also fail and that failure could, in the first place, be ascribed to (financial) economic con-

ditions. The engineers had been given plenty of leeway in 1885 but this began to be curtailed when profitability became an issue. In 1897 the Profitability Commission was introduced to assess the economic viability of projects, especially in relation to land tax. Since there were civil servants as well as engineers on this commission, this again gave civil servants an important say in matters. The Solo project was extremely expensive. Originally budgeted at around 19 million guilders, the commission later decided that it would cost nearer 50 million. Most of the Solo commission members found that the project was running well but there was one, the engineer J.E. de Meyier, the Public Works Department director in the Netherlands Indies, who had his reservations. It was bowing to his views that Idenburg's decision to halt the Solo project was taken.

Indonesian efforts

The Dutch had done much to ease the water problems in the Solo Valley



The Solo near Ngluwak, the site of the planned dam

but when they departed they left behind them what still amounted to a problem area. After Independence, new master plans were drawn up: a Japanese plan (1974) to tackle the whole Solo basin and a Canadian one (1986), reminiscent of the Dutch plan presented in the 1900 Solo report. Only components of each were ever realized. As part of the Japanese plan, two large reservoirs, one in the Solo Valley, were created. The Canadians suggested building a canal that would link the Solo to the Java Sea, just as the Dutch had suggested about a hundred years before. The intention, however, was not to move the estuary of the river but rather to provide a diversion canal. Recently the Indonesians excavated a narrow canal there in the hope that (with overseas aid) they might one day be able to widen it.

In effect, by constructing small engineering works and large reservoirs the new authorities were repeating the same mistakes made by the colonial authorities before them, with the result that the area still suffers from periodic flooding and droughts. Even the Department's project offices were flooded in 1988. Fortunately the much-needed master plan for the entire basin is in the offing and project managers are using existing plans, the Dutch one included. Apparently the Dutch plan had not been forgotten in the Solo Valley either, because in the early nineties an inhabitant wrote to the local authorities urging them to complete the partially excavated main canal that had once been designed by the Dutch. ■

Map of the Solo Valley ('De Ingenieur' 1899 14 [32]: 408)

Wim Ravesteijn (1954) is a lecturer at Delft University of Technology where he is affiliated to the Department of Philosophy and the History of Technology within the Faculty of Technology, Policy and Management. He is involved in water control from historical and international points of view and also in the history of the Public Works Department in the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia. He gained his doctorate in 1997 with the publication of *De zegenrijke heeren der wateren. Irrigatie en staat op Java, 1832-1942* ('The Auspicious Lords of the Waters. Irrigation and the Colonial State in Java, 1832-1942'), published by Delft University Press.

Philippines' Search for Identity

While 'continuity and change' is a frequently overused cliché, the Philippines is an example of just how useful that phrase continues to be. Manila, especially, is a living contradiction of growth and dramatic change that obscures underlying continuities that define the nation's struggle with its identity and history.

By PAUL A. RODELL



At first, visitors who have not been to Manila for a few years are immediately struck by the number of new high-rise buildings and shopping malls that are reshaping the rapidly growing urban environment. Meanwhile, the malls continue to host daily throngs of shoppers and fill numerous social and cultural needs for all levels of society from the patrons of fine art galleries and restaurants to the less well-to-do who window shop and socialize in the numerous American and Filipino fast food outlets. In fact, despite the region's recent economic dislocations, the Philippines has escaped the worst of the downturn. While there are some major construction projects that have been put on hold, the city's business and commercial districts still have a healthy vibrancy and an optimistic outlook. Just recently, too, the exchange rate has improved in relation to the US dollar.

On the downside, the nation's primate city is clearly under greater stress with widespread poverty, worsening traffic congestion, increased levels of air pollution, and declining water quality. But, it is in the country's political life that the nation's struggle with its identity and history can be seen most clearly. While the election of Joseph Estrada has ushered in what many see as a return of the old Marcos 'cronies,' in fact, his presidency is a clear sign that the 'People Power Revolution' that toppled Ferdi-

nand Marcos is past. While a faithful few still wax warmly about the events of 1986, their countrymen and women have not been impressed with the governments of Corazon Aquino and Fidel Ramos. The EDSA revolution was a victory of the middle-class over the right-wing forces surrounding President Marcos and came at an opportune moment when the left was entering a period of self-destruction, but the window of opportunity for reform is now shut.

Barbie

Instead, Estrada's mandate came, in large part, because he appears to represent an alternative to traditional politics and because he seems genuinely concerned about the less fortunate. The problem for the future is that 'Erap' has no coherent social-economic programme for the nation's ills. Estrada's inauguration also coincided with the centennial celebration of the Philippine's declaration of independence from Spain in 1898. This could have been a time for renewal, reflection and reforms, but it was limited, instead, to civic dis-



plays. Indicative of the nature of the event was the mass marketing of patriotic consumer goods such as the Centennial Barbie and toy jeepneys that took their place beside ashtrays moulded from the lahar of the 1991 Mount Pinatubo volcanic eruption. Unless a serious dialogue about the nation's future is begun, the future might be bleak. That the Philippines was not hit as hard as some of its neighbours by the current regional economic crisis, will be of little compensation to the nation's poor as the Estrada administration's shortcomings become increasingly apparent.

What will happen next is anyone's guess, but an ominous indication is the renewed growth and daring of the Communist Party which earlier this year captured an armed forces Brigadier General. One issue which could further reinvigorate the left is the Visiting Forces Agreement with the United States that is currently before the legislature. Memories of the long battle to remove the US military presence are still fresh in the minds of the public and this past March saw the first violent student demonstration in years at the US Embassy over this specific issue. Meanwhile, the new president's style seems specifically geared to breaking off negotiations with the left and alienating the country's Muslim minority. Estrada's hardline stance with regard to Islamic demands recently resulted in an historic reunion of estranged rebel leaders Salamat Hashim of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Nur Misuari of the Moro National Liberation Front.

Any attempt to form a coherent response to the government's lack of a coherent social-economic programme or its failures to promote genuine participatory gov-

Sharp contrasts mark Filipino identity.

ernment and halt the drift toward confrontation with political dissidents and ethnic minorities runs up against deeper issues of identity and history. The legacy of a thoroughly Americanized elite that has dominated the country's wealth and political prerogatives acts as a heavy weight restraining the emergence of a society that might better meet the country's problems.

Aloha spirit

The depth of this ideological search for a genuine Filipino identity was clearly symbolized by the juxtaposition of two meetings recently held only days apart in the same conference centre on the campus of the University of the Philippines. The one event was the annual meeting of alumni of the East-West Centre of Honolulu, Hawai'i. The East-West Centre was created by the US Congress in 1960 and it still receives government subsidies. Many of its Filipino alumni are leaders in their respective fields and they truly care about their nation's progress and welfare, but they also fondly remember their days in the states and the 'Aloha Spirit' of the 50th state. Significantly, the meeting was attended by a special guest, the Acting Cultural Attache of the US Embassy whose closing remarks for the meeting highlighted what he saw as the long and congenial ties between the two countries.

In sharp contrast, a 'Kumprensyong Anti-Imperyalista' (Anti-Imperialist Conference) was held two days earlier in the same facility. If 1998 was the centennial of the Declaration of Philippine Independence, 1999 marks the centennial of the outbreak of war between the young Philippine Republic of Emilio Aguinaldo and the Imperialist American government of

William McKinley. No official American representative attended the conference, instead, the eight panels were composed of faculty from a number of UP branches and some religious universities plus representatives from cause-oriented organizations. While a number of presenters discussed the historical war, many others were concerned with contemporary issues such as minority affairs, the exploitation of women, rural impoverishment, education, and culture. A common theme of the presentations was a sharp critique of the American imperialist experience, historically and in its current lingering forms.

Though 'continuity and change' might be a cliché, the contemporary Philippines demonstrates that clichés

sometimes have validity. The divide represented by the two contrasting UP hosted events demonstrate continuity in the elusive search for a commonly accepted history and national identity as much as the failure of the 1968 EDSA Revolution and the election of Joseph Estrada represents the continuity of traditional politics. Can the country continue to maintain a contradictory national identity and elitist politics? Perhaps, but the city's growing slums and impoverishment in the midst of ostentatious shopping malls, the increasing problem of pollution and renewed challenges to government authority suggest that change may soon catch up with continuity. ■

Prof. Paul A. Rodell is a member of the Department of History, Georgia Southern University and the Executive Director of the Association of Third World Studies. This year he co-directed a faculty development seminar trip from the United States to the Philippines and Vietnam. E-mail: rodell@gsaix2.cc.gasou.edu.

Philippine Studies Circle

Philippinists residing in the Netherlands held a mini-workshop under IAS auspices on February 12, 1999, as a follow-up to the Centennial meeting last August 31 (Newsletter 17, p. 26), where four brief papers were presented and a round of mutual information on ongoing research on the Philippines concluded the session.

By OTTO V.D. MUIJZENBERG



Greg Bankoff (University of Auckland and Agricultural University Wageningen) introduced his book project entitled 'Culture and Disaster: Hazard and society in contemporary Philippines'. Stressing the exceptional effects of hazards on the national economy as well as the state of health of the Filipino population, he noted an annual average of eight natural hazards (like typhoons, volcanic eruptions, floods,

and Conversion of Money in the Philippines, and Java around 1900'. After briefly describing the complex monetary situation in the late-Spanish Philippines Wolters suggested three puzzles to be solved, viz. 1) How could the late Spanish Philippines sustain trading in agricultural commodities, without there being sufficient money in circulation? 2) Does the lack of copper coins in the Philippines, compared to colonial Java, indicate a less developed level of domestic trade or was bartering more prevalent? 3) Given the small amount of money in circulation, how was the colonial Spanish state able to extract tax to the tune of some 40 to 50 percent of the amount of legal tender in circulation?

In his lecture, Ton Van Naerssen (Catholic University Nijmegen), discussed recent and future 'Research on

and Conversion of Money in the Philippines, and Java around 1900'. After briefly describing the complex monetary situation in the late-Spanish Philippines Wolters suggested three puzzles to be solved, viz. 1) How could the late Spanish Philippines sustain trading in agricultural commodities, without there being sufficient money in circulation? 2) Does the lack of copper coins in the Philippines, compared to colonial Java, indicate a less developed level of domestic trade or was bartering more prevalent? 3) Given the small amount of money in circulation, how was the colonial Spanish state able to extract tax to the tune of some 40 to 50 percent of the amount of legal tender in circulation?

In his lecture, Ton Van Naerssen (Catholic University Nijmegen), discussed recent and future 'Research on

Urban Social Movements in Metro-Manila'. He gave a broad sketch of MetroManila's history in the mobilization of the urban poor, which makes the city exceptional in Southeast Asia. Several stages of relationships between the urban poor and squatters as opposed to the government were reviewed. The forms urban struggle have assumed over the years were shown to be dependent on the political opportunity structure at the international, national as well as the local levels. An illustration in the recent past was found in the importance of a combination of neighbourhood organizing and legal measures like the Urban Housing Act to mobilize housing improvements among the urban poor.

Rosanne Rutten introduced research to be undertaken in Cebu City under the title 'Brokers in Real Estate in Cebu', which is part of a larger comparative programme (cf. Newsletter no 16, p. 51). Questions in this research are: How do the newly emerging brokers in industrial real estate

negotiate access to land for new manufacturers? What use of economic and political connections do they make at various levels of organization? In line with the larger Brokers programme, she poses the question who are these brokers, where do they come from, in other words, whether they are elements in a process of elite continuity or form a newly emerging group? A PhD student for this project is being recruited at present.

Each of the lectures produced a lively discussion. After a round of mutual research information, the group of Philippine scholars decided to continue meeting on a quarterly basis, next meeting to be organized in Amsterdam in May 1999 by Rosanne Rutten (e-mail: rrutten@pscw.uva.nl). ■

Professor Otto van den Muijzenberg is attached to the University of Amsterdam and to the Centre for Asian Studies in Amsterdam (CASA). He can be reached at vandenmuijzenberg@pscw.uva.nl.

East Asia



P. R. CHINA

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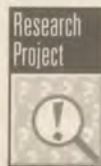
TAIWAN

11-13 December 1927

The Guangzhou Uprising

Within two days after it was launched on 11 December 1927, the Guangzhou Uprising was reversed. In the ensuing five days, the city was the scene of a pitiful massacre of radical men, women and children; an estimated five-six thousand insurrectionaries were to lose their lives, murdered in many cases in the most vengefully gruesome manner.

By ARIF DIRLIK



At 3:30 a.m. on 11 December 1927, military units and worker red guards under Communist control launched an uprising in Guangzhou (Canton). Around six o'clock that morning, when the uprising had achieved control over most of Guangzhou, the Communist leadership announced the formation of a Guangzhou Soviet. The Soviet became official when it was ratified at a mass meeting the following day, but, by then, the uprising was already in retreat. Zhang Tailei, the moving force behind the uprising, was assassinated as he returned from the meeting. By four o'clock on the thirteenth, Guangzhou was recaptured by warlord armies and their worker allies.

In the next year, most of the young revolutionaries—products of the May Fourth Movement—who had participated in the revolutionary movement in Guangzhou would lose their lives to white terror. The Guangzhou Soviet would come to be known in subsequent years as the 'Guangzhou Commune,' after the Paris Commune of 1871 which had inspired it ('The Paris Commune of the East'). It was the third of the revolutionary defeats of 1927 (along with the Nanchang and the Autumn Harvest Uprisings) that nearly extinguished the Communist Party, but have nevertheless been celebrated as the beginnings of a new strategy and a new revolutionary force that would bring the Communists to power in 1949.

The Uprising, and the revolutionary movement that led to it, in particular the Canton-Hong Kong Strike of 1925-1926, are significant events in what they have to tell us about the history of the Communist revolution in China. But this study is intended further as an inquiry into revolution as a historical phenomenon. In our post-revolutionary age, scholarship on revolutions has turned away from the teleologies that informed revolutions to uncovering their incoherence and the chaos that they wrought. While there was incoherence and chaos aplenty in an event such as the Guangzhou Uprising, I believe that

it is necessary for the historian to examine the ways in which revolutionaries themselves sought to overcome the chaos and the incoherence (which they recognized), while at the same time questioning the teleology that guided them.

'Place-based'

There are two aspects to this undertaking. First is the narrativization of revolution around different spatialities. My interest in the Guangzhou Uprising was kindled by the differences of local narratives of revolution from national narratives as represented in local and national (Beijing) museums of revolution. The question of the local versus the national has received considerable attention from historians of the Chinese revolution. In most cases, however, local narratives are absorbed into national narratives, dismissed for their deviations from the latter, or utilized to question the revolutionariness of the national revolution. Much the same may be said of the relationship of the national revolution to the international revolutionary movement of which it was conceived to be part.

I argue that it is important to identify alternative narrativizations while also recognizing that the histories constructed by different narratives also intersect with and inform one another. These intersec-



'Down with Imperialism'

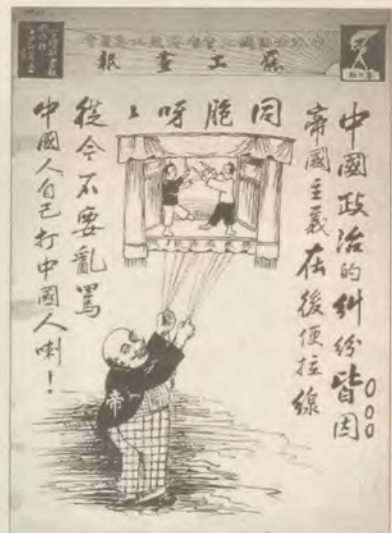
tions unavoidably have concrete locations which are not self-enclosed localities but sites where many forces (and histories) come together; hence my preference for 'place-based' over the more restrictive term, 'local.' The Guangzhou Uprising was very much place-based, but it was not just local. To be sure, tracing the unfolding of the revolutionary movement in Guangzhou is crucial to understanding the uprising. But this is only one narrative. The Uprising was also part of a national narrative, primarily a military against a social narrative, that rendered the uprising into the last of the three uprisings in 1927, beginning in central China and ending in Guangzhou. Finally, the Uprising was part of a global narrative, that began in Paris in 1871, moved through St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1917, and ended in Guangzhou in 1927. Those involved in the Uprising (the workers, women and intellectu-

als in Guangzhou; the representatives of the Communist Party center in Shanghai; and Comintern representatives in Shanghai and Guangzhou) located the Uprising in their different narratives. What is of immediate interest for purposes of this study is how those placed in Guangzhou, whatever their affinities, constructed a narrative out of these different narratives that was at once local, national, and global; that brought together different spatialities and temporalities in the concrete circumstances of Guangzhou.

Class

The second aspect pertains to the narratives (or discourses of revolution) constructed by its different constituencies; most importantly, intellectuals, workers, and women. I have already examined the different meanings of revolution to workers in Guangzhou versus the Communist Party representatives ('Narrativizing Revolution: The Guangzhou Uprising [11-13 December 1927] in Workers' Perspective,' *Modern China*, Vol.23 No.4, October 1997:363-397). The same intellectual and emotional complexities that prevailed among workers are to be found among intellectuals and women who discovered different meanings in the revolution, anticipated different consequences from their participation in it, and were deeply divided over the problem of revolution. These different readings of revolution are too complex to go into here. Suffice it to say that in this regard, too, alternative readings of revolution clashed with one another, but could also achieve some coherence through participation in the revolutionary movement. To cite the example of workers, there has been a tendency in recent scholarship to dismiss the importance of 'class' because of the incoherence of workers' consciousness. In Guangzhou, too, workers clashed with one another; and some of the worst atrocities were commit-

ted by workers against one another. On the other hand, we need to remember that 'class' is not just a positive concept (a reflection of reality), or even just an analytical one, but also a reference for self-identification. What may be most remarkable is not that workers were divided (by place origin, different political affiliations, different interests), but the extent to which they could overcome such divisions by a new consciousness of class. Once the concept of class entered the language of self-identification, class itself provided the discursive terrain for the expression of differences (in other words, which workers best represented 'class' interests). The same may be said of the question of gender, which entered revolutionary discourse during these same years, and the self-identification of intellectuals who participated in the revolutionary movement. Needless to say, these self-identifications also need to be grasped in place-based ways.



Illustrated Magazine for Peasants and Workers: 'Imperialism causes the Chinese to fight Chinese'.

The uncovering of these different narrativizations is important for challenging teleological narratives of revolution. Indeed, recognition of alternative narratives is crucial to understanding that the teleology could be sustained only by suppressing other, also revolutionary, narratives. What this implies is that in China, as in most other revolutionary situations, there was not just one revolution but many revolutions, which were appropriated for the revolution. At the same time, it is equally important to recognize that revolution itself was a transformative process, that brought together different narratives, in the process reshaping their relationship to one another, as well as to the master narrative of revolution. ■

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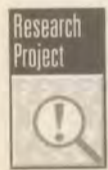


Rebels executed in the aftermath of the uprising.

The Asian Financial Crisis Responses of Chinese Diaspora Capitalism

The financial crisis that has struck many regions in Asia will be a testing ground and turning point for the Chinese diaspora. In recent years, their distinctive transnational connections, and flexible business style have been regarded by many scholars, including our own research as a significant current in global capitalism, not only in terms of knitting much of the region together, but also serving as mentor and bridge for the entry of mainland China onto the world stage. The current situation, however, will call for a close analysis of the roles and experiences of different capitalist currents active in the region. It will also elicit new strategies and changes of direction to consolidate their strengths and minimize their weaknesses. Most of all, the current crisis will provide us with a timely opportunity to re-evaluate our findings from our earlier research.

By DAVID IP



The present research project is a continuation of our previous study, documented in *The Chinese Diaspora and Mainland China: an emerging economic synergy* (Macmillan and St Martin's Press, 1996). In the earlier study, we have indicated that there are considerable advantages to diaspora Chinese business in the use of trust-based, long-term relationships and networks. In view of the current crisis, we are now prepared to ask how far does the reliance on networks involve counter-productive forms of corruption? In crisis, is there more or less reliance on such relationships? How far have networks been crucial to survival, success, and new beginnings since the crisis?

Similarly, if Chinese networks were shown to have been capable of lying dormant, as sleepers, for a generation or longer, able to be revived and extended when needed, is the crisis a result of an overextension or overreliance on such networking? Do such revived networks remain operative in crisis, or can they retire into a dormant state when contraction occurs?

In our earlier study, continuities were found between the ways large and small firms operate, utilizing rapid mobility between them. Small firms fostered the long-term ambitions to become large ones and large ones preserved the family control and flexibility of small ones. More often than not growth involved the multiplication of small units rather than the expansion of a large bureaucratic structure, so that family holdings had an inherent capacity for fission and downscaling as well as for growth. We would like to investigate how effective such flexibility has been in responses to the financial crisis and whether large or small firms have responded the more successfully.

Transnationalism

In our previous research we found that low debt-ratios and reliance on personal sources of capital for private family firms were traditionally the hallmarks of Chinese capitalism. In the last decade, however, stock market floatation and substantial indebtedness have risen. Given the current situation, we would be interested to discover if these recent changes in capital-raising strategies contributed to the crisis and whether such strategies have been re-evaluated in the light of the crisis.

We observed that one distinctive strength of the diaspora Chinese was

'It seems there are two kinds
of capitalist spirit at work, one
based on rational productivism
and the other on gambling
and speculation.'

the capacity of even small and medium family businesses to operate transnationally, often through personal networks, even in areas of risk and uncertainty. In the current unsustainable situation, further questions need to be raised. For example, how far has transnationalism been a source of unsustainable risk? Did the crisis impact differently on those more or less transnationalized? How far is it a resource for recovery? Are entrepreneurs responding to the crisis by extending or contracting transnational operations? Has the crisis increased or decreased the autonomy and bargaining power of diaspora firms vis-à-vis transnational corporations?

Our previous research found that in times of prosperity, one distinctive business strategy employed in Chinese business involved opportunistic diversification which encouraged and gave free play to entrepreneurial qualities. Under the present conditions of economic adversity, the question changes to whether diversification (vertical as well as horizontal) has become a source of weakness. Has diversification or, alternatively, contraction to the core activity been an effective recovery strategy?

More specifically, we also observed in our last study that diaspora Chinese capitalism had shown itself well able to shift its central focus from one sector to another. As the situation in Hong Kong indicated, it shifted from trade to manufacturing then to finance and distribution as well as into property speculation. As the current crisis continues to unfold, it seems that there are two kinds of capitalist spirit at work, one based on rational productivism and the other on gambling and speculation. An important question is, will the crisis lead to a revised balance between rational calculation and speculative risk taking?

Shifting to focus on the role of diaspora Chinese in China's economic transformation, we suggested that the opportunities offered by an open-door China were shown to have enabled the diaspora investors to revive, extend and use networks there and to establish a synergy with development in the localities. Given the current economic conditions in China, it would be cogent to explore the post-crisis relationship between opportunity in China and networking revival and extension. That is, what effect on the diaspora business will China's own post-crisis responses have, including post-crisis moves to recentralize control over the localities by Beijing?

Longitudinal study

Overall, these questions will form the core of our research project. Our research is planned to replicate our earlier study, which was conducted between 1992-1995, in a new context with a focus on the impact of the crisis on the regional activities of diaspora Chinese capitalists and their strategic responses to it. However, our projected research also intends to extend the previous study to include newly emerging key players, that is to expand the study to diaspora economic activities around the East Asian region as a whole by including Singapore as part of our research location.

Our previous study included three main elements and it is our intention to repeat them here to make it into a longitudinal study. A media search for the transnational activities of the 75 leading ethnic Chinese business families in the region will be brought up to date by using similar methods to those we applied before, but focusing primarily on analysing how they have been affected by the crisis, and with a particular focus on those which have changed or lost their leading positions. Attempts will be made to contact and re-interview a substantial number of the some forty ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs we interviewed in Hong Kong and Australia. However, we shall also do our best to conduct new interviews with entrepreneurs in Taiwan and Singapore who are engaged in transnational activities (thirty in each). Finally, an attempt to re-survey the managers (or owner/managers) of six hundred foreign invested firms in six different parts of coastal China, including Dongguan, Guangzhou in Guangdong province, Xiamen and Chuanzhou in Fujian Province, Suzhou and Naning in Jiejiang Province, will be initiated. This will be carried out by research institutes and social scientists commissioned in China to do this work.

The chief investigators of this research are Dr Constance Lever-Tracy and Noel Tracy from Flinders University, South Australia, Dr David Ip from the University of Queensland. Associated investigators are Dr Wenthuen Wang from the Chung-hua Institution in Taipei, and Dr Zhu Wenhui from the China Business Centre at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. ■

Dr David Ip was a senior visiting fellow under the Qiaoxiang Ties Programme, stationed at the IAS Amsterdam Branch Office, 1 January - 15 February 1999.

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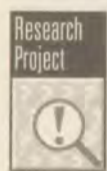
Negotiating Chinese Immigrant Food Culture in a Global Setting

Food touches everything ... Food marks social differences, boundaries, bonds, and contradictions. Eating is an endlessly evolving enactment of gender, family, and community relationships.

(COUNIHAN AND VAN ESTERIK 1994: 1)

Introduction

By JOSEPHINE SMART



The phenomenon of immigrant cuisines is fairly well documented in the social sciences. A general conclusion from this type of research is that immigrants try to maintain their own cooking and eating habits as long as possible, even against strong pressure to change them. People express their cultural identity through their manner of eating and drinking. Therefore, foodways define a person as much as do their language, dress, or architecture. In looking at the case of Chinese immigrants in countries all over the world, one wonders how the evolution of the Chinese Immigrant Cuisine (CIC) may reflect the identity/identities they accept for themselves and impose on others.

Among the Chinese immigrants in London, employment in the restaurant business was tightly linked to lineage ties as observed by Watson (1975:127). He describes 'how little the emigrants had actually changed as a result of their urban experience ... The reason, of course, is that the restaurants are virtual islands of Chinese culture in the larger British society - isolated pockets where the emigrants can interact with the alien outside world on their own terms'.

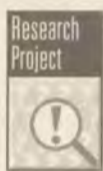
Ethnic identity is a combination of self-identification and identification by others. Even within the isolated ethnic enclave of the Chinese restaurant economy, it is unlikely that the Chinese are entirely free of the forces from the 'alien outside' in their ethnic consciousness. Anderson (1991) convincingly argues that 'Chinatown' in Canada and Australia are Western constructions reflective of the cultural domination of the Chinese by European settlers who hold the power to impose their racist images of what the Chinese and Chinatown should be on the Chinese. Smith (1992) eloquently put forward the hypothesis that ethnic consciousness, like all forms of collective identity, does not spring *sui generis* from 'objective' conditions such as nationality, geographical origin, or racial attributes. It is a relational construct made possible through articulatory practices flowing from group-level interactions. As a form of imagined community, ethnic consciousness is continually shaped and reshaped by the gestural, the ritual, and the semiotic exchanges of dis-

course. It is in this context that we justify our focus on Chinese cuisine in its production and consumption as a medium of articulation of this two-way process of identity formation and contestation between the Chinese immigrants and their non-Chinese counterparts in the greater society.

The following sections present a preliminary report on some observations of CIC in Canada, Scotland, Belgium, and Singapore. One common observation shared by all these reports from diverse locations around the world is that CIC, like any other aspect of culture, is ever changing. The causes and consequences of these changes, however, are coloured by local historical, political, and socio-cultural contexts. It is this diversity and heterogeneity that makes our investigation both challenging and rewarding. ■

The 'Hongkong-ization' of Chinese Immigrant Cuisine in Canada

By JOSEPHINE SMART



Chinese immigration to Canada began more than a hundred years ago in part as a response to the demand for labour in mining and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The CIC in Canada is dominated by Cantonese cuisine which has undergone many instances of localization or indigenization over time in response to both internal and external forces.

Preparation and ingredients

The major Chinese food preparation methods include steaming, stir-frying, simmering, deep-frying, and braising, but the Westernized Chinese food has a tendency to overemphasize the deep frying method, the use of thick batter, and the creation of thick sauces. With the recent wave of Hong Kong immigration to Canada since the early 1980s, a parallel development of a 'Hong Kong'-style cuisine has emerged in all the major urban centres in Canada. This cuisine emphasizes seafood by steaming or stir-frying in a highly Asian fusion style, using ingredients from other cuisines. In addition, new dishes have been created to feature

the combination of Chinese spices and Westernized ingredients such as 'Fried rice crepe with spicy XO sauce'.

Meal Patterns

The lunch/dinner buffet format has continued to gain popularity in Canada even though most connoisseurs dismiss this as a travesty of a great cuisine. The more recently established and highly popular Chinese buffets among Hong Kong immigrants have a more expanded selection that presents a range of some one hundred dishes. Chinese buffets are popular with both Chinese and non-Chinese customers.

Language

The Canadian Chinese restaurants provide their differential treatment of clients through the use of language. Those catering specifically to non-Chinese clients feature menus in English only, with meal patterns and items that are highly 'Westernized'. A distinctive characteristic of this type of food outlet is the 'combo'



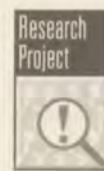
menu. At the other extreme, some restaurants in Chinatown areas serve menus in Chinese only. However, the majority of Chinese restaurants in Canada feature a bilingual menu that contains a set-dinner section featuring more Westernized items and an à la carte menu that feature more 'Chinese' dishes.

