

INCLUDING THE

Pink Pages

ISSUE

NEWSLETTER 17

1998

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GENERAL NEWS

Forum Luso-Asiatico promotes and organizes public events to deepen the awareness of the Portuguese public opinion about Asia singularities. Its principal aim is to create academic connections within Europe and to encourage the exchange of information on economic, political, social, cultural, and linguistic aspects of Asian countries. (p.6)

Edward Said, a Palestinian by birth, has been deeply involved in Palestine's confrontation with Zionism and Israel. His work on Orientalism has profoundly affected the writing of Indian history, but he feels his work on the question of Palestine has not been as deeply understood in the Arab world as it has been elsewhere. An interview by Damayanti Datta. (p.9)



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CENTRAL ASIA

The titular languages of Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan were proclaimed the official languages of their respective republics in 1989-1990. Central Asians now face the problem of language policy. Birgit N. Schlyter asserts that the degree of the public's language reform awareness is dependent on the socio-political importance of linguistic matters. (p.12)

12 ▶ 14

SOUTH ASIA



Kattaikkuttu theatre is traditionally performed by professional male actors and musicians in the northern parts of Tamil Nadu, South India, but barriers were broken in a unique performance on the occasion of the Eighth Annual Kattaikkuttu Festival. For the first time both men and women played together on a Kattaikkuttu stage. To top it all the sexes played each other's roles. Gender bending at its most subversive, hilarious, and pointed, standing every cliché on its head. (p.16)

Kashmir has remained the most contentious issue between India and Pakistan. The dispute has lasted for a half-century without there being a definitive approach to resolution. Now Pakistan and India are consolidating their nuclear programmes, attempts to remove a probable conflict catalyst are urgent. Brian Cloughley argues that it is time for Pakistan to acknowledge that 'Jammu and Kashmir' is now, whether legally or not, a part of India. (p.18)

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INSULAR S.W. ASIA

The presence in the Zambezi basin in east Africa of peoples with legends and funerary rites which appear to be of Indonesian origin, and which also exist in Madagascar, suggests that the proto-Malagasy, probably being Barito navigators, touched the coast of East Africa before settling permanently in Madagascar. Stephen Ellis and Solofo Randrianja pursue to resolve where the first Malagasy came from. (p.21)

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

Cambodia is a white spot on the social science map. After the success of the general elections in Cambodia an independent Social Science Institute was founded, a tall order in a country which never experienced a social science tradition. However, a flourishing agency now does exist and aims to fill in the white spots. John Vijghen reports. (p.22)

Behrend and Pudjiastuti's major achievement consists of two volumes of catalogues of the University of Indonesia. They described manuscripts in various languages of the Indonesian archipelago in detail and added elegant illustrations, detailed indexes and references to make them easily accessible. (p.25)

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EAST ASIA

Although the diversity within the Yi is tremendous, the designation of Yi nationality seems to have been accepted by the Yi population. They are aware of the advantages of forming a larger nationality in political and economic bargaining with the state. Thomas Heberer reports about a conference on Yi nationality. (p.27)

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ASIAN ART



The political changes of 1965, when the Orde Baru of President Soeharto was established, opened up new directions in the field of art. The Indonesian government promoted an art in which the 'Indonesian character' should be clearly pronounced. Helena Spanjaard distinguishes four phases in modern Indonesian painting. (p.37)



Highlights of current and forthcoming exhibitions of Asian Art. (p.38)

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Editorial

By PAUL VAN DER VELDE

Editor-in-chief

It is not without some feelings of sadness that I am writing this (my seventeenth and last) editorial for the IIAS Newsletter, which over the past years has been described as a thump on the doormat, an elephant, and since the addition of the Pink Pages as the Pink Elephant. I am writing this on 13 October, the same day this IIAS Newsletter was baptized five years ago. I will take this opportunity to look back on a period of five years of the IIAS Newsletter set against the backdrop of developments in the field of Asian Studies which have frequently been dealt with on this editorial page. A couple of internal and external developments clearly stand out: the identification of Asianists as a group; increasing co-operation at all levels and the internationalization following in its wake and the rise of the Internet. I will also take the liberty to extrapolate some of these developments into the future. These are personal interpretations and do not necessarily represent IIAS points of view.

Scientific Tabloid?

When I first suggested that our Newsletter should be a professionally produced job in the format of a tabloid, the general reaction was to frown at such boldness. Five years ago it was not evident that a fair budget should be devoted to channelling the information generated by academic endeavour. The notion that although indubitably dissemination of knowledge is important, the dissemination of information about that knowledge (where to get it, how to achieve it, and to whom to relate it) was taken with a pinch of salt. With begrudging permission I could go ahead. Fortunately the first Newsletter received a warm welcome, although the electronic version was greeted with some incomprehension and (a matter everybody would laugh about later) was deemed superfluous. The rise of the Internet and the increased opportunities it offers for communication (and also dyscommunication), had a strong impact on how we conceived the Newsletter. At first the electronic version simply served an archival function but now this version has been almost completely overhauled and made into a very interactive millennium-proof newsletter.

The IIAS Newsletter has also served as a means of identification for Asianists as a group. In the past five years a rich tapestry of Asian Studies has unfolded in the columns of this newsletter which, with its growing print run now at twenty thousand copies, is reaching an ever expanding readership. This has undoubtedly facilitated contacts among Asianists. Although we did not monitor this process we caught glances of it when contributors informed us of the multiple reactions received to his or her article. In the spring of 1996 we organized the first ever meeting of editors of newsletters on Asia in Europe. I remember it being a very fruitful exchange of ideas which boiled down to the conclusion that by 2000 most of the newsletters would be made available electronically. For a while we acted as host for more than ten newsletters which by now have their own sites. Two newsletters also now form an integral part of this newsletter.

Photo under: Ilse (left) and Helga Lasschuijt



Paul van der Velde

(Inter)national co-operation

This meeting mirrored the process of increasing co-operation at the European level which is best demonstrated by the foundation of the ESF Asia Committee (European seminars and European fellowship scheme) in 1994 and the IIAS-NIAS Strategic alliance in 1997. While this European co-operation still depends heavily on inputs from the Nordic countries and the Netherlands there are signs that other countries might join in. At the national levels there are also signs of increased co-operation between institutes, universities, and organizations. In the Netherlands we saw the birth of the Dutch Association for Asian and Pacific studies; in Spain twenty-odd organizations are gradually coming together; and in Germany the Gesellschaft für Asienkunde has been reinvigorated.

At the global level co-operation between the Association for Asian Studies and the IIAS has led to the intensification of the transatlantic dialogue of American and European Asianists. Out of this process the idea of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) was born in which the AAS, the IIAS, the ESF Asia Committee, and the six major European Asian Studies associations participated. It was the first time that these latter organizations had co-operated in one forum which will hopefully be the beginning of the intensification of this bottom up European co-operation which can counter-balance the more top-down forms of co-operation. Fortunately the ICAS has also attracted a great deal of attention from Asianists in Asia so that it has emerged as a forum of European, North American, and Asian scholars. In this mixing of scholars and research traditions lies the greatest value of the ICAS. The participants at the ICAS gave clear signals that there should be a second ICAS. Therefore an ICAS Steering Committee is in the process of being formed which will have its first meeting during the AAS Annual Meeting in Boston in March next year.

There is a rapture on the lonely shore

People come and people go. Dr Hein Steinbauer has been appointed the first special IIAS Chairholder at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. He will be teaching ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia for a three-year term. More IIAS chairs are anticipated in future. From the above readers may conclude that there have been some changes in the IIAS staff. Helga Lasschuijt, who organized the highly successful ICAS, has left the institute to pursue her academic career in Art History. Secondly, I resigned my position as editor-in-chief of the IIAS, as I have been appointed Executive Director of the Institute for Comparative Economic and Political Institutions (ICPEI) of the University of Amsterdam. News of the activities of that institute, which will have a strong Asian orientation, can be read in future issues of this newsletter. But that is not all. Since 15 September Elzeline van der Hoek has succeeded Ilse Lasschuijt as managing editor. Ilse has been working for the newsletter since 1994. She has taken up a new job with the Foster Parents Plan organization. The shape of this newsletter in recent years can to a large extent be accredited to her.

Also on her behalf I would like to thank the Board, the Academic Committee, the staff of the IIAS, our editors and correspondents, all our contributors (more than a thousand), De Kreeft design, Dijkman printers, and certainly not in the last place our readers all of whom who throughout the years have stimulated us to fulfil our at times hectic job. Whenever we were feeling low we turned to our jealously guarded file 'fan mail' in which we kept all those encouraging letters we received in past five years. Thanks! ■



PHOTO: WIM VREEBURG

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 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, coordination 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 intermediary on an international level. Furthermore, in keeping with the tradition in the Netherlands of transferring goods and ideas, the IIAS serves as a clearinghouse 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-Ph.D. level are temporarily employed by 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 world-wide. A 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 Web site on the Internet to which a growing number of institutes related to Asian Studies are linked.

Since 1994 the IIAS has been appointed to run the secretariat of the European Science Foundation Asia Committee (Strasbourg). Together with this Committee the IIAS shares 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 is 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.

7 APRIL 1998
MANCHESTER, GREAT BRITAIN

Assessing the Asian Crisis

The economic crisis in East and Southeast Asia has dominated the news for months. Currencies, stock markets and businesses have collapsed. Central banks are hard pressed to come up with foreign exchange needed to cover international debts. Millions of jobs have disappeared and workers have been displaced. Governments face crises of legitimacy. As a result the viability of the 'Asian model' of economic, political, and social development has been called into question. Candid discussions between eighty participants at the University of Manchester's international conference on 'Assessing the Asian Crisis' provided an opportunity to get beyond the headlines and to elaborate critical understandings of the national, regional, and global causes and implications of the crisis.

By GARETH API RICHARDS

The framework for debate was established in two keynote papers. Paul Cammack (University of Manchester) located the significance of the Asian crisis within the broader structures underlying world order and global capitalism. The leading global regulatory agencies tend to promote the further subsumption of labour to capital, and this is likely to sharpen class struggles in the region. Walden Bello (University of the Philippines) stated that what is happening is more than the collapse of several Asian economies; it is the unravelling of a model of development that brought a certain kind of success but also carried within it the seeds of its own downfall. The region may enter a pro-

longed depression, but there are also ways in which the crisis opens up a space to pursue alternative paths of development.

Ngai-Ling Sum considered the global-regional-national interactions in and between the production and financial (dis)orders. The tendencies towards financial liberalization in the 1990s led to the NICs becoming increasingly dependent on cheap finance capital and speculatively vulnerable to its 'casino' nature. Shaun Breslin examined the extent to which China's trade and inward investment have been affected by the crisis. What appears at first sight to be a minor shock wave from the rest of the region has exacerbated domestic economic, social and political problems.

Three contrasting perspectives were presented on the significance of the crisis for the remaking of inter-

national relations. Heiner Hänggi emphasized the ways in which the geographical unevenness of globalization, the new wave of regionalism as well as the rise of East Asia have been the major factors behind the 'new Triad' based on the three major economic regions. He speculated on the extent to which the Asian crisis might undermine processes of regionalization and East and Southeast Asia's relations with other regions of the global political economy. Franco Algeri identified a lack of consistency at the heart of the European Union's Asia policy, which derives from the 'coherence dilemma' in the EU's external relations. Reflecting on the EU's inadequate response to the crisis, it is unlikely that this dilemma will be solved in the near future so that the Asia strategy of the EU can be no more than a limited framework. Gareth Api Richards and Dorothy Guerrero assessed the striking upsurge of oppositional political activity and politics 'from below' in East and Southeast Asia. National struggles are slowly taking shape against the crisis and the IMF-led strategic response.

Society

Michael Freeman discussed how the idea of universal human rights can be articulated with important Asian cultural traditions, what problems this generates, and how these

problems might be addressed in the interest both of genuine development for Asian peoples and of a mutually beneficial dialogue about human rights between Asians and Europeans. According to Evelyn Balais-Serrano a crisis of democracy and human rights in Asia long preceded the onset of the current economic crisis. Nonetheless, the costs of the crisis have been borne by vulnerable social groups and unleashed new restrictions of the democratic space. Patricia Randal outlined the impact of the crisis on employment, living standards, and working conditions, and initial responses from independent labour organizations in South Korea and the Philippines. Union movements have been among the most powerful voices analysing the crisis and organizing popular responses. The potential for union survival and development of local and regional alliances exists and these will form a strategic resistance to the extension of the IMF's 'conditional' debt regime.

A number of cross-cutting themes stand out from the discussions that concluded the proceedings. i) The uneven impact of the crisis across the region demands a reassessment of the idea of a region-wide model of political-economic development. ii) The crisis was more the immediate result of government initiated financial and industrial deregulation

and its origins can be located in the disjunctures in Asian structures of production and finance. iii) The IMF structural adjustment policies will do nothing to advance Asian economic development since their terms are designed to ensure that the targeted countries open themselves more fully to international business and give priority to earning the foreign exchange necessary to pay international debts. iv) The social distribution of costs of recovery and adjustment are falling particularly on vulnerable social groups. This is likely to lead to severe social dislocation and impoverishment. v) The crisis has had knock-on effects for human rights and democratization and the discourse around 'Asian values'. vi) There are the beginnings of critical responses to the crisis 'from below'; at the national level labour movements and civil society oppose to IMF-led conditionalities. vii) The crisis has long-term implications for processes of regionalization, triadization, and governance of the global political economy including Asia's relations with Europe.

The conference analyses suggest that the economic, political, and societal causes and implications of the Asian crisis are more complex than has been suggested in most mainstream accounts. The discussions laid bare the ways in which explanations of the crisis need to be located within broader understandings of crises in global capitalism to shed light on who is driving processes of change and for what purpose. This demands that our own thinking should encourage, support, and learn from the debates and struggles currently taking place in Asia. ■

ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age

By ANDRÉ GUNDER FRANK

The book *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* outlines and analyzes the global economy and its sectoral and regional division of labour and cyclical dynamic from 1400 to 1800. The evidence and argument are that within this global economy Asians and particularly Chinese were preponderant, no more 'traditional' than Europeans, and in fact largely far less so. The historical documentation poses an 'emperor has no clothes' challenge to all received Eurocentric historiography and social theory from Montesquieu, Marx, and Weber, or Toynbee, and Polanyi, to Rostow, Braudel, and Wallerstein.

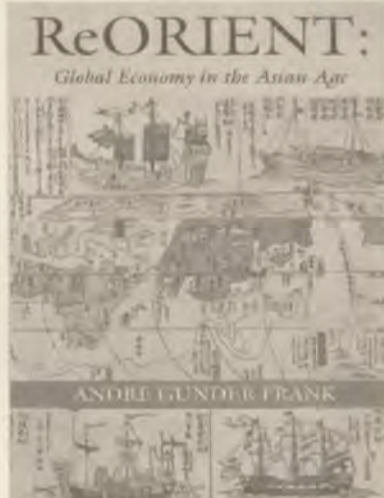
The book's global economic analysis offers a more holistic theoretical alternative. 'The Rise of the West' was not due to any 'European Miracle exceptionalism' that allegedly permitted it to pull itself up by its

own bootstraps as Weberians have contended. Nor did Europe build a 'European world-economy around itself' à la Braudel and thereby as per Marx and Wallerstein initiating a European centred 'Modern Capitalist World-System' primarily by exploiting the wealth of its American and African colonies. Instead, Europe used its American silver to buy itself marginal entry into the long since existing world market in Asia, which was much larger, more productive and competitive, continued to expand much faster until 1800, and was able to support a rate of population growth in Asia that was then double that of Europe until 1750. Then changing world economic, demographic, ecological relations and relative factor prices in the competitive global economy resulted in the temporary 'Decline of the East' and the opportunity for the also temporary 'Rise of the West'. Europe took advantage of this world economic opportunity through import substitution, export promotion and

technological change to become Newly Industrializing Economies after 1800, as is again happening today in East Asia. That region is now regaining its 'traditional' dominance in the global economy, with the Chinese 'Middle Kingdom' again at its 'centre'.

ReORIENT may be summarized as follows: It suggests that received historiography and social theory fall seriously short of what we need. Marx and Weber or Parsons and Rostow and their many disciples are too Eurocentric, and Braudel and Wallerstein also are still not nearly holistic enough. None of them is able, or even willing, to address the global problematique, whose whole is more than the sum or its parts. The book outlines the productive division of labour and the multilateral trade framework, as well as the sectoral and regional inter-connections within the global economy. *ReORIENT* signals how American and Japanese money went around the world circulatory system and provided the lifeblood that made the world go round. It further examines the resulting world population, productive, income, and trade quantities, the related technological qualities and institutional mechanisms, as well as how several regions in Asia maintained and even increased their global preponderance therein.

The book proposes a global macro-history that treats the Decline of the East and the Rise of the West as related and successive processes within



and generated by the global world economic structure and dynamic. It is studied how Asia's world economic advantage between 1400 and 1800 turned to its disadvantage and to the (temporary) advantage of the West to face the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. World-encompassing macro- and micro-economic analysis is used to account for The Rise of the West in global instead of the received Eurocentric terms. The concluding chapter then builds on the historical evidence and argument of this book to derive theoretical conclusions about how to analyse this global whole. Only a globally holistic analysis can permit a better comprehension of how the whole world economic structure and dynamic shape, and differentiate its sectoral and regional parts East and West, North and South. Recourse to a more holistic global historiography and social theory suggests how Asian, and par-

ticularly Chinese, predominance in the world economy through the eighteenth century presages its return to dominance also in the twenty-first century.

Panel discussions of the book are taking place at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Sociological Association, the International Studies Association and at the Third Pacific Centuries Congress. A three week long e-mail debate in May-June 1998 with over a hundred contributions from around the world discussed and contrasted *ReORIENT* with David Landes' *The Wealth And Poverty Of Nations* and was carried simultaneously by the nets of H-World, H-Asia, Economic History, and World System Network. The complete debate is still accessible by Internet on some of their electronic archives. ■

Professor André Gunder Frank was a Senior Visiting Fellow at the IIAS Amsterdam Branch Office between June and July 1998. During his stay at the IIAS, he delivered the 9th Annual CASA Wertheim lecture, and participated in the ICAS Conference with a panel on his latest book.

REORIENT
GLOBAL ECONOMY IN
THE ASIAN AGE.

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On the Temptation of the West

'... it is the world which is invading Europe with all its present and its past, its heap of offerings of living and dead forms, its meditations ...

This great, troubled drama which is beginning, dear friend, is one of the temptations of the West'
(André Malraux)

■ By GOENAWAN MOHAMAD



Let me begin with a note concerning the title of my speech. Like the text quoted above, it comes from *The Temptation of the West*. The book was published in its original form in 1926, and is registered as André Malraux's first novel. I choose the book to propose, in my rambling manner, an examination of what happens to us when we discover cultural differences. The book is a brilliant mix of literary travel writing and an elegant expression of prejudice; it is a kind of adaptation of the famous Kipling's line, reminding the eternal depth that separates 'East' from 'West.'

I believe Malraux's prose can be a vivid example of the tension between 'vision' and 'narrative.' A literary work like this puts us back to 'experience', which immediately brings sensuous particularity against spurious abstraction. However, my speech is by no means a eulogy for Malraux's first work of fiction. As I read it, the novel is about two friends writing to each other, from two distant places. One (called 'Ling') is a 23-years old Chinese in a visit to Europe. The other (called 'A.D.' age 25) is his French friend on his trip to Asia. Arguably it is an unusual novel, since it reads more like a group of short essays (in the form of letters) than a story.

Malraux's piece covers a static body of Orientalist (or essentialist) clichés. The novel opens with an Asian landscape crowded by Tartar roses, caravans that pass the steppes, dirty merchants who lead shaggy camels, and numberless, extravagant temples, studded with trembling

lished as a part of the polemic. Malraux himself believed that Asia could never offer any teaching to the West. He stated that 'one of the strongest laws' of European mental make-up was that 'vanquished temptations are transformed into knowledge.'

On that Malraux's position is not radically different from most European Orientalists and adventurers. The novel's premise is built on an imagined 'East' as an enchanting contrast to European ennui. Still, given the novel's indifference to ordinary things like story line and progression, it introduces (in Said's words again), 'an opposing point of view, perspective, consciousness' to 'the unitary web of vision.' The prose - elegant, exalted, brilliantly eloquent, and sometimes poetically oracular - stirs, disrupts and upsets its own intent. The centre does not hold. Voices get mixed up. Which one is Ling's and which one is A.D.'s? Increasingly, both characters of the novel become practically interchangeable. The text does not give the readers enough materials to create a describable profile either of Ling or of A.D.

There is a trace of ambivalence in all this, of course. Ling is the more forceful interlocutor of the two, yet he is just A.D.'s alter ego. Curiously, the novel ends with A.D. writing to Ling, but his letter immediately shifts into a monologue addressed to 'Europe'. In no time it also becomes a moment of soliloquy, in which A.D. makes an aside as if talking to his own image:

Europe, great cemetery where only dead conquerors sleep, whose sadness is deepened by the pride taken in their illustrious names - you leave me with only a naked horizon and the mirror of solitude's old master, despair. Perhaps he also will die of his own existence. From the distance, in the port, a siren howls like a dog off its leash. Sounds of vanquished cowardice... I am contemplating my image. I shall never forget it. Unstable image of myself, I love you not at all. Like a deep wound, badly healed, you are my dead glory and my living pain...

In a sense, *The Temptation of the West* foreruns today's philosophical trend, especially among European thinkers, to interrogate the solidity, or the status, of the subject. It has become almost like a well-established practice of postmodernist arguments to say something against the modern conception of subject-ego, to challenge it as a sovereign, totalizing entity, constitutive of itself and its world, including the other. When Ling writes to A.D. he is like a participant in a debate over a Foucauldian anti-humanist proposition: 'For you, absolute reality was first God, then Man; but Man is dead, following God, and you search with anguish for something to which you can entrust his strange heritage. Your minor attempts to construct a moderate nihilism do not seem destined to long life...'

Of course, Ling is wrong. Even today 'a moderate nihilism' main-

tains its discreet charm among much of contemporary debates. The fact that Ling believes that it will soon go away is because he is an 'Occidental' through and through: he believes in the immutable qualities of 'European.' And yet the novel ends with a lament about change. 'Europe' has become a transformed creature, very much related to death and dying. We remember A.D.'s metaphor of 'cemetery.' Ling also speaks of 'the long procession of a dead Europe.'

It is interesting to note that the novel's notion of 'the temptation of the West' is related to a 'great, troubled drama' in which the world invades Europe 'with all its present and its past, its heap of offerings of living and dead forms, its meditations.' It is surprisingly prophetic. Today, even more than before, immigrants, new comers, the exiled, the hybrid are 'invading' Europe. The inflow has generated a serious problem for Europe in maintaining its previous position as the holder of the imperial gaze looking at the rest of the world. But this is the 'temptation' at the end of the 20th century (by the way, the word 'temptation' means either 'trial' or 'enticement'), marked by an entirely new demographic map of Europe (and of the United States, for that matter). Hence, the fresh emphasis on difference. Hence, a growing recognition of the permeability of cultural borders. Today, the idea of origin, ethnically closed or otherwise, has become increasingly untenable.

In the process, it will transform the idea of 'Europe' into something continually holding off the defining line of its imagined 'civilization'. Ling speaks of 'the soul of Europe' as 'an unceasing creation, renewed by action in a world destined to act', but he hardly foresees the dissolution of the very meaning of 'the soul of Europe'. Whether it will lead to the last stage of the 'West' - meaning the 'West' becoming something more meaningful than a map shaped by NATO - remains to be seen. But one thing has become clear. At the time when a global capitalism expands triumphantly with no centre, (the present U.S. dollar-pegged supremacy notwithstanding), the 'West' is no longer the sole legitimate site of 'the knowing subject.' Today scholars on Asia from all over the world will readily agree that 'Eurocentrism', a special kind of narcissism, is a cardinal sin.

Regrettably, narcissism dies hard. We have noticed how Malraux speaks of the uniqueness of the Western mind, refusing to agree that the 'West' can learn something from the 'East'. This brand of narcissism accepts the Other only as its alter ego, like in the relationship between Ling and A.D. It also requires a constant focus on 'Me' as seen in a mirror, meaning having a self-coherence. Needless to say that to attain, and



PHOTO: WIM VREEBURG

I choose the book also because in the business of producing knowledge of the Other - whatever the Other is - one is ethically implicated in a profound and painful way. I think there is a growing consensus on this point, which may explain why Emmanuel Levinas's insistence on coming to terms with 'the face of the Other' is drawing a lot of following among students of humanities. I would like to call this perspective 'the imperative to concretize'. It may serve as an antidote to the current theorizing zeal in the academia.

Therefore, we need a 'narrative' rather than a 'vision' in our venture to speak about 'Asia'. To use Edward Said's description (in *Orientalism*, 1978), 'vision' presumes that 'the whole Orient can be seen panoptically', and the result is a 'static system of synchronic essentialism'. Against it, 'narrative' introduces 'an opposing point of view, perspective, consciousness to the unitary web of vision'. Narrative violates the 'serene Apollonian factions asserted by vision.'

And predictably, there is a mention of the contrast between 'Western' and 'Eastern' mind. Not very stimulating, I am afraid.

But perhaps I am being unfair. The novel is a product of a European mood of the 1920s, written by a young French intellectual on his way back from Indochina to Paris. As a recent biography of Malraux by Curtis Gate describes it, the intellectual Zeitgeist of the mid-1920s was represented by a disturbing question whether 'a dangerously frenetic, intellectually hyper-active Europe' had much to learn from 'the age-old wisdom and spiritual serenity of the Orient'. In 1921, European universities gave a rapturous welcome to Tagore, the visiting Indian poet. But there was a lurking fear, especially among intellectuals of conservative persuasion, of the danger of 'pseudo-Oriental doctrines' and of 'Asiatism'. Whatever they are.

It was a period of intense 'East-West' encounter and controversy. *The Temptation of the West* was pub-

Studying 'Asia' Internationally

■ By ANTHONY REID

Forum
I am giving this talk primarily because the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) was sceptical about the moves towards FICAS (First International Convention of Asia Scholars) and then ICAS, and raised some uncomfortable questions about what internationalizing Asian Studies should mean. The old centres of learning clustered around the Atlantic lie far from us, and the moves of the AAS and the IAS towards 'internationalizing' the study of Asia seemed to be a matter more for these Atlantic centres than for Asia itself.

The organizers of this conference showed commendable courage and openness by inviting me here, and I want to respect that openness by reflecting on the uncomfortable questions and how we might set about answering them. By being here, I am already complicit in this enterprise. But its dangerous ambiguities are perhaps particularly pressing to an Asianist from a country denounced by Samuel Huntington for contemplating defecting from the West in favour of Asia, and becoming 'a permanently torn country'. My task must simply be to remind you of some of the dangers of organizing our profession in this way.

Internationalizing Asian Studies

This gathering, at this time and place and with this composition, is a matter of some importance. Exactly 500 years after the first military and intellectual confrontation between an 'Asia' and a 'Europe' rendered distinct by a long sea voyage, a large assemblage of Asianists from many countries have come together by easy flights in a globalized climate that renders all distinctions suspect. There has been ambivalence, reflected in the dropping of the 'First' from its original title, whether the meeting should make a claim to special importance of an internationalizing kind. Why have we so gathered? At one level it represents simply another product of globalization: the communications revolution, the increasingly widespread use of English, and cheaper airfares. Increasingly our networks are global ones, so why not meet on a global basis?

Our subject is a particular part of the world, and a part still very conscious of having been dominated militarily, economically, and intellectually by the West during most of the last 200 years. Our Leiden hosts represent one of the greatest centres of Orientalist scholarship, and we meet exactly 125 years after the real first international conference of Asian Studies – that is the International Congress of Orientalists, which convened in Paris in 1873.

Were Edward Said standing here he would make us feel more uncomfortable than I propose to do. He would ask whether we should be meeting on such a questionable theme as 'Asia'. He is here anyway, as part of our mental furniture. We are all uncomfortably aware that our discipline, if that is what it is, developed as a means whereby an economically advanced 'West' could understand a troubling 'Other'. If the discipline is truly to be internationalized, the object of that understanding must become the subject. A true internationalization finds its ultimate test in whether it wins support in Asia, the object of our study. Once we are standing in Asia, as in Australia we begin to think we are, can we continue to be 'Asianists'?

In presiding over the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, Max Müller defined oriental scholars as 'scholars who have shown that they are able, at least ... to translate a text that has not been translated before'. This fusty insistence on mastering Asian texts does not look so bad as an entry qualification. The grappling by Europeans with their own linguistic, cultural, and political pluralisms may have given the old Orientalist Congresses a better basis than ourselves for becoming what they aspired to be: 'a true republic of Oriental letters which shall be free and open to all enquiry, and in which all schools, scholars, and nationalities shall be on an equal footing' (Leitner, controversial President of the 1891 London Congress). The first Congress already showed an anxiety to incorporate Asian diversity and the Orientalist Congresses moved outside Europe relatively early, starting with Algiers in 1905. The Orientalists' exclusion of contemporary political issues was abandoned in 1954, partly under Soviet pressure; the name was changed in Paris in 1973 to drop the embarrassing orientalist label and adopt modern acronym-speak, in the form of ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies).

The ICANAS Congresses remain somewhat stuffy, conscious of tradition, of protocol, and of their official status with UNESCO. But they are entitled to continue doing their thing by virtue of having done it for 125 years. They have to adjust to new forces, but despite Said they do not really have to justify why they organize on the basis of 'Asian and North African Studies'. We here represent a new step towards internationalization at the end of the Vasco da Gama half-millennium, and we do have to ask that question. ICAS has the confidence that comes from American social science and its currently strong position in what passes for international or world-dominant scholarship. But it must have more



PHOTO: WIM VREBURG

than that self-confidence, which can easily become an arrogance. It must be self-conscious and self-critical about what internationalization means.

Asian Studies in Asia

Having insisted that the test of whether we have progressed lies in whether our current Asian Studies is credible in Asia, my own Association (ASAA) responded to the ICAS initiative by extending our network in Asia. Together with the Institute of Asian Studies of Chulalongkorn University we convened to consider what Asian Studies did mean in Asia and how we ought to encourage internationalization in that context. Let me frankly confess here that there was no enthusiasm for institutionalizing ICAS, since ICANAS already provided a forum. Nobody took up the suggestion of inviting the next ICAS to meet in Asia. The feeling was that Asian Asianists needed first to establish their own sense of identity and common purpose, before being confident of hosting a meeting which was genuinely international from an Asian point of view. I believe there will be further progress towards that end, but probably more slowly than will serve the needs of an ongoing ICAS.

At our Thailand meeting there was agreement that we could usefully define Asian Studies as an intensive multidisciplinary study, sensitive to cultural difference, of a society other than our own. Nobody doubted the extreme importance of this kind of study in the modern world. But differences of perspective abound once one takes one stand in Asia. In most countries of Asia the only modern foreign languages widely studied are those of Europe – principally English but also French, German, and Spanish. Australia, Malaysia and Singapore, are the only countries in the region where the foreign languages widely taught in High School include Asian ones. For Asian education systems, the principal 'other' tradition by which identities are defined is European civilization. It was conceded to be more difficult and problematic to perceive 'Asia' or 'Asian Studies' as a collective whole when standing at some particular point within Asia. A recogni-

tion of and coping with otherness was suggested as fundamental to all creative analysis, and interdisciplinary approaches were ever more necessary as disciplines become more specialized and theoretically impenetrable.

Containing half the world's population, and most of its literary traditions and religious scriptures, Asia forms too big and too incoherent a slice of humanity to be contained in any kind of discipline. What Asianists more usefully share, I suggest, is a commitment to the serious enterprise of understanding a culture and tradition other than our own, through a variety of disciplinary techniques usually including language. This is not very different from the definition of Asian Studies given by the President of the 1983 Japan ICANAS congress, Professor Yamamoto Tatsuhiro – 'to develop our understanding by trying to imagine the standpoint which other persons are acting upon or observing'. So defined, those standing in Asia have no very good reason to exclude European Studies from the enterprise. 'Eurasian Studies' might indeed be a more helpful umbrella under which to build a genuinely plural and balanced discipline of this sort, even though its subdivisions would have to be still more numerous than at present. For the moment, however, 'Asia' is the umbrella we are stuck with, practically useful in grouping non-European language and culture studies, and ideologically useful as a challenge to the dominant paradigms in the established disciplines.

Studying the other

The internationalization of this enterprise is not just a trendy reflection of the globalization of our times. It is an essential aspect of our calling as brokers or boundary-crossers. Deep bilateral relations can give rise to cross-cultural research of the highest order, but are frequently weighted with so much inherited inequality and distrust as to produce a dialogue of the deaf. The effort to understand another culture and society from our own perspective must bring us closer to others seeking to understand the same culture from a different perspective. This Conference will show many examples of

that phenomenon at work. A commitment to crossing one boundary must entail a readiness to cross others, to listen to different perspectives in different languages about the particular 'other' which is the object of our study. The more this happens the healthier area studies is, and the more likely it is to present a pluralist debate.

Asian studies in Japan have a developed sense of Asia as some kind of whole because of the issue whether, or how, Japan is part of it. The depth and strength of Japanese writing on the rest of Asia most patently requires outsiders to pay attention. It is one of our responsibilities as internationalizing Asianists to tackle this kind of boundary as well. The best Japanese work is now available in English to make this easier than it once was. The problem however remains – is the task of internationalizing to transfer as much as possible of the internal dialogues into English, or to become such polyglots that we can cope adequately with the insights of scholarship in a multiplicity of languages? The first route has no merit except practicality. The fact that more and more Asian scholars do write perceptively about other Asian countries in English makes internationalization not just an aspiration but a process. There remain appalling inequalities of access to what we tend too glibly to call 'international' discourse, and of power within it. But this discourse, in Asian Studies more obviously and necessarily than in any other discipline, is at least plural, and must ever strive to be more so.

A future for 'Asian' Studies?

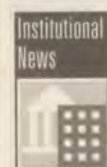
I should conclude by returning to the challenge of globalization. Is 'Asian Studies' caught in its own trap, endorsing by meetings such as this the stereotype that ought to be consigned to an Orientalist past? Is the world converging in communications terms so swiftly that our structures are becoming part of the problem – a relic of a colonial and parochial past, which ought to be banished?

Continued on page 53

The EurAsian Orientalists' Server as a Tool to Maintain National Cultural Heritage

One of the main goals of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOS/RAS) is to establish fruitful co-operation and confidence between different scientific institutions, centres, and research teams working in the field of Oriental Studies both in Russia and in other CIS republics.

By ROSTISLAV B. RYBAKOV,
ALEXANDER A. STOLYAROV
& DIMITRY D. VASILYEV



Since mid-1997 IOS/RAS has had Internet access through the EurAsian Orientalist Server (EAOS) <http://www.orient.ru>. IOS/RAS is using the EAOS to develop the All-Russian Information Space (RusInfoSpace) in the field of Oriental Studies. This is a complex task and the EAOS is only one of the tools for implementing it. Another one is the newly established Association of Orientalist Information Centers. The work on computerizing the Oriental sources started in 1985 in various scientific centres of the USSR. It began with bibliographical description, abstracts of books and articles published both in Russia and abroad.

At the end of 1991 scholars of the IOS/RAS, in collaboration with their colleagues working in Russian and CIS Oriental Studies institutions and centres launched the Program for Computerized Researches on the mediaeval history of Eurasia. The Program envisaged the creation of a complex computerized information

system including the creation of some databases which would encompass the contents of archive depositories and museums, and collections of manuscripts. The main feature of the system was the use of multi-language texts, graphic illustrations, and photo and video documents within a single database. The basic department of the Institute designed for the realization of the Program was that of the History of the Orient. Intermediate results of these activities were presented at the International Conference 'Monuments of Spiritual, Material, and Written Culture of the Peoples of Ancient and Mediaeval Orient (Databases Creation)' in Moscow, 1995. In the same year scholars working on the Program of Computerized Researches began to display some of the results of their work on-line.

Present situation

There is a great discrepancy between the amount of cultural matters studied in Russia and the degree of their technological and financial support. This is due to deficit financing of Russian science and culture, the main reason why Russian Oriental

Studies have not been integrated into the global information network, but have instead fallen apart into local research groups.

Now that Internet reaches out over the world, opportunities have arisen for spreading up-to-date Orientalist information through networks available to scholars working in different regions. The EAOS is seen as one effective tool for maintaining this process. It is a multifunctional tool for assembling and spreading information on Oriental Studies.

The EAOS is also an educational and consulting centre which holds training workshops, helps colleagues to master hardware, and to create their own sites and place them on the Internet. Thirdly, the EAOS is a standardization centre, which helps to adopt standard methods and software for working out electronic editions, catalogues, and libraries. Finally, the centre spreads information on new developments, publications and events, and on new software which can be applied in scholarly research.

In order to increase the process of maintaining the spirit of co-operation and confidence between different scientific institutions, centres and research teams, the International Association of Oriental Information Centers (IAOIC) has recently been established. The IAOIC is supposed to tie together all Information Centres working in the field of Oriental Studies. In its initial stage it linked about

fifteen Orientalist centres (institutions, museums, libraries, etc.) in Russia as well as in CIS republics, such as Georgia and Tadjikistan. These centres are supposed to be supplied with appropriate equipment, technologies, and education so that the specialists working in them can create an integrated set of catalogues, electronic libraries, and databases for different historical sources and research materials. They are also supposed to be interlinked by Internet, e-mail, web-sites, teleconferences, regional conferences, and workshops.