Location

Chinatown remains a significant geographical locus of Chinese restaurants. A new development in the past two decades is the rapid proliferation of Hong Kong-style Cantonese and other regional Chinese restaurants in the neighbourhoods away from Chinatown. This new geographical dispersal of Chinese restaurants is a direct reflection of (1) the rising number of Chinese immigrants in Canadian cities, and (2) the low degree of ethnic segregation in Canada, which accounts for the high degree of integration of Chinese immigrants in all neighbourhoods in urban centres. ■

The Change of Cultural Identity through Ethnic Restaurant Menus

By CEN HUANG



The following is a story of how the presentation of restaurant menus reflects the cultural identity of a Chinese restaurant owner. Mr Zeng emigrated to Britain in 1969 from Hong Kong and started a small take-away shop in a northern town in Scotland. During his 30 years in the restaurant business, Zeng has adopted three major menus:

1. Establishment of a culturally isolated menu (1969-1978)

The first difficulty Zeng faced to make a menu in English. Zeng did not know any English, so he copied ten menu items from a nearby Chinese restaurant. This menu was used for ten years. During this period, Zeng felt very isolated and homesick because he had left his wife and two children in Hong Kong and was not able to visit them regularly. In the early 1970s, the Chinese restaurant workers were among very few immigrants residing in north Scotland.



Hindered by the language barrier, Zeng rarely spoke to local customers and had almost no friends in the local community. He called his first menu *lan dan*, which means a 'hopeless menu'. This menu, in a way, reflected Zeng's early immigration life in which he was culturally isolated in a new environment.

2. Modification of a mixed cultural menu (1979-1988)

In 1979, Zeng's wife and children came to join him in Scotland. The family moved to the city of P where he set up a take-away restaurant. The middle 1970s was a watershed after which the number of immigrants settling in Scotland increased. By that time Zeng was able to communicate in simple English and began making local Scottish and other minority friends. In 1983, Zeng joined a Chinese association in the city where he went to meet fellow Chinese restaurant owners and workers on Sundays. His life was no longer lived in isola-

tion but he often felt confused with his own identity. He believed that if he could speak English, and if he served customers more dishes to the Western taste in his restaurant, his situation would improve. Zeng's restaurant was among the few Chinese restaurants in the city to serve a mixture of Chinese and Western food. Western food made up almost a half of the menu items and there were also some Westernized Chinese dishes, such as beef in Mandarin sauce. According to Zeng, this menu reflected the state of his identity at that time, which was culturally confused and perplexed.

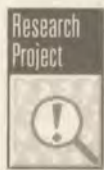
3. Development of an authentic and multicultural menu (1989-present)

In 1989, Zeng opened a new restaurant in the city of G. Both Zeng's children graduated from university and found jobs. Zeng became an active member in the Chinese community and served as a director on the board one of the associations. He also made financial contributions to the local schools and nursing houses. In recognition of this, he received several community awards from the municipal government. By this ten-year period, Zeng was fluent in English and had been recognized by the mainstream society, but he said that the process of cultural integration has made him feel more strongly ethnic Chinese than ever. The new menu reflected the change in cultural identity of not only Zeng himself, but also of his restaurant in the early 1990s. These major changes have comprised four aspects: (1) it serves authentic Chinese food, including different styles of Chinese cooking; (2) it also serves other Oriental cuisines; (3) it aims to serve both Chinese and Western customers; and (4) there is a Chinese version of the menu. The new menu represents Zeng's current cultural identity claims, i.e. to be an ethnic Chinese as well as a multicultural in the host society.

The story of Zeng's menus shows that the cultural integration of immigrants may take place by a series of certain steps in a particular process, from 'culture shock' through confused feelings, finally consolidating in the building up of a multicultural identity. Although Zeng's story may not represent the experiences of other ethnic restaurant owners, as a case in point it provides insights into how a Chinese immigrant and restaurant owner sees himself integrated into a new socio-cultural milieu through the modification of his restaurant menus. ■

Interplay between Ethnic Food and Local Taste in Belgium

By CHING LIN PANG



This section explores how preferences for food develop and are reproduced in socio-cultural phenomena by elucidating the negotiation process between ethnic food producers and local consumers in Belgium.

Indonesian Chinese

A characteristic of Chinese food in Belgium and the Netherlands is its creation of Indonesian Chinese menus. In the post-war period a fusion between Chinese and Netherlands Indies (Indonesian) food took place in the Netherlands. Dishes like *saté*, *gado gado*, and *nasi goreng* are included on many Chinese restaurant menus. Through informal lineage networks these menu cards were imported in to Belgium.

'Foreign, but not too foreign'

When interviewing local Chinese food consumers, the issue of 'foreign, but not too foreign' with reference to Chinese food often arose. The degree of adaptation of ethnic food or the level of 'authenticity' is to a great extent determined by the consumers, but the degree of acceptance of certain Chinese foodstuffs has been a slow process. During the first half of the 1980s, indeed up to 1987, Chinese restaurants adopted new strategies. First, new dishes like dim sum, new ingredients such as ginger, and new cooking methods like steaming were introduced to prove the 'authentic' nature of Chinese food. Secondly, expensive wines were added to the wine list. Some of the new generation Chinese restaurant-owners started to consume more wine themselves and a few even took an interest in oenology. In addition, renovation of the interior decor in terms of upgrading and expansion was another option open to those desirous of remaining in business. Many customers were satisfied with this 'face-lift' or 'authentication process' undergone by Chinese restaurants.

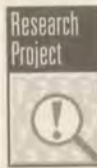
'To Chinese'

Tastes change gradually over time, but some eating patterns seem resistant to change. In the context of the Chinese restaurant, chips are still on the menu despite the increasing sophistication of the customer. All the more since chips are considered to be indigenous and deeply ingrained in the local food folklore. In recent years, the interest in the 'Orient' or all things 'Asian' has been very prominent in popular culture, including the food sector. Recently, restaurants offering different sorts of Asian food have emerged in the city of Antwerp. In some restaurants the owners are native Belgians, but the staff consists of Asians. By providing Asian food, served by a staff of Asian ethnic background, these restaurant-owners succeed in evoking an Asian 'ambiance' or mood. It is important to note that members of the domi-

nant group have entered an ethnic food business. Or, viewed from the other perspective, a specific branch of ethnic entrepreneurship has gone mainstream. The domestication of Chinese food is revealed most vividly in the expression 'to Chinese' meaning 'to go and eat Chinese food', which has become a common expression in colloquial speech. ■

Negotiating Food and Ethnic Identity in Singapore

By KHUN ENG KUAH



This section examines how the hawker centres in Singapore are an avenue to display identity through its food consumption.

Hawker centres

There are two types of hawker centres found in Singapore. The first is the covered but open-air hawker centre, usually found adjoining the 'wet market' and on housing estates. The second type, commonly known as the food court, is found in big shopping centres. In the hawker centres, the main types of ethnic food are represented according to the CMIO model. Under this model, the distribution of social resources and public facilities are linked to the ethnic distribution of the Singapore population: Chinese (78%), Malay (14%), Indians (7%), and Others (1%). Within the hawker centres, the ethnic food stalls are neatly divided up so that one section is given to purveyors of Malay (Muslim halal) food, one section to the Indians, and the rest to sellers of Chinese food. Operators serving Western food are often ethnic Chinese. In all cases, Chinese food dominates the hawker centres.

Regional identities

Apart from ethnic food being arranged according to the CMIO model, among the Chinese food is closely articulated according to the regional identities of the Chinese present in Singapore. Within the Chinese community, there are three main dialect groups, namely the Fujianese, Chaozhouese, and Cantonese as well as numerous smaller dialect groups. Through the years, each Chinese dialect group has carved a specific food niche for itself. Certain dishes have come to be associated with the various dialect groups. For example, Hokkien fried noodles and Hainanese chicken rice. All these foods can be found and are avidly consumed in all hawker centres.

Food, class, and identity

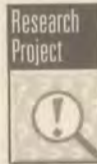
Since the creation of hawker centres on the housing estates, many people have started eating out very frequently. There are various reasons to explain this attraction. First of all, there is a large range of food available and the prices are within the reach of all classes. Secondly, food cuts across class and ethnic lines and makes those who consume it equal. It is not an infrequent sight to see wealthy people with luxury cars

queue for a bowl of noodles. Thirdly, the multicultural identity of these places at which members of different ethnic groups can be seen eating at the stalls and mixing with other ethnic groups. Finally, among the Chinese consumption of Chinese food has become a negotiated process that occurs on a daily basis in the hawker centres. The criteria used for the selection by people have very little to do with their own dialect background. They are often based on three factors: speed of preparation, cost, and taste.

The hawker centres in Singapore represent an important food space where the relationship between food, class, and ethnicity is played out between the various ethnic groups through the selection and consumption of food. It is also an important political space created by the government to ensure that its policy of multiculturalism is expressed into every aspect of the life of its citizens. In the case of the Chinese, the articulation of the Chinese dialect and regional identities is also kept alive through the various types of Chinese food available in the hawker centres. ■

Concluding Remarks: Eating Across Boundaries

By ALAN SMART



One of the recurrent themes in the individual studies reported above is the relationship between foodways and ethnic identity. Food may indeed be one of the most sensitive indicators of the problems of cross-cultural communication and interaction. But why should there be such a close association? What is it about food that makes it so significant for identity issues? Surely other forms of consumption, such as fashion or architecture, would be just as relevant? A crucial factor would seem to be that in the case of food, consumption takes on a literal meaning. We need to take it physically into our body, not just display it on our walls or sit on it. Tastes for food are learned, and the result is that food can physically, not just intellectually, revolt us. The visceral nature of eating food, then, brings out cultural responses that can be very much below the surface, so that even when we may feel that we should try and eat something, we find it hard to force ourselves to do it. This is one reason that eating has often been presented as one of the rites of passage of anthropological fieldwork.

In a recent book, entitled *The Anatomy of Disgust*, Miller (1997) has argued for the importance of the emotion of disgust to social theory. Disgust is frequently associated with the boundaries between us and them, and eating habits are often seen as indicators of the barbaric nature of the Other. The unpleasant smell emanating from early European visitors to China was accounted for, at least in part, by their diet of cheese and meat, and what was seen as their unsophisticated cuisine supported ideas of the superiority of



Photos: 'Indonesian Chinese' restaurants in Leiden, The Netherlands.

Chinese civilization. When we turn to the localization of Chinese restaurants by Chinese immigrants, the related reactions of disgust/distaste/disdain seem to be clearly involved in the development of the kind of food served in these restaurants. Particularly prior to the development and dissemination of cosmopolitan food cultures in North America over the last few decades, authentic Chinese food generated considerable distaste among potential patrons. This can still be seen in persistent urban myths about 'What is really in those deep fried chicken balls?', or in reactions to the suggestion of ordering chicken feet during dim sum. Conversely, the proprietors of Chinese restaurants frequently have disrespect for what their patrons want to have served to them as Chinese food, leading to the production of meals that they typically do not eat among themselves. And finally, with the development of cosmopolitan food cultures, which emphasize 'authentic' cuisines, there is considerable disdain for the localized Chinese cuisines that developed out of serving primarily non-Chinese clientele. It is this final form of disdain that has resulted in the near absence of any sustained academic analysis of localization of Chinese food in these contexts, which are dismissed as bastardized and degenerated forms of authentic forms. Only the latter, the authentic version, has received any careful attention. It is as a corrective to this tendency that this panel was organized.

Throughout the world there has been an increase in cosmopolitan familiarity with regional cuisines. Clearly the nature of the reaction of the host society to offshore food has a tremendous impact on the localization of Chinese restaurant food: the stronger the resistance to different tastes is, the more that the cuisine has had to adapt to local tastes. What is it that is driving the increase in preference for authentic food from other cultures? Is it just the fashion-

setters of the food and lifestyle magazines, or the relentless search for new 'positional goods' by the elite and those who emulate them? How much of the differentiation in taste is a product of class? And how has this changed over time? All of these issues have been addressed here, but clearly there is much more research that needs to be conducted. ■

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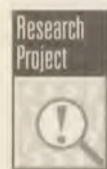
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Doing Research on the History of Madness in China

The tight connection between Western Imperialism and philanthropic undertakings is widely recognized. I shall argue that the Asylum for the Insane in Canton was a striking symptom of the imperialistic attitude, an attitude which could be termed one of 'double-intrusion' because of the obvious attempt to teach the Chinese what is 'normal' and what is 'abnormal'.

By ANGELIKA C. MESSNER



Canton 1898: The medical missionary John Glasgow Kerr (1824-1901) establishes the first 'Asylum for the Insane' that has ever existed in Chinese history. One of the main purposes of this asylum was, in the words of Kerr, 'the change [of the insane] from the treatment and influences of heathen relatives.' ('The Refuge for the Insane', Canton', *The China Medical Missionary Journal* 12, 4 (1898), p. 178).

Western psychiatry, an invention of nineteenth century Europe, is well known as an extraordinarily controversial field of study. The view of psychiatry as representing essentially the history of humanism (Zilboorg, 1967) stands in direct opposition to the view of psychiatry as representing one constituent part in the process of developing industrialization and technology in Europe and North America since the eighteenth century (Foucault, 1961). The latter approach is fundamentally based on the critique of Modernity (Enlightenment), which focuses on the dichotomy between ratio and madness. This view led to the fact that different 'expel-mechanisms' (appearing first around the eighteenth century) aimed at the elimination of madness.

Notions entertained by medical missionaries on the relatively infrequent prevalence of insanity in China – when compared to Europe and North America – which they attributed to the 'phlegmatic temperament of the Chinese' and the generally quiet lifestyle in China, should be read merely in the sense of their own representations. Such notions betray their mostly affirmative support for the project of 'modernity', including the generally attempted 'cultural hegemony' on the part of Western countries (Said 1979) against the backdrop of evolutionary, biological, and racist patterns.

Idioms

Examinations of Chinese medical discourse in late imperial China indicate many heterogeneous notions, explanations and methods of treatments on *dian*, *kuang*, *xian*, and *feng*. Whereas the first three terms can be traced back to the *Wushier bingfang* of the *Mawangdui*-corpus (300-200 BC) and the *Huangdi neijing* (200 BC – AD 800), *feng* does not appear until the Qing medical discourse (where it indicates an unfathomable form of madness, but

also leprosy or rabid dog). This term also appears in the judicial discourse of the Qing era, where it indicates a particularly threatening state of insanity, which demands special attention from family and village community. Whereas the medical discourse informs us of the possession by demons or the prevalence of wind in different organ systems, both of which have to be cast out, the judicial discourse provides no explanation. Judicial discourse on madness in Chinese history shows that since early times (*Zhouli*) it has been a kind of weakness afflicting the very young or old, the 'idiots and imbeciles'. Such persons were granted special consideration in law until the turn of the twentieth century and were judged as having 'lessened criminal liability' (Bünger 1950:6).

Medical discourse in late imperial China shows two dominant patterns of explication: possession of demons and an explanation within the 'medicine of systematic correspondence'. Many texts indicate that families accepted any form of explication, as long as the doctor or shaman called could succeed in healing. The central concept of madness within the medicine of systematic correspondence was of disharmony (madness due to *yinyang* imbalance, disturbances in body fluids connected to *qi*-disturbances inside the body, e.g. *qi* reversal, states of repletion (*shi*) and depletion (*xu*), and disharmony of emotional states).

The most crucial point in this discourse on madness is that although madness was also described in terms of 'mental' symptoms and 'mental' illness throughout, these terms were by no means perceived as forming a single and separate category standing in opposition to a single physical category. This is also evidenced by various theories appearing in late imperial China, such as the prominent role of the study of heat (heat as the origin of all diseases, and hence also for madness) as well as different attempts to locate the cause of madness (*kuang* for instance) as 'fire on the *yangming* meridian', or on the spleen-organ system, or on the liver and gall bladder, or on the heart, where the accumulation of sputum or wind were seen as causes, as well as on sudden frights, and the like. Even such approaches which attempted (since the seventeenth century) to subsume different forms of madness under the category '*shenbing*' – indicating a conceptual extraction of madness from other illnesses –

remained fundamentally within the general systemic approach both in diagnosis and treatment.

Since the two fundamentally interwoven spheres were not divided and cannot simply be reduced by an exclusion of a single element from the whole, madness tended to figure rather as a 'quantitative' alteration of normal health; in this, madness did not differ from other illnesses and was not considered a different state, which would imply a fundamental 'qualitative' difference between insanity and health. The latter general conception of disease appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Europe; and although Wang Qingren (1831) first mentioned the idea of the brain as location for the 'outbreak of epilepsy (*xian*)' (whether influenced by Western thought or not), this viewpoint did not achieve any significance within general medical discourse on madness until the 1930s.

Paradox

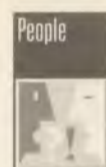
The focus on the brain as locus for the outbreak of madness was the main challenge to the Chinese explanation of madness posed by Western medicine – and not only to the Chinese medical discourse on madness, but also for philosophy, because now the brain and not the heart had to be perceived as the location for thinking. Another challenge was posed at the socio-political level: the institutionalized care of the insane. The question as to why Western-style psychiatry did not take root in China (Lin 1985) can be answered at different levels: although the involvement of China in war after war can be seen as an important hindrance, the historically rooted cultural perception of 'normality and abnormality' seems to have been much more important. Starting from the results on the Western history of madness, Chinese history shows at least two paradoxes. On the one hand, since early times within the medical discourse on madness, madness has been considered to be just one illness among others. However, this is not to be confused with the developing 'medicalization' (Foucault 1963) – a complex process which gradually subdues a population to the power of the physician and the state (Foucault determined the beginning of this process in Europe to be at the turn of the nineteenth century).

On the other hand, judicial discourse on madness in China shows that since early times it has been considered a kind of weakness. In the West, a similar special concern for the insane is not paid before the nineteenth century. This is not to be confused with the special attention given to it within the Chinese context mentioned above: while in the West – based on the 'qualitative' conception of madness – medical authority became juridical authority. At the same time, this was never true of China, where the family remained the main carer of any of its afflicted members.

Perhaps more than in other fields of historical research, explorations into the history of madness in China demands a highly reflective and clearly formulated methodological basis. Mindful of the fundamental challenge posed by any attempt to privilege the norms of agency and responsibility (based on Foucaultian theory), we should nevertheless be aware that Foucaultian results reflect a European *Weltanschauung* and are based on the given 'dichotomy between ratio and irratio', which cannot be applied *sui generis* as a heuristic concept to the Chinese history of madness. ■

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Wei Jingsheng in Leiden



Wei Jingsheng (born 1950) is China's best-known dissident. He spent more than half of his adult life in prison for the peaceful expression of his political beliefs. In 1978 Wei wrote an essay entitled 'The Fifth Modernization' in which he stated that, without democracy, China could not truly modernize. His essay caused a sensation: not only because of its open assault on the government, but also because the author dared to sign his name and address on the essay.

In 1979 Wei was convicted of 'counterrevolution' and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. After his release in 1993 Wei continued his work for human rights and democracy. He was imprisoned again until 1997 when he was put on a plane bound for the United States.

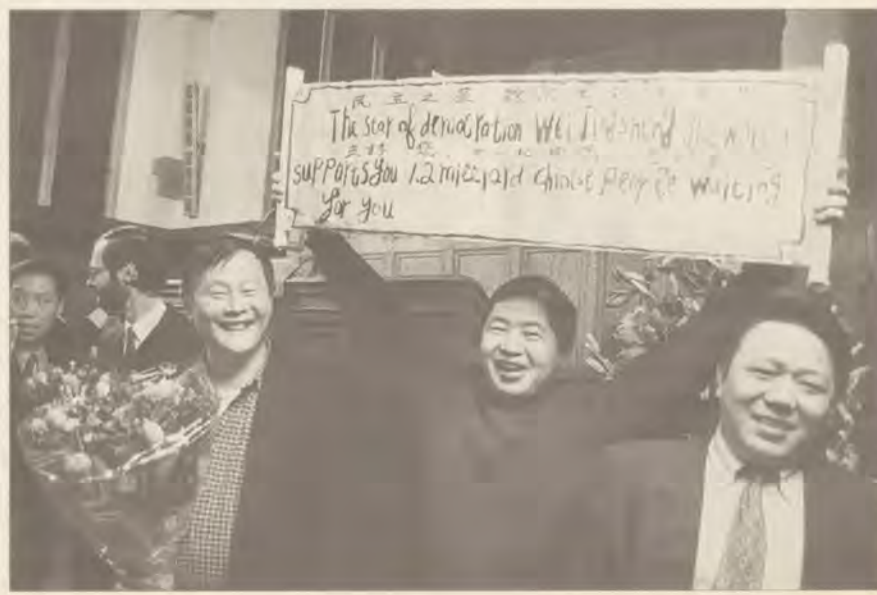
Since he has left China Wei has incessantly brought the issue of human rights and democracy in China to the attention of the world. Amongst others he has been received by President Clinton of the United States, President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic, and by President Lee Tenghui of Taiwan. On March 10, 1999, Wei Jingsheng again expressed his political opinions in a debate with students in the Academy Building of the Leiden University. The debate was organized by the Dutch United Nations Student Association (SIB) and the Students' Association of Sinology (SVS), both in Leiden

and co-sponsored by the International Institute for Asian Studies.

During the debate Wei remarked: 'Since 1989 every Chinese will agree that China is in need of democracy. The question is therefore not 'Should we implement democracy?' but 'How?' There is no general agreement on this matter. In my view China needs true political reform: more parties and a distribution of political power through general elections. The people should be able to choose their leaders.' ... 'I am not against international trade if all parties involved benefit from it. In China unfortunately, it is the government which controls and profits from international trade. The West pays too little attention to the human rights issue in China. At the human rights convention in Geneva not one single country has condemned China! Western politicians do have their responsibilities.' ■



Wei Jingsheng (r.) at the debate.



Taiwanese Social Organizations

My main field of study is health and illness in the context of Chinese culture, and at present I am concentrating on the social and cultural aspects of the AIDS issue. During fieldwork in Taiwan in which my aim was to investigate public health issues using the methodological tools of anthropology, official bodies as well as social organizations involved in the AIDS campaign, its prevention and care, have been approached. My experience of working with civic bodies has been very stimulating at both personal and academic levels, so much so, my interest in such social organizations has become a sideline subject of my research and this is what I want to discuss in this article.

By EVELYNE MICOLLIER



Since the 1980s, economic growth and political liberalization have contributed to the emergence of a civil society in Taiwan: the development of the non-profit sector has undergone a new and unprecedented phase. This process is a dynamic component of social change and offers an interesting perspective on the emergence of 'civil society'.

While the legal framework and historical background of civic bodies is relevant to law and political science, studying the working methods of these organizations in daily life, human relationships, team building, and networking at a micro-social scale is highly consistent with an anthropological approach. Social organizations have the capacity to access those margins of society, government bodies cannot easily reach. The state in Taiwan has delegated the management of politically sensitive social issues. Although the government has been slow to act in launching national awareness, a modern AIDS campaign has gradually taken shape in Taiwan, with the help of the non-profit sector working in conjunction with official bodies. Management of social issues involves effective collaboration between the actors in civil society and the state (Micollier 1999).

The Emergence of Civil Society

In contrast to the kinship system, civil society is part of the political community. Representative of progressive forces which cannot deploy themselves within the framework of a backward state monopolizing social change and political power, it organizes itself as the opposition to the state. In the context of Chinese culture, Hsu Cho-Yun (1994) uses the word 'society' rather than 'civil society', arguing that the city-state organization has never existed in China, and that the notion of civil society is primarily closely related to the social reality of Greek and Roman antiquity. The growing role of the non-profit sector and the development of a civic culture constitute preliminary conditions for the emergence of a democracy.

At the beginning of the 1980s, progressive forces found themselves gathered together in a political organization *Dangwai* 'Outside the Party': Taiwan was ruled by the *Guomindang* 'nationalist Party', under a regime of martial law. Political pluralism came into effect in 1986 with the foundation of the *Minjin dang* 'Progressive Democratic Party' and was consoli-

dated in 1987 with the lifting of martial law. This allowed progressive forces to diversify, reshaping themselves into non-political social organizations. For a decade, civic associations have taken various forms, diverging in their methods of working and social purposes. During the 1980s, civic freedom was gradually insinuated. In this process, religious freedom is even encouraged by the nationalist government which sees it as a remedy against the erosion of traditional values and morality. Debate about long tabooed matters is nowadays allowed and self-censored behaviour is steadily being abandoned. Cultural, ethnic and linguistic plurality in Taiwan is clearly taken for granted by people from the whole social spectrum.

The role of tensions arising from identity in the process of democratization is well documented. Lay associations show non-traditional forms: they are centred neither on kinship group nor corporate networks, nor locality, nor proximity. Collaboration involving Taiwanese and foreign NGOs, religious groups which do not share religious affiliation - Christian and Buddhist groups - in the field of public health and education is now the order of the day. This seems very upbeat but there is a downside. Many local NGOs rely on one person, or at best a few persons and never on the whole team. Without these charismatic people, the NGO is drained of efficiency either by lack of funds or a shortage of human resources. Motives for joining are generally linked to the personality or status of a president rather than to a genuine involvement in a cause. Civil society is still weak and immature, its very existence can be properly questioned, if the actors are not intimately drawn to causes by either belief or practices. As Cabestan (1999: 120) underlines, many Chinese people are unable to accept restrictions imposed by organized action which is not linked to their own immediate interests. This cultural feature contributes to slowing down the maturing process of Taiwanese civil society.

Non-profit sector

The non-profit sector can be differentiated into two categories: non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and endowment-centred foundations. By 1997, the number of Taiwanese NGOs including all types of political organizations had reached 12,000, a 50% rise compared to early 1990s. Membership figures are high: one Taiwanese out of five belongs to an NGO. More than 60% of the NGOs have been created in the 1980s and 1990s. Social service oriented, public

interest, and charitable organizations account for 30% while academically, culturally and internationally aligned bodies make up more than 40%. In 1997, there were sixteen hundred foundations of all types. More than 70% are private, 25% are corporate foundations, 5% are mixed or governmental bodies. The sector is dominated by recently created non-governmental foundations. The increasing number of corporate foundations shows the growing interest of the private business sector in social issues.

Following the same pattern as NGOs, welfare and charitable foundations constitute the top-ranking category; research, education, culture, foreign exchanges, and social involvement account for the other high-ranking categories. Most of the foundations are operative rather than grant-giving organizations. This original feature suggests that founda-

tions are not clearly differentiated from NGOs except in a legal definition. The famous Buddhist foundation, Ciji, is the most significant private foundation in terms of endowment and lay support. The success of Ciji indicates the rise of a new conservatism. Religious organizations benefit the most from people's donations. The conservatism of Taiwanese public opinion appears clearly in its support to some social organizations rather than others.

Civil society as observed through the lens of social organizations is still weak. Its emergence does not necessarily generate structural change allowing progressive voices to be heard: moreover, social order could be strengthened and conservatism may be on the rise, seized as a way for the people to face drastic and rapid transformations of the Taiwanese society. ■

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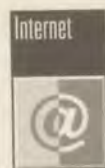
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Ming-Ch'ing on the Web

In the autumn of 1998, a Ming-Ch'ing research website was established at Academia Sinica, Taiwan. The site (<http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~mingching>) is administered by Professor Hsiung Ping-chen of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. The initial idea behind the site was to provide members of the Ming-Ch'ing Research Group, located at Academia Sinica easy access to any information pertaining to the Ming-Ch'ing periods (14th-early 20th century) in Chinese history.

By MICHAEL WALSH



The site has since expanded and is open to anyone interested in the Ming and Ch'ing periods. Recently we launched an e-mail discussion network, where participants can discuss topics of interest. (Our e-mail: mingching@gate.sinica.edu.tw, guidelines on how to participate are available on the website).

For decades now, researchers in the field of Chinese history have been constantly plagued by the overwhelming quantity of sources scattered throughout the archives. Keeping track of what is available around the globe has been a problem faced by researchers and other interested parties alike. With the profound implications of the World Wide Web crashing down on us like an informational tidal wave, those interested in historical research must rethink the way in which we conceive of storing, retrieving, and evaluating information. The database archive that allows accessibility from anywhere in the world is one way to confront some of the new realities that the Web presents to us.

Using the web as a research tool, or using a website research archive, cannot as yet replace the primary text; however, as more primary source materials become available on the Web, the ability to search for specific phrases, keywords, titles of essays etc. is fast becoming more feasible as databases increase around the globe. Many institutes, schools, and universities have developed website archi-

ves, and are putting their library collections online. Restrictions, security issues, copyrights, privacy rights and so forth, are still being worked out as the World Wide Web continues to grow day by day at an astonishing pace.

One important challenge faced by the Ming-Ch'ing Research Group is deciding what information to place on the website and how best to organize the information being presented. Thus far, a simple design has been used enabling the user to interface quickly with the desired information. One immediate problem was how to display Chinese characters for browsers incapable of reading them. In part, this has been overcome by preserving the Chinese characters as images, which most browsers are able to read. For the remaining Chinese text, the goal is to translate everything, or at least provide summaries in English. A substantial amount of translation has been done. We will soon be adding Japanese to the site and what challenges this may present remains to be seen.

The Ming-Ch'ing database serves as an ongoing collection of materials. Data being compiled and placed on the site include: new publications in both Chinese and English from Taiwan, Mainland China, Europe, the US, etc., activities in which the Ming-Ch'ing research group are actively involved (conferences, colloquia, seminars, guest lecturers, etc.), a list of current members of the Ming-Ch'ing Research Group, websites that may be of use to researchers (still under construction), and so forth. The site also provides summaries of scholars'

works, and their most recent research plans. Contents of periodicals and journals related to Ming-Ch'ing studies for the last five years are provided for scholars to peruse. We plan to update the Ming-Ch'ing website continuously and hopefully will see more participation and interaction from other areas of the academic community.

Some final points: first, given the inevitable dominance of the Web as a means for people all over the globe to access information from anywhere at any time, it makes sense to begin building website research archives as soon as possible, thus beginning the process of accumulation - an essential procedure for any archival database. The more information available in a systematic and coherent format, the better. Secondly, it is important for the international scholarly community to begin agreeing on foundational principles as to how academic research standards can be applied to website research archives. Along with copyright issues, this may well be the greatest challenge faced by designers of website research archives. There are many other technical difficulties involved; for example, the languages used in the website, archival methodology, presentation of data, and so forth. The possibilities are endless, and as a research tool, the website research archive provides a potential that has only just begun to be tapped. ■

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Report

As a musical 'Chang Pogo' interprets and reconstructs Korea's past from a contemporary point of view by focusing on Korean nationhood in an international context. In order to create both national and multicultural tones in this work Broadway-style music is juxtaposed with a variety of dances and musics from Korea, China, and Japan, embellished by reconstructed period costumes and stage settings. How is this construction of Korea's history and cultural heritage to be understood?

The 'Historical' Past

According to the earliest Japanese, Chinese, and Korean sources Chang Pogo was the son of a fisherman from Wan Island lying off the southwestern coast of the Korean peninsula. He migrated to Tang China as a youth and pursued a successful military career in the service of the Tang dynasty, rising to the rank of captain. At that time, Korea was under the rule of the Silla Dynasty (57 BC – AD 935). Korea's foreign trade with Tang China and Japan flourished, and these commercial activities led to the establishment of Korean settlements called Sillabang or Silla Quarter on the Shantung Peninsula and on the coast of Kiangsu province, China.

Chang Pogo returned to Korea in 828 and established the military headquarters of Ch'onghae Garrison on Wan Island. He raised a private army and navy, patrolled the south coast of Korea and put an end to the activities of Chinese pirates who had frequently plundered Korean coastal towns and took the inhabitants to sell as slaves. In addition he controlled the trade with China and Japan and became a virtual merchant prince of the East Asian region.

History relates that the downfall of Chang Pogo was associated with his attempt to marry his daughter to King Munsong. In the face of protests from the aristocracy, however, the new king was prevented from taking Chang Pogo's daughter as his second queen because of Chang's common social origins. In retaliation Chang Pogo revolted against the king but was killed at the hands of the assassin sent by the king, Yom Chang, in 846. Chang's stronghold, the Ch'onghae Garrison on Wan Island, was subsequently demolished in 851. The downfall of Chang Pogo, his navy, and island garrison also marked the end of Korea's brief dominance in the East Asian maritime trade.

The 'Imagined' Past

In this musical, the history of Korea in the ninth century and the life of Chang are reconstructed in accordance with the five ethical codes of Confucian ideology as follows:

– 'Loyalty to the king'

Official historical records written by Confucian scholars treated Chang Pogo's political ambition and his challenge to the monarchy as treacherous. In the musical, however, Chang Pogo's involvement in the royal succession is described as an act of honour and duty. As an ordi-



nary, loyal subject, Chang Pogo restores the legitimate kingship that was threatened by conspirators. When the royal marriage alliance did not materialize, he accepts the king's decision, as he does not want to be remembered as a traitor. In this version Chang is killed by his former political ally, Yom Chang, who carried out the assassination with an eye to promoting his own position.

– 'Filial piety', 'fidelity to the husband', and 'brotherhood'

In the musical Chang Pogo's personal life suffers as he leaves his fiancée, Pôdûl, behind in order to fulfil his ambitions in China. Pôdûl and her sister, Tal, are taken by Chinese pirates to be sold as slaves in a Tang market but are rescued by Li Shigu, a Tang general of Korean descent. When a drunken Chinese commander forces himself on Pôdûl, she stabs him to defend her honour and to protect the child of Chang Pogo whom she is carrying. Pôdûl's sister, Tal, takes the blame for Pôdûl's action and commits suicide so that Pôdûl can safely return to their parents and homeland.

– 'Faithfulness to friends'

Chang Pogo's sworn brother, Chông Nyôn, accompanies Chang to China. However, when Chang Pogo returns to Korea (Silla), Chông Nyôn stays behind because he resents the fact that Silla society holds his people of Paekche in contempt. None the less, Chông Nyôn finds Chang's wife and daughter in China and brings them back to Korea to join Chang Pogo.

The Construction of Music, Identities, Images, Symbols

A variety of musics and dances from Korea, China, and Japan, enhanced by reconstructed period costumes and stage settings, are employed in this musical drama in order to recreate a multicultural scene. These imagined cultural artefacts and symbols are, in turn, manipulated to construct,



A contemporary Korean musical drama 'Chang Pogo, the Prince of Maritime Trade' was given its Amsterdam première at the Royal Carré Theatre on November 3rd, 1998. In his introduction to the concert programme the South Korean ambassador expressed the hope that this performance event will contribute to a better understanding of Korean history, its cultural heritage, and the mutual understanding between the two countries. Interestingly this particular musical production uses the story of the Korean trader and commissioner Chang Pogo, who established a maritime commercial empire in East Asia during the early ninth century, as its central theme.



negotiate, and represent various national identities and political ideologies in both 'national' and 'global' terms.

– National performing arts and identity

Korean performing arts are used to imagine Korea's cultural heritage. But they are also used to promote an ideology of Korean nationhood as a united people who belong to one land. This cultural nationalism and ideology invents the 'traditional' music and dance of ninth-century Korea which, in reality, is created in the style of contemporary Korean folk music and dance. The unity of the Korean nation, in particular, is stressed as 'the descendants of the

progenitor, Tan'gun', and the people of the 'Land of Morning Calm'. For example, Chang Pogo emphasizes this shared ancestry in an attempt to persuade his sworn brother, Chông Nyôn, to return to their homeland. These negotiated regional and national identities are metaphorically transferred from the period of the musical to contemporary transnational communities of ethnic Koreans who idealistically all wish to return to their fatherland, the 'Land of Morning Calm'.

– International performing arts and globalisation

The multicultural-ness of the historical settings of this musical are represented by exotic musics and dances from China and Japan, which, in turn, are cultural artefacts imagined from a Korean perspective. For example, the Tang Chinese ribbon dance with the film style choreography and period costumes and the Japanese parasol dance in kimonos and with parasols are all constructed from a number of cultural stereotype formulas. These multicultural dimensions of the performing arts recreated in this production are introduced to symbolise the globalization and internationalization of Korea – which is how it wishes to see itself in the world today. This dream and vision are expressed in the finale of this musical: 'Let's open the sea

that was closed for a thousand years. Open the closed sea! Go out in the world!'

The Construction of Contemporary Korean Performing Arts

Since its Korean première in 1993 the musical Chang Pogo has been performed throughout Asia, America, and Europe. Like many other overseas presentations of Korean performing arts, this concert was sponsored by the South Korean government in an effort to introduce and promote Korean culture in the outside world.

These types of artistic processes began to influence the Korean performing arts during the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul, when spectacles were presented at the opening and closing ceremonies. The Korean musicologist Kwon Oh-sung takes the view that the Seoul Olympics were the 'cultural Olympics' which spurred on changes in traditional Korean music. He argues they led to a new consensus that it was time to find a focus and a direction for Korean traditional music as it headed into the 21st century, 'an age of internationalization and of a struggle for cultural supremacy'.

Contemporary with these academic and public discourses, a number of new Korean performing arts began to appear in the early 1990s. The musical Chang Pogo was one of the first attempts to 'internationalize' traditional Korean performing arts for global audiences. A more recent development of this genre is the epic musical 'King Kwanggaet'o' which was premiered in 1995. This musical is based on King Kwanggaet'o (r. 391-413) of the Koguryô kingdom who expanded his territory to include what is now Manchuria.

These historical themes provide Korean artists and writers with an 'historically authentic' foundation for their creation of new Korean performing arts that are relevant to their past, present, and future. Additionally, this process of reconstruction of Korea's past through a contemporary perspective and artistic expression is being continuously revised and expanded to redefine Korea's cultural legacy. Through these multi layers of cultural artefacts and symbols, these contemporary musicals attempt to represent Korean identity as South Korea wishes to see itself today in the context of modernization and globalization. ■

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An interdisciplinary analysis of a Japanese Performing Art

Tsugaru Shamisen Music

In The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: The origin and development of a Japanese folk performing art three authors have collaborated to present the reader with a historical, social, and ethnographic description of a famous Japanese lute genre and have then proceeded to analyse it from the perspectives of world music.

By HAE-KYUNG UM

Publication The book, richly illustrated with photos, drawings, and charts, is comprised of two sections. Part one, 'The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: The Origin and Development of a Japanese Folk Performing Art', is an abridged English translation of a book originally written in Japanese by Daizō Kazuo. It has been translated by the two other authors, Suda Naoyuki and Anthony Rausch. Part one is a historical and ethnographic account of Tsugaru shamisen music, which originated in Tsugaru, the remote northwestern region of Japan, in the mid-nineteenth century but is now widely performed throughout the country.

Daizō describes the genesis and historical development of this performing art by providing well-researched biographies and musical genealogies of noted Tsugaru shamisen artists. In particular this work focuses on the life of Nitabo, a blind itinerant musician, who is credited with being the originator of the genre, and on Nitabo's successors who have carried on his musical legacy. The author describes how Tsugaru shamisen music has been shaped by the creative innovations of different individual artists and how this regional folk genre has evolved nationally through interactions with other performing arts to create new styles and genres.

Shamanic trance

Part two, entitled 'Anthropological Interpretation of The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: The Origin and Development of a Japanese Folk Performing Art', examines the social and cultural implications of the ethnography provided by Daizō. This part, co-authored by Suda Naoyuki and Anthony Rausch, draws on a variety of case studies and theories from sociology, anthropology, folklore, and ethnomusicology. The two writers attribute the birth and development of Tsugaru shamisen music to their notion of 'shamanism and creative marginality'. They suggest that the inspiration and energy intrinsic to the creation of the performing arts, including this genre, is in part derived from the shamanic trance which enables the artist to transcend to other dimensions of freedom and creativity. Suda and Rausch also give support to this proposition by drawing parallels between shamanism and the arts throughout Asia and the West. In combination with this shamanic influence, they go on to argue that 'creative marginality', associated with pe-

ripheral or marginal status, operates as the key elements in the production of the performing arts and fine arts. In their view the social periphery is considered to be the 'creative and artistic seed bed' and the marginality of the musicians, such as their blindness and low socio-economic status, is considered to be the driving force behind their artistic endeavours. The authors also maintain that this notion of 'creative marginality' is to be found in Jazz, Blues, Flamenco, the music of Mozart and many others who share a similar type of existence that excludes such artists from their

wider society and even isolates them within their own social periphery. They conclude that their hypothesis of 'shamanism and creative marginality' is a vital ingredient in the birth of the performing arts in general and will hopefully contribute to further explorations of the 'missing links' to be discovered in the creation of other folk performing arts around the world.

Far-fetched

This book is a unique combination of a variety of perspectives of the three authors. The first half is written by a Japanese writer who entered the world of Tsugaru shamisen music as an outsider and who became a performer, broadcaster, spokesperson, and educator of this performing art. Daizō's chronicle of Tsugaru shami-

sen music reflects his devotion to his chosen genre. He focuses on the artistic endeavours of the musicians and on the success of this isolated regional folk genre in becoming a national Japanese performing art with a developing international reputation. Then, in the second part, Daizō's work is reinterpreted by a Japanese and an American sociologist. The two authors undertook a challenging task of cross-cultural and interdisciplinary analysis. Their combined scholarly effort, which covers a variety of performing arts from around the world and theories from many different disciplines, is impressive. However, some of their arguments are occasionally far-fetched or misleading, particularly when they cite secondary sources for their cross-cultural comparisons without critical examination, for example, their use of Japanese sources to describe Peking opera (p. 117). I also found some of the usage of terms borrowed from other disciplines to be inadequate, for example, their very non-anthropological reference to post-war Japan as a new 'egalitarian society' (p. 140). The explanation of the Japanese terms in the main body of the book and the glossary at the end are extremely helpful, although most students of East Asian Studies would

have appreciated the addition of the Japanese and Chinese characters to this glossary. A more thoughtful analysis of cause and effect in relation to their central hypothesis would also have been welcome. Is marginality always necessary for creativity and to what extent is creativity a cause of marginality as well as being a product of marginality?

However, this book is a welcome addition to English scholarship on the Japanese performing arts and culture, especially on the subject of regional and folk genres. Those who are interested in the performing arts of Asia, the sociology of performance, ethnology, and folklore will find this book useful in deepening their understanding of the individual and social dimensions of artistic creativity. ■

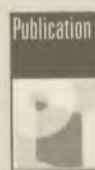
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NEW JOURNAL

NAN NÜ

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Leiden: Brill, Vol. 1 No. 1 March 1999, 186 pp.
ISSN 1387-6805

THE GATE FOUNDATION IS AN INTERNATIONAL ART FOUNDATION DEVOTED TO PROMOTING INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE OF CONTEMPORARY ART. THE GATE FOUNDATION AIMS TO STIMULATE KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY ART AND ARTISTS, EMPHASIZING NON-WESTERN AND MIGRANT CULTURES.

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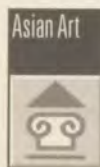
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Contemporary Art from Taiwan

Face to Face

'Face to Face' is the second exhibition to come to Australia from Taiwan. The first was 'Art Taiwan', which was organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney. 'Art Taiwan' was essentially a large survey exhibition, while 'Face to Face' is smaller and more focused. 'Face to Face: Contemporary Art from Taiwan' will open on September 7 at the Gold Coast Art Gallery in Australia. The exhibition will include works from Chen Hui-Chiao, Wang Der-Yu, Yao Jui-Chung, Lin Chun-Ju, Wang Jun-Jieh, Chen Shun-Chu, Yao Rae-Chung, Chen Chieh-Jen, Huang Chih-Yang, and Tao Ya-Lun. Sophie McIntyre who has been carrying out research in the field of contemporary art from Taiwan since her first visit to Taiwan in 1990, has curated the exhibition.

By ILSE CHIN



Since the lifting of the martial law in 1987, Taiwan has experienced rapid economic growth, massive industrialization, concomitant urban development, and increased political liberalization. From being a country that suffered from foreign colonialism, political authoritarianism, and cultural repression, Taiwan has been transformed into a capitalist country with democratic ideology and cultural pluralism.

The Chinese art critic and curator, Hou Han-rou, sees the Pacific region as the focus of global economic and cultural exchanges and development: 'Hong Kong, along with other capitals and large cities in the region such as Tokyo, Shanghai, Singapore, Beijing, Seoul, and Taipei is appearing more and more influential as a locomotive. These cities lead us to step into the next century.'

Face to Face shows how young, contemporary artists in Taiwan are facing the changes, which have emerged over the past decade in Taiwan. In the post-industrial society where modernization, urbanization, and commercialization co-exist, these artists are exploring issues concerning Taiwan's identity and its history, as well as political, environmental, and gender issues, in an effort to find deeper, personal meaning. Curator Sophie McIntyre believes that Taiwan, as part of Asia, can no longer be regarded as the exotic other, but sees it instead as a rapidly changing, highly industrialized, and culturally diverse society.

The works in this exhibition do not aim to represent Taiwan as a national entity or cultural identity. The artists were invited to show their works as fragments of personal experience. They point out their personal view of the significance of modernization, massive urbaniza-

tion, and economic prosperity on human existence as well as on the natural environments in Taiwan.

As one of the few female artists in Taiwanese contemporary art, Chen Hui-Chiao, examines the interrelationship between external realities and inner consciousness, through which she searches for personal meaning and equilibrium. From Chen's earlier series 'You're the Rose and I'm the Thorn' to her more recent series 'Water and Steel', the artist explores the meaning of relationships, conceptually as well as formally. Inspired by poetry, psychology, and the

and the island's political status. In his work 'Shui Shan' (Snowy Mountain) he examines the polemic between Chinese tradition, Western influence, and Taiwanese identity. He drew a calligraphic line in Chinese ink in the snow at Shui Shan. He then collected the ink that was mixed with the ice and put it into a Coca-Cola bottle. The melted ice returned to ink. As new values are being formulated in Taiwan, Yao states that a new ideology must emerge in which boundaries are no longer drawn.

For his provocative work 'Territory Take Over-Manoeuvre Sequence' Yao took photos of himself ceremonially urinating at historic sites reminiscent of the six past colonial powers which ruled Taiwan. The search for 'seat' or possession finds

ty. Huang Chih-Yang (Taipei, 1965) and Tao Ya-Lun's (Taipei, 1966) mixed media works reflect on human earthly desires and explores the relationship between mind and body.

In the 'Zoon' series by Huang Chih-Yang, he returns to the primal state of the human condition. The figures do not look human; they are the embodiment of human, animal, and plant life. Huang tries to explore the relationship between our changing external environments and our internal nature, or inner being: 'That's why my figures are always different and changing; because we are connected to our environment which is in a constant state of change or transformation. This process of transformation is what I mean by the 'human condition.'

Mutual understanding

In Australia, Taiwan is important for its economic markets and as a source of tourism, business migrants, and investments. However, while much emphasis has been placed on establishing commercial ties with Taiwan, less efforts have been focused on developing a greater cultural awareness and understanding of Taiwan. As increasing numbers of Taiwanese choose to immigrate to Australia, it is certainly a good time to build upon and strengthen this relationship through cultural exposition and exchange. Sophie McIntyre believes that from increased cultural contact comes greater cultural understanding and racial tolerance. 'Through the exchange of art and ideas, human concerns, values, experiences, and prejudices are transcended and mutual understanding is achieved.'

Sophie McIntyre explains that therefore the objective of the exhibition Face to Face is not only to develop and promote a greater awareness of Taiwan's contemporary art in Australia but also to contribute towards a greater cultural understanding between Australians and the growing Taiwanese community in Australia. She concludes by saying: 'I hope that this exhibition will encourage further cultural interaction between Australia and Taiwan, and more specifically between artists and art institutions in both countries.'



Yao Rae-Chung, 'Territory Take-Over', installation.



Chen Shun-Chu, 'Family Parade', photograph/installation.



Chen Hui-Chiao, 'Sleepless Night', mixed media.

tion, and economic prosperity on human existence as well as on the natural environments in Taiwan.

New values

Face to Face traces the journeys of ten young artists living and working in Taiwan. Each artist expresses and defines the juxtaposition between reality and illusion, desire and detachment, life and death. Chen Hui-Chiao (Taipei, 1964) and Wang Der-Yu explore the inter-relationship between form and matter and between perception and sensation in a series of mixed-media installations.

dream state, Chen reinterprets and redefines matter through form.

Yao Jui-Chung (Taipei, 1969) belongs to the post-martial-law generation of artists who live in a more liberal and progressive country. In his mixed media installations and site specific works Yao reflects on the difficulties of Taiwan's younger generation who are caught in the middle between the past, the present, and the future. Sophie McIntyre sees him as one of Taiwan's most outspoken younger artists, who denounces history by making comments on Taiwan's colonial past

its expression in the use of a urinoir.

As artist Lin Chun-Ju (Taipei, 1964) comments on the destruction of the natural environment, Wang Jun-Jieh's (Taipei, 1964) computer-generated works consider the impact of consumerism and the media, as reality transforms into a hyper-reality. With his photographic-based work Chen Shun-Chu (Penghu, 1963) reflects on notions of past and present. Yao Rae-Chung's (Taipei, 1969) and Chen Chieh-Jen's (Tao-Yuan, 1960) works deal with the significance of time and the impact of history on our sense of national and self-identi-

FACE TO FACE: CONTEMPORARY ART FROM TAIWAN

Gold Coast City Arts Gallery, Bundall Road, Gold Coast Centre, Australia, tel.: +61-7-5581 6500
fax: +61-7-5581 6592. The show is timed to coincide with the opening of the Asia Pacific Triennial at the Queensland Art Gallery.

The responsibility for the organization lies in the hands of the Gold Coast Art Gallery and the Taipei Fine Arts Museum.

Visions of nature in contemporary art

Art Work Nature

From 6 June to 1 August, the Gate Foundation is presenting the exhibition 'Art Work Nature' at the Pulchri Studio in The Hague, the Netherlands. Through sculptures, multimedia installations, and paintings this international exhibition presents thoughts and ideas about nature nurtured in different regions of the world. Taking the contemporary visual arts as its starting point, 'Art Work Nature' draws attention to a subject which is important in four different continents: Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

Nine artists have been invited from Benin, Bhutan, Costa Rica, and the Netherlands: Georges Adéagbo and Dominique Zinkpé (Benin); Chimme Dorji and Kama Wangdi (Bhutan); Rolando Castellón, Joaquín Rodríguez del Paso and Karla Solano (Costa Rica); Ida van der Lee and Mariano Maturana (the Netherlands).

By MARJAN VAN GERWEN

Up to the present time the role of nature and concomitantly the opinion of visual artists about nature have been restricted to discussing the topic from a Western point of view, in which nature and culture are represented as two different, discreet forms of expressions. *Art Work Nature* will show previously unknown aspects of different visions of nature. The ideas of the artists will be related back to other points of view derived from their disparate cultures, revealed in the works of those taking part.

In their works, taking a critical stance, the selected artists refer from a critical vision to the position nature occupies in their culture. Their visions are mingled with local components and concerns, which gives them the role of historian, prophet, or politician. These artists work in a wide range of media, from paintings to installations, from photography to drawings.

This article chooses to take a special look at the artists Kama Wangdi and Chimme Dorji from Bhutan. For the first time contemporary works from that country will be presented outside of Bhutan in an international exhibition.

Art in Bhutan

When a country like Bhutan comes into the picture, everyone immediately conjures of the long Bhutanese tradition on Buddhist art.

The artists invited from Bhutan have adopted an atypical position to mainstream art in Bhutan which has a distinct stylized character. Its tone is set by the disciplines of *Zorg Chusum*, the 13 traditional crafts taught to each new generation of Bhutanese artisans. The tradition of *Zorg Chusum*—especially for painting, woodcarving, and sculpture draws heavily on the values and precepts of Himalayan Buddhism which exalts humility, devotion, and serenity.

In this context the overriding aim of art, often taught to young monks as part of their religious training, is to inspire Buddhist sentiments in the viewer, as well as to calm and discipline the mind, paving the way for meditation and spiritual contentment. Creativity and artistic satisfac-

tion come from precision and the beauty of form; an approach that is somewhat different from the Western ideal of non-conformity, irreverence, and the constant re-examination of accepted norms.

'If Western art promises change, excitement and vitality, Bhutanese art strives for peace, serenity, and grace. In former times, the two styles may have remained mutually exclusive of each other but not today. In this age of widespread information and global emancipation, a meeting of the two styles heralds unlimited opportunities for Bhutanese artists willing to experiment and eager to tap into this creative yin-yang energy of East and West. Bhutanese artists today can pick the best of both worlds and yet mature in directions that are inimitable and uniquely their own', writes Karma Singey, journalist in Thimpu.

The artists who are participating in *Art Work Nature*, Kama Wangdi and Chimme Dorji, are both members of VAST (Voluntary Artist Studio of Thimpu), an artists' initiative with an interest in the development of contemporary art in Bhutan and a mission to promote the importance and value of art. VAST guides and assists young artists.

Kama Wangdi

Kama Wangdi (1958) first encountered Western art as a young boy studying at one of the first and most exclusive schools in Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan. Leaving his conventional 'English' (the school was started by a British educator) school at the age of 18, he spent several years as an apprentice studying the religious and mythological art of Bhutan at the Thimpu School of Traditional Painting and Fine Arts.

As a young man Kama entered the service of the Royal Government of Bhutan, working as an illustrator and designer for the Development Support Communication Division. In 1991 Kama won a scholarship from the British Overseas Development Administration to study Western art and graphic design at Kent University, earning a bachelor's degree and acquiring the international sophistication which so complements his traditional Bhutanese training handsomely.

In a sense Kama can be said to have had the best of both worlds and has been instrumental in combining the

rigorously structured Bhutanese styles with the more easily flowing and expressive forms of modern Western art. In the process, Kama has brought the esoteric art of Bhutanese temples and homes to a wider audience among Bhutanese urbanities as well as the international community living and working in Bhutan.

In his photo-installation in *Art Work Nature* Kama Wangdi shows man's alienation from nature at various levels. Three sets of classical Bhutanese-style window frames, look out onto several colour transparencies depicting various elements of the natural world, such as pebbles, leaves, water, and trees.

In the Buddhist view, the eyes of the viewer separate you as the viewer from what you are viewing. One step further the glass window panes, although transparent, physically separate the person from the artwork. The installation hints at the moral ambiguity and the nameless dread most of us feel when our thoughts turn to nature and the state of the natural environment today. It leaves the viewers with a sense of guilt and the urge to clean the window panes the better to view

the transparencies better. This final impression provides a fitting parallel for all of us who feel we should do something to help save our planet, but rarely undertake any serious actions to do anything about it.

Chimme Dorji

Chimme Dorji comes from a deeply religious farming community in the fertile west Bhutan valley of the Paro, an area in which the mountainsides are dotted with some of the

As cultivators, the survival of Chimme's community depends on the ability of its members to follow the rhythms of the seasons closely, a way of life which allows them to be highly attuned to the invisible movements and shifts in nature. This subtle understanding of the natural world is something that Chimme has inherited from his forebears, and a theme that surfaces repeatedly in his work as an artist living and working in Thimpu.

Chimme Dorji's video-installation 'Conversations in nature' is a short video-documentary: a fixed image of a large group of prayer flags fluttering in the wind. The sound gives the impression that the prayer flags are people conversing among themselves, sometimes murmuring, then rising, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, simulating the rise and fall of sounds one encounters in human conversation. Dorji's work leaves the viewer with the distinct feeling that there is life in nature and natural elements (in this case the wind) which we

often consider to be inanimate. ■

'If Western art promises change, excitement and vitality, Bhutanese art strives for peace, serenity, and grace.'

'Art Work Nature', 6 June until 1 August 1999, Pulchri Studio, Lange Voorhout 15, The Hague, the Netherlands, tel: +31-70-346 1735, fax: +31-70-356 1341.

Third Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art

More than 75 artists from more than 20 countries in the Asia-Pacific region will participate in the Queensland Art Gallery's 'Third Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art' which will open on 9 September 1999. A major international conference entitled 'Beyond the Future' will be held in conjunction with the exhibition from 10 to 12 September 1999.



The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art aims to strengthen links throughout the Asia-Pacific community. Initiated by the Queensland Art Gallery in 1993, the Triennial was the first major series of exhibitions in the world to bring together the contemporary art of Asia and the Pacific, including Australia.

The Queensland Art Gallery undertook the Asia-Pacific Triennial to introduce Australian audiences to the diverse contemporary art of the region. The purpose was to increase cultural understanding and establish a basis for more cultural exchange, as well as to facilitate a regional forum for continuing dialogue and for building professional relationships based on mutual respect.

Beyond the Future is the central theme for the Third Asia-Pacific Triennial. Artists included are from Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, The Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Vietnam, India, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, and Australia. For the first time artists from Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Wallis and Futuna Islands, and Niue will participate. Artworks will cover a wide range of media including photography, video, CD-ROM, Internet, paintings, textiles, ceramics, sculpture, installation, and performance.

Over 150 international and Australian curators, writers, and scholars are involved in the selection of the artists for the Third Asia-Pacific Triennial. The curatorial process involves four regionally based Curatorial Teams (East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Pacific), while a

fifth team, *Crossing Borders*, will focus on works by globally mobile artists, interdisciplinary works, and works created through collaborations.

Building on the successful public events of the first two Asia-Pacific Triennials there will be an even stronger and more diverse line-up of associated activities including artists' talks, artists' performances, film and video screening, internet access to the 'Virtual Triennial', an in-house intranet site, youth programmes, collaborative programmes with organizations and arts practitioners, and professional development programmes. ■

THIRD ASIA-PACIFIC TRIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY ART

9 September 1999 – 26 January 2000
Queensland Art Gallery
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Queensland Art Gallery

Queensland Cultural Centre
South Bank
South Brisbane QLD 4101
Tel.: +61-7-3840 7303
Fax: +61-7-3844 8865

9 September – 26 January 2000

Third Asia-Pacific Triennial
(see article)

Gold Coast City Arts Gallery

Box 6615
Gold Coast Mail Centre Qld 9726
135 Bundall Road
Gold Coast Centre
Tel.: +61-7-5581 6500
Fax: +61-7-5581 6592

8 September – 7 November 1999

Face to Face: Contemporary Art from Taiwan
(see article)

AUSTRIA

Schloßmuseum

Tummelplatz 10, A
4020 Linz
Tel.: +43-732-7744 19
Fax: +43-732-7744 8266

1 June 1999 – 27 February 2000

Indonesia: Art pictures of the world – World views
The exhibition displays a selection of classical bronzes, Javanese shadow theatre puppets, wrought iron and metalwork, and impressive textiles from South Sumatra.

BELGIUM

Museum for the Blind

Cinquantenaire Museum
Jubelpark 10
1000 Brussels
Tel.: +32-2-741 7211
Fax: +32-2-733 7735

until 31 October 1999

Between East and West
The exhibition presents artefacts from the countries of the Silk route. Porcelain, sculptures, and jewellery from such countries as China, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

CHINA

Cultural Exhibition Centre

China Qingdao Municipal Museum
No.7 University Road
Shinan District, Qingdao
Shandong Province
China 266003
Tel.: +86-532-287 0473
Fax: +86-532-287 0473

27 – 31 August 1999

China Across the Centuries: International Masterpieces Exhibition '99
The exhibition is designed to gather together Chinese and Western artworks that display the civilization of mankind, are beaure of world culture and art, and promote international cultural exchanges.

GREAT BRITAIN

British Museum and Museum of Mankind

Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3DG
Tel.: +44-171-412 7111
Fax: +44-171-323 8614 / 8480

until end 1999

Arts of Korea
Presents an overview of Korean art and archaeology, ranging from the Neolithic period to the 19th century. The exhibition will be a forerunner of the Museum's new permanent Korean Gallery scheduled to open in 2000.

Brunei Gallery

School of Oriental and African Studies
Thornhaugh Street
Russell Square
WC1H 0XG London
Tel.: +44-171 3236230
Fax: +44-171-3236010

until 18 June, and 5 July – 30 September 1999

China Close up: Photographs of Daily Lives
The exhibition is part of an ongoing project being undertaken in China by photographer Sandrine Rousseau, featuring colour photographs contrasting the daily lives of people in urban and rural China.

Dialogue of the Present
Works of eighteen Arab women artists who will tour Britain. The exhibition includes works that range from traditional geometric imagery to conceptual video work.