Within the IAOIC some sections are laid down in different fields of Oriental Studies such as: Turkic Studies, Islamic Studies, Middle Eastern Studies, Chinese Studies, South Asian Studies, Buddhist Studies, Central Asian Studies, etc., which will have their own teleconferences and home pages on the EAOS.

One of the first steps taken by the Association has been working on the electronic catalogue 'Two Hundred Years of Russian Oriental Studies' containing information on scientific organizations and groups, their history, work priorities, descriptions of holdings, bibliographies, personalia and so on.

Prospects and problems

One of the most essential tasks now is to support all these activities by a printed and on-line periodical 'EurAsian Internet Journal' which is in-

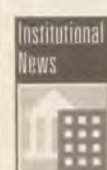
tended to spread information and know-how among scientific teams and individual colleagues. It is also necessary to link the EAOS with as many Russian and international servers and sites with information on Asian Studies as possible.

The EAOS 'Resources' division is specially destined to be filled with electronic editions of monographs prepared by the scientific staff of the IOS/RAS. The annual number of publications exceeds two hundred. Placing each electronic edition on the EAOS implies creating special sites.

This listing of the prospects for developing integration, co-operation, and dissemination processes is purely provisional. We have the material, the scientific resources, specialists and - to some extent - the know-how, but the present state of our activities cannot be given a high assessment rating because of deficit financing. The budget does not support Internet activities: they are too expensive. We have some support from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research but this is entirely Russia-oriented. It is difficult for us to develop international projects even with our CIS partners. ■

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Research Centre for Linguistic Typology



The Research Centre for Linguistic Typology is an autonomous unit within the Department of Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts at the Australian National University. The main business of the Centre consists in putting forward inductive generalizations about human language. The Centre organizes international workshops on topics in typological theory. The first (18-23 August 1997) was on 'Valency-changing derivations', looking at passives, antipassives, causatives, and applicatives in cross-linguistic perspective.

The Centre has a permanent staff of Director, Associate Director, and Administrator. It also has a number of fixed-term positions, which are advertised as they become available. Each year there are also a number of Visiting Fellows. In 1997 these were

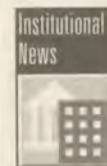
Dr Joseph Tsonope from Botswana and Professor Lyle Campbell from New Zealand. Visiting Fellows in future years will include scholars from the Netherlands, Hong Kong, Japan, Germany, and the USA. Scholars from other universities (or from other parts of the ANU) who undertake research on typological issues are encouraged to consider spending their sabbatical at the Centre. ■

Further information:
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Forum Luso-Asiatico

Luso-Asian Forum (FLA) is a Portuguese private and non-profit association formed in February 1997, and located in Lisbon, for the purpose of promoting and organizing different public events which will deepen the awareness of the Portuguese public opinion about Asia singularities. Its principal aim is to create academic and scientific connections within Europe and reinforce the spirit of understanding co-operation, and friendship between Portugal and Asia, in all related fields.

By ARNALDO GONÇALVES



Luso-Asian Forum proposes to organize seminars, conferences, and workshops about the economic, political, social, cultural, and linguistic aspects of the countries that compose the Asian continent, namely those with whom Portugal has maintained historical relations, like China, Japan, India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.

FLA intends to get financial support for the research projects of young national and foreign researchers who want to develop studies centred in the relations between Portugal and South and Southeast Asia. Another objective is to create deep links of co-operation with similar entities in other countries, serving as a means to integrate Portugal into the cultural and scientific network of co-operation, under-

standing, and interchange of information of Europe with Asian countries. FLA encourages mutual initiatives, exchanges of information and linking to Internet sites of other related academic, scientific, and cultural institutions of Oriental Studies.

Since February 1997, the Luso-Asian Forum has organized several seminars in Lisbon and Macao, still a Portuguese dependent territory, to debate Asian political actualities, namely the issue of 'The transition of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China' and a Seminar about 'Globalization and Relations between Portugal and Japan'.

Beginning in March this year the FLA has been organizing a Cycle of Dinners-Debate with retired Portuguese Governors of Macao, under the title Macao 1999, the end of the Empire. Its guests have already included General Garcia Leandro and Admiral Almeida Costa, the first two Govern-

ors of the Portuguese territory, after the 25 April Revolution. The cycle is to be continued next October and December with General Melo Egidio and Professor Pinto Machado and will be closed in the eve of the transfer of Macao sovereignty to PRC, later 1999. With General Rocha Vieira, the present and last governor of Macao.

An International Seminar called 'The Asian-Pacific Region on the threshold of the 21st Century' is also planned in Macao, this year. The Seminar will gather various Portuguese and foreign experts in international relations, economics, geopolitics and international security issues and will debate the most up-to-date events concerning Asia bilateral and multilateral security and threats that will arise in the turn of the 21st Century.

The Luso-Asian Forum edits a bi-monthly newsletter that has now reached its sixth issue and can be ordered through the address below. ■

Arnaldo Gonçalves, Professor of International Politics, is chairman of the Luso Asian-Forum. For further information, please contact FLA at Rua Alfredo Roque Gameiro, 18-1 Esq, 1600 Lisbon, Portugal, fax: +351-1-3227734, e-mail: Arnaldo.A.Goncalves@ctt.pt, <http://www.terraviva.pt/ilhadomell/2320>.

JULY 1998
WILLIAMSBURG, VA, USA

14th IUAES Congress Legal Pluralism and Folk Law

The five-yearly congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), which took place during the last week of July 1998 in Williamsburg, Virginia, bore an immoderate title: 'The 21st Century: The Century of Anthropology'. No less than eleven hundred social scientists converged on the campus of the College of William and Mary. Surprisingly, a full ten percent of the panels was organized by scholars from India, a conspicuous element indeed.

By MAARTEN BAVINCK

The Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism is one of eighteen commissions recognized by IUAES. Members of this commission organized a symposium consisting of six well-attended topical sessions during the Williamsburg congress, and it is on this section of the mega-event that this article concentrates.

The Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism had its origin in 1980 in a group of scholars congregated around Gerard van Steenhoven of the Department of Law, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Their purpose was to construct an intellectual platform for legal scholars and social scientists, as well as for practitioners in the field of legal pluralism. To this end the commission organizes sessions at every IUAES congress, as well as its own conferences, at an interval of an average of two years. It deliberately strives to convene in various geographic settings, as this facilitates the involvement of local scholars and activists, and stimulates the discussion of a heterogeneity of legal and social situations. The 1997 conference thus took place in Moscow, and the following conferences will be staged in Chile and in Nepal. The commission currently has approximately 350 members.

In accordance with the tradition of devoting attention to the locality, the commission's sessions in Williamsburg highlighted the situation of native Americans in the United States and in Canada. The themes were of a general nature, however, and paper presentations dealt with a range of places and topics. Asia was represented by papers on India, Indonesia, Nepal, and the Central Asian states.

For the third time in its conference history, the commission in Williamsburg devoted special sessions to the topic of natural resources and property. The organizer, Melanie Wiber, motivating this initiative, pointed out the rich landscape of rights to natural resources, which exists in society. She argued this is an area in which international law, national law, and sets of local regulations interact in complex and scarcely undocumented ways. Moreover, it is a field in which important shifts are currently taking place.

It was striking to note that many of

the papers in these sessions related to common pool resource activities such as fisheries, forestry, and pastoralism, and documented the contestation of property rights from different angles. Others emphasized the importance of property rights for the livelihood of substantial numbers of people.

Dispute resolution

A second set of sessions focused on the position of so-called 'first nations', or indigenous peoples, in various parts of the world. One panel addressed the native American situation, taking up contemporary issues from Canada and the United States. Several authors addressed the hot topic of land rights. Another session concentrated on South Africa where, parallel to the drastic remodelling of the social and political structure, the relationship between customary and constitutional law has become a matter of urgent concern.

Dispute resolution is one of legal pluralism's traditional concerns. Many scholars have investigated the ways in which people address and resolve social problems outside the official court circuit, and the interactions that take place between state and folk law. The papers presented during the session on this topic reflected this interest.

A final set of papers in the symposium described specific non-state legal systems or plural configurations.

Conclusions

Looking back on the symposium, participants expressed their satisfaction. Not only had the programme been topically diverse and well attended, it had also presented a new opportunity for intellectual exchange between social scientists, lawyers, and social activists from many countries. The wide interest in legal pluralism was actually quite striking. Paper presenters in the symposium originated from no less than thirteen countries and six continents. However, Asia is still relatively feebly represented. For this reason, the commission plans to hold a following conference in South Asia. This hopefully will make it easier for persons from the region to participate. ■

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Regionalism and Global Affairs in the Post-Cold War Era

By DONALD HELLMANN



A Conference on 'Regionalism and Global Affairs in the Post-Cold War Era: The European Union, APEC, and New International Political Economy' was held in Brussels on March 26 and 27 under the joint sponsorship of the IIAS, the University of Washington APEC Study Center, and the National Bureau for Asian Research in Seattle, Washington. The conference focused on the economic crisis in East Asia, which was discussed both as a problem in economic management and as part of a historical pattern of economic development. This has led to a transformation of the region under a societally rooted process of economic and political change, differing from the democratic capitalist model in the Western world.

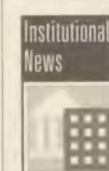
The participants involved were an array of senior scholars from East Asia, Europe, and the United States. In addition, a number of ambassadors from the APEC region and representatives from several major European companies attended and were active in the lively discussion of this timely topic. The opening session involved a heated debate concerning the current global political economy. Was it really an interdependent but nonconvergent world in which the Asian region stood apart? Or was the current crisis essentially a problem that would be solved by bringing Asia into line with the market-driven Western economic model? This set the tone for the next two days, during which a wide range of views on this subject was articulated. There were three major themes: (1) the lack of and need for clearer leadership to manage the global political economy – especially from the United States;

(2) the need for new international institutions to replace those left over from the Cold War era to address more effectively contemporary political-economic realities – most notably the current economic crisis; and (3) the need to address the challenge of Asian power and the Asian developmental model from a historical and cultural perspective, not as a purely economic and short-term crisis.

A publication and a follow-up conference in Asia will be the result of this conference, which succeeded in broadening the boundaries of debate over a still unfolding upheaval that will cast a shadow over the international relations of East Asia for the first years of the new millennium. ■

Professor Donald Hellmann is the director of the APEC Study Center in Seattle, Washington.

EU Project at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand European Studies Program



The European Studies Program (ESP) is a project of the European Union of which the aim is to promote academic teaching about the various aspects of the European Integration process, its legal and historical foundations, its institutions, its policy orientations, and external relations, in Thailand. To achieve this the ESP intends to develop a well-trained core faculty and a curriculum in European Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, covering fields as community law, economics, history and political science. Furthermore the Project will attempt to stimulate research in Thailand and Southeast Asia on matters concerning the European Union and EU-ASEAN relations and to encourage co-operation between researchers in the four disciplines. The plan is to institutionalize the Program as a permanent Center for European Studies in Southeast Asia.

In a general sense, the Program intends to foster a better understanding of the EU among academics, public opinion, political and business decision makers, as well as to contribute to the development of

mutual advantageous economic co-operation between Thailand and the EU.

Established in November 1992, the European Studies Program can look back on more than five years of experience with Asian-European academic co-operation and intends to build on this experience in the future.

The Project Activities include:

- European Chairs: two-week visiting professorships for European specialists at Thai universities. Specialists from all fifteen European member states have already been recruited;
- Faculty Fellowships: intensive preparation stays (two to four months) of Thai faculty members at academic or research institutes throughout Europe with the aim of acquiring expertise, up-to-date factual knowledge, documentation, and contacts;
- Ph.D.-Grants: long-term stays at European universities by Thai post-graduate students;
- Junior Ph.D.-Grants: short-term stays at European universities by Thai students;

- Research Grants: jointly or individually conducted projects to stimulate research on EU and ASEAN-related topics for Thai and European researchers;

- Conference Participation Grants: invitations to Thai academics to participate in European conferences focusing on EU issues;

- Annual international conferences in Thailand;

- Seminars and lectures in Thailand on EU topics, primarily addressing the Thai academic community, but also a larger public and the private sector. ■

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Hmong and Miao Studies

The First International Workshop on the Hmong/Miao in Asia was successfully held in Aix-en-Provence, from 11 to 13, September 1998, supported by the Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation. Convened by Dr Jean Michaud (University of Hull) and Dr Christian Culas (CNRS), the workshop brought together for the first time a group of international scholars who are specialists on the Hmong and the Miao minorities of Mainland Southeast Asia.

By JEAN MICHAUD



The Hmong in Southeast Asia and their relatives in China, the Miao, from whom they sprang, number nearly ten million people. Despite a relatively long period of intensive observation of the group in the field, Hmong/Miao research has never been consolidated, and even today, it is still being performed by a handful of mostly non-Asian researchers in dispersed institutional situations. The study of specific topics among Hmong refugees in the West has resulted in gatherings and two collective publications, whereas the study of the Hmong/Miao in Asia, where more than ninety per cent of them live, has led chiefly

to individual publications on a wide variety of topics. The main purposes of the Workshop were therefore: 1) to take stock of the scholarly research on the group in every relevant discipline in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (anthropology, sociology, linguistics, history, and human geography); 2) to highlight the strengths and weaknesses in our knowledge of Hmong/Miao culture(s), favouring cross-disciplinary exchanges; and 3) to create the conditions and set an agenda for long-term academic collaboration.

The need to launch such a scholarly co-operation is urgent. The re-opening of formerly closed communist States in Asia is forcing a renewal of the negotiations in the relationship between the national minorities and

the central powers, and it also changes the research conditions dramatically. Foreign scholars are gaining access to isolated communities in Guizhou, Yunnan, northern Vietnam, and Laos. Local archives are being opened up for national and international consultation. A growing number of young researchers from both inside and outside Asia have found an interest in the Hmong/Miao. The interest shown in particular by numerous Laotian Hmong from the diaspora in their Asian origins brings them back from the USA, France, and Australia to conduct research on their own original society. To meet the growing demand for fundamental knowledge, an assessment of the current state of the study is needed, and the Hmong/Miao scholars scattered throughout the world are now in the position to provide it.

The workshop

Amongst other themes, the workshop focused on 'Identity, Identification, and History'. The historical description of the Hmong/Miao encoded in the Chinese, Vietnamese, Lao, and Thai languages has given rise to a situation where, today, identifying each group with precision is a delicate issue. Closer collaboration between historians, linguists, and anthropologists, combined with ethno-historical and ethnolinguistic works based on first hand data, should help to lay the foundation for a scientific distinction of the different Hmong and Miao groups.

Another theme was 'Religion, Beliefs and Cosmology'. Both shamanism, a powerful dimension of ritual expression, and messianism, a key feature in Hmong culture, provide fertile ground for research. Mythology and funeral rituals are now better described – especially owing to in particular to Western missionary activity – but many seasonal practices are still unknown. Religious variations between Hmong/Miao subgroups in different countries should be paid specific attention.

On the topic of 'Transnationality, Social Change and Adaptation', it became clear that the relationship between the States and the Hmong/Miao minorities is a sensitive issue. For several decades now, Hmong/Miao communities have had to adapt to national frames. The Hmong/Miao societies in different countries have followed various directions. Connecting and articulating Western and Asian expertise, including scholars of Hmong/Miao origin, can contribute to identifying patterns of cultural resilience, of social and spatial organization, and structures of adaptation, in particular regarding health issues. This work is a prerequisite before getting any further in the understanding of Hmong patterns of adaptation in Asia and the West.

The Future of Hmong and Miao Studies

In the plenary session, the overwhelming feeling was that the meeting had been a success and should be

repeated. The issue of whether it would be appropriate and financially viable to set up a permanent association of scholars working on the Hmong and the Miao was also raised. Participants agreed, as a first step in the right direction, to start with preparing a second meeting in two years time, and Chiang Mai (Thailand) has been mentioned as its probable venue. Concurrently, C. Corlin from Sweden has set up an electronic mailbox (Hmong-L@sant.gu.se) where participants and others can continue to exchange ideas on topics related to Hmong and Miao studies and the future creation of an association. To register to the discussion group, one should contact first Dr Corlin himself at claes.corlin@sant.gu.se.

A book will be prepared for publication putting together most of the papers presented at the Workshop. C. Culas, G.Y. Lee, J. Michaud, and N. Tapp were appointed on the editorial committee. ■

or more information, please contact:

DR JEAN MICHAUD

Centre for South-East Asian Studies
University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX, GB, fax: +44.1482.465.758 e-mail: j.michaud@pol-as.hull.ac.uk or Dr Christian Culas, IRSEA – CNRS, 389, Ave du Club Hippique, 13034 Aix en Provence, Cedex 2, France, e-mail: irsea@romarin.univ-aix.fr.

17 > 18 APRIL 1998
INSTITUTE OF ASIAN-PACIFIC STUDIES, BEIJING

Labour Mobility and Migration in China and Asia

The International Conference on 'Labour Mobility and Migration in China and Asia' was held in Beijing, 17-18 April 1998. It was organized by the Institute of Asian-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences of the People's Republic of China, in collaboration with the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden) and the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague) of the Netherlands.

By LEILA FERNANDEZ-STEMBRIDGE



Surrounded by blossoming trees stirred by a breeze, the historical building was the perfect setting for the discussions on one of today's hottest topics in the Social Sciences: the origins and implications of labour mobility and migration both in China and the rest of Asia. The Conference was divided into four sessions, which were all linked: the industrialization and urbanization process in Asian countries; the effects on the labour structure; the importance of governmental and non-governmental policies; and finally the problems and effects of labour migration.

If we want to understand how migration flows evolve in the Asian context, it is fundamental to consider the case of China as an essential case of study reflecting the tenden-

cies in labour migration, the role played by migrant workers, and the response offered by governmental authorities. Needless to say, it is also necessary to understand migration in the rest of Asia in order to create a more coherent framework for the Chinese case. After all, the globalization of a more developed system of transportation and communication has eased and increased the frequency of human movements. This implies therefore a necessary comparison at the Asian regional level. Now, the question is whether the progressive marketization of all Asian countries has eased labour mobility or has it rather been impeded by governmental intervention, and has therefore created obstacles to a real economic and social integration of migrants in their respective places of destination. Thus, the process of job-hunting may be motivated by economic interests, but may also be necessarily dependent on the government political interests, as govern-

ments tend to explicitly advocate further freedom of mobility, but in fact provoke barriers that impede migrant workers to achieve their objectives.

During the conference the linkage between Chinese characteristics and Asian features often surfaced as a key for further debate. In addition, comparative studies between India and China or between Vietnam and China proved both the parallelisms and differences in the rapid process of urbanization and modernization of the three countries. This implied an important academic exchange that could be seriously considered for future projects of discussion.