5 July – 30 September 1999

Royal Persian Paintings
The exhibition features court and popular religious paintings of the Qjara Epoch (1785 – 1925). One aspect of this exhibition is the development of a tradition for life-sized figural painting, rarely seen in other areas of Islamic art.

Sue Bond Public Relations

Public enquiries
Tel.: +44-171-499 9190
or www.asianartinlondon.com

9 – 20 November 1999

Asian art in London
A series of exhibitions, auctions, lectures, seminars, and social events throughout London, focusing on Chinese, Japanese, Himalayan, Korean, and Islamic art.

Chinese Arts Centre

39-43 Edge street
Manchester M4 1HW
Tel.: +44-161-832 7271
Fax: +44-161-832 7513

25 September – 7 November 1999

Representing the people
The British touring exhibition of ten contemporary Chinese figurative painters ends at Midlands Arts Centre in Birmingham. The exhibition aims to give an honest and realist presentation of both modern Chinese society and its contemporary art. More information: the Chinese Arts Centre in Manchester, or: www.the-people.org.

INDIA

The Window

33 Altamont Road
Mumbai 400 026
India
Tel.: +91-22-386 9628
Fax: +91-22-389 1606

24 June – 6 July 1999

Abstractions in Watercolours
Works from Ambadas, G.R. Santosh, Jyoti Swaroop.



I Made Soekarja, Rajapala, Nymph Who's Clothes Are Being Stolen, aquarel. Kunsthal, The Netherlands.

8 – 20 July 1999

Tension within the Line
Works from Nikhil Biswas, P.S. Chandrasekhar, Pilloo Pochkhanawala.

5 – 17 August 1999

Darkness, Introspection, and its Social Responsibility
Works from Jeram Patel, Rameshwar Broota.

19 – 31 August 1999

The Discipline of Idealism
Works from Vivan Sundaram, Sudhir Patwardhan.

1 – 14 September 1999

The Figure and its Abstraction
Works from Krishna Reddy, Anupam Sud.

16 – 30 September 1999

The Human-Animal-Nature Continuum
Works from Laxma K. Goud.

INDONESIA

Galeripadi

Jl. Ir. H. Juanda 329
Bandung 40135
Tel.: +62-22-250-0578
Fax: +62-22-250-4229
Tuesday to Sunday 10 a.m. – 8 p.m.

June 1999

Agung Kurniawan: recent works

July 1999

Asian Contemporary artists Forum

August 1999

Bali Hybrid

ISRAEL

The Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art

89 Hanassi Ave.
Haifa
Israel
Tel.: 972-4-838 3554
Fax: 972-4-837 9824

until 31 July 1999

Things that go bump in the night
Ghosts and demons in Japanese art.

JAPAN

Setagaya Art Museum

1-2, Kinuta-koen Setagaya-ku
Tokyo 157
Tel.: +81-3-3415 6011
Fax: +81-3-3415 6413

until 4 July 1999

Saburo Miyamoto

Kyoto National Museum

527 Choyamachi
Higashiyama-ku
Kyoto 605

19 October – 23 November 1999

Kyoto Style: Trends in 16th – 19th Century Kimono
This exhibition examines the kimono styles, tastes, and aesthetics of three centuries of Kyotoites, from the Momoyama and Edo Periods.

Westfries Museum

Rode steen 1
Hoorn
Tel.: +31-229-280 028
Fax: +31-229-280 029

4 June until 4 July 1999

Chinese painters
The exhibition shows the works of six Chinese artists established in The Netherlands.

18 June – 22 August 1999

The Dutch to Japan
Start of a series of exhibitions concerning the historical relationship between Japan and the Netherlands. This exhibition tells the story of the sailors who voyaged to Deshima in Nagasaki Harbour.

29 October – 5 December 1999

Li Zi Jian
Li Zi Jian lives in Los Angeles. Among other works the exhibition shows photo-realistic paintings of daily life in Mongolia.

9 July – 22 August 1999

Hachiro Suzuki
Paintings of the designer Hachiro Suzuki.

Kunsthal

Museumpark
Westzeedijk 341
3015 AA Rotterdam
Tel.: +31-10-440 0300
Fax: +31-10-436 7152
Tuesday to Saturday 10 a.m. – 5 p.m.
Sunday 11 a.m. – 5 p.m.
Closed on Monday

until 22 August 1999

Magic and Modernism
The exhibition draws attention to the work of Balinese modernists, a trend which began in 1920. The Kunsthal presents the Balinese Modernists at the intersection of anthropology and modern art.

SINGAPORE

Asian Civilisations Museum

39 Armenian Street
Singapore 179939

Mid June – Mid September 1999

Gold of Tibet & Nepal
The Body Beautiful:
Jewellery of Southeast Asia

Sterling silver set of woman's bridal necklaces showing Turkish influence. UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles, USA.



SWITZERLAND

Baur Collection

8 Rue Munier-Romilly
1206 Geneva
Tel.: +41-22-346 1729
Fax: +41-22-789 1845
Daily 2 p.m. - 6 p.m., closed on Monday

Renewed permanent collection

A presentation in four new exhibitions rooms of rarely shown Japanese and Chinese objects: Satsuma ceramics, stamps, Chinese lacquerware.

Barbier Mueller Museum

10 Rue Calvin
1204 Geneva
Tel.: +41 22 312 0270
Fax: +41 22 312 0190
Daily 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.

until 15 October 1999

Art of Oceania
Two hundred sculptures in stone or wood, masks or architectural elements show the richness of objects from the Indonesian Archipelago, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia.

THAILAND

Gallery of Fine arts

Silpakorn University
Klan Gwan House 11, 19th floor
140/1 Wireless Road
Bangkok 10330
Tel.: +66-2-255 9100 ext. 201
Fax: +66-2-255 9113 14

opened 1 February 1999

Alter-Ego
The exhibition aims to develop a closer relationship between Thailand and Europe and to enhance cross-cultural dialogues. European artists will be working in Thailand as artists in residence.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

5th Avenue at 82nd Street
New York NY 10028
Tel.: +1-212-879 5500
Fax: +1-212-570 3879

opened 9 June 1999

Arts of Korea
The installation presents a hundred of the finest examples of Korean art in all major media-ceramics, metalwork, lacquerware, sculpture, and paintings-from the Neolithic period to the eve of modern times. The selections are drawn from public and private collections in Korea, Japan, and the United States.

until 9 January 2000

Guardians of the Longhouse: Art in Borneo

Japan Society

333 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017
Tel.: +1-212-832 1155
Fax: +1-212-755 6752

until 11 July 1999

Crosscurrents: Masterpieces of East Asian art from New York private collections
The exhibition presents the first comprehensive survey of Japanese, Chinese and Korean art from New York area private collections.

The Asia Society

725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021
tel: +1-212 288 6400
Fax: +1-212-517 8319
Daily 11 a.m.-6 p.m., Thursday 6 p.m. - 8 p.m., Sunday 12 p.m. - 5 p.m.

until 29 August 1999

Fire over Earth
Ceramics from the collection of the Asia Society. The exhibition explores the technology and artistry of Chinese ceramics and those of the adjacent regions Japan, Korea, Thailand, and Vietnam, from the third millennium B.C.E to the 18th century.

September until December 1999

China: 50 years inside the People's Republic
Work of twenty-five distinguished Chinese and Western photographers, conveying the depth of their involvement in the politics, culture, and the everyday life of the Chinese people. Including photographs of Wu Yinxiang, Li Zheng, and Hiroji Kubota.

Minangkabau woman Devi Azhar wearing a gold wedding headdress.
UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, Los Angeles, USA.



Fall 1999

Power, body and clothing in the Philippines, 19th century
The exhibition will explore the complex interaction between the external and the more indigenous cultural influences in the Philippines over the past century.

First USA Riverfront Arts Center

800 South Madison Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801-5122
Tel.: +1-302-777 7767
Fax: +1-302-658 2040

until 6 September 1999

Splendors of Meiji: Treasures of Imperial Japan
The collection shows works of art in metal, lacquer, ceramic, enamel, and porcelain of the Meiji Era (1868-1912).

Pacific Asia Museum

46 North Los Robles Avenue
Pasadena, California 91101
Tel.: +1-818 449 2742
Fax: +1-818 449 2754

From the permanent collection:

An exhibition of ceramics including objects from the Lydman, Snukal, and Otto Collections, which includes ceramics from the Han, Tang, Song, Yuna, Ming, and Qing Dynasties.

UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History

James West Center
P.O. Box 951431, Los Angeles
California 90095-1431
Tel.: +1-310-825 2585
Fax: +1-310-206 3455

until 12 September 1999

Walk in Splendor: Ceremonial Dress of the Minangkabau of Indonesia
Two hundred and fifty objects of ceremonial textiles and accessories, celebrating one of the finest and most sophisticated weaving traditions in the Indonesian Archipelago.

Asian Art Museum San Francisco

Golden Gate Park
San Francisco
Tel.: +1-415-379 8801

Ongoing exhibition

Chinese Bronze Sculpture from the Permanent Collection
Jade: Stone of Heaven

until 17 October 1999

The Unending Path: Paintings by Harold Wong from 1957-1997
Featuring 23 large-scale paintings from the classically trained Hong Kong artist Harold Wong.

25 June - 15 August 1999

From The Rainbow's Varied Hue: Textiles Of The Southern Philippines
Fifty rare textiles and garments from the little known region of the Southern Philippines.

22 September - 9 January 2000

The Arts of the Sikh Kingdom
This exhibition deals with the artistic tradition of the Punjab under Sikh rule. Among the highlights: some of the finest pieces from the treasury of Ranjit Singh, the first Sikh Maharaja of the Punjab.

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Smitsonian Institute
1050 Independence Avenue SW
Washington DC 20560
Tel.: +1 202 357 4880
Fax: +1-202-357 4911 (786 2317)

until 18 July 1999

Nainsukh: Painter from the Punjab Hills

until 22 August 1999

Courts and countryside
Islamic painting based on the semi-nomadic tradition of Iranian rulers of the 14th to the 17th century.

until 6 September 1999

Devi: The great goddess
Devi, the Great goddess in India plays a profound emotional and visual role in the artistic and religious life in India. In this exhibition she is pictured in many guises in 120 works of Indian art, ranging over a period of 2,000 years.

until 26 September 1999

Behind the Himalayas: Paintings of Mustang
Nineteen watercolours by the Australian artist and architect Robert Powell documenting the stunning traditional architecture of the Himalayan region known as Mustang.

1 August - 17 October 1999

Yoshida Hiroshi: Japanese Prints of India and Southeast Asia
This exhibition shows all 32 prints produced in 1931-1932 by the Japanese artist Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950) following his trip to India and Southeast Asia.

9 October until 2 January 2000

Letters in Gold
A travelling exhibition of Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakip Sabanci Collection in Istanbul, Turkey.

9 October until 2 January 2000

A Grand Legacy
Complementary to Letters in gold, this exhibition will examine the grand legacy of Ottoman painting, ceramics, textiles, and metalwork, using works from the permanent collection at the Harvard Art Museums.

Freer Gallery of Art

1000 Jefferson Drive at 12th street SW
Washington DC 20560
Tel.: +1 202 357 2104
Fax: +1 202 357 4911

until 28 November 1999

Selections from the Japanese Collection
A group of 35 works of Japanese painting, calligraphy, ceramics, and works in mixed media can be seen in the Freer's Japanese galleries.

until 28 November 1999

The Tea Ceremony in Japan
This small exhibition explains the basic procedures of the Japanese tea ceremony and focuses on the range of objects used in typical gatherings for both thick tea (koicha) and thin tea (usucha) ceremonies.

until 9 Januari 2000

A Breath of Spring
The exhibition combines the masterpiece of 14th century Chinese painting 'A Breath of Spring' from Zou Fulei, with a new poem by the writer Michael Ondaatje.

until 30 Januari 2000

Masterpieces of Chinese Painting
A selection of 10th to early 18th century paintings and calligraphy from the Freer's collection of Chinese art.

The Museum of Fine Arts Houston

Caroline Wiess Lwa Building
1001 Bissonnet
TX 77005 Houston
Tel.: +1-713-639 7300
Fax: +1-713-639 7597

until 7 May 2000

The Golden Age of Archaeology: Celebrated Archaeological Finds from the People's

until 13 Februari 2000

Modern masters of Kyoto
Transformations of Japanese painting tradition Nihonga, from the Griffith and Patricia Way collection

Worcester Art museum

55 Salisbury Street
Worcester, MA 01609-3196
Tel.: +1-508-799 4406
Fax: +1-508-798 5646

until 4 July 1999

Terrific Tokyo: A panorama in prints from the 1870s to the 1930s
Fifty woodblock prints record the dramatic transformation of the city once called Edo.

Curtis Arts Humanities Center

2349 East Greenwood Village
Denver, CO 80121-1570
Tel.: +1-303-797 1779
Tue-Fri: 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.

The Art Museum, Princeton University

Princeton, New Jersey 08544
Tel.: +1-609-258 3788

until September 1999

Chinese painting and calligraphy
Special exhibition of Chinese painting, calligraphy, and works of art.

until 26 September 1999

From Ritual Simplicity to Imperial Splendor
An examination of Chinese ceramics from their early ritual simplicity to the development of late imperial tastes.



Splendors of Meiji: Treasures of Imperial Japan, Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection. USA Touring Exhibition 1999/2000.

Republic of China

Several hundred objects from all over China cover the broad chronology from the Neolithic Period through the Han Dynasty. The exhibition presents new perspectives on early Chinese civilization and art, and documents the most recent excavations and ideas in the field of Chinese archaeology.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Benjamin Franklin Parkway
Box 7646
Philadelphia, PA 19101-7646
Tel.: +1-215-763 8100
Fax: +1-215-236 4465

until 2 August 1999

Ink Traces: East Asian calligraphy

Seattle Asian Art Museum

1400 E. Prospect/Volunteer Park
P.O. Box 22000
Seattle, Washington 98122-9700
Tel.: +1-206-625 8900

until 25 July 1999

Flights of Fancy: Natural and supernatural imagery in Japanese art

The Asian Art section is produced by The Gate Foundation in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Please send all information about activities and events relating to Asian art and culture to:

THE GATE FOUNDATION

KEIZERSGRACHT 613
1017 DS AMSTERDAM
THE NETHERLANDS
TEL.: +31-20-620 80 57
FAX: +31-20-639 07 62
E-MAIL: GATE@BASE.NL
WWW.BASE.NL/GATE



FORUM

- (General News)
 - The State and People Who Move Around: How the valleys make the hills in Southeast Asia 3
- (Thematic issue: Tourism in the Asia Pacific)
 - Local Perspectives on Global Tourism in the Asia-Pacific Region 7
- (South Asia)
 - Problems of Democracy in South Asia 16
- (Southeast Asia)
 - Philippines' Search for Identity 27
- (East Asia)
 - Taiwanese Social Organizations 33



PEOPLE

- (Editorial page)
 - Co-editors Heidi Dahles & Toon van Meijl: An interview 2
- (General News)
 - To Those Who Are Dancing: Three politically inspired poets 5
- (Central Asia)
 - Johan van Manen: The founder of Tibetology in the Netherlands 13
- (Southeast Asia)
 - Timely Art: An interview with Rendra 22/23
- (East Asia)
 - Wei Jingsheng in Leiden 32



INSTITUTIONAL NEWS

- (General News)
 - Poets of all Nations (PAN) 5
 - Towards a Global Social History: Asian Collections at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) 47
- (South Asia)
 - Photographic Prints at the Kern Institute Leiden: An unknown source of Asian art information 19
- (IIAS News)
 - In the Spotlight: The IIAS evaluated 41
 - PEARL: Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages 41
 - Staff / Research at the IIAS 42
 - IIAS Research Partners 43
 - Branching Out: News from Amsterdam 43
 - IIAS (Travel) Grants 43
- (Alliance News)
 - The Strategic Alliance 48
 - Institut für Asienkunde: Introducing the new Alliance partner 49
- (Short News)
 - Cultural Connections: A new association? 49
- (ESF Asia Committee News)
 - A New ESF Asia Committee 50
 - ESF Asia Committee Fellows 50
 - European Associations for Asian Studies 50
- (SEALG News)
 - South East Asia Library Group 52
- (Institutes in the Limelight)
 - The New ANU Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora 53
 - Academy of Malay Studies 53



RESEARCH PROJECTS

- (General News)
 - Phonological and Typological Studies in Siberia 6
- (Thematic issue: Tourism in the Asia-Pacific)
 - The (Re)presentation of 'Traditional' Sasak Villages 8
 - Tourism to Holy Sites 8
 - The Presentation of Self in Touristic Encounters 9
 - Tales of Tiwiness: Tourism in an Australian Aboriginal society 9

- Bali: A Paradise Globalized 9
- Favours the Local over the Global 10
- Huli Wigmen Engage Tourists 10
- Tourism, Environment, and Community 10
- Travel to the Land of Chinggis Khan: Tourism development in Mongolia 11
- Trade and Ethnicity: Street and beach sellers from Raas 11
- The Role of Agritourism in Community Development 12
- Tourism and Street Vendors 12

- (South Asia)
 - Visualizing the Teyyam Ritual 17

- (Southeast Asia)
 - The Long Battle against the Auspicious Lord of the Waters: Dutch and Indonesian endeavours to control the River Solo in East Java 26

- (East Asia)
 - The Guangzhou Uprising, 11-13 December 1927 28
 - The Asian Financial Crisis: Responses of Chinese Diaspora Capitalism 29
 - Negotiating Chinese Immigrant Food Culture in a Global Setting 30/31
 - Doing Research on the History of Madness in China 32

- (IIAS News)
 - Qiaoxiang Ties Programme 44

- (ESF Asia Committee News)
 - Religious Conversion, Cultural Translation in Early Modern South India 51
 - Trading and Migration Routes in the Interior of Borneo: Physical configurations of economic and social networks 52



REPORTS

- (General News)
 - Colloquium 'Board Games in Academia III' 4
 - Remembering and Forgetting: The political and social aftermath of intense conflict in Eastern Asia and Northern Europe 6

- (South Asia)
 - International Conference: Skanda-Murukan 16
 - Indo-Portuguese History, Science, Technology, and Culture 18
 - Thirty-third Conference: Bengal Studies 21

- (Southeast Asia)
 - The Impact of the Crisis on Rural Java: Evidence from a recent workshop 25
 - Philippine Studies Circle 27

- (East Asia)
 - Chang Pogo: The Musical Legacy of a Korean Hero 34

- (IIAS News)
 - Third International Congress on Bengal Art: ABIA Index demonstrated 44

- (CLARA News)
 - Report on the CLARA Labour Seminar: 'Challenges for Asian labour: Past and Present' 46

- (Alliance News)
 - An Invigorating Stay at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies 48



CALL FOR PAPERS

- (South Asia)
 - Western India and the Indian Ocean 18

- (Southeast Asia)
 - Coastal Burma in the Age of Commerce 24
 - Democracy in Burma 25

- (IIAS News)
 - 'Hinduism' in Modern Indonesia 44

- (CLARA News)
 - Subcontracting Labour: Historical and global perspectives 46

- (Short News)
 - University Presidents and Entrepreneurs 49
 - Central Asia in a New Security Context 49



PUBLICATIONS

- (General News)
 - Books Received 5

- (Central Asia)
 - Tibetans 1959-1999: Forty years of colonization 13

- (Insular Southwest Asia)
 - Ancestors, Power, and History in Madagascar 15

- (South Asia)
 - Books Received 20
 - Tagore Translated 21

- (Southeast Asia)
 - From 'Indonesia Circle' to 'Indonesia and the Malay World' 24
 - Books Received 25

- (East Asia)
 - Tsugaru Shamisen Music: An interdisciplinary analysis of a Japanese performing art 35
 - Books Received 35



ASIAN ART

- (Asian Art)
 - Face to Face: Contemporary Art from Taiwan 36
 - Art Work Nature: Visions of nature in contemporary art 37
 - Third Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art 37



INTERNET

- (East Asia)
 - Ming-Ch'ing on the Web 33



AGENDA

- (Asian Art)
 - Art Agenda 38/39

- (IIAS News)
 - IIAS Agenda 43

- (CLARA News)
 - CLARA Research Programme Agenda 1999 47

- International Conference Agenda 54/55



SHORT NEWS

- (General News)
 - 65th IFLA Council and General Conference 1999: Libraries as Gateways to an Enlightened World 4

- (Central Asia)
 - Ninth Seminar: International Association for Tibetan Studies 14

- (Pink Pages)
 - Tamil Summer School 1999 51

- (Southeast Asia)
 - Ninth-century Javanese Dance Forms: Computer Graphics 24

- (Alliance News)
 - The Alliance Updated 48

LETTERS

- (Central Asia)
 - Letter to the Editor (Alex McKay) 14
 - Letter to the Editor (Nicolai Kuleshov) 14

- (South Asia)
 - Letter to the Editor (Françoise Pommaret) 20
 - The Author Replies (Rajesh Giri) 20

LIST OF ADVERTISERS

- John Benjamins Publishing Company 4
- Institut für Asienkunde, Hamburg 6
- Asian Rare Books 20
- Institut für Asienkunde / Curzon Press 29
- Kluwer Law International 56
- Cambridge University Press 56
- Products and Services 56

International
 Institute
 for Asian
 Studies



In the spotlight The IIAS Evaluated

In 1998, the IIAS, which was founded in 1993, entered the sixth year of its existence. From the 16th to the 18th of March 1999 an International Review Committee assessed the IIAS for the period 1993-1998.

By SABINE KUYPERS



The Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) has been made responsible by the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sciences for the evaluation(s) of the IIAS, among other scientific institutions. An initial (interim) KNAW evaluation, which took place in 1995 at the request of the Ministry, assessed the IIAS favourably. A comprehensive evaluation was then scheduled to take place within five years. In anticipation of this KNAW evaluation (which is to take place autumn 1999), and in order to be able to draft a solid policy for the coming period, the IIAS board decided to make an evaluation of the IIAS in two stages.

The first stage involved an internal review covering the first six years of the IIAS, prepared by Dr C.J.M.A. Smeets, entitled: *The International Institute for Asian Studies: An internal evaluation*, which was completed in February 1999.

The second stage involved an international review of the IIAS which was conducted by a committee composed of Professors James J. Fox (Director, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University), Carol Gluck (George Sansom Professor of History, East Asian Institute, Columbia University), and Om Prakash (Delhi School of Economics, Department of Economics, University of Delhi) from the 16th to the 18th of March. The report of the international review committee was completed in April 1999.

Krishna Dancing

Whereas the internal evaluation gives a comprehensive picture on the activities of the IIAS 1993-1998, based on facts and figures as well as on commentaries from scholars within the Netherlands and abroad, the international evaluation (second stage) focuses primarily on recommendations for the future. The report of the international Committee Evaluation was

given the name 'Krishna Dancing' by the committee members, following in the footsteps of the tradition associated with the initial formation of the IIAS when the formation report was called 'Baby Krishna' and its subsequent report (concerning the social sciences) 'Krishna in the Delta'.

We mention just a few recommendations:

- Preserve the Newsletter as the flagship of the Institute and continue the practice of disseminating research results through existing publishers rather than establishing an imprint of its own.
- Maintain and expand the Institute's national and international scholarly networks and strengthen its co-ordinating role as an 'institute without walls'.
- Adopt a co-ordinating role to enhance national and international electronic access to Dutch library collections on Asia.
- Increase collaboration in planning research programmes by holding regular planning meetings between the IIAS and the principal university research schools involved in Asian Studies (CASA, CNWS, and CERES) to be followed by co-operative workshops that bring individual, postdoctoral, and postgraduate scholars together to discuss the implementation of such research.

The International Review Committee's report, together with the IIAS Internal Evaluation prepared by Dr C.J.M.A. Smeets, will be presented to the KNAW for their evaluation of the IIAS in the autumn of this year. The reports may be made available to a wider public after the KNAW evaluation.

ESF Asia Committee Secretariat

After a break of about one year, a new Asia Committee was formed at the beginning of this year. During the past year, the planned new ESF Asia Committee's programme as well as its membership were subject to weighty discussions among the ESF Standing Committees for the Humanities and

for the Social Sciences in Strasbourg. Both Committees have chosen for a narrow interpretation of the tasks of the Asia Committee, stressing the importance of their own discipline. Finally, largely due to the efforts of Dr Max Sparreboom, ESF officer for the Asia Committee, both parties found themselves on a single course, and a new Asia Committee could be formed at the beginning of 1999. The IIAS has re-activated its role as ESF Asia Committee's Secretariat, and was able to send out a call for workshop proposals in March 1999 (deadline 16 May) to European recipients of the IIAS Newsletter. Since then many reactions have been received by the Secretariat. The new Asia Committee will convene for the first time in July this year. For further information, please see the regular ESF Asia Committee's section of the Pink Pages in this and following Newsletter(s), or the Internet: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl/esfac/>

Strategic Alliance

In February, the IIAS-NIAS Strategic Alliance changed its name to 'Strategic Alliance between The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, the Netherlands; The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen, Denmark; and

the Institut für Asienkunde (IfA), Hamburg, Germany. Right from the beginning, the basic document of the Nordic-Netherlands Strategic Alliance, had envisaged that European parties would join in at a later stage. After having co-operated on several joint projects, such as the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL), the Institut für Asienkunde formally joined the Alliance at the end of 1998. For the time being, apart from other current projects, the main joint undertakings between the three institutes will be the PEARL network and an 'Asia Update' to be held in Brussels in November, in conjunction with the European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS). The IIAS will assume a co-ordinating role in these joint activities. More news about the Alliance may be found on these Pink Pages or on the Internet: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl>.

PEARL Secretariat

After the (ASEF/ESF/Alliance/Yonsei University) workshop held in Seoul last year (see Newsletter 18), during which the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL) was officially founded, the IIAS has continued its activities as secretariat for this network. A flyer was drafted (see

below), and members were stimulated to approach their respective governments to bring PEARL to the attention of Ministries for Foreign Affairs and of Education. PEARL succeeded in attracting the attention of the ASEM Ministers of Foreign Affairs, who held their preparatory meeting for ASEM III in Berlin in March 1999, and was mentioned in the official 'Chairman's statement'. PEARL continues to seek funding and develop a programme in co-operation with other institutions. A PEARL Brochure is being drawn up. The PEARL flyer may be obtained from the PEARL Secretariat. More information may also be obtained from the web: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl>.

Miscellaneous

The IIAS Annual Report 1998 has been printed and may be obtained from the IIAS Secretariat. For further information about the IIAS research fellows, its research programmes, its publications and seminars, please check this newsletter and the internet: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl>. ■

Drs Sabine A.M. Kuypers is Deputy Director of the IIAS. Drs Sabine A.M. Kuypers is Deputy Director of the IIAS.



The Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL) was established in Seoul in October 1998 by a group of 35 researchers from ASEM (Asia-Europe Meetings) member countries, representing leading Asian and European Studies departments and institutions for research funding.

ASEM is primarily devised to address economic, political, and security issues. PEARL considers joint research and education to be the most effective tools to strengthen an Asia-Europe rapprochement. It emphasizes the importance of a closer intellectual partnership that also pays attention to cultural co-operation.

PEARL aims to develop a shared research culture between the two ends of the Eurasian continent. This would not only enrich the quality of research in each region, but would enable attention to be directed more effectively to issues which are shared between the two regions.

Objectives

- PEARL has taken on three main tasks:
- to place joint research, education, and training on the agenda of ASEM;
 - to strengthen, facilitate, and co-ordinate interregional research and education as a means of rapprochement between Asia and Europe;
 - to offer international institutions such as ASEM academic and strategic information and advice.

Instruments

- PEARL seeks to achieve these ends through:
- organizing and seeking funding for major long-term collaborative research projects involving both Asian and European scholars;
 - organizing and seeking funding for workshops on interregional contemporary issues. The defining characteristic of these meetings will be the juxtaposition of Asian and European perspectives and experiences;
 - developing exchange programmes for scholars in mid-career; acting as a clearinghouse and facilitator for such programmes;
 - acting as a forum in which Asian and European researchers in the Humanities and the Social Sciences meet representatives of ASEAN, the EU, the private and public sectors, and the media;
 - promoting dialogue between researchers from the two regions as well as between researchers and ASEM itself.

Organizational framework and funding

It is not the intention of PEARL to develop a large administrative infrastructure. The IIAS will provide a secretariat for two years while PEARL secures funds for both its research projects and its own management.

ASEM as a whole, the governments of the individual ASEM member countries, countries which have an observer status at ASEM, and international institutions such as the European Union and ASEAN, will be asked to contribute financially to the work of PEARL. PEARL gratefully acknowledges the support of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) and the ESF and wants to develop closer links with these foundations, as well with the national research councils and funding agencies of the countries involved in the ASEM process. ■

PEARL Secretariat
 C/O DRS S.A.M. KUYPERS

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 (Leiden University, IIAS) in Leiden,
 The Netherlands

STAFF

15 JUNE 1999

STAFF

Prof. W.A.L. Stokhof (Director)
Drs S.A.M. Kuypers (Deputy Director)

J. Balassis (Database Assistant)
K. van Belle-Foesenek (Secretary)
Drs M.T. te Boon (Staff Member)
Drs A.J.M. Doek (WWW)
E.F.P. Haneveld (Automation Officer)
Drs E.A.T. van der Hoek (Managing Editor)
Dr J. Kleinen (Co-ordinator Branch Office Amsterdam)
Drs H.I. Lasschuyt (Projects)
Drs A.M.P. van der Lint (Secretary Branch Office Amsterdam)
Dr C.J.M.A. Smeets (Project Officer)
J.A.H. Trel (Secretary)
Drs C.B.W. Veenkamp (Executive Manager)

BOARD

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Prof. J.L. Blussé van Oud Alblas (Leiden University)
Prof. H.W. Bodewitz (Leiden University)
Prof. J. Breman (University of Amsterdam) (pending)
Prof. A. Hagendoorn (Utrecht University)
Prof. W.L. Idema (Leiden University)

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Prof. B. Arps (Leiden University)
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Dr E. Touwen-Bouwsma (NIOD, Amsterdam)
Dr E.B. Vermeer (Leiden University)
Prof. E.J. Zürcher (Leiden University)

SPECIAL CHAIR

Prof. Hein Steinhauer (The Netherlands)
Special Chair at Nijmegen University, 'Ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia'
1 September 1998 - 1 September 2001

RESEARCH PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS

- CLARA: 'Changing Labour Relations in Asia' (The International Institute of Social History - Amsterdam acts as the executing body; Programme Co-ordinator: Dr R. Saptari)
- 'International Social Organisation in East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang Ties in the Twentieth Century' (Programme Directors: Dr L.M. Douw and Dr F.N. Pieke)
- PAATI: 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation: the expression of identity in a changing world' (Programme Director: Dr W. van Zanten)
- ABIA-Project: Key to South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index (Project Co-ordinator: Prof. K. van Kooij, Editors: Dr E. Raven and Dr C. Chou)

One of the most important policies of the IIAS is to share scholarly expertise by offering universities and other research institutes the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of resident fellows. IIAS fellows can be invited to lecture, participate in seminars, cooperate on research projects etc. The IIAS is most willing to mediate in establishing contacts. Both national and international integration of Asian Studies are very important objectives.

In 1999 the IIAS wants to stress this co-operation between foreign researchers and the Dutch field. With regard to the affiliated fellowships, the IIAS therefore offers to mediate in finding external Dutch funding, should the scholar have not yet found ways of financing his/her visit to the Netherlands. For more information please see the IIAS fellowship application form.

At the moment, IIAS fellowship applications can be sent in for affiliated fellowships (no application deadline). If any other fellowships will become available, it will be announced in the IIAS Newsletter and on the Internet. For news about IIAS fellowships, please see our website: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl>.

The IIAS distinguishes between 8 categories of fellows:

1. RESEARCH FELLOWS (POST PhD)

- Individual;
- attached to a programme, i.e.
 - 'International Social Organization in East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang Ties in the Twentieth Century'
 - 'Performing Arts of Asia: tradition and innovation; the expression of identity in a changing world' (PAATI)
 - 'Changing Labour Relations in Asia' (CLARA), in collaboration with IISH Amsterdam

Research fellows are attached to the International Institute for Asian Studies for maximum 3 years, carrying out independent research and fieldwork, and organizing an international seminar.

2. SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS

The IIAS offers senior scholars the possibility to engage in research work in the Netherlands. The period can vary from 1 to 3 months.

3. PROFESSORIAL FELLOWS

The IIAS assists in mediating between universities in the Netherlands and research institutes in Asia, inviting established scholars (minimum requirement: assistant professor level) to share their expertise with Dutch scholars, by being affiliated to Dutch universities for a period of one to two years.

4. VISITING EXCHANGE FELLOWS

The IIAS has signed several Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) with foreign research institutes, thus providing scholars with an opportunity to participate in international exchanges.

The Nordic Institute for Asian Studies (NIAS) in Copenhagen, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), the Australian National University (ANU), and the Universität Wien regularly send scholars to the Netherlands to do research for a period from 1 to 6 months. Contacts with many other institutes promise to develop into a more regular exchange in the near future.

5. AFFILIATED FELLOWS

The IIAS can offer office facilities to fellows who have found their own financial support and who would like to do research in the Netherlands for a particular period. The IIAS also offers to mediate in finding external Dutch funding, should the scholar have not yet found ways of financing his/her visit to the Netherlands.

6. ESF/IIAS-NIAS FELLOWS

Selected by the Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation (ESF-AC), ESF/Alliance fellows are attached to the IIAS, partly in the framework of and financed by the Strategic Alliance (IIAS-NIAS-Institut für Asienkunde (IfA)).

7. DUTCH SENIORS

Maximum two Dutch seniors per year can apply for this position of maximum 6 months each at the IIAS. A Dutch senior should have obtained a PhD degree more than five years ago, and be academically very productive. The stay at IIAS (not abroad!) can be used for further research. Funds are made available to finance the temporary replacement for teaching activities of a senior at his/her home university.

8. NORDIC-NETHERLANDS RESEARCH FELLOW

Nordic-Netherlands research fellows are selected by the Strategic Alliance. The duration of the fellowship is 1 or 2 years maximum.

Hereunder you will find, ordered by region of speciality and in alphabetical order, the names and research topics of all fellows working at the International Institute for Asian Studies. Mentioned are further: country of origin, period of affiliation, kind of fellowship, and, in case of an affiliated fellowship, funding source, if available.

GENERAL

Dr Kamala Ganesh (India)
'The Impact of a Changing Social Welfare System on Relations within Marriage, Family and Social Networks in the Netherlands and the Public Debate on this Process', affiliated fellow (IDPAD)
1 April 1999 - 1 July 1999 and 1 September 1999 - 1 February 2000

Dr Rajni Palriwala (India)
'The Impact of a Changing Social Welfare System on Relations within Marriage, Family and Social Networks in the Netherlands and the Public Debate on this Process', affiliated fellow (IDPAD)
1 April 1999 - 1 November 1999

Dr Mario Rutten (Netherlands), stationed at NIAS, Copenhagen
'Rural Capitalists in Asia: India, Indonesia and Malaysia Compared', Nordic-Netherlands research fellow
15 February 1999 - 15 February 2000

Dr André Wink (USA), stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
'Al-Hind: the making of the Indo-Islamic world. Volume III: Indo-Muslim society, 14th - 15th Centuries', affiliated fellow (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
1 June 1999 - 31 July 1999

CENTRAL ASIA

Dr Henk Blezer (the Netherlands)
'The 'Bon'-Origin of Tibetan Buddhist Speculations Regarding a Post-Mortem State Called 'Reality as It Is'', individual research fellow
Until 1 August 2000

INSULAR SOUTHWEST ASIA

Prof. Vinesh Hookoomsing (Mauritius)
Prof. Hookoomsing is editing the papers that followed from the 1998 conference jointly organised to mark the 400th anniversary of the Dutch landing in Mauritius. Senior visiting fellow
1 October 1999 - 31 October 1999

SOUTH ASIA

Prof. Valery Androsov (Russia)
'Historiography of the Early Mahayana and Nagarjuna's Philosophy', senior visiting fellow
20 May 1999 - 20 June 1999

Dr Johannes Bronkhorst (Netherlands/Switzerland)
'The Tradition of Rational Thought in India: How and why?', senior visiting fellow
2 April 1999 - 30 June 1999

Dr Hanne de Bruin (the Netherlands), stationed in Leiden and Amsterdam
'Kattaikkuttu and Natakam: South Indian theatre traditions in regional perspective', research fellow in the programme 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation' (PAATI)
Until 15 July 2001

Dr Thomas de Bruijn (the Netherlands)
'Nayi Kahani: New Stories and New Positions in the Literary Field of Hindi Literature after 1947', affiliated fellow (NWO)
15 June 1998 - 15 June 2001

Dr Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase (Australia), stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
'The Social and Cultural Impact of Globalisation in India', affiliated fellow (Charles Sturt University)
15 October 1999 - 15 January 2000

Dr Prabhu Mohapatra (India), stationed in New Delhi
'Industrialisation and Work Culture: steel workers in Jamshedpur: 1950 - 1990s', research fellow in the framework of the CLARA research programme
1 February 1999 - 31 January 2002

Dr Gyan Prakash (India), stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
'Science, Religion, and the Idea of an Indian University', senior visiting fellow
1 June 1999 - 15 July 1999

Dr Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff (the Netherlands)
'Globalization and the Construction of Communal Identities', affiliated fellow for the duration of the WOTRO-sponsored project, stationed at the Asian Development Research Institute, India
1 May 1999 - 1 July 1999

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Dr Christopher Ballard (Australia), stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
'Mining and Local Communities in Irian Jaya: freeport Indonesia and Amungme history', visiting exchange fellow (ANU)
1 May 1999 - 1 October 1999

Dr Matthew Cohen (USA)
'The Shadow Puppet Theater of Gegesik, North West Java, Indonesia: memory, tradition and community', research fellow in the programme 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation' (PAATI)
Until 1 January 2001

Dr Freek Colombijn (the Netherlands), stationed in Leiden and Amsterdam
'The Road to Development. Access to natural resources along the transport axes of Riau Daratan (Indonesia), 1950-2000', individual research fellow
Until 1 January 2002

Dr Hans Goosen (the Netherlands)
'A Demographic History of the Chinese Population in Batavia (1775-1950)', individual research fellow
1 January 1999 - 1 January 2000

Dr Hans Hägerdal (Sweden)
'The Development of Ethnical and Religious Relations in Indonesia since the Outbreak of the Asia Crisis', visiting exchange fellow (NIAS)
17 June 1999 - 3 July 1999

Prof. Dan Lev (USA)
'Political Organization, Social Change, and Legal Evolution in Southeast Asia', senior visiting fellow
1 September 1999 - 1 December 1999 (preliminary)

Dr Li Minghuan (Peoples Republic of China)
'A Demographic History of the Chinese Population in Batavia (1775-1950)', individual research fellow
1 January 1999 - 1 January 2000

Prof. Pawludevage Prematilleke (Sri Lanka)
'Sri Lankan Antiquities in the Netherlands', senior visiting fellow
1 July - 31 July 1999

Dr Martin Ramstedt (Germany)
'Hindu Dharma Indonesia - the Hindu-movement in present-day Indonesia and its influence in relation to the development of the indigenous culture of the Toraja (Aluk Todolo) in South Sulawesi', ESF / Alliance fellow
1 December 1997 - 30 November 2000

Dr Tilak Sareen (India)
'Japanese Occupation of South East Asia during the Second World War', senior visiting fellow
1 July 1999

Dr M. Suksmo (Indonesia)
'Socio-Political Aspects of the Economic Crisis in Indonesia', affiliated fellow (Bank Uppino, Jakarta)
20 July 1999 - 1 September 1999

Dr Alex de Voogt (The Netherlands)
'Differentiation-Processes of Material Culture in Asia: the case of Indonesian mancala', affiliated fellow
1 October 1997 - 1 September 1999

Dr Reed Wadley (USA)
'The Ethnohistory of a Borderland People: the Iban in West Kalimantan, Indonesia', individual research fellow
1 August 1998 - 1 August 2001

EAST ASIA

Prof. Ge Zhuang (People's Republic of China)
'The Study of Christians Development in the Early Stage of the 20th Century', visiting exchange fellow (SASS)
7 April 1999 - 7 July 1999

Dr Cen Huang (Canada), stationed in Leiden and Amsterdam
'Structure and Social Organization of Transnational Enterprises and Entrepreneurship in East and Southeast Asia', research fellow in the programme 'International Social Organization in East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang ties in the twentieth century'
Until 1 November 1999

Dr Karpchun Kim (Korea)
'An Authentic Record of the Yi Dynasty', visiting exchange fellow (Korea Research Foundation)
August 1999 - August 2000

Dr John Knight (Great Britain)
'A Social Anthropological Study of Contemporary Japanese Forestry: commercial and environmental perspectives', individual research fellow
Until 1 September 1999

Dr Evelyn Micollier (France), stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
'Practices and Representations of Health and Illness in the Context of Chinese Culture. Interactions with social facts (illness prevention and human reality of AIDS)', ESF / Alliance fellow
1 July 1998 - 1 July 2000

Prof. Vincent Shen (Taiwan, ROC)
'Philosophy of Zhuangzi', second Chair-holder of the European Chair for Chinese Studies, professorial fellow
October 1998 - September 1999

Dr Peter Tindemans (the Netherlands)
'New Roles for Educational and Research Systems in East Asia in order to Cope with the Information Age and Deteriorated Economic Conditions? Perspectives for co-operation', affiliated fellow (Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science)
11 January 1999 - 1 June 1999

Dr Hae-kyung Um (South Korea / United Kingdom)
'Performing Arts in Korea and the Korean Communities in China, the former Soviet Union and Japan', research fellow in the programme 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation' (PAATI)
Until 1 January 2001

Dr Giovanni Vitiello (Italy)
'Exemplary Sodomites: pornography, homo-eroticism and sexual culture in late imperial China', affiliated fellow (University of Hawaii at Manoa)
1 June 1999 - 1 August 1999

AGENDA

More information about IIAS Seminars and Workshops is available on the internet: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl/iias/agenda.html>. Also refer to the Agenda Asia, a database of Asian Studies conferences, workshops and seminars: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl/gateway/news/agasia/index.html>. Unless otherwise mentioned, the contact address for conference organized by the IIAS is: IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands, Tel.: +31-71-527 2227 Fax: +31-71-527 4162 E-mail: IIAS@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

JUNE 1999

4-5 JUNE 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
IIAS Seminar 'Rationality in Asia'
Convenor: Dr Johannes Bronkhorst (IIAS / University of Lausanne, Switzerland)
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS

7 JUNE 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
Lecture by Pramodya Ananta Toer (the Indonesian writer)
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS

The IIAS has signed MoUs with the following institutions:

1. Nordic Institute for Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen, Denmark
2. East-West Center in Hawai'i (EWC), USA
3. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University (RSPAS-ANU), Canberra, Australia
4. Division of Social Sciences and Humanities, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jakarta, Indonesia
5. Institut für Kultur und Geistesgeschichte Asiens der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria
6. Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia
7. Vietnam National University Hanoi (VNU), Hanoi, Vietnam
8. University Grants Commission (UGC)/Ministry of Education of Pakistan, Islamabad, Pakistan

Institutional News
The IIAS signs Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with research institutes in the field of Asia Studies all over the world, in order to stimulate further co-operation in this field, and to improve the mobility of scholars through the exchange of research fellows at a post-Ph.D. level. The IIAS mediates in establishing contacts with the Institute's MoU partners.

23-25 JUNE 1999
London, Great Britain
Workshop on 'China / Japan / Literature / Theory'
IIAS / SOAS
Convenors: Dr M. Hockx, SOAS, Dr I. Smits, Japanese Languages, Leiden University
P.O. Box 9515, 23 00 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel: +31-71-527 28 45
E-mail: ibsmits@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

25-27 JUNE 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
Fourth Conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESFO)
IIAS, Centre for Pacific Studies, Nijmegen University, Projects Division Southeast Asia and Oceania
Dr J. Miedema, ISIR, Nonnensteeg 1-3, 2311 VJ Leiden, The Netherlands
Fax: +31-71-527 2632
E-mail: isiresfo@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

JULY 1999

5-8 JULY 1999
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Seventh International Conference on Thai Studies (ICTS7)
IIAS / UvA, Dr L. Visser, Dr H. ten Brummelhuis
Organizer: IIAS

5-9 JULY 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
Fifteenth International Conference on South Asian Archaeology
IIAS / Prof. Karel van Kooij, European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, IIAS

12-14 JULY 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
IIAS Masterclass by Prof. David Shulman (Hebrew University, Israel)
Convenor: PAATI research programme, IIAS

AUGUST 1999

26-27 AUGUST 1999
Hong Kong, P.R. China
Conference 'Chinese Transnational Enterprises and Entrepreneurship in Prosperity and Adversity: South China and Southeast Asia during the Twentieth Century'
In the framework of the IIAS research programme 'International Social Organization in East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang Ties during the twentieth century'
Convenors: Dr Leo Douw, CASA, University of Amsterdam, Dr Elizabeth Sinn, Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, Dr Cen Huang, IIAS

SEPTEMBER 1999

7-9 SEPTEMBER 1999
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Workshop 'Tools and Methods for Labour History'
In the framework of the IIAS / IISH research programme CLARA, 'Changing Labour Relations in Asia'
Convenor: Prof. Marcel van der Linden
International Institute of Social History, Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-668 5866
Fax: +31-20-664 8141
E-mail: mvl@iisg.nl

16-17 SEPTEMBER 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
IIAS seminar 'Hinduism' in Modern Indonesia'
Convenor: M. Ramstedt
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS
E-mail: hlasschuyt@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

23-24 SEPTEMBER 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
IIAS seminar
'The Modernity of Rural Asia'
Convenor: Dr John Knight
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS

OCTOBER 1999

24-26 OCTOBER 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
Fourth Euro-Japanese International Symposium on Mainland Southeast Asian History: 'Mainland Southeast Asian Responses to the Stimuli of Foreign Material Culture and Practical Knowledge (14th to mid-19th century)'
Convenor: Dr J. Kleinen
IIAS Branch Office Amsterdam, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-525 3657
Fax: +31-20-525 3658
E-mail: kleinen@pscw.uva.nl

28-30 OCTOBER 1999
Copenhagen, Denmark
Mongolians from Country to City: Floating boundaries, pastoralism, and city life in the Mongol lands during the 20th century
Organized by the Strategic Alliance partners: Institut fr Asienkunde, Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, International Institute for Asian Studies
Contact person: Dr Li Narangoa, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Leifsgade 33, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark
Tel.: +45-32-54 88 44, Fax: +45-32-96 25 30
E-mail: nara@nias.ku.dk

NOVEMBER 1999

22-24 NOVEMBER 1999
Bangkok (Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute), Thailand
Workshop 'Subcontracting Labour in Asia: A longitudinal analysis in global perspective'
In the framework of the IIAS / IISH research programme CLARA, 'Changing Labour Relations in Asia'
Convenors: Prof. Jan Lucassen, Dr Ratna Saptari
International Institute of Social History, Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-668 5866
Fax: +31-20-664 8141
E-mail: rsa@iisg.nl

24 NOVEMBER 1999
Brussels, Belgium
Strategic Alliance 'Asia Update'. Organized by the Alliance partners (see p. 48) and Dr W. van der Geest, European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels. Organizers: Dr John Kleinen, Drs Annelore van der Lint, IIAS Branch Office Amsterdam, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-525 3657
Fax: +31-20-525 3658
E-mail: iias@pscw.uva.nl

DECEMBER 1999

13-17 DECEMBER 1999
Leiden, The Netherlands
Joint KITLV / IIAS Seminar on 'Nationalism in Present-day Southeast Asia'
Convenor: Prof. C. van Dijk
KITLV, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2295
Fax: +31-71-527 2638
E-mail: kitlv@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

IIAS Research Partners

9. Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), Shanghai, P.R. China
10. l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, France
11. Academia Sinica, Taiwan, ROC
12. Korea Research Foundation (KRF), Seoul, Korea
13. National Science Council, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC
14. Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Mongolia
15. Institut de Recherche sur le Sud-Est Asiatique, Aix-en-Provence, France
16. Bureau of International Cultural & Educational Relations, Ministry of Education, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC
17. Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Paris, France ■



Institutional News
The IIAS branch office Amsterdam has a new co-ordinator, John Kleinen. He replaces Mario Rutten who is currently spending one year at IIAS, Copenhagen, as a Nordic-Netherlands Fellow. Kleinen is a member of the Anthropology Department of the University of Amsterdam and the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR). He studied Sociology

Branching Out News from Amsterdam



and Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam, and in 1998 obtained his PhD with a study on Peasant Movements in Colonial Vietnam (1880-1941). Since then he has continued to publish books on Vietnam and Cambodia and has contributed various articles to journals and books of essays.
The book *Facing the Future, Reviving the Past: A study of social change in a Northern Vietnamese village*, based on his fieldwork in Vietnam, will be published by ISEAS in Singapore. At present, John Kleinen is engaged in a study of the local use of natural resources and environmental change in the Ba Lat estuary of Vietnam.
Apart from lending his assistance to the daily routine at the IIAS Branch Office Secretariat, headed by Annelore van der Lint (MA), Kleinen sees it as his task to stimulate various activities to do with Asian topics in the bustling city of Amsterdam. The branch office is involved in the organization of the Fourth Euro-Japanese International Symposium on Mainland Southeast Asian History, and of the next Asia Update, co-organized with the European Institute for Asian Studies in

Brussels. Plans are also being discussed to organize a joint workshop with the Amsterdam-based Maison Descartes and the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation concerning French and Dutch decolonization policies in Indochina and Indonesia.
Asian Studies at the University of Amsterdam offers great opportunities to students, academics, and the interested public to follow the developments in Asia seriously. The IIAS and its branch in Amsterdam are working hard to integrate their activities with those at the University of Amsterdam. Being an 'institute without walls', the IIAS Branch Office in Amsterdam is tailor-made for co-operating with both the University and the town in activities on Asia. ■

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IIAS (TRAVEL) GRANTS

Each year the IIAS makes available a limited number of grants for outstanding (Dutch) scholars, in order to do research abroad. The grants are given for a maximum of two months and should be used to cover the costs of accommodation, travel and / or research.
In order to be eligible for an IIAS travel grant, an application should at least meet the following requirements:
Applicant has to be employed by a Dutch institute and/or be the holder of a permanent Dutch residence permit.

- The stay abroad and the activities must be compatible with the aims and the activities of the IIAS (post-doctoral research only).
- Travel costs and costs of accommodation for Dutch scholars can be made available only after the person concerned has obtained partial funding from his/her institute and when he/she does not qualify for other means of funding (NWO/WOTRO). ■

Application forms for travel grants can be obtained at the IIAS secretariat.

3rd International Congress on Bengal Art ABIA Index demonstrated

From 16 to 20 February 1999, the Third International Congress on Bengal art was organized in Rajshahi, Bogra, and Dhaka by the International Centre for Study of Bengal Art (ICSBA). The convenor was Dr Enamul Haque, Founding Director of the Bangladesh National Museum (rt.) and Chairman of the ICSBA, a non-profit, non-governmental research centre situated in Dhaka. This institute is dedicated to Bengal archaeology, art history, folk and decorative arts, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, and ethnography. It holds important collections of books, journals, photographs, negatives, and slides relevant to these fields, and also publishes the annual 'Journal of Bengal Art'.

By ELLEN M. RAVEN



Some fifty scholars were welcomed in the Senate House at Rajshahi in North Bengal for the ceremonial inaugural session. The keynote address on 'Issues in the art of Bengal' was given by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee of Calcutta University. The following four days at Rajshahi and Bogra were filled to the brim with paper reading sessions devoted to the art and architecture, archaeology, epigraphy, and numismatics of Bangladesh or West Bengal.

The topics discussed at the conference varied from manuscript painting to folk art and iconographic issues, the architecture of Buddhist and Hindu monuments and Muslim mosques, coins, calligraphy, and inscriptions from the time of the Pal kings and the Sultans of Bengal, and cultural contacts between early Bengal and other regions of South and Southeast Asia. The proceedings of the conference will be published in the next issue of the *Journal of Bengal Art*.

The conference was concluded with a two-day international workshop on the State of Research on Bengal Art. Some twenty-five scholars presented their views on the theme of the workshop. One scholar stressed the need for a village-to-village surveying and documentation project. Several others pleaded for an increased involvement of Bangladeshi scholars with art, archaeology, and epigraphy. Apparently Bengal art is not even on the curriculum of universities in Bangladesh.

A scholar from India pointed out that archaeological sites from the Islamic period in West Bengal have received far less attention from the Archaeological Survey of India than sites from earlier periods. It was stressed that much work still has to be done on the publication of inscriptions. The scholars present wondered whether the ICSBA could organize courses in epigraphy to help museum staff members deal with inscriptions on objects in their care. Other important desiderata were reliable documentation, e.g. proper plans of excavated sites and up-to-date excavation reports. It seems that for several years now quite a number of excavation reports are waiting to be printed up at the Bangladesh Government Press.

A museum director suggested that an inventory of research studies on Bengal art and archaeology would be useful, and an archive registering ob-



jects in private and museum collections, both in and outside South Asia. Scholars shared their experiences in the difficulties they encountered when trying to study objects from museum reserve collections, both in Bangladesh and in the West. Permission to study or photograph is often denied, and if photographs are provided, they are too expensive for South Asian scholars. The scholars expressed the hope that museums and other institutes will open their doors more easily and at more favourable conditions to scholars from the East and West. One scholar pointed out that research on Bengal art and archaeology would benefit from interaction with ongoing research regarding bordering regions, such as Bihar and Orissa.

ABIA Index

Ellen Raven, co-ordinating ABIA editor for South Asia at the IIAS, introduced the participants to the ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index, the new annotated bibliographical database which is compiled by the IIAS in close collaboration with the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology (PGIAR) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, the SEAMEO / SPAFA Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts in Bangkok, Thailand, and a network of scholars from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Russia, and Singapore. The first ABIA Index volume, containing some 1300 annotated entries and two review articles, was hot of the press and was admired by the conference participants.

They were especially enthusiastic about the promising possibilities of on-line searching in the ABIA Index database which was demonstrated at the conference too. It is expected that the database will be made available on the internet in the latter half of 1999. It will offer scholars and other interested parties access to high-quality information on many more publications on art and archaeology, material culture, numismatics, and epigraphy of South and Southeast Asia than those selected for the annual bibliography in print. This on-line database is expected to increase yearly by at least some two thousand titles.

At the workshop the ABIA Index editor pointed out the importance of bibliographies for documenting past research and facilitating new studies on Bengal art and archaeology. She suggested that an inventory of available bibliographic resources and of ongoing bibliographic efforts in these fields would be most helpful. The ABIA Index team would gladly support any action in this direction to further the study of Bengal art. ■

For more information on the ABIA Index database contact:

DR ELLEN M. RAVEN

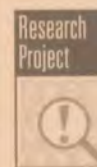
co-ordinating editor for South Asia
(abiaraven@rullet.leidenuniv.nl) or

DR CYNTHIA CHOU

co-ordinating editor for Southeast Asia
(abiachou@rullet.leidenuniv.nl) at the IIAS. The bibliography can be ordered from Kegan Paul / John Wiley & Sons
<http://www.demon.co.uk/keganpaul>

Qiaoxiang Ties

By CEN HUANG & LEO DOUW



The editorial work on a newly edited book titled 'Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to 'Cultural Capitalism' in South China' has been completed by Leo Douw, Cen Huang, and Michael Godley. It will be published by Kegan Paul International (London) in August 1999. This book will be the first volume in a series of publications produced by the Qiaoxiang Ties Programme. Professor Wang Gungwu has written a preface for the book.

Dr David Ip, University of Queensland, Australia, has completed a senior programme visiting fellowship from 1 January to 15 February 1999. He worked with Dr Leo Douw and Dr Cen Huang on the preparation for the programme's 1999 conference: Chinese Transnational Enterprises and Entrepreneurship in Prosperity and Adversity: South China and Southeast Asia during the Twentieth Century. The conference will be held in conjunction with the Centre of Asian Studies,

University of Hong Kong, in Hong Kong on 26-27 August 1999.

Dr Cen Huang presented a paper entitled 'The Change of Cultural Identity through Ethnic Restaurant Menus' at the American Asian Society Annual Conference in Boston on 13 March 1999. She will also present a paper on 'Chinese Governmental Roles in Assisting Overseas Chinese Entrepreneurs in the Financial Crisis' at the Bamboo Network Conference: Challenges to Chinese Overseas in an Era of Financial Volatility in the Asia Pacific Region on 14-15 May 1999 in Sydney, Australia.

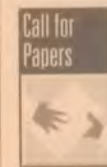
Dr Cen Huang and Professor Zhuang Guotu have been successful in attracting a publication fund to publish the research findings of the Xiamen-IIAS joint project and the research papers presented at the international conference on Qiaoxiang Studies on 27-30 October 1998 in Jinjiang. The conference was organized by the RAS research partner Professor Zhuang Guotu and his research team. A set of three volumes will be published by the Fujian People's Press late this year. ■

16 > 17 SEPTEMBER 1999

IIAS CONFERENCE, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

'Hinduism' in Modern Indonesia

The main goal of the conference is giving 'a voice' to Indonesian 'Hindus' at a time when Islamization and Christianization lead to severe religious clashes not only between Moslems and Christians, but also between 'Hindus' and Moslems and 'Hindus' and Christians throughout the archipelago.



Compared to Indonesian Islam, Indonesian Hinduism has been seriously under-represented both in the scientific and in the political discourse. The conference will give attention to the historical development of Indonesian Hinduism from the colonial period to the present, and it will also focus on future religious developments in Indonesia after the recent fall of Soeharto and his regime, addressing topics such as the development of religion after the crush of the myth of modernity. The conference will help to prepare the way for future research in the field of Indonesian as well as Religious Studies.

Tentative Programme 16/9

- Wim Stokhof (Director of the IIAS): Opening of the conference
- Martin Ramstedt (IIAS, Leiden): Introduction to the Topic
- Peter van der Veer (Institute for Religion and Society, Amsterdam): Nationalism, Rationalism, and Religion
- Martin Ramstedt: Indonesianization, Globalization, and Islamization: Parameters of 'Hindu' discourse and discursive practices in modern Indonesia

- Session: Ethnicity and Nation-Building in Indonesia
- Chair and discussant: Reimar Schefold (Institute for Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden)
- Heather Sutherland (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam): The Construction of a 'National History' in Indonesia
- (?) Gerard Persoon (Centre of Environmental Science, Programme Environment, and Development, Leiden): Ethnic Identity vis-à-vis National Identity in Indonesia
- (?) Jos Platenkamp (Ethnological Institute, Münster): Ritual and Ethnic Identity in the modern Indonesian Nation-state

- Session: The Development of 'Indonesian Hinduism' (Hindu Dharma Indonesia)
- Chair and discussant: (?) Hedi Hinzler (Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Leiden)
- Michel Picard (National Centre of Scientific Research, Paris): Colonial Precursors of 'Indonesian Hinduism': Surya Kanta and Bali Adnyana in Bali
- Ngurah Nala (Universitas Hindu Dharma Indonesia, Denpasar): Formal and Informal Hindu Education in Modern Bali
- I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (Universitas Udayana, Denpasar, Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives):

The Various Factions Within Hindu Discourse in Contemporary Indonesia (Emphasis on Bali)

- Leo Howe (University of Cambridge, GB): Adherents of Satya Sai Baba in Indonesia

Tentative Programme 17/9

- Session: Neo-Indianisation of Local Discourses in Indonesia
- Chair and discussant: Peter Van der Veer
- Somvir (Delhi University, Universitas Udayana): Recent Cultural and Religious Relations Between India and Indonesia
- Silvia Vignato (National Centre of Scientific Research, Paris): 'Hindu' Practices among the Tamil and Karo Population of North Sumatra - A Comparison
- Shoma Munshi (Institute for Religion and Society, Amsterdam): A Critique of the Term 'Fundamentalism' in the Context of the Globalisation of Hindu Identity
- Session: Hindu Dharma Indonesia vis-à-vis Islam and Christianity
- Chair and discussant: Nico Kaptein (CNWS / INIS, Leiden)
- Robert Hefner (Boston University): 'Hinduism' vis-à-vis Islam in East Java
- Juara Ginting (CNWS): 'Hindu' Pemena (Karo), Christianity and Islam in Northern Sumatra
- (?) Karel Steenbrink (Utrecht University): Christianization and Ethnic Identity in Indonesia
- Martin Ramstedt (IIAS): 'Hinduism' among the Mamasa- and Sa'dan-Toraja: Aluk To Dolo and the Christianization of Toraja Society ■

Convenor: Martin Ramstedt

Organizer: Helga Lasschuyt, IIAS

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Note: the proposed topics are set, but the titles of the individual papers are still tentative.