Different Perspectives, Similar Results?

Despite the hot debates raised on the economic, social, and political challenges caused by the rapid economic development of China in particular and Asia in general, only few of the participants challenged the classical and theoretical concepts of migration originating from the Todaro Model. Instead, the majority raised questions about the crude reality migrant workers are generally forced to face.

On the other hand, the globalization effects of migration were seri-

ously considered in the context of today's growing Asian economies, and the phenomenon of expanding markets became a target within the causal relationship between capital and labour. In that sense, it was concluded that both factors of production, capital and labour, are doubtfully correlated, which makes more dubious what can be expected or wished to be a high level of labour mobility.

Some Shortcomings and Some Suggestions

As usually happens in seminars or conferences dealing with a wide range of countries or topics, two days were simply not enough. Interesting aspects such as informality, regional disparities, migration policies, or network and mobility, were considered on a general basis but lacked a more in-depth insight of what their implications on labour mobility could have been. If two days were the established limit for whatever reasons, strategic or economic, then it would probably have been more useful to have divided the topics into discussion groups, rather than solely relying on plenary sessions. That way, scholars with common interests would have had a higher probability of finding consistent solutions for at least some of the prob-

lems that were raised, and a loss of focus that inevitably emerged on several occasions would have been avoided.

Conclusion

Initially, the Conference was meant to be comparative. Nevertheless, each subject of discussion proved to be somewhat unique, taking into account the political and economic differences in each of the cases involved. It is encouraging to think that countries that are considered to be geographically associated are, however, different in essence and inevitably create different opportunities for migrant workers that have no other option but to change their working and living conditions.

In that sense, and despite the inconveniences mentioned above, it was overall a positive idea to join scholars from different backgrounds. The conclusions resulting from the discussions in April will be reflected in a book that is likely to be published by the end of the present year, both by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in PR China, and the Institute of Asian Studies in The Netherlands, and will hopefully allow all those who are interested in and working on migration and labour issues to have an illustrative instrument of reference. ■

Leila Fernandez-Stembridge is a Research Fellow at the Centre for East Asian Studies, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain.

Edward W. Said: Scholar and Activist

You cannot put a label on Edward W. Said. This University Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, US, is also a historian of ideas whose dazzlingly original interpretations on Orientalism have given history writing a new stimulus. But that's not all. Said is a political activist as well. A Palestinian by birth, he has been deeply involved in Palestine's confrontation with Zionism and Israel. A gifted musician, at present Said is working on a new interpretation of Beethoven's only opera, *Fidelio*. All these have made it difficult to understand the man. He has been marginalized by the American mainstream, dubbed the 'professor of terror' by some, and at the same time lionized as 'the defender of Islam' by others. But how does Said see himself? 'As a teacher,' he says. Excerpts of an interview.

By DAMAYANTI DATTA

Q: You may have always been a teacher, but you are also a prolific writer and an activist. How do you reconcile all these identities? In which role do you feel most comfortable?

A: I think the role of a teacher. I've been teaching now for almost forty years. And I've always learnt during the actual class. There's something that eludes me when I read and think without the presence of students. So I've always thought of my classes not as a routine to go through but rather an experience of investigation and discovery. And I depend very heavily on reactions from my students. In the early days when I started teaching, I used to overprepare - plan every minute of a class. Later, because I had such bright students at Columbia I began to find out that the students' comments would stimulate lines of thought and discussion that I hadn't expected before. And very often that found its way into my writing.

■
'I never
had the feeling
of speaking into
the void'
■

Q: You've always focused on the problems of the Arab world, especially Palestine. But as an exile in America do you ever feel that you are orating into a void? How interested are, say, your students in the issues that engage you most?

A: In the beginning I certainly felt that I was only addressing my students. Later, as I began to write politically, I was conscious of a larger audience. Not my students. I have never used my classes to talk about my political activism. The classroom is sacrosanct to a certain de-

gree. But the more I wrote the more I discovered that by writing one could get an audience, especially on the question of Palestine. Since there was a dearth of voices, I was able to create, in a certain sense, a kind of constituency for what I was saying and it became quite large. The latest phase is that, since the early nineties I've been writing two columns a month for an Arabic newspaper. For the first time now I have a regular Arab readership, which has been very important for me. My work is so often translated into many different languages and I go to countries and places where the terms of debate and understanding of what I've written are so different that I'm constantly surprised. But I've never had the feeling of speaking into the void. I think the audiences I get in universities and academic associations, professional groups and activists are very stimulating and I love the debate.

Q: Your work on Orientalism has profoundly affected the writing of Indian history. But has your work affected the historians of the Arab world?

A: In the Arab world, sadly, my work has really not been as deeply understood as I think it has been elsewhere. There I am read as a kind of defender of Islam against the evils of the West. Which, I think, is a caricature. The theoretical side is missing there. In the Arab world there is not much interest in material that isn't directly about them. A new historical consciousness, however, is slowly emerging and most of them are affected by the kind of criticism I've done. In Beirut last July there was a conference - I think the first of its kind in the Arab world - devoted to my work. It was called 'Towards a critical culture'. But that's a tiny sample. Arab intellectual life is in a state of torpor, political asphyxiation, and indifference. So it is really among the younger Arab intellectuals in the Diaspora where I think the change will come.

Q: You've been educated in orthodox and elite institutions. How did you develop into an anti-establishment intellectual from such a background?

A: You see, my background was always conflicted. Before I left for the US, I had a colonial education and I felt out of place. There was some-

thing that didn't correspond between what I felt to be myself and that kind of education. I've always felt that two educations were going on - the conventional education at the school and the self-education in order to satisfy the other part. That almost always produced rebellion of one sort or the other. I was always known in school as too clever or too smart to be thrown out but too unorthodox to be considered one of the prize students. In the end I was thrown out at the age of 15 for my political involvements. So, I was sent to very elite schools in America. There it began all over again. During my 11 years as a student there I never developed close relationships.

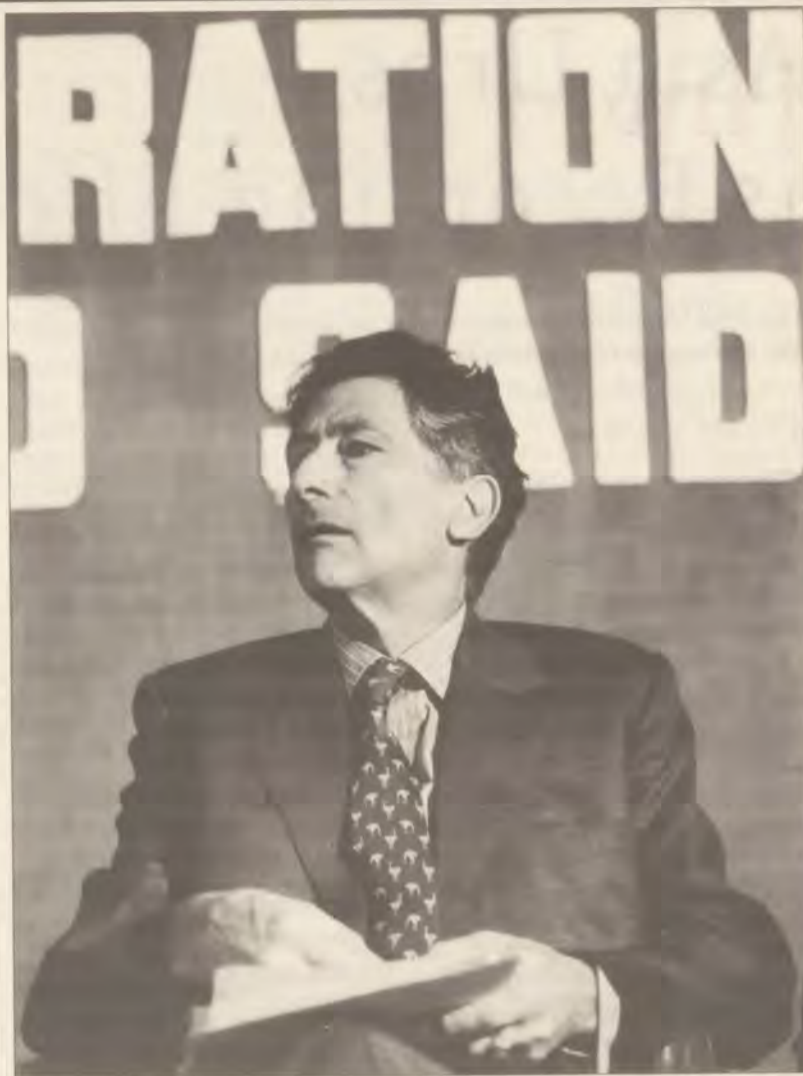
Q: When you write, for whom do you write? For yourself, for other intellectuals, for policy makers, for activists, for whom?

A: I write most of the time for an occasion rather than for a person. I certainly don't address policy makers. My readers tend to be people on the left, who are outside the consensus and looking for alternatives to the prevailing world view. For Arab readers, I try to reach out as widely as possible, for there I feel that I'm trying to change opinion. But, I also write for myself. For instance, the memoir I'm writing now is really a search for a lost time and those on music satisfy my own long-standing interest in these issues.

■
'The theoretical
side is missing in
the Arab world'
■

Q: Some people allege that because of your influence, Indian history writing has been derailed. Too much attention is being paid to literary and aesthetic representations of colonial rule than, say, to social, political, or economic domination. How would you respond to that?

A: I hope not. I'm nothing if not historically based. I've always said that the study of literature is basically a historical discipline, no use in separating one from the other. There's a constant tension between the world of aesthetic and the world of historical action, which I am interested in explaining. I've always had an aversion to theoretical web-spinning, but one can't neglect the theoretical and the aesthetic - as important components of human experience. My views are more inclusive than exclusive. I don't think of the study of literature or of history as separate or competing: they support each other. The whole process of writing, whether of litera-



Edward W. Said

ture or history, involves sifting through evidence and in the end arriving at interpretations. I would find it very surprising and even perverse, if I was understood as derailing the study of history. ■

*This interview was given during Edward Said's first visit to India at the end of December 1997 / beginning of January 1998.
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D. Datta was an affiliated fellow at the IIAS from 5 April - 2 May 1997. She was a guest lecturer of history at Jadavpur University (Calcutta) and the assistant editor at The Telegraph, Calcutta.

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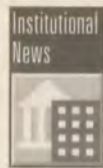
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Asia Urbs is Becoming Effective

The Asia Urbs Programme is now in its operational phase after the setting up of the Asia Urbs Secretariat in March 1998.

By GIE SIAUW



Initiated by the European Commission, the Asia Urbs Programme is a new framework for decentralized co-operation between Europe and Asia. It will enhance and strengthen links based on urban development co-operation between local governments in South and Southeast Asia and Europe. The Programme is designed to move urban development planning closer to the beneficiaries focusing on citizen participation and capacity building. It will encourage the delivery of technical and financial support to pilot projects.

The total budget allocated for the projects is twenty-six million ECU for a three-year period, while the development projects should normally last two years at a maximum. A Call for Proposals will be launched and each selected project will be co-financed by the European Commission up to

500,000 ECU. The remainder - at least thirty-five per cent of the total cost in cash or in kind - will be supported by the partners.

Besides enhancing co-operation between Europe and Asia, the objective of the Asia Urbs Programme is to improve quality of life of the citizens in their cities in assisting local governments to strengthen their efforts towards sound urban management. The Programme will consider activities aimed at reinforcing networks of local governments and close partnerships in the following areas: urban management, including institutional development and urban design policies and techniques; socio-economic development including participation of women in the cities and urban poverty alleviation; urban environment, conservation and rehabilitation, management of water and waste; and urban social infrastructure including methodologies and feasibility studies.

Priority will be given to: project design and pilot projects where the substance and the proposed form of par-

ticipatory implementation has demonstrative values; projects aimed at improving the quality of life of dwellers through adequate provision of urban services; sound proposals for carrying out the activities and the dissemination of results. In terms of eligibility, European and Asian local governments with a legal status in their respective countries are the appropriate bodies to prepare project proposals, make financial requests and implement the related activities. Each project will be based on a partnership involving at least two local governments from two different European Union member states and at least one of the following eligible Asian countries: Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Bhutan, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam. ■

For more information please contact Asia Urbs Secretariat, Avenue Marie José 44b, 1200 Brussels, Belgium, tel: +32-2-732 87 94, fax: +32-2-732 87 07, e-mail: secretariat.asia-urbs.com, www.asia-urbs.com

Visiting Arts: Asia-Europe Newsletter



In September 1998, this new, informal quarterly was launched with a view to encouraging and facilitating creative collaboration between Asia and Europe and keeping artists and arts practitioners from both regions fully apprised of the latest developments in Asia-Europe cultural exchange. With the emphasis firmly on practicality and ease of distribution, the Newsletter will be distributed by fax and e-mail to key individuals and organizations, backed up by a printed version for distribution to those without fax or e-mail facilities.

Regular features in the Newsletter will include information on Asian arts networks, databases, web-sites; information regarding festivals, seminars, conferences and other major events at which Asian arts and culture are showcased; news about cross-cultural collaborations including proposed Asia-Europe projects

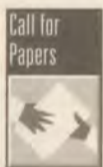
seeking partners; case-studies of artist-led exchange programmes where the emphasis is on process rather than product; examples of good practice in the contextualization of traditional Asian art forms; special features on contemporary Asian arts; news about Asian diaspora communities in Europe and their cultural activities; and information about key sources of funding. ■

We welcome all contributions. If you have information regarding planned or forthcoming exchange programmes with the Asia-Pacific region for inclusion in the newsletter, please forward this to:

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fax: +44-171-3893016,
e-mail: TimDoling@compuserve.com.

25 > 27 JUNE 1999
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

Fourth conference of the European Society for Oceanists Asia in the Pacific



The purpose of the biannual conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESFO) is to exchange research results and to create closer links amongst European Oceanists, and among European scholars and their colleagues from other parts of the world. As a rule, its main theme is designed to accommodate the diversity of the problems faced by the scholars and disciplines concerned.

The first conference of the ESFO was held in Nijmegen (in 1992), the second in Basel (1994), and the third in Copenhagen (1996). The fourth one, in 1999, will be held in Leiden, jointly organized by the Centre for Pacific Studies (CPS) in Nijmegen, and the Irian Jaya Studies Project (ISIR) in Leiden. The conference will start on Friday evening, 25 June 1999, and end on Sunday evening, 27 June 1999.

The main theme of the 1999 ESFO conference will be 'Asia in the Pacific'. This theme has been selected in the light of the cultural, linguistic, political, and economic influences of Asia in the Pacific - and of the Pacific in Asia - in the past and at present

and will be addressed in particular in de keynotes and in some workshops. Although the organizers would like to see many papers discussing aspects of this main theme, it should be emphasized that the participants of the conference are also free to choose a subject outside the scope of this general theme for their papers. This non-exclusive and broad perspective conforms to the many disciplines united in the ESFO (anthropology, history, linguistics, museology, etc.) and is evident in the thirteen working sessions proposed for the 1999 conference:

1. Movements and Migrations of Ritual Practices;
2. Tourism and Cultural Identities;
3. Impact of Foreign Occupation and Migration on Local Cultures and/or Individual Life Histories;
4. Conversion and Missions;
5. The Trader's Dilemma in Asia and the Pacific;
6. Consumption and Identity;
7. Mythemes;
8. Local and Global Identities Confronted with Universality;
9. Feelings and Forces of Displacement;
10. Languages and Other Semiotic Systems;

11. Resource Exploitation;
12. Knowledge and Knowing;
13. Fertility and the Foundation of Social and Cosmic Order in the Pacific.

Call for papers

Papers on any of these thirteen proposed sub-themes are invited. If you intend to present a paper, please indicate your first choice and a second choice for a working session. Organizational considerations may oblige us to regroup papers in different sessions. A short abstract of your paper (no longer than 150 words including the title) is requested by 1 March 1999.

We will charge a conference fee of Dfl. 150 for members with full-time jobs and Dfl. 50 for unemployed members and members with part-time jobs. Both fees include coffee/tea, and a programme book with abstracts, but do not include dinner(s). ■

Mailing address: ESFO Organizing Committee, ISIR, Nonnensteeg 1-3, 2311 VJ Leiden, The Netherlands; fax: 31-71-5272632; e-mail: isiresfo@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

BOOKS RECEIVED



Josiane Cauquelin, Paul Lim and Birgit Mayer-König
'ASIAN VALUES: ENCOUNTER WITH DIVERSITY'
Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998, 207 pp.
ISBN 0-7007-1096-5

Susan Legêne
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JAPAN, JAVA, TRIPOLI EN SURINAME
IN DE NEGENTIENDE-EEUWSE NEDERLANDS CULTUUR
VAN HET IMPERIALISME'
Amsterdam: KIT Press, 1998, 468 pp.
ISBN 90-6832-277-X

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'DE VOC IN BEDRIJF (1602-1799):
DE VERSCHILLENDE GEZICHTEN
VAN EEN VROEGE MULTINATIONAL
Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998, 96 pp.
ISBN 90-5730-007-9

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IN THE IIAS
NEWSLETTER



See page 13

Asian Food Culture in the Twentieth Century

By **BOUDEWIJN C.A. WALRAVEN & KATARZYNA J. CWIERTKA**



The goal of this workshop was an examination of the Asian-European encounter as seen in the context of food culture.

The participants chose a variety of foci from their diverse disciplines and fieldwork experiences. The Asian-European encounter given shape, and meaning (and taste) in several settings included food-related practices and historical changes in consumption through contact and influence throughout the twentieth century. In the first half of the twentieth century the influence of the West on Asia was stronger. Since the mid-twentieth century, Asian ways of food have gradually gained recognition and popularity elsewhere and not only due to the feedback from colonial experiences.

Robert Pemberton (US Department of Agriculture) for instance, looked at the gathering of wild foods in contemporary South Korea as a window, which reveals social transformations in the country. On the one hand, keeping pace with the urbanization of the population, and the development of market economy, the gathering of wild foods has

been transformed from a nutritional necessity to a business opportunity on the one hand, and to a hobby on the other.

After lunch, three papers addressed the issue of national and cultural identity expressed and 'constructed' through food. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (University of Wisconsin) discussed the changing identities of the Japanese by examining the position of rice and meat in the Japanese diet. Boudewijn Walraven (Leiden University) discussed the controversial topic of eating dog-meat in Korea, concentrating on how it is perceived by the non-Korean activists fighting for animal rights, and how this in turn affects the Korean attitude. James Watson (Harvard University, US) dealt with another example of 'constructing' one's cultural identity with the help of food, by discussing the spread of the habit of 'basin dining' (puhn-choi) - part of the New Territories rural tradition - among the urban residents of Hong Kong after its repatriation in 1997.