Continued from page 3
**THE STATE AND PEOPLE
 WHO MOVE AROUND**
 James Scott

deer as much manpower as they could and to keep it out the hands of the crown) were common. But these techniques were all quite clumsy; they were capable of crude movements but nothing very subtle. Resources were either not mobilized or, more likely, campaigns of taxation and conscription and *corvée* drove people to flee from the centre.

The modern colonial state, of course, had many more exquisitely detailed and administratively competent techniques: the census, the cartographically correct cadastral survey, crop-cuttings, land-titles, licences, soil classifications, identity cards. These newer techniques were much more effective at pinning down manpower and production to make it available to the central state. And I believe without going into it in any detail today, that the newer techniques for concentrating population have the same general character. That is, if we think of the 'strategic hamlets' as a counter-insurgency technique, of planned transmigration villages in Indonesia, of plantation-agriculture generally, or even of Pol Pot's perfectly square fields and communes, these were all schemes designed to make population and production more legible, more controllable, and more appropriable.

Let me turn away from the goal of statecraft - the creation of legible state spaces - to its opposite: illegible, non-state spaces, the spaces towards which peasants were often fleeing. I know that this stark dichotomy will not hold up to close scrutiny. But I ask you to indulge me briefly to explore its value as a heuristic tool.

The geographical terrain is important, as is the ecology and demography that follow from it. If we were to think about non-state spaces generally, we could enumerate many examples, like swamps, marshes, deltas, bayous, mangrove swamps. The Orang Laut in Southeast Asia tended to live not on the strand which was exposed and where they were vulnerable to slave raids, but in the mangrove swamps which were impenetrable.

Think also of hills and mountains that are particularly illegible. This calls to mind, in the context of the United States, Appalachia which was, in the eastern part of the United States, the main centre for illegal distillation of liquor during the Prohibition era and afterwards, and is today the major agricultural area for the production of marijuana, partly because it is an area in which state control has always been tenuous.

Think, thirdly, of deserts and wastes, Bedouins, Berbers ... a different kind of illegibility in the desert. Think of frontiers and steppes, e.g. the Don Cossacks in Russia.

Here is the paradox, I think: the hill-valley social divide has, we know, been crossed in both directions by countless numbers of Southeast Asians. That is, hill peoples are becoming valley peoples all the time. Valley peoples are running away to the hills all the time. Nonetheless the cultural divide between the hill and



Professor James Scott delivering the IAS Annual Lecture, 14 December 1998.

valley is stunningly constant as an experienced and lived essentialism.

Let us concentrate for a moment on the perceived cultural differences. In Southeast Asia, there is a powerful cultural symbolism which the elite of court kingdoms use when they see these peripheral peoples and peripheral areas. They see them not just as people who are just out of reach. They see them instead as exemplars of all that is uncivilized, barbaric, and crude. Even when they are looked at with some sympathy, as they are by current 'developmental regimes', they are seen as benighted primitives, 'our living ancestors' who need to be developed, brought into modern life. They are thought of as what we were like before we discovered Islam or Buddhism, rice cultivation, sedentary life, and civilization.

The goal of my little enterprise then is to rework our understanding of the frontier, of the hills, of the Hulu, the periphery, our understanding 'of non-state spaces'. In short, my contention is that the hills are not the backward, not yet incorporated earlier, and ruder forms of social and productive organization, which will later be superseded by sedentary wet-rice hierarchical society. Instead, I think, the frontier is best seen as a place that is always being produced, as the social and economic consequence of state-making projects in valley kingdoms.

The hills and valleys, of course, have always been intimately joined. The Hulu and the Hilir are naturally complementary economic zones. The natural unit in the Malay world is this hill-valley symbiosis, with grain, often salt, fermented shrimp paste, manufactured goods, porcelain, prestige goods, moving up the river. Coming down the river are ores, livestock, charcoal, rattan, spices, exotic trade goods such as camphor and damar, wild game, opium.

Each Malay kingdom lived or died depending on whether it was able to monopolize this trade at the choke points on the river system. Coastal kingdoms were much more often competitors than allies. Coastal states had relatively little to sell one another. Hill groups, though to lesser extent, were also often natural competitors for the best patrons at the coast. But what is interesting is that this symbiotic, integrated effect of the natural patterns of exchange was, at the same time, perfectly compatible with consistent and persistent cultur-

al differences. Despite constant personal movement across this boundary, it nevertheless persisted as a powerful cultural distinction'. The question then perhaps is why these differences are so historically persistent, so salient, and so productive of this civilizational discourse when the peoples in question have always been in close contact, when assimilation to valley culture, language, and status has al-

■
 A court proverb from Siam says

'Yes, a soil, but no people.

A soil without people is
 but a wilderness'.

ways been a common process and when there are any number of social locations between the two, and when the social divide itself is more a continuum than a dichotomy.

The standard reasons one encounters to account for these cultural differences are essentially ecological. While true as far as they go, they are, in sum, unsatisfactory. Hill peoples are, according to this account, more dispersed. In turn, the nature of common property regimes typical of swiddening or horticulture, and hunting and gathering, and their technological simplicity, produces a relatively more egalitarian society in the hills. And, being unpromising settings for state formation, given the ease of flight, hill settlement lineages and families are relatively more autonomous. Thus, the process of community fission and breaking up is rather more common. Finally, even if hill peoples had started out indistinguishable from valley populations culturally, the ecological conditions of livelihood in the hills would have favoured a different social structure.

Now that is the ecological argument. I want, however, to add to this a very different argument to explain how the hills make the valleys and the valleys make the hills. We may begin with processes of social circulation: the equilibrium between in-gathering - forced and voluntary - and dispersion - also forced and voluntary. Focusing on this equilibrium, I hope,

makes a little more sense of this civilizational discourse. So let me return finally to some of the ways in which the hills are constantly being produced by state-making projects in the valleys.

Think, for example, of flight from the ranks in armies. The Burmese invasion of Siam in the 1780s, began with two hundred thousand troops and the Burmese returned with only a hundred thousand, many of whom were captives. Very few of these losses were battlefield casualties. Most were certainly deserters, and most of these, I imagine, ended up in the hills, to remain there or eventually to drift home to their valley villages. Since wars were manpower affairs, there was as much reason to flee the approach of your own army as to flee the approach of the enemy.

Secondly, consider the flight of those ruined by taxes and *corvée* in the wet-rice valleys, not just by the crown and its appropriations, but by the exactions of lower and subordinate officials and nobles. Think for a moment of the long-run movement away, serfs running to the hills as a kind of centrifugal force, as opposed to the centripetal movement due to slaving and the resettlement of war captives.

Thirdly, think of the factions, the losers, and factional fights in towns and villages, both among civilians and among the Buddhist clergy. This is perhaps not only a result of the different ecology of such areas and the relative absence of close clerical attention to these areas. It is also a result of the fact that a whole series of what one might call 'traditional organic intellectuals', hermit monks, pretenders, magicians, dissident Buddhist sects, in effect, excommunicated from the valley kingdoms tend to drift to the hills. People who, in one way or the other, are likely to make a symbolic case against the centre and are likely to end up in the hills.

Fourth, even groups that were seen as the original inhabitants of the hills, we increasingly find, may have moved to the hills from the lowlands. Take for example the Orang Asli, the so-called aboriginal inhabitants of Malaysia. Many of these aboriginal groups, not all, are as near as we can make out the descendants of riverain or coastal peoples who rejected Islam, for factional reasons perhaps. Perhaps because they did not want to give up their gods, or

their pigs, or because they were afraid of slaving raids, the most common case.

Finally, even the Punan in Sarawak, often the poster-children for the protection of old-growth forests, were in fact a sort of lowland people who moved into the hills and are described better by their ecological niche and their specialization in gathering primary forest products for international commerce, rather than by their ethnic identity.

We must imagine that a large number of those who lost their place in lowland villages because of factional fights, crimes, and social ostracization, drifted to the hills as individuals, households, kinship groups, and whole villages. If you grant me that valley kingdoms, in the pressure they exerted, especially on the core region, were always grinding out people in a thin stream and often in larger streams during periods of crisis, then it is plausible to imagine that many of these people ended up in the hills. Remember, at the same time, that there are always hill peoples assimilating into the valley kingdoms. Particularly in settled times and under stable dynasties, this process would have been paramount.

The process of assimilation to valley culture would be running ahead, would be preponderant in times of political stability and economic expansion. On the other hand, the process of dispersion and flight would be running ahead at times of economic crisis, epidemics, famines, civil wars, and the press of *corvée* labour. And, assuming that this is a process that continues over long periods of time, if there is time to percolate, time to cook, then one can imagine the incorporative hill societies both remaining distinct hill peoples and yet over long periods of time, and not paradoxically, absorbing newcomers, escapees, Maroons, and refugees. Given this time to cook, why cannot one take a radically constructionist view of hill ethnicity and culture, making due allowances for the effects of hill ecology and dispersion, mobility, economic organization, autonomy, and political organization. The expansion and contraction of non-state space is, I begin to believe, a privileged window on the history of state-making. In other words, non-state space is related to the state in much the way Maroon settlements are related to slave plantations or the way in which the Wild West was related to the Civil War, in the United States. It is the social product of evasion, flight, dissent, heterodoxy, desertion, social, political, and economic ruin.

Much of the periphery if we see it from this angle, is something like a shadow society or better yet, a reversed mirror image: in terms of its ecology, its religious practices, its social structure, its governance, and above all its fugitive dissident population. Emphasizing this aspect of the frontier and hill peoples together with their distinctive ecology and economy, allows us, I think, to understand the symbolic relation between lowland and hill peoples in Southeast Asia. ■

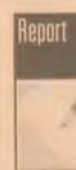
Professor James Scott can be reached at Yale University, e-mail: James.Scott@yale.edu.

19 MARCH 1999
AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Report on the CLARA Labour Seminar 'Challenges for Asian labour: Past and Present'

This one-day seminar is part of CLARA's attempt to bring together scholars who are working on labour in Asia annually to facilitate the exchange of views and findings from 'the field'. Historians, political and social scientists from various Dutch institutions attended to contribute their presentations and comments. The presentations focused on highly diverse topics affecting Asian labour relations. These ranged from the geopolitics of Southeast Asia to more localized village studies; from analyses involving specific historical periods to those focusing on the present situation.

■ By RATNA SAPTARI



Jeff Harrod (University of Amsterdam) focused on the recent financial crisis in Southeast Asia which has brought with it fundamental geopolitical changes. These changes are being used as a platform for European and North American corporations and banks which is distinct from the nature of their past involvements (which were based more on investments in the Newly Industrializing Countries). These will have profound effects on labour within unorganized small enterprises, among

casual workers and on labour practices in the agricultural sector which he will be discussing as will be examining the emerging contradictions and conflicts.

However, in understanding the role of global changes and their effect at local level, the trap of falling into simple generalizations should be avoided, as Peter Boomgaard (KITLV) reminded us. Examining the 1930 depression period in Java and its effect on labour resistance, he stressed that (unlike the present monetary crisis) the depression of the 1930s had a worse effect in the outer islands than in Java. Although Java did not escape unscathed, vari-

ous new employment opportunities emerged. This goes part of the way towards explaining the absence of workers' militance during this period in contrast to the period before in which strikes and protests were a regular occurrence.

Babette Resurreccion (Institute of Social Studies) brought up the issue of the changing gender division of labour among the Kalanguya people in an upland village in the northern part of the Philippines. Prior to the Second World War, the gender division of labour was based on a 'separate but equal' basis in which men hunted and cleared forest spaces for swiddens, while women cultivated and managed the crop (sweet potato). After World War II which ended in 1945, with the introduction of commercial logging, Kalanguya men found employment as menial wage labourers with logging contractors, while the women continued to cultivate their swiddens. By the time most Kalanguya men were laid off with the mechanization of the logging machinery, sweet potato yields

were on the decline which led most residents to shift to paddy rice agriculture. Whereas Kalanguya women had had relatively more latitude in resource management in the past, today they are secondary farm-hands since the men have now become the principal resource managers in the village.

Violence

Edsel Sajor (Institute of Social Studies) discussed the persistence and dominance of reciprocal exchange labour and family labour in an indigenous upland village despite the intensification of farming due to the spread of commercial vegetable gardening and the modern rice variety introduced in the last two decades. The reasons wage labour continues to occupy a minor role in this village are a) the persistence of traditional reciprocal inter-household credit and the increasing practice of local merchants-suppliers of providing consumption credit to favoured clients without any direct labour tie-up; b) the peculiar circumstance of the upland village elite who (unlike that of the lowland rural elite) has been basically denied of any major form of state patronage, despite the increasing intrusiveness of the Philippine state in the rural economy of the country in the last decades.

Erwiza Erman (Centre for Asian Studies Amsterdam) examined the nature of violence and the politics of resistance in the Ombilin coal-mines in West Sumatra during the period 1892 to 1925. She discussed the various factors which instigated the politics of resistance among the labourers. These factors were related to labour

control measures imposed by the state and management and the culture of violence among the labourers themselves. Labour control measures were structural. First and foremost, physical punishment was resorted to as a tool for labour control. Secondly, there was also an embedded culture of violence among the labourers. The presence of criminals employed as convict labourers; competition to obtain scarce resources such as food, money, and sex; the existence of homosexuality; and ethnic differentiation were important elements contributing to the emergence of the culture of violence and politics of resistance of the labourers.

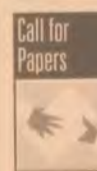
Heidi Dahles (Free University, Amsterdam/University of Amsterdam) focused on the impact of tourism and tourism policy on the employment opportunities of women in the informal sector in Sanur, Bali. While all small entrepreneurs are subject to government regulations which are aimed at the upgrading of tourist destinations, the effects of these regulations diverge along gender lines. In Sanur the government regulations have not destroyed the opportunities for lower-class women to profit from tourism. Some women benefit from these changes by finding their activities have been 'upgraded' and 'formalized'. Although these activities are subject to many restrictions, the government measures still leave enough room for the women to exploit new niches in the tourism market. The rub is that these niches have also created a hierarchical and segmented labour market for women of different backgrounds. ■

22 > 24 NOVEMBER 1999
BANGKOK, THAILAND

Historical and Global Perspectives Subcontracting Labour

The 'Workshop on Subcontracting Labour in Asia: Historical and Global Perspectives' will be held from 22 to 24 November 1999 at the Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute in Bangkok, Thailand. We have selected papers focusing on labour in subcontracting arrangements in Europe and Asia, past and present, with a special emphasis on labour relations at the lowest end of the subcontracting linkage.

■ By JAN LUCASSEN & RATNA SAPTARI



Subcontracting labour has a long-standing history, maybe as long as the history of monetized and wage economies. Therefore, intra-Asian and Asian-European economies offer great opportunities for comparisons. These comparisons have implications for our understanding of the situation today, because unilinear predictions about the marginalization of subcontracting labour have clearly proved wrong. Our purpose here is to obtain a more integrated understanding of subcontracting labour in the past and present, Europe and Asia. The papers should aim to address various ongoing debates both in Europe and in Asia as outlined below:

a. Conventional wisdom regarding paths of development of subcontracting.

Debates on paths of development on labour relations take the evolutionary view on the development of subcontracting: the expansion and contraction of subcontracted labour relations follows several successive phases. However, this is not true of either both the European or the Asian cases. What we would like to do is to show the various paths different countries and regions have followed and to find out which factors have influenced these diverse developments and what the nature of labour relations in these arrangements has been. How can we explain the fact that not all employers resort to subcontracting all of the time but

may use direct employment instead? How can we explain the fact that workers do not always prefer direct employment to subcontracting relations?

b. Debates on 'free' and 'unfree labour'

Some forms of subcontracted labour have been conceptually linked to unfree labour which then brings this topic well within the range of the debates on 'free' and 'unfree' labour. These debates however, have often revealed the blurred lines between the two, especially in the case of indentured labour, where subcontracting relations occur quite often. We should try to understand the nature of the market linkages and the relative autonomy of each side in terms of resources and their political position. Many analyses of subcontracting point out the advantages of the system to the employers. However, when we study any place at a particular moment in time, we encounter highly varying degrees of exploitation of subcontracting relations in which there is a mix of subcontracting and direct employment

or even unfree labour. What is the nature of individual- or group-based labour relations under these types of (subcontract) arrangements?

c. Challenging Dichotomies of Workplace and Home

Since one form of subcontracting is farming out system under which part of the production is done in the homes of the workers or the supervisors, various debates have emerged regarding the links between workplace and home. How sharply are the boundaries between 'workplace' and 'home' between 'production' and 'reproduction' drawn? How has farming out work increased the segmentation and differentiation among workers? How has this affected power relations within the household? How has it affected the emergence or non-emergence of class consciousness among homeworkers?

d. Labour Movements and Subcontracting Labour

How have subcontracting relations, both in Europe and Asia, affected and been affected by labour movements? The relocation of the place of production has always been seen as undermining the labour movement and their struggle to improve working conditions. This has often caused competition and conflict among workers themselves. Unions have often disregarded or excluded subcontracted workers from their constituency. What types of options do workers in subcontracting arrangements have to improve their

bargaining position individually or collectively?

e. Questions of Methodology

Comparisons of different forms of subcontracting relations may be static and typological. Nevertheless, as an essential first step it would seem to be a rewarding exercise to select similar situations and historical developments which have occurred in different parts of the world and subsequently in discussing the interpretative frameworks used. We must, however, first ask ourselves what we are comparing. Although it may seem self-evident, we must constantly remind ourselves to distinguish between form and function. The same forms may have different functions in different contexts; likewise the same functions may be manifested in different forms. An even more difficult question is how do we explain differences in work organization, both objectively and subjectively, by comparisons through time, space and industrial sectors?

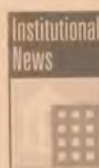
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The Strategic Alliance

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, the Netherlands
The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen, Denmark
The Institut für Asienkunde (IfA), Hamburg, Germany



In the new world order that has emerged during the past decade, Asia has become an important global partner for Europe. A more profound mutual understanding between the two continents is essential. Existing expertise on Asia in Europe has to be improved and optimized to meet Europe's needs and to answer those of Asia as well. In Europe, the required restructuring of Asian Studies can be achieved by combining the individual strengths and endeavours of the various existing institutes of Asian Studies.

In 1997, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) in Copenhagen forged a strategic alliance. This alliance has now been reinforced by membership of the Institut für Asienkunde (IfA), Hamburg, which joined in late 1998. It is expected that other European institutes in the field of Asian Studies will link up with the Strategic Alliance in future.

The alliance is not intended to merge the respective institutes, but to step up the momentum for collaboration and interaction that has been growing between them and to provide a framework within which greater co-operation can occur. The alliance implies the establishment of a co-ordinated framework for joint planning, for the pooling of resources in conducting various jointly organized projects, and for co-ordinated fund-raising on an international basis. The alliance will work closely together with the ESF Asia Committee which fosters basically the same aims, at a European level.

Background

Since 1993, when the IIAS was founded, the IIAS and the NIAS have enjoyed good working relations and undertaken a number of co-operative projects. In 1996 this success was recognized by the Netherlands Minister for Education, Culture, and Sciences who proposed to his Nordic colleagues, the Nordic Council of Ministers of Education, that Nordic and Netherlands expertise be pooled and a Nordic-Netherlands Alliance be set up. The Alliance was to be given an incentive through financial support from both sides. In 1997 the IIAS and the NIAS jointly prepared a four-year programme proposal which was successfully submitted to both the Netherlands and the Nordic governments.

Right from the beginning the basic document of the Nordic-Netherlands Strategic Alliance, envisaged that other European parties would join in at a later stage. After having co-operated in several joint projects, such as the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL), the Institut für Asienkunde formally joined the Alliance at the end of 1998.

Aims and objectives

The aim of the alliance is to contribute to bringing together the fragmented forces on Asian Studies in Europe in order to establish scholarly excellence in central areas of research and expertise on Asia, to the benefit of the institutes' national research environments and the European community at large, by:

1. building up high-quality, border-transcending research with a stronger focus on contemporary issues;
2. creating sustainable networks with Asian and other overseas research institutions and scholars;
3. strengthening the links and communication between academic research on Asia and non-academic institutions and actors.

Instruments

1. Building of research-based expertise on Asia (fellowships, stipends, and the initiation of international research programmes);
2. Developing of networks in Europe, Asia and other countries (annual directors' meetings and co-ordinating platforms);
3. Establishing of extra academic linkages (policy conferences, briefings, media fellowships);
4. Strengthening of communication tools (joint efforts on the internet).

New partners

The Strategic Alliance has an open structure and envisages that other European partners will join in future. ■

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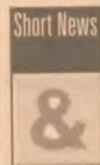
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The Alliance Updated

By ROBERT CRIBB



The IIAS-NIAS Strategic Alliance took a major step in January 1999, when the Institut für Asienkunde (Institute for Asian Affairs, IfA) became a member. Based in Hamburg, the IfA plays a major role in bridging the gap between German academic research and the provision of information on contemporary developments in Asia to German governments (state and federal) and business. It also plays an important role in encouraging co-operation between Asian Studies centres in the decentralized German system.

The Director of the IfA, Dr Werner Draguhn, has worked closely with the Alliance in the past, especially in the formation of PEARL (Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages). The institutional partnership will now provide a basis for the IfA to join the Alliance in other common activities, including seminars, conferences, and joint research programmes.

New Director for NIAS

A new director, Professor Per Ronnäs, took over at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies on 1 May 1999, replacing Robert Cribb, who will return to the University of Queensland, Australia, at the end of June. Professor Ronnäs is an economic geographer with special interests in Vietnam and Cambodia. He was formerly at the Stockholm School of Economics.

Alliance Fellows

The first Nordic-Netherlands Research Fellow, Dr Victor van Bijlert, was resident at NIAS for six months from September 1998 to February 1999, conducting a research project on the modernization of the Hindu canon in colonial Bengal. The present holder of the fellowship, Dr Mario Rutten, also based in Copenhagen, is engaged in a comparative project on rural entrepreneurs in India, Malaysia, and India. A third research fellow, who will be based in Leiden, is expected to be appointed in late spring.

Asia Update

Following on last year's successful Asia Updates in Amsterdam and Copenhagen, the Alliance held a new Update in Copenhagen earlier this year. Speakers were Christer Gunnarsson, Mario Rutten, Aidan Foster-Carter, Birger Riis-Jørgensen, and Linda Jakobson. As part of the Alliance's broader aim to serve a wider European community, the programme was repeated in Riga, the capital of Latvia. A further Update is planned for Brussels in the second half of 1999.

Alliance conference on Mongolia

The Alliance partners will co-operate in organizing a conference on contemporary social and economic developments in Mongolia in October 1999. Further details will be available in the next issue of the newsletter and on the Web-sites of Alliance partners. ■

An Invigorating Stay at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies

By VICTOR A. VAN BIJLERT



For six months, starting from September 1998, I had the opportunity to work at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies at Copenhagen. I was the first Nordic-Netherlands research fellow from the Netherlands. These fellowships are the fruit of the strategic alliance between the NIAS and the IIAS, Leiden. The project on which I worked at the NIAS is called 'Empowering the Hindu Mind: Cultural Politics in Bengal, 1880-1910', forming part of a larger project 'Competing Modernities in South Asia'. Both projects are multi-disciplinary approaches to a broadly historical understanding of Indian nationalism, with a special emphasis on the anti-colonial struggle. The project on colonial Bengal envisages a new interpretation of the little researched shift from cultural nationalism to nationalist terrorism and the Hindu religious motivations of terrorism which took place between 1880 and 1908.

In order to discuss ethics and motivation in Bengali, Hindu, middle-class culture, I participated as co-convenor with convenor William Radice in the Bengal Studies Panel of the 15th European Conference on Modern South Asia, held in Prague, September 1998. In November 1998 I participated in the 5th seminar on

Europe and Asia, held at the business school of the University of Poitiers.

In January 1999 I visited the India Office Library at the British Library (beautiful new premises), London, and the South Asian Archives at Cambridge. In the latter I consulted personal archives of British CID officers who had worked in Bengal at the beginning of the twentieth century. At the India Office Library I was able to have a look at different materials from the archives of former British India. I consulted, among other documents, the lengthy personal memoirs of Sir Charles Tegart, the head of the intelligence branch of the police in Calcutta. It was Tegart who had had to deal with early nationalist terrorism in Bengal. He and his superior, Sir David Petrie, played an important role later in MI5.

The perusal of the CID material enables me to interpret Indian anti-colonial terrorism from different angles. After all, the CID was the major opponent of the terrorist nationalists. The latest spin-off from this research is my paper on Bankim Chandra's successful creation in 1880 of an Indian national icon in the anthem "Bande Mataram". This paper was read at the 33rd annual Bengal Studies conference, 2-4 April 1999. This year the Bengal Studies conference was hosted by Fayetteville State University. NIAS and the IIAS kindly consented to subsidize my participation.

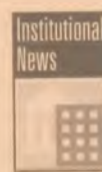
The NIAS provides a very congenial atmosphere for a scholarly exchange of views. This is largely due to the fact that the researchers at NIAS study many different Asian countries, although the emphasis lies on East and Southeast Asia. NIAS researchers have their backgrounds either in the social sciences, history, or the humanities and often combine these disciplines creatively. The NIAS enthusiastically encourages multi-disciplinarity. That this approach bears fruit can be seen from the numerous NIAS publications that come out every year.

While working at the NIAS, it is very common to hear the scholars and permanent staff discuss a wide range of topics with each other. Often an exhilarating exchange of views takes place while everybody is seated around the famous NIAS table, drinking morning coffee, taking lunch, or having afternoon coffee. The informal work-culture requires that all who sit around the table do communicate. I am probably not divulging a big trade-secret of NIAS when I say that its table fulfils an important managerial task: it promotes creativeness and communicative skills and prevents festering cold conflicts. Those who have stayed with the NIAS are always considered members of the NIAS family for life. ■

Institut für Asienkunde

Introducing the new Alliance partner

Recently, in late 1998, the Institut für Asienkunde in Hamburg, Germany, joined the Strategic Alliance that had been forged the year before by the IIAS and the NIAS. Though the Institute has been an authority on Asian Studies for years now, a short overview of its activities follows below.



The Institute of Asian Affairs (IfA) was founded in 1956 on initiative of the German Parliament and the German Foreign Office. The decision to locate the Institute in Hamburg was influenced by the fact that Hamburg University has very well equipped institutions of traditional Asian Studies and, in addition to this, the City of Hamburg has a multitude of overseas connections especially with Asia, which are organized through the East Asia Business Association. The Institute is an independent, nonprofit organization, exempted from corporate tax and has its own charter according to civil law. The Institute is managed by a director who is *ex officio* member of the board of directors. A board of supervisors looks after the overall activities. In both boards there are scholars, parliamentarians, journalists, members from trade and industry, members from the administration of the city states of Hamburg and Bremen, and last not least representatives of the Foreign Office in Bonn.

Finance

The Institute of Asian Affairs co-operates closely with the German Overseas Institute from where it receives its budgetary support. It is financed jointly by the Foreign Office in Bonn and by the Economics Ministry of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. In addition, it enjoys a considerable income from the sale of its own publications as well as from projects financed through research support organizations.

Purpose

The Institute has been assigned the task of studying the political, economic, and social developments in the Asian countries. Its work should concentrate on contemporary affairs only and should be of practical relevance not only the scholarly community but also to people in the media, in political parties, in the business community, and in the administration.

Main Activities

The Institute of Asian Affairs concentrates among others on the following activities:

- Current review and analysis of the political, economic, and social developments in China, Japan, Korea, and the countries of Southeast Asia;
- interregional, multinational, and international relations in East and Southeast Asia;
- regional economic co-operation in East and Southeast Asia;
- possibilities of and limits to economic co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and selected Asian countries;
- political and economic turbulences in individual countries and regions of Asia and ways to overcome them.

Lectures and Conferences

The staff members of the Institute give lectures to do with their research activities to representatives of the business community, interest groups, institutions of political education, university institutes, and so on. These lectures serve the purpose of disseminating the knowledge acquired in the daily work at the Institute. In addition, they fulfil the purpose of developing new research topics in discussions with representatives from the business community, politicians, and academics. These activities are supplemented by lectures given regularly by research staff members of the Institute at

Hamburg University and other universities, as well as interviews relating to important political and economic developments to the various media.

Moreover, since 1970 the Institute, in co-operation with other institutions, has fairly regularly once a year organized conferences for larger audiences concerning important developments. Lectures that are held during such conferences are normally published in book form.

National and International Co-operation

The Institute co-operates closely with those institutes belonging to the Foundation German Overseas Institute as well as with the different departments of Hamburg University. There is an especially close co-operation with the German Association for Asian Studies and the Working Group on Contemporary Research and Documentation on South and East Asia. Besides these, the Foundation for Science and Politics at Ebenhausen, the Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies in Cologne, and the German Political Foundations deserve a special mention.