The paper by Isao Kumakura (National Museum of Ethnology, Japan), initiated a new theme, - Asian food in the domestic setting. Kumakura showed how the modernization of

the Japanese society - urbanization, the growing middle-class membership, and the emphasis on domesticity - has manifested itself at the table, or rather at the three different forms of table which were used in Japan throughout the twentieth century. Merry White (Boston University) explained how young women in contemporary Japan demonstrate both the power of marketing and their own agency as they consume food trends and engage in behaviour increasingly antithetical to the culturally approved model of nurturance, service, self-abnegation, and domesticity. Pat Caplan (University of London) elaborated on the issue of new patterns of shopping emerging among the affluent middle classes in Madras, as a result of economic liberalization and the expansion of manufactured food imports after 1994.

Theodore Bestor's (Cornell University) paper dealt explicitly with the spread of Asian food beyond Asia in the era of globalization. Bestor focused the attributions of cultural categories in the global trade on the example of seafood trade at the Tsukiji wholesale market in Tokyo. Anneke van Otterloo (University of Amsterdam) taking the example of the Netherlands, explained how globalization affects Western food habits, by concentrating on the expansion of interest in Chinese and Indonesian food in this country as a result of the migration of the peoples from the former colonies to Holland. Helen Bush (University of Glasgow) examined the issue of cultural identity expressed through food, from a different perspective. On the basis of

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'The gathering
of wild foods
transformed from
a nutritional necessity
to a business
opportunity'
■

a survey conducted among South Asian women residing in Scotland, she demonstrated that the traditional family hospitality meals play an important part in the life of migrant South Asians, and are still preserved as the symbol of their cultural identity. The paper by Katarzyna Cwiertka (Leiden University), examining the post-World War II expansion of Asian food in Europe from the historical perspective of colonialism, concluded the workshop.

The workshop was supported financially by the Japan Foundation, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), and the School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS) of Leiden University. ■

The Medieval History Journal

Publication



The Medieval History Journal makes its appearance at a time when the historical periodization of a given society's past is being re-defined the world over. Timeframes that have been frozen for many decades have been questioned in recent years and the boundaries of the 'medieval' have been expanded. Medievalists no longer sever the sacred from the mundane, the classical from the vernacular, while literature and the arts are no longer outside the purview of history.

The Medieval History Journal is designed as a forum for these trends and for accommodating questions, critiques, and debates. It expresses spatial and temporal flexibility in defining the 'medieval' in order to capture its expansive thematic domain. Overall, the journal seeks to transcend the narrow boundaries of a single discipline and encompass the related fields of literature, the arts, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, and human geography.

A refereed journal, it explores problematics relating to all aspects of societies from all over the world in the medieval universe. Articles

which are comparative and interdisciplinary and those with a broad canvas find particular favour with the journal. Frequent special issues are also planned.

The Medieval History Journal is published biannually in April and October. ■

Editor:

HARBANS MUKHIA

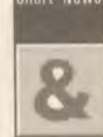
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Lithuania: Ten Thousand Years between East and West

Lithuania lies at the crossroads between East and West. Lithuanian national culture is the result of the synthesis of different cultures. Oriental cultures especially have had a profound influence on the local setting. The interest in the East has remained and culminated in the founding of a Centre of Oriental Studies.

By **ROMUALDAS NEIMANTAS**

Short News



The Lithuanians have lived near the Baltic Sea for about ten thousand years. One hypothesis is that Lithuanians originally came from India as the Lithuanian language is closely related to Sanskrit. Another is that Indo-Europeans moved through Asia and the Balkan Peninsula before settling in Lithuania. The first people in the territory that is now Lithuania were probably hunters from the southwestern shores of the Baltic Sea. Later Indo-European tribes from the south invaded the territory. As time passed the original inhabitants began assimilating this new Oriental culture.

In the eleventh century the tribes united into the state, which soon will celebrate its first millennium. Through the establishment of Christianity in the fourteenth century, Western European cultural features were introduced. Eastern cultural characteristics have remained, as Oriental peoples, such as Jews, Tartars, and Karaims, have lived in the territory for hundreds of years. Contemporary Lithuanian national culture is the result of the synthesis of these different cultures.

Throughout the ages Lithuanian travellers, missionaries, and collectors travelled widely not only in Europe but also in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. They returned with knowledge of peoples in other countries and wrote about this. They also brought back art from ancient Egypt, India, and Japan that are now displayed in the museums. To this

day artists, writers, and scientists have taken interest in the cultures of the West and of the East.

Since Lithuanian independence in 1990, the inhabitants gained access to information and the exchange of ideas with scientists abroad. This has greatly enhanced scientific research work and knowledge of other countries. A Centre of Oriental Studies was founded. It is in private hands since there are no governmental provisions for such an institute. The aim is to provide information and bring people together who share an interest in intercultural connections. ■

Those who are interested are invited to write to:

DR ROMUALDAS NEIMANTAS

Private Centre of Oriental Studies
V. Kzėvės pr. 27-88, Kaunas - 3042
Lithuania.

Romualdas Neimantas publishes on cultural connections of Lithuania with the Orient. He has composed a bibliography on this subject consisting of a million entries.

Central Asia

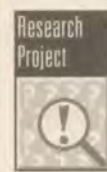


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Language Policies & Movements in Present-Day Central Asia

In 1989-1990, when the Soviet Union still existed, the titular languages of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan were proclaimed the official languages of their respective republics. This was no surprise to anyone. It was part of a general trend among the Soviet republics. Similar developments could be witnessed in other parts of the union. Furthermore, it was generally believed, or expected, that this was but a natural course of events, and a part of the endeavours made by groups of people, possibly the majority, to gain autonomy, or even independence.

By BIRGIT N. SCHLYTER



This expectation was reinforced – not least among linguists in the West – by the final collapse of Soviet socialism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The symbolic impact of language is generally recognized; it easily moulded into a feature of identity or an index of cultural belonging of one sort or the other. In Western thinking it has been provided with a significant political dimension by being included in definitions of ethnicity and 'nation', the latter term being placed in direct correspondence to the notion of 'state'.

In 1991, as the Soviet Union was split up and new states emerged in the aftermath, the idea of 'one state one nation', strengthened. Everybody started talking about nation-building, one important ingredient of which was language. For seven decades the inhabitants of the newly independent Central Asian states had experienced nation-building as members of the Soviet state. Having never experienced it as a sovereign people left them with the responsibility of singling out the features of nationality for themselves, which was to put it mildly, a pretty tall order.

Another conceptual problem that the Central Asians are now facing is that of language policy. Their legacy here is, quite naturally, Soviet language policy, which during the Soviet era was highly centralized, designed and controlled as it was by Moscow, and which was characterized first and foremost by the dominance and influence of the Russian language. Consequently, present-day Central Asian language policies, if there are any, are centralized rather than decentralized, though this time at the local level instead of at a broad all-union level – and the languages to which present-day language policies in former Soviet Union are to be applied are, to varying degrees, former standardized So-

viet languages and as such more or less russified languages.

Definitions of language policy vary, but in my research on the language situation in Uzbekistan, I stick to a rather narrow definition: 'that which an authority, for example, the government of a country, both allows and stipulates as far as language practice is concerned'. Language reform – another notion – is promoted both by laws and regulations, i.e. language policy, and language planning and language plan implementation.

Language reform awareness

The notions of language policy and language reform are often treated as if their principle concern is language or languages. In fact, they are not. They concentrate on language practice, or more precisely, on the language users, and part of the implementation work consists of arguing as convincingly as possible for the proper justification and advantages of the language reform envisaged. A possible model in this context would be to depict language reform and language community as two separate entities interrelated by features of the latter, such as socio-demographic structure, language habits, changes in language habits, language attitudes etc. – and also something that I call language reform awareness, a notion referring to the fact that people must be informed and kept aware of the language reform process and somehow be convinced of its rightness in order to make the language reform catch on and take effect.

The degree of the public's 'language reform awareness' and engagement is dependent on the general socio-political importance of linguistic matters. The language issue in Uzbekistan is not as politically 'hot' today as it was earlier. Uzbek has been established as the state language and is safe in this respect. At the same time there are some signs of fatigue caused by practical intricacies and the slowness to enforce language reform. Despite such set-backs one has to say that an impressive amount

of substantial language reform work has already been done in Uzbekistan. The Uzbeks are conducting a fairly broad-scale language policy which includes scrutinizing both alphabet and vocabulary. I would venture to make the statement that at present Uzbekistan is the only Central Asian state with a language policy in the sense of a strategy for a fundamental change of language practice in the country. In other states and nations it would perhaps be better to talk about inclinations in linguistic matters rather than fully fledged language policies.

The two alphabets that have been proposed so far for Uzbek – one in 1993 and the other in 1995 – have been heavily criticized. From a linguistic point of view they can hardly be regarded as improvements on the current Cyrillic alphabet; they are more or less just schemes for Cyrillic-Latin transliteration. The preparations for the change-over to Latin script have slowed down in Uzbekistan. Nevertheless, a detailed plan has been worked out for the implementation of the Latin alphabet for Uzbek, at least in Uzbek schools and higher institutes of learning.

One special complication in the case of Uzbekistan is the presence within Uzbek state borders of the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan with its own autonomous language policy, enshrined in fairly strong terms in the Uzbek state language laws. So far, there have been no definite signs of any independent Karakalpak language policy.

Another drawback in the case of Karakalpak, is the uncertainty about the plans to adopt a Latin alphabet for Kazakh. Karakalpak is much closer to Kazakh than to Uzbek, and if this language is to adjust its script to that of any other language, that should be Kazakh. To my knowledge, no alphabet law has yet been passed by the Kazakh Parliament.

Turkic alphabet

Especially in Kazakhstan, but to some extent also in Kirghizistan, the proportions of Russians are much higher than in the other three states, which has inevitably had an impact on language attitudes and the handling of language issues, not least the Russian language issue. In the latest Kazakh constitution from 1995, Russian was elevated from its status as 'language of interethnic communication' to the status of 'official language', while Kazakh remained the sole 'state language'. In

Kirghizistan, by an amendment to the constitution in 1996, Russian was *de facto* made into the second official language of the republic. This was in direct contrast to pronouncements in the Kirghiz 1989 state language law, according to which Russian should be phased out as a language of official government work by 1999.

The first Central Asian republic to make its national language the state language of the republic was Tajikistan. Tajikistan has a large Uzbek population, and concessions were made in the Tajik language law of 1989 to the practice and teaching of Uzbek, in the same manner as concessions were made for the use of the 'international' Russian language as well as Russian-Tajik bilingualism in the republic. Provisions were also to be made for the preservation and use of minority languages in Gorno-Badakhshan. The Tajik language law came into effect on 1 January, 1990.

Subsequent language laws in the other Central Asian republics were provided with timetables giving different deadlines for different articles or sets of articles. Generally speaking, transition periods of around ten years for the complete implementation of all articles of the language laws were envisaged. This decade is now coming to an end, and a great deal still has to be done.

I have not heard of any official decision or concrete proposals about Tajik alphabet revisions, although Arabic script has made a stronger comeback in this republic than in the others. However, the Latin script has its proponents even among the Tajiks. Some hold the opinion that there should be co-operation and coordination on the alphabet issue between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, since the Uzbek and Tajik languages and literatures are so closely intertwined they ought to employ the same type of script – not a very easy task. The last republic to proclaim its state language was Turkmenistan. According to Charles Carlson Turkmenistan was the only Central Asian republic to put its national language on a par with Russian as an international language.

With these developments of new Central Asian Turkic alphabets, the attempts to create a basic, or general, Turkic-Latin alphabet seem to have been seriously hampered. At the beginning of the 1990s, Turkey played an active role on this issue. The basic Turkic alphabet adopted at a conference at the Marmara University in

Istanbul in November 1991 has appeared from time to time in publications where it is presented as the still valid new Turkic-Latin alphabet. However, not only Uzbekistan, including Karakalpakstan, but also Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan have introduced alternative alphabets that are not just modifications of the basic Turkic alphabet but alphabets which differ on certain fundamental points.

Turkey seems to have become quite discouraged by this development, but this country is still interested in its Central Asian brethren and is now approaching them in other ways, through small businesses and through education, in which not only a Turkic-Turkish alphabet but the Turkish language itself is being launched. With this in mind, what will be the most favoured foreign language in future Central Asia – one might ask – English or Turkish. Probably English, because Turkish is after all no foreign language in Turkic-speaking Central Asia, as a pan-Turkic Turkish teacher once put it.

Bureaucracy

When a nation becomes a state, bureaucracy makes its entrance into the organization of this state. The Central Asian language policies are good examples of bureaucratic state language policies. In the presence of bureaucracy, dynamism and flexibility are easily lost. The republics under consideration belong to a still larger Central Asia, which in most of its parts is in a process of cultural metamorphosis. There are language movements going on in the vicinity of these republics – language movements that are not necessarily supported by any state bureaucracy and which may, therefore, have stronger features of spontaneity.

At the Stockholm Forum for Central Asian Studies, at present, besides my own research on the linguistic structure of Uzbekistan and language renewal in this country, we have a project on Uighur and other minority languages in Sinkiang. In another project on 'Cultural Syncretism in Central Asia', the phenomenon of 'mixed languages' will be studied. The current new linguistic and cultural awareness and transformation in large parts of the Central Asian region will be of immediate future interest to researchers and this large-scale transformation might well add dynamism to linguistic issues and have an influence on attitudes towards language and culture even in state bureaucracies. ■

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Tibet in the West & the West in Tibet



1 It was gratifying to find several informative articles on Tibetan affairs in IAS Newsletter #16. However, the article 'Tibet in the West and the West in Tibet' by Dr Amalendu Misra seems to get only one thing right, namely that Tibet is an endangered species. By the end of column two the name Melvyn Goldstein came irresistibly to my mind. I looked for references to the article and there he was, as the author's main informant.

The article as a whole appears to assume that 'the West' is some homogeneous body that has a mandate to oversee what needs to be done to stabilize relationships between large countries and their minority peoples in revolt. Its tone is colonial in its treatment of a small nation with a distinct language, culture, and religion like Tibet: 'to make the Tibetans understand' etc. The Tibetans are quite capable of maintaining their culture in exile until the year of four dots, if they decide to do so.

The author leans predominantly on one book for his references, written by an academic who in turn is extremely selective in choosing his informants. Dr Misra's article seems to assume that the exoticism of Tibet is the main casualty of the Chinese take-over and that most academics and/or Westerners know little else but the exotic features of old Tibet. I wish to examine some of Dr Misra's specific claims and factually untrue statements in detail.

The 'monochromatic image of Tibet' has been Dr Misra's preoccupation, not that of 'the West', because the West is not a unified body or voice. In the world of Tibetology there are many voices, as there are in the world of Tibet independence supporters and Tibet watchers. Amongst these Melvyn Goldstein stands apart as a scholar who does not appear to have his long-term research projects in Tibet frustrated by Chinese authorities, who advocates that Tibet is part of China, and overlooks why virtually no refugees dare return to Tibet and 5000 come south over the Himalayas in the dead of winter every year. His concern for Tibet's culture appears to cover only the purely material, that is, culture not associated with the Buddhist religion Tibet has espoused for 1300 years. Yet Tibet identity and Buddhism are almost synonymous, cutting across class, city-rural and central-east or west divisions.

The author states that 'the West' should make crucial enquiries about a) the political situation in Tibet outside Lhasa pre-1950, b) whether Tibetans inside and outside Tibet distrust modernization, and c) whether there is consensus among Tibetans about returning to a feudal theocratic order. The author may be relieved to hear that all these enquiries have been made long ago, not necessarily by Western academics or power-brokers, but by Tibetans themselves.

Even informed Western tourists have often read beyond Lhasa politics, as far as Kham, Chang Tang, and

Tashilhunpo's long-standing contact with southern border regimes. Tibetans have on the whole taken to modernization with great fascination, certainly from the time of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama on, though they choose what they find useful and retain their own where they see fit. What they object to is the price exacted by China in return for communist modernization: their independence, one million dead, exile, cultural and environmental destruction. If ever there was a country about which we should ask 'What price progress?' it certainly is Tibet, if not China proper itself.

There is no recorded consensus amongst Tibetans inside and outside Tibet about returning to a 'feudal theocratic order', because 1) The Chinese ignored a proposal by the Dalai Lama to hold a referendum on Tibet's future status among all Tibetans, 2) the Tibetan government-in-exile and the Dalai Lama turned their backs on the feudal system years ago and installed democratic elections with regional representatives and political parties in exile with a view to importing that system into Tibet, and 3) the Dalai Lama has widespread support from exiled Tibetans about his role, which is not feudal but something peculiarly Tibetan that few other nations possess. Therefore Western labels ill fit him.

The 'one good thing about Chinese intervention was the dispensing of social justice' says the author. But it came at the previously mentioned high price paid by Tibetans and didn't turn out to be justice at all. Schools only taught in Tibetan for a short while and are back to a Chinese curriculum for language and Tibetan history. Hospitals are avoided especially by Tibetan women, because of so many having been sterilized without their knowledge or permission, while undergoing other treatment or after giving birth. Chinese attempts at land redistribution has benefited more than six million landless Chinese immigrants, the Tibetans being transferred or disowned if it suits Chinese reform plans.

Beijing's 'rapid economic development strategy' in Tibet has caused immense damage in a fragile environment. Mainly it is concerned with extracting Tibet's natural resources for a ravenous Chinese economy. Hydro-electric schemes installed for industrial purposes have been disasters of bad workmanship, like at Yamdrok Tso. The plan to build 20 dams in Kham rivers to support a steel industry will, if it goes ahead, turn one of the world richest

biodiverse environments into a polluted cesspool that will poison half of China via its rivers. Already gold and mineral digging is destroying Kham's riverbanks, while its forests were disappearing at the rate of 465 logging trucks per day in the summer I was there. Rapid, yes. But an economic strategy? Vandalism backed by the military is closer to the reality. And the profits are not meant to stay in Tibet.

Tibet's independence was not short-lived. In recent centuries Tibet was independent whenever the Chinese needed their armies at home. Even when infiltrated, Tibetans ruled Tibet. Invading neighbouring countries was the Han pastime whenever they could afford it. The neighbours weren't much different and China was invaded and ruled at times, wholly or in part by Manchus, Mongols, Tartars, and Tibetans. Does that give these peoples an ancient claim on China proper, that China that contains evidence of Chinese culture and civilization, though the Han were once a conquered people? Does the world community mean to enter the twenty-first century clinging to barbarian rules of conquest? Conquest confers rights no longer. Only a weak UN and expediently greedy governments keep protecting the spoils of big nations like China, in case they can profit too. Colonialism is alive and flourishing.