Because of the necessity for a continuous exchange of information, ideas, and research materials, the Institute of Asian Affairs has a large number of working relations as far as research on Asia is concerned with research institutes and libraries in Asia, in Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, the United States, and Australia.

Library and Archive

The library of the Institute of Asian Affairs comprises about 60,000 bibliographical units. The annual growth is about 2,000 titles, of which about 30% are in Asian languages. The library subscribes to about 400 periodicals, out of which 100 are in East Asian languages. About 40% of the library holdings are on China, 20% on Japan. The Institute is the only reference library in Germany for quite a number of materials. On behalf of the German Research Association, the Institute has been assigned the task of collecting materials published in Asian countries that are normally not available in the booktrade. ■

Publications

- The institute publishes four yearbooks (*Wirtschaftshandbuch ASIEN PAZIFIK*; *Jahrbuch INDIEN - Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*; *Jahrbuch JAPAN - Politik und Wirtschaft*; *Jahrbuch KOREA - Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*);
- three journals covering current political, economic and social developments: *CHINA aktuell*; *JAPAN aktuell*; and *SÜDOSTASIEN aktuell*;
- about 15 monographs on contemporary political, economic, and social developments in Asia.

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SHORT NEWS

2 > 3 SEPTEMBER 1999
STOCKHOLM

Central Asia in a New Security Context

At present Central Asia is going through a reconfiguration process as a result of world upheavals in recent years. In order to analyse these trends and developments a two-day conference will be organized in Stockholm. The purpose is to discuss the significance of new patterns of co-operation for the development of trust and security in the region. The conference will focus on relations between Central Asian countries and major powers as well as the impact of changing international and inter-regional options and priorities on the formation of common interests and values in the security field.

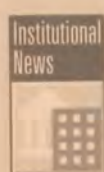
Preliminary agenda

1. Introduction: The Notion of Security Community
2. Session I: Relations to the East and the Southeast (China, Japan, Korea)
3. Session II: Relations to the South (Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan)
4. S.III: Relations to the North (Russia)
5. Session IV: Relations to the West (Turkey, USA, and Western Europe)

6. Concluding session:

The Prospects for Evolving Security Communities in Central Asia
The conference will take place 2-3 September 1999 at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, and is jointly sponsored by the Center for Pacific Asia Studies and the Forum for Central Asian Studies at Stockholm University and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. ■

For further information, contact the organizing committee: Bert Edström (bert.edstrom@orient.su.se), Lena Jonson (lenajonson@ui.se) or Birgit Schlyter (birgit.schlyter@orient.su.se). Please also see the International Conference Agenda



The Center of Oriental Studies of Lithuania would like to get in contact with those scholars who are working on the topic Cultural Connections and Synthesis

14 > 17 OCTOBER, 1999
NANKAI UNIVERSITY, TIANJIN

University Presidents and Entrepreneurs

As the world moves forward into the 21st century, how to cope with the pressing imperatives of the new century, how to respond to the changing challenges of knowledge, economic development, and how to strengthen the social relevance of higher education in the milieu of economic globalization, all these issues are crying out for solution by governments and institutions of higher education. Over the past decades, higher education has been primarily concerned with the issues of funding, policy and management. But, to redefine the social-

ly-shaping and socially-shaped role of higher education, the interactive relationships between higher education and the industrial world merit greater attention. This is the departure point of the Forum, which will be jointly organized by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the municipal government of Tianjin, and Nankai University on October 14-17, 1999. Coinciding with the Forum is the 80th anniversary of the University, now a key university under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

This Forum, as the sponsors expect, provides a good opportunity for

cross-sector communication for university presidents and CEOs to explore ways and means of building up the strategic partnership between higher education and the business community, to facilitate long-term and stable transition from knowledge to productivity and from higher education to employment. As one of the highlights of the Forum, the inauguration of Teda College, Nankai University is a hallmark of the innovative linkage between the University and Tianjin Economic and Technological Development Area (TEDA). The College is the unique institution of higher education in China. ■

Cultural Connections: A New Association?

of Cultures between the East and the West.

The aim is to find out whether there is a need felt for establishing a new European association in this field. ■

For further information or for making suggestions, please contact

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A New ESF Asia Committee

The interested reader will have noticed that it has taken a while for the new ESF Asia Committee to take shape, but finally there is now a new Asia Committee. It is my pleasure to introduce this committee to you here. The list of members is given below. All have been nominated by the research organizations in Europe and together will constitute the new Committee that is to oversee and conduct the activities of the Asian Studies programme.

By MAX SPARREBOOM



The committee will meet on 2 July in Strasbourg, when it will be officially installed for a three-year period. In the meantime, the ESF has issued a call for workshop proposals, which was given a wide circulation among readers of the IIAS Newsletter. The Asia Committee will assess the proposals in July and allocate from five to ten grants, depending on the quality and number of submissions, to a maximum of FF 100,000 per grant.

The European Science Foundation (ESF) acts as a catalyst for the development of science by bringing together leading scientists and funding agencies to debate, plan and implement pan-European scientific and science policy initiatives.

The ESF is an association of more than sixty major national funding agencies devoted to basic scientific research in over twenty countries. It represents all scientific disciplines: physical and engineering sciences, life and environmental sciences, medical sciences, humanities and social sciences. The Foundation assists its Member Organisations in two main ways: by bringing scientists together in its scientific programmes, networks and European research conferences, to work on topics of common concern; and through the joint study of issues of strategic importance in European science policy.

The ESF maintains close relations with other scientific institutions within and outside Europe. By its activities, the Foundation adds value by co-operation and co-ordination across national frontiers and endeavours, offers expert scientific advice on strategic issues, and provides the European forum for fundamental science.

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Workshop proposals have been invited in the following topics:

- Welfare systems and models of social security;
- Demographic change;
- Security and regionalisation;
- Value systems and cultural heritage;
- Changing labour relations in Asia;
- Knowledge systems, environment, and transmission of technology;
- Institutional frameworks for industrial development in Asia;
- 'Asianization' of politics, democracy, and human rights.

Research programmes will be developed within a number of these topics. How exactly is still to be decided by the committee. A substantial part of the annual budget of FF 2,820,00 will be devoted to short-term fellowships to be allocated, on a competitive basis, to post-docs whose task it will be to organize international research programmes.

Co-ordination of Asian Studies in Europe will continue to be a priority. Networking among individuals and institutions has not made as much headway in some regions as in others. A special effort will be made to involve more southern and eastern European researchers and institutions in the work of the ESF programme. The European associations for Asian Studies will also play a role in executing this policy.

The focus of the new Asian Studies programme will be on issues in contemporary Asia, but this does not imply that social science issues will

be predominant. Typical humanities topics must also be covered. In the past, a number of high quality workshop proposals have been turned down because the interdisciplinary aspect was found to be insufficiently convincing. It is conceivable that such proposals will stand a better chance in the coming years, when interdisciplinarity will not be the overriding criterion. The secretariat, as before, is based at IIAS in Leiden. News on ESF activities will continue to be published on these pages.

Membership ESF Asia Committee 1999-2001

Members

- Professor Klaus Antoni, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Seminar für Japanologie, Germany
- Professor Alessandra Avanzini, Università degli Studi di Pisa, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche del Mondo Antico, Pisa, Italy
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Dr Cristina Eghenter (Jakarta)

Stationed at: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies of the University of Hull, UK
Period: June 1997 – June 1999
Topic: The Use of Migration and Trading Routes in the Interior of Borneo

Dr Martin Ramstedt (München)

Stationed at: IIAS, Leiden, The Netherlands
Period: December 1997 – December 2000
Research topic: Hindu Dharma Indonesia – The Hindu-Movement in Present-Day Indonesia and its Influence in Relation to the Development of the Indigenous Culture of the Toraja (Aluk Todolo) in South Sulawesi

Dr Evelyne Micollier (Aix-en-Provence)

Stationed at: IIAS, Leiden, The Netherlands
Period: July 1998 – July 2000
Topic: Practices and Representations of Health and Illness in the Context of Chinese Culture. Interactions with social facts (Illness prevention and Human reality of AIDS)

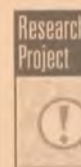
Dr Cecilia Milwertz (Copenhagen)

Stationed at: Institute for Chinese Studies in Oxford, UK
Period: August 1996 – August 1999
Topic: Establishing Civil Society in the People's Republic of China

Religious Conversion, Cultural Translation In Early Modern South India

The role of Christian missionaries has become a bone of contention in the contemporary Indian political arena. In the heat of the argument, missionaries are literally equated with 'foreign' mind and body snatchers, with the fifth column geared at denationalizing and denaturalizing the indigenous, territorially rooted social, ethnic, and cultural 'essences'. Without going further into a discussion about the origins of what appears a dangerous overreaction, a task which I leave to sociologists, as a historian all I can and want to do, is to conjure up those past events and actors who, at one point or another, faced and responded to similar, though not identical, historical challenges.

By INES G. ŽUPANOV



My research into a century and a half (1500-1650s) of efforts at Christianization in India under Portuguese *padroado* (patronage), persuaded me to conceptualize religious conversion (1) as a rational decision, even when the original moment of conversion occurred under the coercion of the Portuguese secular arm, as in Goa, and (2) as an ongoing process of cultural, social, and economic exchange and differentiation. As a product of multiple cross-cultural encounters, unavoidable, accelerated and globalized from the beginning of the 16th century, conversion is not purely religious at all times. If the relationship between power and hegemony plays a prominent part in conversion practices, the same can be said about most of the early modern 'rationalizing' institutions.

Cultural or linguistic translation is in many ways analogous, even homologous, to the process of conversion. 'Turning' the meaning embedded in the system of signs of one language into another follows the same heuristic protocol that underscores religious conversion: identifying points of similarity, adapting or overwriting unacceptable differences, and the creation of a new coherent and englobing field of references. Inherent permeability of social and cultural (and individual) bodies ensures that the flow and circulation of translation/conversion never stops. More often than not, imperial intentions resulted in a typical conqueror's illusion of total conversion or total translation. The fragmented Portuguese Asian 'empire' sent home not only spices and exotic riches, but also a plethora of new foreign words (*peregrinos*) which were rapidly indigenized. Nevertheless, the early military and maritime success inspired some waning (armchair) Portuguese humanists of the middle of the 16th century, such as João de Barros, to imagine that the Portuguese vernacular – which he considered to be one of the most perfect of the Romance languages – would one day replace 'defective' Asian languages. Similar ideas about linguistic imperialism were in vogue in the Spanish New World. Antonio

de Nebrija (the author of the first Spanish grammar of 1492) clearly stated that the language was the partner of empire. A few centuries later, the linguistic policy of the British imperialism left an equally ambiguous legacy to the independent states that emerged from its dismemberment.

Tamil preaching

Portuguese linguistic imperialism, prophesied by Barros, never materialized in Asia. Nor did the empire, for that matter. However, linguistic issues became and remained closely interwoven with the larger problem of conversion and proselytism. With the arrival in India of the most efficient missionary order, the Society of Jesus in 1541, the formula of teaching Portuguese to the imperial subjects, supported by Barros in his Portuguese *Gramática* (1540), was turned upside down. Within a few years of their intensive missionary fieldwork in far away and solitary places, often with no Portuguese military presence to back up their apostolic work (e.g. in South India, the Moluccas, Japan), the Jesuits concluded that the Europeans should learn Asian languages in order to preach and translate the basic Christian tenets. Jesuit linguistic enthusiasm was often interpreted by the Portuguese colonial administration and rival missionary orders as a plot to capture and monopolize access to the local population (i.e. to its economic resources, such as, for example, the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Mannar).

One of the first languages that the Jesuits encountered and subjected to a detailed linguistic scrutiny was Tamil, the language of the Parava pearl fishermen who inhabited the sandy coast from Kanniyakumari to Rameswaram in South India. The apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, was the first to preach to his local converts in Tamil, although there is a doubt that he learnt the language well, if at all. What he did understand was the importance for the missionary enterprise of 'speaking in tongues', of becoming 'Indian to Indians'. It was through his encouragement that the Jesuits who remained in the Parava mission after his departure organized the first

The Jesuits concluded that the Europeans should learn Asian languages in order to preach and translate the basic Christian tenets.

continuous Tamil language course for the missionaries, working at it uninterruptedly for at least half a century. It was an in-the-field training, although the documents and language manuals written for the school were most probably also available in Goa and Lisbon.

Henrique Henriques (born into a family of converted Jews at Vila Viçosa in Portugal; died in Tutukku-ti in India in 1600) was a Jesuit whose missionary career of almost forty years was closely linked with the Paravas and the teaching of Tamil. Be-

sides translations into Tamil of *Lives of the Saints*, the *Confession Manual*, and two *Catechisms*, he also wrote the first Tamil grammar (almost two centuries before the famous grammatical works by another Jesuit, Giuseppe Beschi), which became the model for all future grammars used by foreigners to learn the language. Sophisticated, speculative Tamil-language treatises such as *Tolkappiyam* (ca. first century AD) and its numerous commentaries were neither accessible to Henriques nor are they useful for teaching or learning the elementary spoken Tamil. Henriques's linguistic procedure closely follows that of João de Barros, to whose *Gramática* he refers his readers before they embark on learning Tamil, especially, he warned them, if they did not possess a solid grounding in Latin grammar. The result was that, for the first and not the last time, Tamil was 'harnessed' by and 'reorganized' into the rules of conjugation and declension defined by the Latin grammarians. Every single verbal form was assigned its Latin or Portuguese analogue, whether it fitted perfectly and seamlessly or not.

Even today, some of these verbal forms are considered as 'defying' the grammatical classification applied to Indo-European languages. Faced with such inexplicable differences, Henriques simply described and relegated them to the category of *acrescentamentos* (additions or excrescences).

Counter-imperialist

Although Henriques's grammar remained unfinished because, in his own words his missionary duties were too demanding, it became a successful teaching tool. We are told that with the help of his grammar, learning Tamil was a matter of six months. Moreover, Henriques was confident that, with his linguistic method and with a help of one native speaker, he would be able to write the grammar of any other language – Japanese or Ethiopian, and it seems that he even made some efforts at 'deciphering' the grammatical rules of the Malayalam and Konkani languages. Well into the 17th century, Henriques's Tamil-language school-trained missionaries worked in the Tamil area and, in their turn, improved on his grammar. Some of them like Roberto Nobili, Giuseppe Beschi and others wrote important catechetical and literary works in Tamil. In fact, the Jesuit manuscript grammars of Tamil (signed or anonymous) of this period are available in various European libraries and archives, but have so far not attracted much scholarly attention, if any at all. Far from claiming that the missionary efforts at learning Tamil (or any foreign language, for that matter) were a counter-imperialist gesture (although the imposition of one's language on others is an 'imperial' or simply hegemonic gesture *par excellence*), ideally, it did lead to a better cross-cultural understanding and to a two-way cultural translation.

While the Jesuits were mastering this difficult language, which would be defined only later as belonging to

a separate, Dravidian family of languages, their local male converts were learning Portuguese. Those who were destined to take holy orders were also instructed in elementary Latin. In the case of Paravas, even more important than Portuguese language, which faded away with the Dutch political ascendancy along the Fishery Coast in the 17th century, the Jesuits bestowed on the people the 'Christian' language which is only accidentally Christian and certainly more than a language. Not only was the Parava Tamil vernacular elevated to the rank of a written language through translations into Tamil and printed works such as Henriques's *Confessionario*, these also equipped the Paravas with the tools for forging their own sense of community, honour (*mariyatai*), and identity. Initially with surprise and satisfaction, among the Paravas the Jesuits recorded an extraordinary attraction to confession and to displaying their devotion in acts, in oral and written poetry, and through voluntary financial support of Christian institutions – from churches and confraternities to the printing presses. By converting to Christianity, the Paravas succeeded in constructing and refashioning (not without internal inequalities) their corporate identity as a closely integrated social and economic body within the multi-religious and multi-ethnic landscape of the early modern South India. Cogently, the conversion did not lead Paravas to lose their Indian 'ethnicity' but to gain one instead.

While doing my research on the history of the Jesuit missions in Tamilnad in the 16th and 17th centuries, the questions of conversion and translation formed the core of my interest (Županov 1999). These and similar concerns motivated me to join the team of Professor Arokianathan and a handful of Tamil enthusiasts in creating the Tamil Summer School for Foreign Graduate Students and Researchers (for details about the Tamil Summer School, see page 17), launched by the Department of Social Studies of the French Institute in Pondicherry. The Tamil Summer School cannot compete with Henriques's Tamil school on the Fishery Coast, although one of the intentions is similar – facilitating the teaching and learning of this language which the Jesuit missionaries like Roberto Nobili called *elegantissima et bellissima lingua* – and which the Tamils themselves simply call *sweet*. ■

19 JULY > 28 AUGUST 1999
FRENCH INSTITUTE, PONDICHERRY

Tamil Summer School '99

Short News



An intensive six-week programme in spoken Tamil. Registration fees for 1999 are the equivalent of 200 Euros. Schedule: 19 July – 28 August 1999.

Information and Registration

TAMIL SUMMER SCHOOL

French Institute, P.O. Box 33, Pondicherry 605 001, India

Tel.: +91-413-334 168 / 334 170, Fax: 339 534

Http://members.rediff.com/socialsciences/TSS.htm

E-mail: instfran@giasmd01.vsnl.net.in (Attention: Ms. P.Tiaré, TSS)

Županov, I.G.

DISPUTED MISSION:

JESUIT EXPERIMENTS AND
BRAHMANICAL KNOWLEDGE
IN 17TH-C. SOUTH INDIA

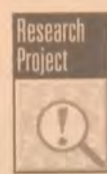
Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999,
pp. 265, forthcoming.

Dr Ines G. Županov was a research fellow selected by the ESF Asia Committee and stationed at SOAS in London (1996-1998). She is also a member of CEIAS in Paris. E-mail: zupanov@giasmd01.vsnl.net.in

Physical configurations of economic and social networks Trading and Migration Routes in the Interior of Borneo

Social and economic networks in the region of Southeast Asia have been scrutinized by various historians and social scientists in an endeavour to delineate the nature of trading routes and activities in this part of the world over the centuries. Routes, however, have often been portrayed as abstract embodiments of movements of people and trading schemes. For the most part, the routes of the migrants and traders have been described as a series of locations on a map devoid of their topographical and empirical connotations.

By CHRISTINA EGHENTER



The idea of focusing on the routes was born out of research on long-distance migrations by the Kenyah and Kayan people who moved from the interior of Indonesian Borneo to the lowlands. Examination of the information collected clearly revealed that the topographical characteristics of the route had been taken into account by the migrants themselves in planning their move out of the interior.

In this study, I focus on the physical and social configurations of the routes in the interior of Indonesian Borneo (East Kalimantan). I look at how people have used trading and migration routes, and how social, economic, and environmental circumstances have affected the establishment and use of the routes between the highlands and lowlands over time. The objective is to uncover the causal relations between the activities along the routes of the interior and the physical, economic, and social circumstances of the region. I restrict my attention to a limited number of cases for which a history of the use of the routes can be documented. I collected information on the 'popular' routes linking the Apo Kayan, an isolated mountainous plateau near the border with

Sarawak, to the Pujungan River region, and to coastal areas on the Malaysian and Indonesian sides of this border. I have drawn my data from a variety of sources like ethnographic accounts of travel and activities along the routes both old and contemporary, Dutch district officers' reports, other official records, and spatial documentation of the old trails.

In the thick forests and rugged terrain of the interior, waterways provide the most efficient means of transportation and determine spatial directions. High mountains to cross, long, steep trails, rapids fraught with treacherous whirlpools, and flash floods are some of the obstacles that confront travellers across the rugged interior region. The potential courses of the routes are limited and most often take advantage of natural passages such as a river, a valley, or a saddle between high peaks to go from one area to another. The paths follow a major river or trail along part of its course, only to leave this and follow a smaller tributary downstream; at times, the trails stretch across vast, forested territories to reach the headwaters of a river flowing in the opposite direction.

Headhunting expeditions

Most of the routes linking the regions of the interior have served multiple and disparate functions.



River in the interior of Borneo.

They were 'peselai' trails used for long-distance trading or work expeditions to the coast. Certain routes were used to reach collection areas of forest products like natural resin and latex. These products were then carried for long distances and traded in the main market places of Berau, Tanjung Selor, or the lower Baram River in Sarawak. Iban people were able to come to the Apo Kayan area from Malaysia to collect forest products. People from the Apo Kayan travelled along the Apo Napu route to the Pujungan River where they traded gongs for salt produced in the Krayan region.

In the past, the same paths were used for headhunting expeditions or war raids by Iban parties from Sarawak or Kenyah parties from the Pujungan area. They also served as major portage routes for the Dutch colonial government after the opening of permanent posts in the interior. It was probably one of these routes which was followed by Kayan groups during the Kayan diaspora. After the end of the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia in

1965, the same routes were followed by hundreds of people from the interior who wanted to find jobs with the logging companies on the lower Bahau River, Indonesian Borneo, or in estate and logging camps along the Baluy and Baram rivers, Malaysian Borneo. Most recently, old paths through the forest and along the rivers of the interior of Kalimantan have attracted tourists in search of a pristine state of nature, glimpses of animal life, and contact with the 'traditional' ways of Kenyah, Kayan, and Punan communities.

Hand-drawn map

While topographical and physical features of the routes were important considerations in the minds of the travellers, other factors such as warfare, colonial administration, and economic development clearly influenced the establishment of a particular route and contributed to its popularity with either traders and migrants, or one or the other. The Apo Bawang route going from the Kayan River to the Bahau River, for example, was first explored and

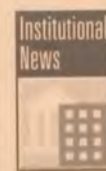
documented with a hand-drawn map by the a Dutch contingent under the command of District Officer Gramberg in 1908. It was at that time that local people in the Apo Kayan were actively searching for a new, alternative trail across the watershed to avoid possible retaliatory attacks by Uma Alim groups in Pujungan. Similarly, it was only after the Dutch colonial government established permanent garrison in the Apo Kayan in 1911 and built a bypass trail around impassable rapids that the Kayan River route became a practicable alternative to the older Apo Napu and Apo Bawang routes. In the case of Malaysia, the choice of a trail depended on the preferred destination, namely the Baluy River or the Baram River on the other side. In the early 1990s, the opening of timber-getting near the border stimulated the development of a new trail along the Bungan River which means that it can now take less than a day from Long Nawang, Apo Kayan, to Malaysia.

By combining historical, ethnographic, and spatial information, this study intends to uncover the relations that evolve between the use of the routes and the variable sets of physical, economic, and social circumstances of the users. In doing so, it will endeavour to trace a causal history of economic and social networks by showing possible continuities between past and present. The study also contributes relevant data that can be used in formulating policies for economic development appropriate to local practices and environmental conditions. ■

Cristina Eghenter, PhD, ESF Fellow, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, can be reached at: eghenter@pol-as.hull.ac.uk.

SEALG NEWS

South East Asia Library Group



At its annual meeting in Hamburg in September '98, the SEALG Committee agreed that the next annual meeting would take place in September 1999, preferably in France. The SEALG Committee member for France, Dr Lieu Cao Thi has informed us that it now is very probable that SEALG will be able to hold its next meeting in Marseille, tentatively from September 23 to September 25 1999. The meeting will be subvented by CNRS. Venue and the exact dates will be definitely confirmed with SEALG members as soon as possible. The theme for this meeting will be:

'Recent library-related research in South East Asia in turmoil'.

Mme Cao Thi had the good fortune of being able to visit libraries in Myanmar at the end of 1998, and will speak on that subject. Other South-east Asian librarians, SEALG members or not, are herewith cordially invited to report on their recent library-related missions in South East Asia at our Marseille meeting. The duration of the reports is limited to twenty minutes.

The aim of the South East Asia Library Group (SEALG) is to foster contacts between librarians attached to European libraries with sizeable collections on South East Asia. Apart

from organizing annual conferences, the proceedings of which are published in the IIAS Newsletter, SEALG tries to reach its aim by collecting data on libraries and publishing these for the benefit of librarians and scholars alike.

In an attempt to collect such data, a questionnaire was recently mailed to a number of Southeast Asian libraries in Europe, mainly in Great Britain, Germany, France, and The Netherlands. However, among the addresses of libraries with sizeable collections of printed materials and other specialized collections with reference to South East Asian countries, those of libraries in Southern European coun-

tries, the Scandinavian countries, and Eastern Europe are sadly missing. The SEALG Committee is very much interested in obtaining addresses of libraries with South East Asian holdings from these countries. Please E-mail or write to us if you can help.

After collecting sufficient data on South East Asian libraries in Europe, SEALG intends to present these data as a hyperlink structured electronic file on the internet and as a database file on CD-ROM for those individuals or libraries who lack internet connectivity. The internet version will be accessible free of charge, while the CD-ROM will be sold on a cost-covering basis. ■

The SEALG Committee will be pleased to hear from you at e-mail: m.nicholson@acs.hull.ac.uk or karni@rullet.leidenuniv.nl.

or by mail:

MS M. NICHOLSON
Brynmor Jones Library
University of Hull
Hull HU6 7RX
Great Britain
or

R.S. KARNI MA
SEALG c/o KITLY
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands

The New ANU Centre for the Study of The Chinese Southern Diaspora

Having pioneered the study of the 'Nanyang' Chinese through the work of C.P. Fitzgerald, Wang Gungwu, Jamie Mackie, Stephen Fitzgerald, and Jennifer Cushman (and PhD students such as C.F. Yong, Yen Ching-hwang, and Ng Chin-keong), the Australian National University has now established a new Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora.

By MICHAEL R. GODLEY

Institutional News
funded with seed money from the Jennifer Cushman Memorial Fund and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, it is hoped that the CSCSD will become a permanent focus for research and teaching on the people of Chinese descent in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific and their continuing interaction with the societies and cultures of the region. It intends to investigate such themes as: cultural heritage; minority status; ethnic identity; political standing; the role of transnational communities in an increasingly globalized world, the role of Sino-Southeast Asians and Sino-Australians in local economies. Most significantly, the CSCSD aspires to encourage mutual understanding. Regular activities will include lectures by distinguished scholars, conferences, and informal workshops, publications in both English and Chinese, and the teaching of an interdisciplinary course by a visiting fellow. Toward these aims, the Centre has recently hosted three significant events. ■

15-16 February 1999

Chinese Indonesians: The Way Ahead

Among the many problems in post-Soeharto Indonesia, none is more critical than those involving the ethnic Chinese. Unless their capital and talent is fully utilized, the economy will remain in crisis but before their confidence can be restored, there must be a clear effort to end discrimination. Whilst there has been understandable anger at the disproportionate economic power enjoyed by the wealthy Chinese businessmen favoured by the previous regime, there is also international outrage at the violence directed at the Indonesian-Chinese community in May 1998, and especially at the rapes of Chinese women.

Although those sustained attacks have been widely blamed on military manipulation orchestrated by General Prabowo, several prominent Muslim thinkers have already suggested that some form of 'affirmative action' may be necessary to assure a greater pribumi share of the nation's wealth. Not only is there a widespread, if not necessarily correct, belief that the Chinese control the economy, but a pressing need to protect their property and civil rights. The country's present crisis can only

worsen if continuing economic hardship makes this minority an easy scapegoat. With elections now scheduled for June, many observers fear that widespread populist anger at perceived inequalities will again reach boiling point. What is urgently required is dialogue: frank and open discussion of how to integrate the Indonesian-Chinese community into a more-democratic, and also more-tolerant, political culture.

In collaboration with the ANU's Centre for Democratic Institutions, the CSCSD therefore brought together sixteen key specialists/opinion shapers to discuss the current crisis in Indonesia and how it impacts on the Chinese minority. As co-director Professor Anthony Reid explained: 'We decided to put resources into this first off because it was clearly a big, even a galvanizing, issue for the world-wide Chinese diaspora as well as an extremely important, even urgent, matter for those involved - an issue that must be resolved if there is to be a smooth transition to democracy'. Speakers included the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Lt. General Agum Gumelar, Human Rights Commissioner Marzuki Darusman, and the noted activist Professor Arief Budiman. Sessions were held on: 'The Civil and Political Position of Chinese Indonesians'; 'The Political Economy under Soeharto'; 'the 1998 Events and Human Rights'; 'Chinese Society in a Time of Crisis'; 'Toward a Fair and Open Economy'; 'Managing Diversity in a post-Soeharto Era'; and, looking for a way out, a comparative discussion of the situation in multi-racial Fiji and Malaysia. As Reid noted: 'It would be helpful if those who believe that the problem is that the Chinese have too big a share of the economy and those who see the problem as one of human rights in curbing discrimination against the Chinese, understand that both things have to happen at once for their to be progress'.

Several hundred people attended and, given the urgency of the crisis, the workshop proceedings will be published as soon as possible. ■

26 February

Inaugural Lecture

Wang Gungwu provided a stimulating history of the field in the inaugural CSCSD Public Lecture entitled 'A Single Chinese Diaspora?: Some Historical Reflections'. In a talk peppered with autobiographical anecdotes and insights gained as one

of the pioneer scholars, he reminded all those present of the complexity of ethnic identity in 1999 and the folly of overgeneralization. Having returned to the ANU to start the Centre off on the right foot, Professor Wang also warned that the term 'diaspora' needs to be used with utmost care since it might actually encourage ethnic essentialism amongst insensitive academics or even anti-Chinese feelings in some quarters. ■

27 February 1999

Colloquium: 'Reconceptualizing the Chinese of the Southlands'

In an effort to take advantage of Professor Wang's visit, as well as to stimulate a re-thinking of major scholarly issues, the CSCSD also sponsored a day-long 'free-for-all' to discuss how best to approach the study of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and Australasia - including heated discussion of the propriety of the term 'diaspora'. Keynote speakers were the writer and television journalist Annette Shun-Wah, who discussed what it meant to be 'Chinese' in Australia today, as well as the noted academic Professor Carl Troki, who recalled his own experiences as a student of the Nanyang Chinese. Both were followed by panel discussions.

When my turn came, I pointed out that China has meant different things to different Chinese. For those 'real' Chinese (Huaqiao) with PRC or Taiwan passports, China is obviously the motherland and object of political loyalty. For the ethnic Chinese who were born there but now live permanently abroad, having often adopted foreign citizenship, China is their cultural homeland. For those born overseas, who are more assimilated into local cultures, the proverbial Middle Kingdom is little more than the ancestral land with little or no relevance to how they conduct their daily lives. In all cases, however, what happened in China - war, political unrest, democracy economic prosperity - would inevitably affect how they were received overseas and how they felt about themselves. ■

Dr Michael R. Godley was a Senior Visiting Fellow at the IAS from 15 September to 15 December 1998 and is currently a Visiting Fellow at the CSCSD in Canberra. E-mail: m.godley@latrobe.edu.au.

KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

Academy of Malay Studies

The Academy of Malay Studies (APM) was established in 1990 as an outcome of the Board of Studies Report regarding the Academy of Malay Studies. At the outset APM focused its activities on research, publication, and documentation, to complement the functions performed by the Department of Malay Studies (JPM) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. On 14 July 1995 the Department of Malay Studies and the Academy of Malay Studies officially merged to become an academic institution in the University of Malaya.

By HASHIM BIN MUSA

Institutional News
APM's main activities fall into two divisions: the Research and Development Division and the Undergraduate and Postgraduate Division. The Academy of Malay Studies was set up with the following mission: 'To become the centre of excellence for Malay Studies in the dissemination and enrichment of knowledge, research, documentation, publication and other academic activities and in particular to affirm the contribution of Islam as an important base, to ensure contribution to the nation as well as to universal well-being.'

The Objectives of APM are:

1. To seek, define and disseminate knowledge based on truth. The truth is linked to faith, that is Islamic faith;
2. To produce excellent and successful scholars of Malay Studies;
3. To produce graduates and scholars who are efficient, innovative, committed, courteous, religious, forward-looking, and receptive to the development of knowledge;
4. To intensify the documentation of materials pertaining to Malay Studies and to promote public awareness and knowledge of such materials;
5. To become the main and most important centre in the world for research activities on Malay Studies. To record, collect, store, and promote all forms of data pertaining to Malay Studies;
6. To become the world's prime centre of Malay Studies in facilitating and conducting seminars, conferences, and other academic activities related to the Malays.

The following departments have been established to conduct and coordinate research, documentation, and publication activities:

- Department of Research

The Research Department focuses on research activities in the various fields of study in APM, Malay language, linguistics, culture, and literature. This department also gives emphasis to history of the Malay world, Malay politics and economy, the Malay mind and philosophy, Malay arts, modernization in Malay society, the Malays in science and technology, religion and beliefs in Malay society, and ethnic studies in the Malay world.

- Department of Documentation

The Documentation Department focuses on documentation work which is an on-going activity. This activity supports and raises the standard of scholarship in Malay Studies. Documentation work covers a wide scope, and it includes the collection of Malay manuscripts, oral traditions, aural and visual materials, artefacts, and literary works, research materials pertaining to Malay Studies and Malay bibliographies.

- Department of Publication

Publication is an activity which complements research and documentation activities. Research findings, documentation works, working papers, transliterations of texts, and the like are published to provide reference materials for all scholars, especially those interested in Malay Studies.

Academic linkages

At present the APM has academic linkages and co-operation in the form of MoUs with several universities in Indonesia and Africa, and plans to widen the ambit of outreach to include institutions in other parts of the world. We are now working to establish MoU with the IIAS to facilitate activities such as exchange of information, exchange of researches at PhD level, joint research projects, the organization of joint seminars and joint publication of research materials, etc.

We are also working hard to revive the Chair of Malay Studies established in the IIAS / Leiden University, which is suspended at present owing among other reasons to the current economic downturn in Asia. Perhaps another strategy, in order to avoid any future economic calamities, would be to establish a kind of self-perpetuating trust fund for the Chair with sufficient contribution from several donors. This Chair is indeed very significant, for establishing a bridge between the Malay World and Europe especially in the coming century where the tide of globalization is inevitable, if it is planned and organized properly. ■

Professor Hashim bin Musa is currently a senior visiting fellow at the IIAS. He can be reached at e-mail: iiasguest5@rullet.leidenuniv.nl. For more information on APM see <http://lontarweb.umlib.um.edu.my>.

JUNE 1999

JUNE 1999
Seoul, Korea

Political Economy of Rapid Modernization in Contemporary East and Southeast Asia
Dr J.Th. Lindblad, Dept. of History, University of Leiden, Doelensteeg 16, 2311 VL Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2652
E-mail: lindblad@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

4-5 JUNE 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

IIAS Seminar 'Rationality in Asia'
Convenor: Dr Johannes Bronkhorst (IIAS / University of Lausanne, Switzerland)
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS

7 JUNE 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

Lecture by Pramodya Ananta Toer (the Indonesian writer)
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS

23-25 JUNE 1999

London, Great Britain

Workshop on 'China / Japan / Literature / Theory'
IIAS / SOAS
Convenors: Dr M. Hocky, SOAS, Dr I. Smits, Japanese Languages, Leiden University
P.O. Box 9515, 23 00 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2845
E-mail: ibsmits@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

25-27 JUNE 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

4th ESFO conference: Asia in the Pacific
ESFO organizing committee, ISIR, Dr J. Miedema, Nonnensteeg 1-3, 2311 VJ Leiden, The Netherlands
Fax: +31-71-527 2632
E-mail: isiresfo@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

26 JUNE 1999

Tokyo, Japan

The Third Asian Studies Conference Japan
Institute of Asian Cultural Studies, International Christian University, 3-10-2 Osawa, Mitaka-shi, Tokyo 181, Japan
E-mail: asian@icu.ac.jp

29 JUNE 1999

Moscow, Russia

11th ECIMS: The Indonesian and Malay World: Milestones of the Second Millennium
Institute of Asian and African Studies, Nusantara Society, 11 Mokhovaya st., Moscow 103009, Russia
Tel.: +7-095-954 7622
Fax: +7-095-954 7622, 203 3647
E-mail: kukush@iaas.msu.ru

JULY 1999

5-7 JULY, 1999

Bandung, Indonesia

Atlas-Asia Inauguration Conference: Entrepreneurship and Education in Tourism
Karin Bras, Department of Leisure Studies, Tilburg University, P.O. Box 90153, 5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-13-466 2191
Fax: +31-13-466 2370
E-mail: c.h.bras@kub.nl
Http://www.atlas-euro.org

5-7 JULY 1999

Parkville, Australia

Eighth Annual Meeting of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics
IACL-8 Organizing Committee, Institute of Asian Languages and Societies, The University Melbourne, Grattan Street, Parkville VIC 3052 Australia,
Fax: +61-3-9349 4870
E-mail: iacl-8@asian.unimelb.edu.au

5-8 JULY 1999

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

7th International Conference on Thai Studies (ICTS-7)
IIAS Branche office, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-525 2940
Fax: +31-20-525 3658
E-mail: thaistud@pscw.uva.nl
Http://www.pscw.uva.nl/icts7

5-9 JULY 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

15th International Conference on South Asian Archaeology
The European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Prof. K. van Kooij, IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA, Leiden, The Netherlands
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: IIAS@rullet.leidenuniv.nl (please mention SAA 99)

9-11 JULY 1999

Urbana, USA

Sala 2000: Priorities And Directions
20th Conference of South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable
SALA Committee, Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 4088, Foreign Languages Building, 707 South Matthews Avenue, Urbana, Illinois-61801, U.S.A
Tel.: +1-217-333 3563
Fax: +1-217-333 3466

12-14 JULY 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

IIAS Masterclass by Prof. David Shulman (Hebrew University, Israel)
Convenor: PAATI research programme, IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA, Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: IIAS@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

12-16 JULY 1999

Oxford, Great Britain

Women Organizing in China
Joanna Chils, Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women, University of Oxford, Queen Elisabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, Great Britain
Tel.: +44-1865-273 644
Fax: +44-1865-273 607
E-mail: cccrw@qeh.ox.ac.uk

14-16 JULY 1999

Moscow, Russia

Mongolian and Tibetan Historical Sources: Computer Approaches
Dimitry D. Vasilyev, Vice-President Orientalists' Society of the RAS
Tel.: +7-95-928 5764
dmivas@glas.apc.org
Http://www.orient.ru

14-23 JULY, 1999

University of Hawai'i-Manoa

13th Annual Summer Workshop for the Development of Intercultural Coursework at Colleges and Universities
Dr. D.P.S. Bhawuk, Workshop Coordinator
E-mail: bhawuk@busadm.cba.hawaii.edu
Http://www.cba.hawaii.edu/ciber/ccw.htm

30-31 JULY - 1 AUGUST 1999

Penang, Malaysia

Southeast Asian Historiography since 1945
Secretariat, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang 11800, Malaysia
Fax: +60-4-656 3707
E-mail: radin@usm.my or radin@tm.net.my

Agenda



AUGUST 1999

2 AUGUST 1999

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Second International Malaysian Studies Conference
Foo Ah Hiang, conference manager, Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research, University of Malaya, 50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel.: +60-3-759 3606
Fax: +60-3-756 7252
Http://ipsp.um.edu.my

8-12 AUGUST 1999

Hannover, Germany

Chinese Language Teaching in the 21st Century
Zhang Dexin, International Society for Chinese Language Teaching, 15 Xueyuan Road, Beijing, People's Republic of China, 100083
Tel.: +86-10-6232 9585
Fax: +86-10-6231 1093
Http://www.fask.uni-mainz.de/inst/chinesisch

19 AUGUST 1999

Gothenburg, Sweden

Marginalization and Integration in the Opening of the South Asian Region
Padrigu, Göteborg University, Brogatan 4, SE 405 30 Göteborg, Sweden
Fax: +46-31-773 4910
E-mail: camilla.orjuela@padrigu.gu.se

20-28 AUGUST 1999

Bangkok, Thailand

The 65th IFLA Conference: Libraries as Gateways to an Enlightened World
Prof. Khunying Maenmas Chavalit, president IFLA 1999 Organising Committee, c/o SEAMEO-SPAFA, headquarters Building, 81/1 Sri-Ayutthaya Road, Sam-sen Theves, Bangkok 10300, Thailand
Tel.: +66-2-280 4022 9
Fax: +66-2-280 4030
E-mail: exspafa@external.ait.ac.th

23-27 AUGUST 1999

Singapore

The 9th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia
Centre for Advanced Studies, 6th Level, Shaw Foundation Building, National University of Singapore, 10 Kent Ridge Crescent, Singapore 119260
Tel.: +65-874 3810
Fax: +65-779 1428
E-mail: cassec@nus.edu.sg

25-29 AUGUST 1999

Leh, Ladakh, India

9th Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies
John Bray, Hon. Sec. IALS, 55B Central Hill, London SE19 1BS, Great Britain
E-mail: miyoko@jblon.win-uk.net

26-27 AUGUST 1999

Hong Kong

Conference 'Chinese Transnational Enterprises and Entrepreneurship in Prosperity and Adversity: South China and Southeast Asia during the Twentieth Century'
Convenors: Dr Leo Douw, CASA, University of Amsterdam, Dr Elizabeth Sinn, Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, Dr Cen Huang, IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: chuang@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

27-28 AUGUST 1999

Stockholm, Sweden

Democracy Movement in Burma Since 1962
Maung Myint, Centre for Pacific Asia Studies (CPAS), Department of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, Se-10691 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel.: +46-8-161 309
Fax: +46-8-168 810
Deadline abstract: 30 June 1999

31 AUGUST - 2 SEPTEMBER 1999 (TENTATIVE!)

Tianjin, China

International Symposium on Chinese Societies (14th-20th Centuries)
Prof. Chang Jianhua, Department of history, Nankai University, 94, Weijin Road, Nankai District, Tianjin 300071, PRC
Fax: +86-22-2350 2990
E-mail: exchange@sun.nankai.edu.cn

SEPTEMBER 1999

1-3 SEPTEMBER 1999

Stockholm, Sweden

6th International Conference on Japanese Information in Science, Technology, Education, and Commerce (JOHO 6)
Secretariat: Prof. Bruce Henry Lambert (Chairman), Ms Kazune Funato Hallgren, European Institute of Japanese Studies (EJIS), Stockholm School of Economics, P.O. Box 6501, S-113 93 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel.: +46-8-736 9364
Fax: +46-8-31 30 17
E-mail: japan@hhs.se

2-3 SEPTEMBER 1999

Stockholm, Sweden

Central Asia in a New Security Context
Institute of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, Kräftriket 4, S-106 91 Stockholm
Tel.: +46-8-162 897
Fax: +46-8-168 810
Birgit Schlyter: (focas@orient.su.se)
Lena Jonson: (lenajonson@ui.se)
Bert Edstrom: (bert.edstrom@orient.su.se)

6-8 SEPTEMBER 1999

Pune, India

International Conference on Nuclearization of South-Asia
Dr Lekh Raj Singh, Organizing Secretary, University of Pune, Department of Politics & Public Administration, Pune-411 007, India
Tel.: +91-212-377 454
Fax: +91-212-353 899
E-mail: lekhraj@unipune.ernet.in

7-9 SEPTEMBER 1999

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Workshop 'Tools and Methods for Labour History'
In the framework of the IIAS / IISH research programme CLARA, 'Changing Labour Relations in Asia'
Convenor: Prof. Marcel van der Linden
International Institute of Social History, Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-668 5866
Fax: +31-20-664 8141
E-mail: mvl@iisg.nl

15-19 SEPTEMBER 1999

Passau, Germany

4th Euroviet Conference: The Economic Crisis and Vietnam's Integration into Southeast Asia
Prof. Vincent Houben and Dr Martin Grossheim, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Universität Passau, Innstrasse 53, 94032 Passau, Germany
Tel.: +49-851-509 2741
Fax: +49-851-509 2742
E-mail: seastudies@uni-passau.de

16-17 SEPTEMBER 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

IIAS seminar 'Hinduism' in Modern Indonesia
Convenor: M. Ramstedt, Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA, Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: hlasschuyt@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

20-24 SEPTEMBER 1999

Toamasina, Madagascar

L'Esclavage et la traite sur la Côte Orientale de Madagascar: les manifestations anciennes et contemporaines
Organizing Committee Conference of Slavery, CEREL - University of Toamasina, B.P. 591, Toamasina (501), Madagascar
Tel.: +261-20-533 2454
Fax: +261-20-533 3716
E-mail: cicortmv@dts.mg

23-24 SEPTEMBER 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

IIAS seminar 'The Modernity of Rural Asia'
Convenor: Dr John Knight
Organizer: Helga Lasschuijt, IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA, Leiden, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: hlasschuyt@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

24-26 SEPTEMBER 1999

East Lansing MI, USA

The Annual Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs
MCAA 1999, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 110 Center for International Programs, East Lansing, MI 48823-1035, USA
Tel.: +1-517-353 1680
Fax: +1-517-432 2659
E-mail: asiansc@pilot.msu.edu
Http://www.isp.msu.edu/AsianStudies/MCAA/

27 SEPTEMBER 1999

Canberra, Australia

Asian-Australian Identities: The Asian Diaspora in Australia. Conference focusing on theatre, film and literature by Asian-Australians
Ms Tseen Khoo, Department of English, University of Queensland, St Lucia, QLD, Australia 4072
Fax: 61-7-3365 2799
E-mail: t.khoo@mailbox.uq.edu.au
Http://student.uq.edu.au/~s106955/aac onference.html

27-28 SEPTEMBER 1999

Sydney, Australia

The First Biennial Conference
Korean Studies Association of
Australasia, Conference Chairman:
Dr Chung-Sok Suh (President of KSAA),
School of International Business,
The University of New South Wales,
Sydney, 2052, Australia
Tel.: +61-2-9385 5883
Fax: +61-2-9313 6775
E-mail: c.suh@unsw.edu.au

OCTOBER 1999

3-7 OKTOBER 1999

Heidelberg, Germany

Western India and the Indian Ocean
Dr. Helene Basu, Institut für
Ethnologie, Regionalbereich Asien,
Drosselweg 1-3, D-14195 Berlin,
Germany
Tel.: +49-30-838 6505
Fax: +49-30-838 2382
E-mail: basu@zedat.fu-berlin.de

4-7 OCTOBER 1999

Steyning, Great Britain

South Asia: How Can Greater Economic and
Other Co-operation Be Achieved?
Wilton Park Conference, Wiston House,
Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3DZ,
Great Britain
Tel.: +44-1903-817 755
Fax: +44-1903-815 931
E-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

11-13 OCTOBER 1999

Bandung, Indonesia

The Teaching of Bahasa Indonesia
to Speakers of Other Languages
Sekretariat KIPBIPA III, Balai Bahasa
IKIP Bandung, Jl. Setiabudi 229,
Bandung 40154, Indonesia
Tel./Fax: +62-22-200 0022
E-mail: fuadah@indo.net.id,
chaedar@bdg.centrin.net.id

14-16 OCTOBER 1999

San Francisco CA, USA

China and Christianity:
Burdened Past, Hopeful Future
The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western
Cultural History, Center for the Pacific
Rim, University of San Francisco,
2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco,
CA 94117 1080, USA
Tel.: +1-415-422 6401
Fax: +1-415-422 2291
E-mail: ricci@usfca.edu

22 OCTOBER 1999

London, Great Britain

Past and Present in
Traditional Medical Systems
Vicki Pitman, Department of
Complementary Health Studies,
University of Exeter, Exeter,
Great Britain
E-mail: v.pitman@virgin.net

24-26 OCTOBER 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

Fourth Euro-Japanese International
Symposium on Mainland Southeast Asian
History: 'Mainland Southeast Asian
Responses to the Stimuli of Foreign Material
Culture and Practical Knowledge
(14th to mid-19th century)'
IIAS, co-organized by Dr J. Kleinen,
IIAS Amsterdam Branch Office,
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK,
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-525 3657
Fax: +31-20-525 3658
E-mail: kleinen@pscw.uva.nl

28-30 OCTOBER 1999

Copenhagen, Denmark

Mongolians from Country to City: Floating
boundaries, pastoralism, and city life in the
Mongol lands during the 20th century
Organized by the Strategic Alliance
partners: Institut fr Asienkunde, Nordic
Institute for Asian Studies,
International Institute for Asian Studies
Contact person: Dr Li Narangoa, Nordic
Institute of Asian Studies, Leifsgade 33,
2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark
Tel.: +45-32-54 88 44, Fax: +45-32-96 25 30
E-mail: nara@nias.ku.dk

NOVEMBER 1999

8-11 NOVEMBER 1999

Steyning, Great Britain

China Beyond 50
Wilton Park Conference, Wiston House,
Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3DZ,
Great Britain
Tel.: +44-1903-817 755
Fax: +44-1903-815 931
E-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

11 NOVEMBER 1999

Fort Worth, USA

Migration/Immigration Network
Social Science History Association
Annual Convention
Suzanne Sinke, Assistant Professor,
Department of History, Clemson
University, Clemson, SC 29634, USA
Tel.: +1-864-656 4427
E-mail: ssinke@clemson.edu

12 NOVEMBER 1999

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The seventh Gonda-Lecture by Dr. Janice
Stargardt, Senior Research Fellow at
the University of Cambridge and
Professor for life at the Ecole Pratique
des Hautes Etudes IV, Sorbonne.
Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and
Sciences, Gonda Foundation,
Kloveniersburgwal 29, Amsterdam,
The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-551 0776, 551 0782, 551 0860
Fax: +31-20-620 4941
Http://www.knaw.nl/06SUBSID/
0601GON.HTM

12 NOVEMBER 1999

Wilmington DE, USA

Food and Drink in Consumer Societies
Dr Roger Horowitz, Associate Director,
Center for the History of Business,
Technology, and Society Hagley
Museum and Library, PO Box 3630,
Wilmington, DE 19807, USA
Fax: +1-302-655 3188
E-mail: rh@udel.edu

15-17 NOVEMBER 1999

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Child Labour Workshop
G.K. Lieten, University of Amsterdam,
Anthropological-Sociological Center,
Centre for Asian Studies, Oudezijds
Achterburgwal 185, 1012DK Amsterdam,
The Netherlands
E-mail: irewoc@pscw.uva.nl
Deadline papers: early september

16-19 NOVEMBER 1999

Madrid, Spain

V Congreso Internacional
'España y el Pacífico'
La Asociación Española de Estudios del
Pacífico, Dpto. de Historia Moderna y
Contemporánea, Centro de Estudios
Históricos, Consejo Superior de
Investigaciones Científicas, Duque de
Medinaceli 6, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Tel.: +34-91-4290626
Fax: +34-91-3690940
E-mail: elizalde@cch.csic.es

22-24 NOVEMBER 1999

Bangkok (Chulalongkorn**University Social Research****Institute), Thailand**

Workshop 'Subcontracting Labour in Asia:
A longitudinal analysis in global perspective'
In the framework of the IIAS / IISH research
programme CLARA, 'Changing Labour
Relations in Asia'
Convenors: Prof. Jan Lucassen,
Dr Ratna Saptari
International Institute of Social History,
Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam,
The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-668 5866
Fax: +31-20-664 8141
E-mail: rsa@iisg.nl

Agenda



24 NOVEMBER 1999

Brussels, Belgium

Strategic Alliance 'Asia Update'
Organized by the Alliance partners
(IIAS, NIAS, and the Institut für
Asienkunde) in co-operation with
Dr W. van der Geest, European Institute
for Asian Studies, Brussels.
Organizers: Dr John Kleinen,
Drs Annelore van der Lint,
IIAS Branch Office Amsterdam,
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185,
1012 DK Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-20-525 3657
Fax: +31-20-525 3658
E-mail: iias@pscw.uva.nl

24 NOVEMBER 1999

Dunedin, New Zealand

13th International NZASIA Conference:
Asian Nationalisms in an Age
of Globalization
Dr Roy Starrs, Japanese Studies,
University of Otago, P.O. Box 56,
Dunedin, New Zealand
Tel.: +64-3-479 9030, Fax: +64-3-479 8689
Http://www.otago.ac.nz/Japanese/

DECEMBER 1999

1-4 DECEMBER 1999

Rockhampton, Australia

Biennial Conference of the Japanese Studies
Association of Australia: Discourse,
Dissonance and Diaspora: Identities for
the New Millennium
Conference Secretariat, Angela Hyslop
Tel.: +61-7-4930 6871
E-mail: a.hyslop@cqu.edu.au
Http://www.edca.cqu.edu.au/jsaa/JSAA
—Site/JSAA—Folder/

6-9 DECEMBER 1999

Guangzhou, China

International Conference on Urban
Development in China
Professor Yan Xiaopei, Center for Urban
& Regional Studies, Zhongshan
University, Guangzhou 510275,
Guangdong Province, PR China,
Fax: +86-21-8419 8145
E-mail: eesyxp@zsu.edu.cn

6-9 DECEMBER 1999

Göttingen, Germany

Translating Western Knowledge into
Late Imperial China
Ostasiatisches Seminar der Universität
Göttingen, Modern Chinese Scientific
Terminology Project, Waldweg 26,
37073 Göttingen, Germany
Tel.: +49-551-39 22 99
Fax: +49-551-39 93 24
E-mail: nvittin@gwdg.de
Http://www.gwdg.de/~oas/wsc

6-11 DECEMBER 1999

Pondicherry, India

The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural
Changes in India: 1500-1800
Dr K.S. Mathew, Department of History,
Pondicherry University,
Pondicherry 605 014, India
Tel.: +91-413-65 177
Fax: +91-413-65 211
E-mail: bioinpu@iitm.ernet.in

7-9 DECEMBER 1999

London, Great Britain

Death, After-lives and Other-realms:
Issues Inside and Outside Contemporary
Japanese Religiosity
Dr John Breen, Department of the
Languages and Cultures of East Asia,
SOAS, University of London,
Great Britain
E-mail: jb8@soas.ac.uk

13-17 DECEMBER 1999

Leiden, The Netherlands

Joint KITLV / IIAS Seminar on 'Nationalism
in Present-day Southeast Asia'
Convenor: Prof. C. van Dijk
KITLV, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden,
The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2295
Fax: +31-71-527 2638
E-mail: kitlv@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

15-17 DECEMBER 1999

Yangon, Myanmar

Myanmar Two Millennia
Universities Historical Research Centre,
Amara Hall, Yangon University
Campus, Yangon 11041, Myanmar
Tel.: +95-1-532 622 / 524 248
Fax: +95-1-530 121

29 DECEMBER 1999 -

5 FEBRUARY 2000

Jinghong City, Yunnan, China

The Third International Conference
on Hani/Akha Culture
Yang Zhe-Hua or Zhu Ji-Ying,
Conference Secretariat, Hani Language
Department of People's Broadcasting
and Radio Station of Xishuangbanna,
No. 10, Jinghong East Road,
Yunnan 666100, China
Tel.: +86-691-212 7460 / 7824
Fax: +86-691-212 7460
Deadline papers: 30 June 1999

JANUARY 2000

8 JANUARY 2000

Leiden, The Netherlands

ECARDC VI:
Shaping the New Rural Society in China
E-mail: Ecardc@ivry.inra.fr
Http://www.liv.ac.uk/~kegangwu/
ecardc.htm

14-15 JANUARY 2000

Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Entrepreneurship and Institutions in
a Comparative Perspective:
Europe and Asia, 16th-20th Centuries
Http://www.eur.nl/FHKW/nwp2000

19-21 JANUARY 2000

Quezon City, Philippines

2nd International Conference
on Southeast Asia
Ruptures and Departures: Language and
Culture in Southeast Asia
Prof. Teresita M. Isidro or Dr. Lily Rose
R. Tope, Department of English and
Comparative Literature, University of
the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City,
Philippines 1101
Tel.: +63-2-426 3668
Fax: +63-2-926 3496
E-mail: tmisidro@kal.upd.edu.ph or
lrr@kal.upd.edu.ph
Deadline papers: 15 August 1999

MARCH 2000

8-10 MARCH 2000

Singapore

Second International Conference on Quality
of Life in Cities- 21st Century QOL
(ICQOLC 2000)
Conference Secretariat (ICQOLC 2000),
School of Building and Real Estate
National University of Singapore,
10 Kent Ridge Crescent,
Singapore 119260
Tel.: +65-772 3440
Fax: +65-775 5502
E-mail: qolnet@nus.edu.sg
Http://www.qolnet.nus.edu.sg/conf2/
main.html

APRIL 2000

3-8 APRIL 2000

Turin, Italy

XIth World Sanskrit Conference
Oscar Botto, President CESMEO,
International Institute for Advanced
Asian Studies, Via Cavour 17, I-10123
TORINO, Italy
Fax: +39-011-545 031

14 APRIL 2000

Southampton, United Kingdom

Memory of Catastrophe
Dr Kendrick Oliver, Department of
History, University of Southampton,
Highfield, Southampton, SO17 1BJ,
GREAT BRITAIN
Tel.: +44-1703-592 243
Fax: +44-1703-593 458
E-mail: ko@soton.ac.uk

AUGUST 2000

1 AUGUST 2000

Calcutta, India

Language, Thought and Reality:
Science, Religion and Philosophy
Dr Chandana Chakrabarti, Elon College
Campus Box 2336, Elon College,
N.C. 27244, USA
Tel.: +1-336-538 2705
Fax: +1-336-538 2627
E-mail: chakraba@numen.elon.edu
Http://www.elon.edu/chakraba

5 AUGUST 2000

Durban, South Africa

The History of Religions:
Origins and Visions
18th Quinquennial Congress of
the International Association for
the History of Religions
Rosalind I.J. Hackett, Program Chair,
Dept. of Religious Studies, University
of Tennessee, Knoxville, USA
Tel.: +1-423-974 2466
Fax: +1-423-974 0965
E-mail: rhackett@urk.edu
Http://www.udw.ac.za/iahr

22-26 AUGUST 2000

Lahti, Finland

EASJS Conference 2000
Secretariat EASJS, Prof Dr. Werner Pascha,
Duisberg University, East Asian
Economic Studies, D-47048 Duisburg,
Germany
Tel/Fax: +49-203-379 2002
E-mail: eajs@uni-duisburg.de

23-26 AUGUST 2000

Leuven, Belgium

The Eighth Conference on Early Literature
in New Indo-Aryan Languages
('Bhakti Conference')
winand.callewaert@arts.kuleuven.ac.be

23-27 AUGUST 2000

Leiden, The Netherlands

Audiences, Patrons and Performers in
the Performing Arts of Asia
PAATI Project, CHIME Foundation, and
Leiden University, Dr Wim van Zanten,
c/o IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden,
The Netherlands
Tel.: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: zanten@fsw.LeidenUniv.nl

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Law, Government and the Constitution in Malaysia

by Andrew Harding, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, UK

Volume 1

Kluwer Law International, The Hague
Hardbound, ISBN 90-411-0918-8, May 1996, 322 pp., NLG 194.00 / USD 110.50 / GBP 68.25
No sales rights in Malaysia

Environmental Jurisprudence in India

by C.M. Abraham

Volume 2

Kluwer Law International, The Hague
Hardbound, ISBN 90-411-1169-7, May 1999, 170pp, NLG 125.00 / USD 75.00 / GBP 44.00

Chinese Law

Towards an Understanding of Chinese Law, Its Nature and Developments
by Jianfu Chen, LaTrobe University, Australia

Volume 3

Kluwer Law International, The Hague
Hardbound, ISBN 90-411-1186-7, June 1999, 295pp., NLG 160.00 / USD 96.00 / GBP 56.00

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email: sales@klw.kluwer.nl

For USA, Canada, Central and South America:
Order Department, Kluwer Law International,
675 Massachusetts Avenue,
Cambridge, MA 02139, USA
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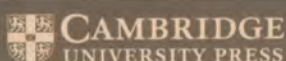
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