'The West's involvement in this [deadlock over Tibet's status] is absolutely essential,' claims the author. 'First, it has to make the Tibetans understand the futility of their demands for complete independence,' he writes. Who is this 'West' and which Tibetans are to be so addressed: exiles, Tibetan Youth Congress, the Khambas, Tibetans in Tibet, or the Dalai Lama who has been telling Beijing for years that he wishes to negotiate about 'genuine autonomy', with China looking after foreign affairs and defence. That message has been taken to Beijing ad nauseam and not even an acknowledgement has been forthcoming.

'Beijing treats Tibet as an autonomous region,' the author claims. Not so, as anyone who has travelled there acknowledges, except Professor Goldstein. What protection Chinese authorities have lately given to Tibet's cultural-religious heritage has been for reasons of impressing tourists whose dollars are needed, and has not been extended to the Tibetan people themselves, who now observe so many aspects of their religion at the risk of losing their limited liberty or their lives, that thousands prefer to flee the country at the risk of death by frostbite.

Many have nothing to lose anyway but their lives, and liberty to gain. A bibliography of books Dr Misra could profitably read before next publishing on Tibetan affairs would be many pages long. For he is right when observing that many works are being published in the face of Tibet's possible extinction. Time is running out for Tibet.

Lolo J. G. Houbein
Strathalbyn, Australia

LETTERS
TO THE
EDITOR

2 Line two of the second paragraph of 'Tibet in the West and the West in Tibet' in IAS Newsletter 16 should read: 'Though ruled by the Dalai Lamas from the seventeenth (not seventh) century onwards...' Line 13 of the same paragraph should read: 'paying tribute to the Manchu (not Ming) emperor of China'. The author regrets the mistakes.

Amalendu Misra

3 I was glad to find some articles about Tibet in Newsletter #16. Being both a Tibetologist and Mongolist, I expected them to be of a certain standard and was shocked when I read the article 'Tibet in the West and the West in Tibet' by Amalendu Misra. I do not expect to read in the IAS Newsletter that Tibet was 'ruled by Dalai Lamas from the seventh century onwards', or 'The political history of modern Tibet starts from eighteenth century when it was taken under control by the Mongol, Lohabsang Khan, while paying tribute to the Ming emperors of China.' These are only two examples of the grave errors committed by the author of this article. Even in popular magazines I did not find such ridiculously wrong statements about Tibetan political history.

Karenina Kollmar-Paulenz
Königswinter, Germany

David Snellgrove
Torre Pellice, Italy

4 I am distressed to note that Amalendu Misra, the author of the review article 'Tibet in the West and the West in Tibet', should demonstrate such surprising ignorance of the history and culture of Tibet as to write: 'Though ruled by Dalai Lamas from the seventh century onwards, the actual political status of Tibet has always been subject to the political process beyond its frontiers.' From the seventh to the mid-ninth century Tibet was subject to a line of rulers generally known as the Yarlung Kings from their main basis in the Yarlung Valley. The independence of Tibet in that early period was unquestioned and these kings were frequently at war with China.

As for the 'Dalai Lama', this title was bestowed upon the third Grand Lama of the dGe-lugs-pa (Yellow Hat) Order by the Mongol chieftain Altan Khan about the year 1578.

The dGe-lugs-pa Order was founded by the great reorganizer of religious life in Tibet, Tsong-kapa (1357-1419). It was established as the ruling religious authority in Tibet by the arms of another Mongol chieftain, Gushri Khan, resulting in the final defeat of the King of Tsang in 1640. The first 'Dalai Lama' to exercise power in the Tibet was the famous fifth, and thus it can be fairly said that the Dalai Lamas have ruled Tibet from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, first under nominal Mongol suzerainty and subsequently under nominal Chinese suzerainty from 1721 onwards, when the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi drove Dzungar Mongol forces from Tibet. Chinese claims to suzerainty over Tibet thus date from the early eighteenth century onwards.

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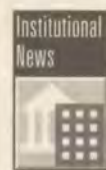
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Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir

The primary factors for the establishment of the Centre of Central Asian Studies in the University of Kashmir, Srinagar, were geographical proximity and socio-cultural identities of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with Central Asia, boosted by the linkage of the kingdom throughout the medieval times with the Silk Route network.

By **ABDUL MAJID MATTOO**



The idea of the establishment of an advanced research institute with multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary approach was conceived as early as the 1950s by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, then prime minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. The idea did not materialize until he again resumed the reins of the power in 1975. In the year 1976-77, a High Power Committee under a leading educationist and retired civil servant, Badar-ud-Din Tuybji, was appointed to ensure that reforms were introduced in the field of higher education, especially in the university system. The idea of the institute came up again and in consultation with Professor S.Nurul-Hasan (minister of education of the government of India) and Professor Rais Ahmad (vice-chancellor of Kashmir

University), the proposal for formal establishment of inter-disciplinary Research Centre was mooted in the apex body of University of Kashmir in 1978. The Centre of Central Asian Studies was founded as a consequence and Prof. S. Maqbool Ahmad was appointed its founding director. Later a specialized Museum of Central Asia was also added.

The State Government transferred a huge collection of antiquities and artefacts bearing Central Asian characteristics from the Tosha Khana (the state-owned treasure house) and State Museum including the world famous Aurel Stein Central Asian collection and antiques from the ancient site of Burzhome. In the year 1979-80, a High Power Committee for Evaluation of the Indian Universities recommended the inclusion of the Centre in the Area Study Scheme of the University Grants Commission of India, and since then, this Institute has continued to be an Area

Study Centre on Central Asia.

At the time of its inception, the area of study was determined by consulting Caucasus experts, and areas stretching from the region of the Caucasus to the Gobi desert and the Siberian Steppes to the northern region of the Indian Subcontinent were included in its scope. But the thrust was mainly on Turkistan (both Western and Eastern), the scheme of study was holistic in character with a stress on multidimensional interaction of cultures in the region and its impact on society, religion, culture, administration, literature, politics, economy, languages, urbanization, and education was the core area of study.

With such a broad canvas additional academic staff was appointed to the Centre, supporting infra-structural facilities, plus financial support was given for the in-depth study of the Area in socio-historical perspective.

The breakup of the USSR and the liquidation of the socialist model of change broke its Super Power Myth. The unipolar world emerged on the scene. A dozen independent countries came into being, and Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzia, Ka-

zakhstan, and Tajikistan in Central Asia also declared independence. Hence, the scope of this Research Institute was widened yet again. Scholars began to take a growing interest in the development of the Centre, and some renowned academics are associated with the academic programmes of the faculty.

Central Asia with its diversified socio-political and economic background had been a hub of activities and was rightly termed the cradle of human civilization. The Silk Route network connecting East and West had crisscrossed the entire region and consequently had knitted the countries into a unique civilization for centuries.

In the recent past, it was the focus of the two major imperial powers, Great Britain and Russia, and the area was the playground of the Great Game. The socialist annexation after the October 1917 Revolution sealed the future of the countries and they remained in oblivion for 70 years, but now the meshes of the iron curtain have melted in the wake of USSR breakup and Central Asia is again in focus. This not purely on economic considerations. The social revolution which is shaping the East has a part

to play. The Asian giants are thrusting up their heads to determine their genuine place in the nations of the world, a phenomenon which is drawing the attention of scholars, academics, area analysts, and economists. The whirlpool is bursting out of its confines. The Afghanistan situation, the prolonged transitional pangs in Tajikistan, and the Iranian model on the fringes are other pieces of the jigsaw puzzle.

Several questions with far-reaching consequences are emerging. Will Central Asian countries adhere to the greater traditions of Islam, as advocated, encouraged, and propagated by the Sufi Schools of Thought? Will Central Asia be forced to realign with Russia? Have the peoples of Central Asia the determination to safeguard and maintain their independence? Being virtually land-locked, can they forge independent economic policies? What will be their role in the unipolar world? Will their historical traditions allow them to embrace the reactionary and fanatic model of Islam? Will the Hanafi School of law again emerge as a beacon of light in such pitch darkness? The list of such questions is long, hence the study of the area with a multidisciplinary approach is essential. ■

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SEPTEMBER 1998

Dear Editor,

In 'IIAS Newsletter' No.13, Dr McKay published the book review of my book 'Russia's Tibet File'. Thank you and also Dr McKay for paying attention to a very important problem in the history of international relations in Central Asia, which are closely connected with the present-day Tibetan issue.

I cannot let the review pass unchallenged and would like to add some notes to it. Dr McKay treats with some caution the claim in my book that there is not a single document in the Russian Foreign Ministry archives which provides evidence of Russian interest in Tibet from an economic, military, or diplomatic point of view. But this is no more than the truth.

Not only do Russian archives not provide evidence of this Russian influence, the British quoted in books by British authors are equally silent on the matter. Let us rule out old historical reminiscences of some eighteenth century military expeditions sent by the Russian emperors Peter the First and Paul the First to conquer India, as well as rhetorical exercises in press in the first half of the nineteenth century on the theme of the Russian threat to India. At the end of the nineteenth century, Lord Curzon used such hoary chestnuts to argue that Russian involvement in Tibet posed a serious threat to India and that once again Russia was set to conquer India. Lord Curzon certainly ex-

aggerated the 'Russian threat' for his own purposes.

'Russia's Tibet File' admits to the use of the threat and accepts Dr McKay's claim that the 'British Foreign Office were totally uninterested in Tibet, and horrified by the expansionist activities of the Indian Government whose concern for Tibet endangered Anglo-Chinese relations'. We can therefore come to terms and agree that the British archives do not have either document, which could show British interest in Tibet from an economic, military and diplomatic point of view.

If this is so, how then should the 'The Great Game' be understood? Since neither Russia nor Great Britain had any interest in Tibet, who played 'The Great Game'? Dr McKay says that 'The Great Game' designated 'the legendary struggle between British and Russian frontiersmen for control of the Central Asian territory between their two empires'.

In contradiction to this, I have to say that the so-called struggle has been attributed by historians not to frontiersmen but to the Great Powers and their policies and politicians. They tried to play fast and loose with Tibet. The image of Tibet as a pawn in the game of the Great Powers has become trivialized. Many authors have unheedingly repeated the comparison of this country with a pawn in the game of chess, as a country which had

no independent role of its own in the historical process. The source of what is doubtless a delusion can be found at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Tibet stepped onto the international scene, and the contemporary great powers found themselves obliged to formulate their political credo towards this country. At that time the head of the India Office in the British government, Lord Hamilton, in his letter to the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, wrote 22 August 1901: 'The Tibetans are but the smallest of pawns on the political chessboard, but castles, knights and bishops may all be involved in trying to take that pawn'.

The book review says: 'The Great Game was fought by frontiersmen on both sides, not politicians and bureaucrats in European capitals. Russian frontier officers such as Przevalsky and Grombchevsky were keen to contest control of Tibet as my British officers were.' However Przevalsky and Grombchevsky have won themselves a niche in world science as travellers and researchers. They were not frontier officers. The Russian as well British and American Encyclopaedias refer to Przevalsky only as 'traveller' and 'explorer'.

It should be borne in mind that Russia's frontiers were separated from the border with Tibet by many hundreds of kilometres of Afghanistan as well as by Sinkiang in China and the territories of British India. These distances made it absolutely impossible for the Russian officers to control Tibet.

Dr McKay is quite right in saying that politicians and bureaucrats in European capitals did not participate

in the Great Game, this presumption is proved in Russia's Tibet file. In addition to documents, we need only recall that about 75 years ago in London an important official of the Tsarist Russia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nabokoff, who had taken part in negotiations between Lhasa's emissary, Agvan Dorjiev, and the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed his astonishment about fears engendered by Russian policy towards Tibet. He called these fears a 'comedy of errors' based on 'fancies' rather than facts.

The book review poses a very precise question: 'Were the British the only team playing the 'Great Game'? The precise answer is yes, the British were the only team playing the 'Great Game'. Hitting the nail on the head we can say that this was not London's cup of tea, but that of Lord Curzon and the British Government in India. In his 'Buddhism in Russia: the Story of Dorjiev Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar' (London, 1993) J. Snelling wrote that Curzon, a committed imperialist, was the key figure in this 'Great Game', the man who changed British policy towards Tibet from one of 'patient waiting' to an 'impatient hurry' (P103). This 'hurry' led to the Younghusband mission of 1904, under the pretext of the alarm aroused by Dorjiev's negotiations in St. Petersburg. Snelling confirms that in spite of Curzon's alarmist letters to London about Russian shipments of arms, and Cossacks sent to Tibet, in actual fact no Russian arms or personnel were discovered by Younghusband during his mission to Lhasa. Russia simply was not playing the Tibetan game.

Since 'Russia's Tibet File' and Dr McKay's book review have revealed

and stated that neither frontiersmen nor statesmen fought the Great Game and using Dr McKay's words 'the Great Game is one of the most enduring of the British imperial mythologies'; neither Russia, nor Great Britain had economic, military, or diplomatic interests in Tibet, we must stand firm together and declare that there were no Anglo-Russian conflict in Central Asia, and we can collaborate in correcting a very old historiographical error and eliminate the so-called Anglo-Russian rivalry in Tibet as an instrument when describing international relations in this region of Asia.

M. Kuleshiv

Moscow

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Peter Richardus

TIBETAN LIVES:

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AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Sussex: Curzon Press,

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South Asia



BANGLADESH • BHUTAN
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NISAS: Studying South Asia

One question frequently put to associates of the Netherlands Institute of South Asian Studies (NISAS) is: 'South Asia, is that Iran, India, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam?' This question comes from many quarters. Journalists, managers of internationally operating companies, even fellow academics are thoroughly puzzled by the specific territorial content of that elusive term 'South Asia'.

By OLIVIER IMMIG & JAN VAN HEUGTEN

Institutional News
During a visit to Peshawar University we quite unexpectedly found ourselves facing a huge mural map of Central Asia. Specifically included in it was Afghanistan. Others consider Afghanistan to form part of Southwest Asia, and sometimes even Pakistan is included as well. However, Pakistan is generally considered to form part of South Asia. One reason for a somewhat confused definitional status of both countries may well be that in colonial times, viewed from Delhi, the tribal areas across the River Indus and in Afghanistan, were always defined as a transitional area between British India alias South Asia, and the

Middle East. This tribal area was a ceaseless source of anxiety to the British Raj.

Another reason for these diverging territorial definitions may have been the dominant position of India on the Subcontinent. India often equals 'South Asia' in the perception of many. This leaves little room for other entities on the South Asian map, thus forcing them to become part of another regional unit. To be sure, so far nobody has had a last say about the definite demarcation of South Asia, and where another region actually begins. Suggestions are welcome. However, it is important to state categorically that Afghanistan and Pakistan are indissolubly intertwined. So are Afghanistan and Tadjikistan, and Pakistan and India. This constitutes the main area studied by associates of the NISAS.

The NISAS was founded as an independent research institute in 1992 to carry out its own research programmes and publish its results. It was created by a group of enthusiastic visitors to India and, at one time, Afghanistan. They were well aware of, if not actually disturbed by, the fact that thorough academic research on contemporary developments in South (West) Asia was indeed a rarity in the Netherlands. Although all tumultuous developments in the region, in particular those concerning Afghanistan since the late seventies, have attracted a huge press coverage, relatively little academic research has taken place. There was a lack of both specialists and funds.

The most important task of the institute is to carry out studies on contemporary political, economic, religious, and military developments in the region. The results of these studies should be made available to specialists and the general public alike, thereby broadening the scope of interest in the region. The NISAS carries out interdisciplinary research combining the fields of Political Sciences,

History, Religion, (International and Islamic) Law, Social Sciences, Military Science, and Economics. This interdisciplinary approach seems to be particularly well suited to a region where religious strife, regional imbalances, ethnic separatism, uneven economic development, social inequality and injustice, illiteracy, and rampant corruption obstruct larger processes like nation-state building and national economic development.

Although the NISAS has remained a relatively small institute, nowadays its associates co-operate in radio broadcasts, hold lectures, give country-briefings to workers of companies, NGOs, and the Dutch government, and exchange thoughts and views on the Kashmir tangle, recent developments in Tadjikistan and Islamic opinions with both Western and South Asian scholars. Academia and the commercial world are often, literally, worlds apart, in spite of the introduction of market-economy oriented principles in so many quarters of research. The NISAS aims at connecting academic analysis to practical applications like feasibility stud-

ies, country/location reports, and briefings.

Recent publications are a book entitled *Pakistan: Een kennismaking met politieke ontwikkelingen, islam en cultuur in een jonge natie-staat* (Introduction to the New State of Pakistan: Political developments, Islam and culture); *De 'islamitische' economie van Pakistan* (The 'Islamic' Economy of Pakistan); and an article entitled *Mullahs aan de macht in Kaboel* (Mollahs New Rulers in Kabul).

The following publications are in preparation: a book with the working title *Existence against All Odds: Pakistan at fifty* ('Vijftig jaar Pakistan. Bestaanrecht verzekerd, toekomst ongewis'); a brochure entitled *Origins of the Sunnite dictatorship in Kabul* ('Sunnitische dictatuur in Kaboel') a book on the history of Afghanistan, and a somewhat more analytical brochure on the Kashmir dispute.

We hope we have been able to whet your appetite about the particular activities of a small institute like ours. We consider it most important, however, that similar initiatives may take place. ■

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Maharashtrian Culture & Society

'House and Home in Maharashtra', edited by Irina Glushkova and Anne Feldhaus (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998) is the first of two volumes featuring the proceedings of the Vth International Conference on 'Maharashtra: Culture and Society' held in May, 1995, in a picturesque vicinity of Moscow.

By EUGENIA VANINA

Publication
Every one of the past seven Maharashtra conferences was distinguished by a particular theme, or a keyword of discussion.

For the Moscow convention it was the 'ghar', a term which in Marathi and many other Indian languages signifies the three Hs: House, Home and Hearth. The choice was made because a great variety of notions, relations, socio-historical processes and ethno-cultural phenomena are reflected by, centred around or connected with, the 'ghar' in all three of its manifestations.

The volume is divided into four sections. The first, 'House and Home Reconstructed', begins with an article by Tatyana Elizarenkova, who investigates the Rgveda for the lexical and grammatical implications of the 'house' which was perceived as 'home' by the Vedic Aryans. Analysing the Prakrit anthologies, Victoria Vertogra-

dova reconstructs the structural and spatial types of village houses in different ecological surroundings and correlates these with behavioural patterns of the village women. Vasudev L. Manjul's study reveals philosophical and emotional implications of human shelter as reflected in the Jnaneshvari, the celebrated Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgita. Irina Glushkova discusses the various emotional, value and behavioural aspects of 'ghar' using Marathi folk sayings and proverbs as source. Narendra Dingle depicts the architectural types of the traditional Maharashtrian residence, as relevant to different regions and ecological conditions of the country and pin-points their peculiarities in connection with the psychological concepts of extroversion and introversion.

Section II embraces papers on 'Women in their Parents' Home and their In-laws' Houses'. This problem, which has such a deep imprint upon the society and culture of India as a whole and Maharashtra in particular, is discussed on the basis of fieldwork

and different types of texts. Anne Feldhaus explores the goddesses of Maharashtra, who are in most cases looked upon as married women thus sharing all social and emotional notions of a marital home ('sasar') and maternal home ('maher'). The antithesis of the two stations in female life is an integral part of the women's folk-songs either in Maharashtra, or in other parts of India or in the Indian community of Surinam, as shown in the paper by Indira Junghare. The 'sasar-maher' opposition was widely used both in directly physical and in spiritual meaning. However Meera Kosambi in her article based upon the XIXth century life narratives of several distinguished women of Maharashtra who demonstrate that neither 'sasar' nor 'maher' was a woman's own home, but both were places of oppression.

Section III, 'Home and Household' deals with a wide spectre of relations between an inmate and his/her household. James Laine analyses classical and medieval Marathi texts to reconstruct a figure of a male household and denote his social duties, value system, and role within and without his household. This theme is continued by Mahadev L. Apte whose material is contemporary Marathi biographical literature, which offers an

insight into the domestic atmosphere and its role in the genesis of a personality. Philip C. Engblom discusses the difficulties in translating the word 'ghar' as used (and sometimes purposely not used) in different psychological, social and cultural meanings by modern Marathi writers. Suman Belwalkar makes a socio-linguistic survey of Marathi language and its dialects as used inside and outside home, in various social surroundings and life situations. Kalyan Kale's paper on kinship terms in Marathi discloses the intricate web of relationships between the inmates of the house.

Section IV, 'Gods and Devotees at Home' depicts the sphere of religion and devotion inside the house. Mahesh Elkunchwar reflects upon the significance of the 'devghar', the Maharashtrian household shrine, and the diminishing of the house gods' integrative role with the present-day split of the traditional joint family. Tatyana Oranskaya describes the modern religious movement aimed at the reintroduction of the Vedic agnihotra ritual into the modern houses in Maharashtra in order to enforce ecological and spiritual well-being of the family and its integration. Sadanand More expounds the understanding of the 'ghar', both in ideal and practical implications, as dictated by

the teachings and social values of the Varkari Panth, Maharashtra's most popular 'bhakti' tradition, which, although of medieval origin, still influences the life of millions. Cornelia Mallebrein in the paper based upon extensive fieldwork among the Maharashtrian tribals, describes the household deities hidden in the baskets inside the house 'devghars' by the Kokna people.

As a whole, the book is featured by a variety of themes, but is not a random selection of papers. All contributions are related to the main topic of discussion and grouped in a logically productive way to present a unified picture of the 'ghar', its spatial dimensions, inside relationships, religious and emotional implications. The authors represent different schools of Indology, specializations and methodological approaches which in this or that way compliment each other and produce a welcome example of multi-disciplinary studies.

The second volume, entitled 'Home, Family and Kinship in Maharashtra' is now in press with the OUP, Delhi, and is expected to be released by the end of this year. It concentrates mainly upon historical, sociological, and political aspects of the problem. ■

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Tradition and Innovation: The Shifting Boundaries of a Popular South Indian Theatre

This report describes a unique theatrical event produced by the members of the Tamil Nadu Kattaikkuttu Kalai Valarcci Munnerra Sangam and performed in three rural towns of Tamil Nadu in March 1998. It appeared earlier in a slightly different version as a newspaper article in *The Hindu* of 31 May 1998.

By MINA SWAMINATHAN



The Tamil Nadu Kattaikkuttu Kalai Valarcci Munnerra Sangam is a grassroots association, which promotes the interests of professional Kattaikkuttu actors and musicians in Tamil Nadu in South India. It was established in Kanchipuram in 1990 by a group of seventeen performers. At present it has over two hundred members. Its main activities include (1) training in the Kattaikkuttu theatre of (working) children and young people in the rural parts of northern Tamil Nadu, (2) the organization of an annual Kattaikkuttu Festival, and (3) the production of innovative plays on themes which are relevant to the local society. Kattaikkuttu (also known as Kuttu and Terukkuttu) is a theatre traditionally performed by professional male actors and musicians in the northern parts of Tamil Nadu. It is characterized by an epic story repertoire, featuring especially the Mahabharata, and a heroic style of acting.

The special performance of the Mahabharata by a group of Kattaikkuttu performers on the occasion of the Eighth Annual Kattaikkuttu Festival was memorable for the number of firsts – the number of barriers broken and the chance to observe a living tradition in the process of growing by innovation. To begin with: this was the first (and only) time in living memory that an effort was made to stage the entire Mahabharata in a single night. For P. Rajagopal, writer and director of the play, this was a special Golden Jubilee offering, a tribute from Kuttu artists to India's fiftieth year of Independence. This nine-hour show – no Peter Brook copy – has to be seen in the context of the Kattaikkuttu tradition. Theatrical companies performing in this tradition normally take ten or more nights to perform the Mahabharata, and even then only certain major events are presented in detail, some are summarized, and others left out. Even ten nights of eight-hour performances, it is felt, is not enough to do justice to the mighty epic. What was unique here was the attempt to compress the entire repertoire of Kuttu, with all its richness and subtlety, into a one-night show, to recapture the grandeur of the epic's sweep without sacrificing the characteristics of the form.

Another first: it was the first time in the world of professional Kuttu

companies that such a large group of artists played together – fifty performers (not including the musicians and supporting cast) from nearly twenty Kuttu companies, some playing multiple roles, necessitating an extra large acting space and several dressing rooms. Not merely a logistic and organizational feat, which it surely was, even to get together all the artists, each with a rigorous calendar of engagements; but even more so, the co-operation and team work needed to bring



PHOTO BY DAKSHINAN / © TAMIL NADU KATTAIKKUTTU KALAI VALARCCI MUNNERRA SANGAM, KANCHIPURAM

about a harmonious and well integrated performance among so many talented but highly individualistic performers.

And most unique of all: it was the first time that both men and women played together on a Kattaikkuttu stage! It is well known that this traditional theatre is an all-male form; the first performance by women artists was put together by Rajagopal himself in 1997, when an all-women cast of twelve performers drawn from another theatrical genre and trained in Kattaikkuttu staged *Vilvalaiippu* or *Draupadi's Wedding*. That was daring enough, and drew gasps of astonishment not only for the sight of women performing Kuttu, in full kattai vesham (heroic, usually male role characterized by the characteristic ornamentation and demanding great physical stamina), but even more for their immensely polished and brilliant performance. (Some said they were even better than the regular male performers!)

Mind-boggling

But this time, just to make it more complex, bewildering, and delightful, both men and women played both men's and women's roles! It was gender bending at its most subversive, hilarious, and pointed, standing every cliché on its head, making the audience chortle with glee at times and freeze with emotion at others. The play begins with two Kattiyakkarans (clowns-cum-heralds), one female and the other male, and is carried along by them – their earthy humour and ribald jokes become all the more saucy when the audience knows, for example, that 'she' is playing a 'he' playing at being a 'she'. The heroine of the play, *Draupadi*, is finely por-

most hilarious moments. In pairs like the gypsy couple (*Kuravan* and *Kuratti*) and the hunter couple (*Vetan* and *Vetatti*) genders were invariably reversed – the man playing the wife, the woman the husband. A bevy of seven beauties dancing the *kummi* turned out, on inspection, to consist of three woman and four men, all sinuously graceful; the Kuttu version of the striptease, in which the performer wears five or seven saris one on top of the other, and skilfully removes them one by one in a dazzling sleight of hand, was enacted by a well-known male actor.

And so it went, from one mind-boggling act to the next, till one did not know who was who. And the cul-

artistically satisfying and acceptable to the audience, that traditions grow, adapt and change; by such small increments and accretions do traditions evolve, responding to the ever-changing needs of the people. And this may be even more true of the folk art forms than of the so-called classical forms.

Those who like to believe that the 'folk arts' are 'pure' forms crystallized at a certain period and frozen in that perfection for ever after, like museum pieces, for our delectation, and who raise alarms from time to time about their impending death, are only deluding themselves. Folk art forms are constantly evolving, because they are, have to be, always in tune with people's tastes and needs. And who knows what they were like two hundred years ago? Living performers can testify that the Kuttu of today is not what it was fifty years ago. One can constantly observe the relics and survivors of particular historical periods – the songs of the freedom movement, as well as contemporary film songs; the synthetic saris of the Sixties as well as the T-shirts of the Nineties; the heraldic cries (in English) of the British 'kutcheries' as well as those of the ancient Tamil kings; striped pyjamas-suits, rinsel crowns, cricket caps, cane under-skirts, and wooden ornaments, happily co-existing, cheek by jowl. Only the self-styled 'conservationists' are uncomfortable at the sight of these anachronisms and contradictions – the bearers of the living tradition know that they are the signs of life and growth, of evolution and adaptation. In art as in biology, a static form is a dead form – and by that token, Kuttu is alive and well. Long live Kuttu! ■

The marriage of *Draupadi* and *Arjuna* – *Draupadi* performed by a well-known male actor and *Arjuna* by a woman performer. A humorous scene involving the female and male Kattiyakkarans and an oil-vendor.

trayed by an excellent male player; so also are some other female parts considered important in the Kuttu form – *Ponnuruvi*, the wife of *Karna*, *Hidimbi* and *Mohini*. A variety of other smaller female parts were also played, as usual, by skilled male actors.

The women were just as good at the impersonation game. Donning the kattai which typically signifies a heroic warrior part, a woman actor (the word 'actress' sounds wrong in this context) gave a splendid rendering of the lustful and loud-voiced *Kichaka* – the bouncing gait, the stride, the chest-thumping boasts alternating with pathetic wheedling and pleading – a rendering of *Kichaka* which perhaps few men could have excelled, and yet somehow she managed subtly to subvert his lust and turn him into a pitiful figure. *Arjuna*, in his various aspects, was played by four people at different phases of the story, by a man or woman as required.

But it was in the comedy scenes that gender switching provided its

mination of that mad, wild whirligig of seemingly artless gender fun and frolic, concealing a well-orchestrated series of well-crafted performances, was the realization of what art is all about – art is the outcome of skill, practice, training, devotion, understanding, what you will – but not gender. That art transcends gender was the lesson, and the audience loved learning it.

Living tradition

Innovation and tradition: from that magical night came yet another painlessly learnt lesson – of how traditions are and how they grow and renovate themselves. For these many 'firsts' were all the inventions of one man, a very traditional Kuttu performer and (teacher) belonging to a very traditional art form and heir to a very particular family tradition, of which he is justifiably proud. And he is and innovator? Yes, that is why – because it's by such innovations from within, daring in their time, but soon accepted if they are found

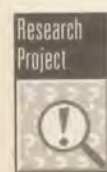
THE MAHABHARATA PRODUCTION

has been recorded on video. Copies are available from: Tamil Nadu Kattaikkuttu Kalai Valarcci Munnerra Sangam, 31, Selva Vinayakar Koil Street, Vedasala Nagar, Sevilimedu Post, Kanchipuram-631 502, India, tel. +91 4112 24 517/26 525. Mina Swaminathan is one of the advisors to the Tamil Nadu Kattaikkuttu Kalai Valarcci Munnerra Sangam.

Labour and Nationalism in Sholapur, Western India, 1918-1939

On 7 and 8 May 1930, in response to Gandhi's arrest, the industrial city of Sholapur witnessed violent disturbances, which led to a complete breakdown of civil order and culminated in the imposition of martial law. The stoning of the District Magistrate and the police, followed by the gutting of liquor shops, murders of policemen, and the burning of the District Court buildings, symbolized an open insurrection against the state, and stood in sharp contradiction to the Gandhian message of offering passive resistance.

■ By MANJIRI KAMAT



However, these incidents did not necessarily culminate in the promulgation of martial law. Sholapur, throughout the 1920s, had been influenced by Swarajist Congress politicians from Poona who had never quite come to terms with the Gandhian programme since the demise of Lokamanya Tilak in August 1920. Moreover, the Non-Co-operation Campaign in Sholapur had been an elitist and lukewarm affair. It therefore seems paradoxical that the Deccan city of Sholapur should have responded so dramatically to Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement. Recently, in a completed doctoral project, I have investigated this puzzle.

The Sholapur disturbances have been variously described, for instance as a working class upsurge against the state. We are also led to believe that in reaction to Gandhi's arrest, the textile workers of Sholapur, the dock labourers of Karachi, the transport workers of Calcutta, and some mill workers of Madras, acting as a unit, clashed with the government during the movement. The results of my research have contested these claims, and propose instead that the Sholapur disturbances were much more than a 'reflex action' in response to Gandhi's arrest. Indeed, the industrial and communal tensions experienced by the city during the 1920s were redirected towards the state, with the stimulus provided from the outside by Gandhi's call for Civil Disobedience.

It is also important to note that while the textile workers of Sholapur played a predominant part in the rioting of 7 May, it was the city's trading classes and the working poor who were worst affected by the trade depression, who joined in the next day to commit further acts of violence. This brought about a paralysis of the civil administration and culminated in the declaration of martial law. Nationalist currents had, therefore, come to be locally defined at Sholapur and the responses to them were shaped by the local political context. In the decade that followed, these responses appear to have been controlled, partly due to the role played by the state in the aftermath of martial law and also owing to the transformations occurring within the Congress.

The attacks on police and police stations, a characteristic feature of the Sholapur disturbances, evoke parallels with the Chauri Chaura episode of

4 February 1922 when policemen were burnt alive in a police station by peasants in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, northern India. It has been argued that the peasants' ideas about Gandhi's 'orders' were at variance with those of the local Congress-Khilafat leadership. In the case of Sholapur, this dichotomy is completely indiscernible. Given the uncertain local context, the riots were a delayed response to the mixed messages imparted by the Sholapur Congressmen in the months preceding Gandhi's arrest. While both Chauri Chaura and Sholapur invited instant government repression, in the latter case culminating in martial law, the Congress strategy in May 1930 was markedly different from that in February 1922.

Martyrs

Following the violence at Chauri Chaura, Gandhi called off the Non-Co-operation Campaign and his decision was endorsed by the Congress. In 1930, Gandhi's political strategy was flexible enough to accommodate sporadic instances of violence and he seemed unwilling to risk calling off the movement, as he had done on receiving news of events in Chauri Chaura. The Sholapur riots were, indeed, condemned by Gandhi, and the Congress expressed regret at the outbreak of 'mob violence'. However, towards the end of May 1930 there was a distinct shift in the Congress strategy. The Martial Law Regulation banning the Congress flag at Sholapur was magnified into a question of national honour and the Congress made it an issue for the launching of a 'non-violent' flag satyagraha. The Congress satyagrahis ritualizing the ban on the flag, by offering passive resistance, were mocking the Sholapur episode. They also illustrated the discrepancy between the Congress agenda formulated from the outside and the local definition which Civil Disobedience had acquired in Sholapur.

Another facet my doctoral project dealt with was the nature of the Congress legacy in Sholapur today. While the riots have been forgotten, the excesses of martial law and the 'martyrdom' of the four Sholapur prisoners hanged in 1931, forms an important part of popular memory. The bronze-coloured busts of the four 'martyrs' erected at Balidan Chowk personify the Civil Disobedience movement in Sholapur. The construction of a monument at Chauri Chaura to commemorate the nineteen hanged men, it has been suggested, shows the coming to terms of the nation with the violence of 1922.

However, while the 1930 incidents at Sholapur are richly documented in bulky governmental files and publications, the subject has been largely neglected in existing historical writings. Imam Muchale, a press worker who participated in the riots, or Tulshidas Jadhav, the Secretary of the District Congress Committee in 1930, and many others are still alive for historical probings. My attempt has been to build up a picture of the riot and its dynamics, by putting pieces of a jigsaw puzzle together without heavily emphasizing the strengths of any one source. A vital technique in this regard has been to ask what a particular document or informant was not telling me rather than the information I was being offered. History writing on the basis of present-day oral accounts is equally fraught with dangers as is the conventional dependence on the official archive.

Metamorphosis

An investigation of this nature into the unusual incidents at Sholapur, which broke with prevalent norms,

may help to shed light on why disparate groups come together in an attempt to destroy symbols of state power, without any direction from the Congress or any other established locus of power. A study of Sholapur in these critical years also enhances our knowledge of the workings of the colonial state in moments of exceptional crisis, like that of Sholapur in May 1930. Perhaps, the divergent Congress strategies towards Chauri Chaura and Sholapur will illuminate our understanding of the metamorphosis within the Congress in particular and the nationalist movement in general.

My project has also tried to serve another purpose. Sholapur was the third largest centre of the cotton textile industry in the Bombay Presidency. Yet apart from a single study which focuses on trade union organizations in the city, the working classes of the Deccan city have been ignored by historians interested in labour. A study of Sholapur labour, therefore, contributes to our understanding of the Indian working classes and eases the way for a comparative

analysis between different centres before we proceed to make generalizations based on a few major case studies. My thesis has sought to situate workers' politics in Sholapur in the local political context and investigates workers' responses to the nationalist movement and the economic changes affecting the Sholapur cotton textile industry between the two world wars. Such an investigation is crucial to an analysis of the 1930 disturbances and the developments thereafter, in the locality and the nation. ■

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Tabo, A Lamp for the Kingdom

Tabo monastery, situated in the Spiti Valley in northern India, was founded in the year AD 996, and is the oldest continuously functioning Buddhist structure in the Himalayas. Due to its location on the periphery between the Indian and Tibetan cultural worlds it has functioned as an intermediary between the two cultures, most particularly during the tenth and eleventh centuries when the second and final transmission of Buddhism from India to Tibet saw a period of tremendous religious vitality in the region.

■ By ALEX MCKAY



In more recent times the great Italian Tibetologist, Giuseppe Tucci, laid the foundations for a study of Tabo with a brief visit there, and his pioneering work is given due credit here. Tucci's esteemed pupil, Luciano Petech, has contributed an introduction to the history of western Tibet to this volume, an important essay which will be an invaluable basis for future research.

Tabo is most renowned for the beauty and variety of its artistic decoration, being open to influences from Central Asia, western Tibet, Kashmir and even Gujarat. There are numerous remarkable frescoes and sculptures surviving there, 234 of which are reproduced in this impressive volume - mostly in colour. These include many unique and outstanding works, indicative of the rich cultural heritage of the region. One of the main fascinations - at least for the historian - is that many of the figures depicted in the wall-paintings

may be identified as historical characters, including both religious and secular individuals such as aristocratic patrons of the monastery. Nor are other sections of the population ignored, with depictions of pilgrims and nomads.

The volume describes the physical and historical setting of the monastery, with a proposed chronology of its first century of existence, includes an interview with the current abbot,

examines its artistic and architectural heritage and discusses the emergence of an artistic style in the region. There is additional material concerning many related religious and cultural aspects of the region, in particular an analysis of clothing styles, a new translation by Steinkellner and Luczanits of an inscription first recorded by Tucci, along with an extensive bibliography.

This is an important contribution to the field by one of the foremost Himalayan art specialists, very reasonably priced, which will appeal to all those with an interest in the history, religion and culture of the Himalayas. The quality of its photographic reproductions also ensures its place on coffee tables as well as library shelves. ■

Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter
TABO, A LAMP FOR THE KINGDOM: EARLY INDO-TIBETAN BUDDHIST ART IN THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS
Thames & Hudson/Skira 1987
ISBN 88 8118 209 2, 289 pp.

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Pierre Audinet
L'ÉTAT ENTREPRENEUR EN INDE ET AU BRÉSIL. ÉCONOMIE DU SUCRE ET DE L'ETHANOL.
Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998, 306 pp.
ISBN 2-7384-6385-1

Niaz Ahmed Khan
A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FOREST RESOURCE USE: CASE STUDIES OF SOCIAL FORESTRY IN BANGLADESH,
Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 1998, 368 pp. ISBN 1-84014-5730

Kashmir and the United Nations

No matter the complexion of governments in India and Pakistan over the years, the dispute over Kashmir has remained the most contentious issue between the countries. Emergence of a nationalist-oriented coalition government in New Delhi in 1998 served to highlight the fragility of mutual confidence. India, introspective, and defiant following condemnation of its nuclear tests, appears in no mood to compromise or even consider a workable solution to the problem of the territory which is regarded by most Indians as an integral part of the republic. Pakistan, with a lack-lustre but idiosyncratic leader of a high-majority government, and ever suspicious of its larger neighbour, is not inclined to consider Kashmir in the context of Indian nationalism, and has adopted a robust stance bilaterally and internationally.

■ By BRIAN CLOUGHLEY



The United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) has been stationed in Kashmir since January 1949. There have been suggestions that it be disbanded because India contends, concurrently and perhaps confusingly, that Indian-administered Kashmir is part of a State of the Republic but that discussions concerning the region should be bilateral between itself and Pakistan, excluding the UN and thus justifying the Mission's elimination. No such proposal has been made formally, but Indian diplomacy is pitched at claiming that UNMOGIP is moribund.

India's contention that the UN no longer has a part to play in the Kashmir dispute may be defensible in terms of altered circumstances since passage of UN resolutions relevant to the controversy; but it appears there is no premise on the part of the

UN that would satisfy India's interpretation of affairs. There is a potential problem of induction inherent in the Indian stance, in that fundamental questioning of Article 34 of the UN Charter (that the Security Council 'may investigate any dispute...') might give rise to serious complications.

Nevertheless, there are reasons to examine the standing of the UN concerning Kashmir. The dispute has lasted for a half-century without there being a definitive approach to resolution, other than force of arms. It caused two wars; has given rise to an insurrection resulting in over twenty thousand deaths; and exists in a legalistic limbo in which the inhabitants are denied a voice in deliberations that might determine their future. The dispute, Alastair Lamb says, began 'as a contest over rights to a territory, not the struggle to establish the wishes of a people.' Yet it is a determination of the United Nations that 'We, the people' should 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,' and it is evident that the issue of Kashmir is the most

likely catalyst for conflict in the Subcontinent. At a time when Pakistan and India are consolidating their nuclear and missile programs a focus on their major dispute would appear timely, and attempts to remove a probable conflict catalyst desirable and even urgent.

Patience

UN resolutions of 1948 and 1949 are clear in their intent that a plebiscite should be held 'to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.' This was endorsed by Prime Minister Nehru in that '... my Government, animated by a sincere desire to promote the cause of peace and thus to uphold the principles and the prestige of the United Nations, have decided to accept the resolution.'

But the plebiscite arrangement, to which so many dedicated international figures gave their attention at the behest of the Secretary General, at no stage of negotiation by representatives or rapporteurs appeared likely of adoption by either country, albeit for different reasons. The report by Sir Owen Dixon of Australia is of special note as an admirable exercise in patience in addition to being a *tour de force*. Sir Owen summed up the situation in terms as pristine and relevant today as they were in 1950:

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is not really a unit geographically, demographically or economically. It is an agglomeration of territories brought under the political power of one Maharajah. That is the unity it possesses... The interests of the people, the justice as well as the permanence of the settlement, and the imperative necessity of avoiding another refugee problem all point to the wisdom of adopting partition as the principle of settlement and of abandoning that of an overall plebiscite.

Dixon's sagacity and commonsense are also plain in his summation that 'The continued maintenance of two armies facing one another across a cease-fire line is another matter. A danger to peace must exist while this state of things continues,' which proved predictive and perspicacious.

The Cease-fire Line (CFL) dividing Kashmir was mandated by the United Nations in 1949 and renamed but only slightly altered in 1972, following the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, when it was mutually delineated as the 'Line of Control,' or LoC. It was considered by representatives of both armies that there would be no point in defining the LoC in the wastes of the northeast where no troops were in place. Nor was there, for the area is of no economic or strategic importance. But in 1984 Indian troops occupied the Siachen Glacier, which action did not contribute to trust or stability in the Subcontinent and was in violation of the Simla Accord which noted that 'the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means...'

Special position

The territories are largely representative of the objectives of UN resolutions save in one aspect, and that important and apparently insoluble:

military presence. The countries maintain enormous forces in the disputed region.

An early proposal by the UN to assist in negotiations, if necessary by neutral mediation or by introduction of troops to hold ground while the two sides withdrew, was accepted by Pakistan and rejected by India. Following Pakistan's offer in September 1957 to withdraw its troops from the Cease-fire Line, India's representative Mr Krishna Menon declared that 'The Security Council dare not ask us to accept the introduction of foreign troops on our Sacred soil,' which sentiment may appear inconsistent with his prime minister's desire to 'uphold the principles and the prestige of the United Nations,' and with India's own contributions to UN peace-keeping missions, but is nonetheless definitive. The Bharatiya Janata Party does not appear to have views on Kashmir that are any more supple than those of Mr Menon in 1957. It holds that 'the root of the problem lies with the Nehru-Mountbatten original sin of granting article 370 and then internationalizing the issue by placing it before the United Nations.'

Article 370 of the Indian Constitution was intended 'to recognize the special position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and provide for that special position by giving special power to the President to apply the provisions of the Constitution to that State with such exceptions and modifications as the President might by order specify.' The region is thus given a different status to the States of India proper, and it is the BJP's stance that such distinction should not apply. The BJP has long 'been seeking Jammu and Kashmir's total integration with India.'

It is understandable that the Indian position concerning bilateral discussion of Kashmir is focused on alleged support for Kashmiri separatists by Pakistan. It is apparent that Pakistan provides such support, but India claims that it is physical and material and thus unlawful, while Pakistan avers that it is moral and political and thus a counter to alleged human rights violations in the Valley of Kashmir concerning which there have been critical reports by Amnesty International. But the countries appear reluctant to observe the obvious: that political posturing and exchange of insults will not solve the problem.

Independence

Elections in 'Azad' Kashmir have been in general as fair as elections can be in the volatile Subcontinent. In Indian-administered Kashmir the picture, although similar, has been distorted by the politics of the Center, in that the ruling party in New Delhi, usually the Congress, has in its quest for supremacy tended to corrupt the polity of the region. The Chief Secretary of Indian-administered Kashmir (IAK), Mr Ashok Jaitly, said in February 1998 that 'democracy [has] failed Jammu and Kashmir's eight million people' and it would be

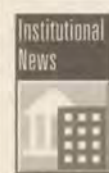
difficult to find an impartial commentator to disagree with this contention. The overriding problem, however, is that years of manipulation caused a rebellion which has fed upon reaction to it and created an atmosphere in which it will be difficult to build confidence. The majority Muslims of IAK are despondent concerning their future and have seized on an alternative whose only virtue is that India and Pakistan agree its inadmissibility: independence.

So what might be called a 'stand-still agreement' could serve to defuse tension. To draw the extremists of the guerrilla bands into talks may be much to ask of India, but it worked in the Sikh rebellion in Punjab. An Indian officer said to this writer in 1994 that efforts to crush the insurrection in Kashmir would go on 'for as long as it takes and as much as it takes,' which is perhaps a cruder approach than desirable and one that might be regarded as somewhat outdated in the field of conflict resolution. It appears there is not only a battle to be fought for the hearts and minds of the insurrectionists but for the attitudes of those who combat them. The way ahead will be difficult. The ice-breaker, however, could be Pakistan. It is time for Pakistan to acknowledge that 'Jammu and Kashmir' is now, whether legally or not, a part of India.

Indian-administered Kashmir will never be surrendered by an Indian government, anymore than 'AK' would be given up by Pakistan. The population of 'IAK' is ripe for more sophisticated processes of conciliation to be initiated by New Delhi. But it is Pakistan that could provide the impetus for this. First, it should indicate that Pakistan is prepared to accept the Line of Control as a border, provided there is mutual troop withdrawal from the Siachen Glacier area in which there is as senseless a conflict as has ever taken place. This would be supervised by UNMOGIP which would remain in the region. But the declaration of the LoC as a border is not simple. No matter the xenophobic determination of India to refuse mediation, the plain fact is that the two sides of themselves would never agree on detail, which is precisely why India takes the stance it does, and why Pakistan is content for that position to continue. An independent arbitrator is essential if the sides are to reach accord. Unfortunately it is on vanity and intransigence that the entire peace process could founder, with incalculable consequences for the region. ■

The Royal Nepal Academy

■ By YOGENDRA P. YADAVA



The Royal Nepal Academy (RNA) is the national institution for the promotion of Nepalese Studies and art. It is Nepal's oldest non-profit-making autonomous institution, chartered in 1957 by His Majesty's Government. Since its inception, the Academy has sought to foster Nepalese languages, literature, art, culture, and social sciences. It now consists of the following departments: 1. Language and Literature, 2. Culture and Social Sciences, 3. Drama and Music, and 4. Art and Craftmanship.

The RNA also aims to translate outstanding works into native and foreign languages, organize talks, seminars and conferences individually or in collaboration with other organizations, promote relations between the Academy and international academic institutions and present

awards to distinguished scholars in the related fields.

The Nepal Association of Fine Arts (NAFA), a part of the RNA, has been set up to foster fine arts, paintings, sculpture and the graphic arts. It runs an art gallery.

Equipped with a sophisticated offset press, the RNA has so far published about three hundred titles in Nepalese and foreign languages. It regularly brings out a number of journals including *Journal of Nepalese Studies* in English.

The Academy has a well-furnished indoor theatre for the performance of plays, songs and dances as well as for holding meetings. It has a group of eminent artists who stage their performances all over the country and abroad. ■

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Language Endangerment in Nepal

Nepal, a small Himalayan state, possesses a striking cultural diversity including linguistic plurality, largely because of its mountainous setting. This milieu confers on Nepal a unique position on the linguistic map of the world and makes it one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research.

■ By YOGENDRA P. YADAVA

Forum
No linguistic survey has so far been carried to identify Nepalese languages precisely. According to Grimes (1996), however, there are about one hundred languages and dialects spoken in Nepal. These languages (except Kusunda) belong to four language families: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic (Munda) and Dravidian.

Of these languages, Nepali, the language of the nation and the only official language, is the majority language spoken by fifty per cent of the total population. Quite a few of the minority languages have almost died out. The Tibeto-Burman family, appear to be threatened by extinction.

This situation of language endangerment in Nepal can be attributed to a number of circumstances: the lack of sufficient number of speakers, of a written literature and official initiatives, demographic conditions like large-scale urban migration and concomitant gradual change of linguistic habits among the younger generation, and complex socio-economic conditions like poverty, marriage patterns, negative attitudes of some native and majority language speakers, and so on. Of them, the foremost factor is the continual use of the dominant language as the only medium of education, mass media, administration, and employment. Since opportunities are open only to the speakers of the national language, it is natural for the speakers of minor languages to shift from their traditional languages to the language of the nation.

This process of language shift has gradually given rise to a situation, referred to as 'language endangerment'. If the existing situation continues, the dying languages are on the way to be replaced by the major languages (especially Nepali, the official language) and will eventually cease to be learned by children in future. This has already happened to several languages which now remain confined only to their speakers of old generation.

Responses to this crisis have been varied. Some people are indifferent, assuming that 'death is a natural phenomenon'. Other people, mainly

speakers of majority languages relish language shift with a sense of gratification, in that it will increase the number of people speaking their languages and reduce language diversity. In contrast, there is also a group of native speakers and social researchers who consider language shift and language death as a great loss to culture and human civilization.

This picture of the language situation in Nepal appears to be grim. It is high time that the government worked out some vital strategies for language maintenance and implement them with immediate effect. What is even more important is the commitment of speakers and language community. To quote Prof. Wurm's in this regard, 'what is needed is strong ethnic conscience of the native communities, as well as a policy of tolerance and support by the government and on the part of the national society.' ■

Yogendra P. Yadava
(yadava@yp.wlink.com.np) is attached to the Royal Nepal Academy, Kamaladi, Kathmandu, Nepal.

'Opportunities are open only to speakers of the national language'

Linguistics in Nepal

■ By YOGENDRA P. YADAVA

Institutional News
The Central Department of Linguistics was set up at Tribhuvan University in May 1996. It is long overdue in a country like Nepal, which is characterized by a striking linguistic diversity and cultural richness. This department offers academic programs leading to MA and Ph.D. degrees. It aims to provide in-depth expertise in linguistics and apply it to meet the requirements for Nepalese context. The department also organizes talks, short-term training and summer courses in general and applied linguistics.

In addition, the department also

(First) International Conference on Hindu Solidarity

Several Paris-based Hindu organizations got together on the premises of the UNESCO in Paris to show a resurgent face and boost their own flagging and splintered morale - following the success of the Hindu revivalist Bharatha Janata Party (BJP) in the recent Indian polls. For two arduous days, some thirty invited speakers and fifty observers were jolted by a few rousing speakers who harangued them on the need for unity among Hindus, while every twitch and gesture was channelled live to some 5000 subscribers all over Europe by Radio-Television Asia, a Sri Lankan Tamil enterprise based in Paris.

■ By T. WIGNESAN

Report
Was this the 'epoch-making' conference or 'earth-moving' event that the organizers had wished for? It was neither, but it gave the participants a chance to come together in a show of solidarity, in congenial surroundings, in an attempt to examine the plight of Hindus in the diaspora. High on the agenda was the tabling of resolutions calling for the preservation of Hindu culture and customs, and the outright condemnation of 'the atrocities perpetrated on Hindus and places of Hindu worship in Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Afghanistan'. Another recurrent bone of contention was the use of Tamil, instead of Sanskrit, in worship and rites both in temples and homes.

The conference themes of the 'State of Hindu Temples Today and Remedial Measures for their Protection', and 'Ethical Dilemma of International Hindu Diaspora and its Fu-

ture' carried both the days. This was by no means an academic conference: there was neither debate nor discussion; only one-sided tirades or ethereal eternal verities proffered in Tamil and English (the latter language sailing over the heads of the majority Sri Lankan Tamil audience) from the proscenium of speakers, accentuating the gulf between the 'high caste' of invited speakers and the 'lower castes' of unprotesting listeners.

The reason for this is not hard to gauge. Despite the support of six different Hindu associations, the organization of the conference itself fell into two pairs of inexperienced hands: Mr Sivachanemougam, the conference secretary and president of the Ramalinga Mission in Paris, and Mr Pushpalingam, the assistant secretary, from the Muthumariamman Temple in Paris. Most conference expenses were covered by the temple's fund-raising campaign.

Given this situation, it soon became evident why a 'tug-of-war' had ensued between the two 'secretarial' factions. The papers and speeches, on the one hand, promoted the thoughts of Ramalinga Vallalar, a nineteenth century Tamil pakṛi poet, and on the other, the plight of the persecuted and victimized Sri Lankan Tamils. The chairman's warnings on both days that the conference themes were not being adhered to went unheeded, and it soon became clear that Hindu solidarity was taking another severe beating to its unitary image.

Sanctity and Politics

The key-note address delivered by the philanthropist-industrialist president of the Ramalinga Mission, Dr Mahalingam, was based mainly on the works of three Tamil 'saints': Thirumoolar, Thayumanavar and Ramalinga Vallalar. It was rife with unsubstantiated claims, such as: 'Directly or indirectly, it [Hinduism] has influenced the formative tenets of every religion around the world', but it failed to reveal Hinduism's relevance to the coming age.

In a similarly styled introductory paper by Sivachanemougam, characteristic historical misreadings and religious misconceptions were

mixed with the usual platitudinous scriptural formulae for support. Even the always affable conference patron, Dr Avvai Natarajan followed suit. His one-page address claimed: 'The Tamils are widely known as the greatest temple builders renowned for their imposing structure, elegant sculpture, impressive sanctity and inspired divinity'.

The odour and splendour of sanctity was not completely absent from this first-ever solidarity meet in the persons of graceful white-haired swamis, if not in sackcloth, at least in saffron robes and multi-tiered garlands of beads: Santhalinga Ramaswamy Adigalar and Sithantha Sarabam, from Tamil Nadu, Veetamohanada from France, and Pranavananda from Mauritius, making similar calls for peace and prayer and the need to keep the faith burning on other shores through the constant practice of holy ritual and domestic religious observance.

The presence of Mr Chevada, president of 'Overseas Friends of BJP', Mr Upadhyay and Mr Hardas, both of the 'Vishwa Hindu Parishad', and Mr Mhasawade of the 'Hindu Swayamsevaka Sangh' in Britain, and their repeated affirmations of solidarity with Tamil Hindus only served to accentuate the fact that this was after all a get-together of Tamils.

Discussion

Only three academics participated with papers. Professor R.K. Seth, an aficionado of Tamil culture from J. Nehru University, delivered an airy version of Hinduism while citing Dr Mahalingam's claims that the Saiva faith flourished among the Tamils between 30,000 to 500 B.C. [sic] - due, no doubt, to reliance on astrology rather than carbon-dating - and while maintaining that 'Hinduism approached the subject of means and methods of spiritual realisation in a scientific spirit'. A paper by a Tamil academic in Paris tried to trace and bring together the two opposing forces of Hinduism: the Saiva ascetic and the Brahmanic sacrificial traditions, in order to forestall André Malraux's predictive dilemma that the 21st century would either see a total rejection or a total revival of religious fervour.

When it was all said and done everyone agreed that this was after all a 'beginning' and hoped the next conference to be convened, most probably in South Africa, would set right the shaky start. ■

Dr T. Wignesan (wignesh@aol.com) served with the French National Centre for Scientific Research (C.N.R.S.) at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.

In case of short-term affiliation, they can directly apply to:

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5 > 6 MARCH 1998
SURAT, INDIA

Understanding Health Care Systems

The Centre for Social Studies (CSS) at Surat organized an International Workshop on Understanding Health Care Systems with special focus on Malaria. It was sponsored by the British Government's Department of International Development and the British Council Division (New Delhi) and prepared by Dr Lobo (CSS) attached to the Malaria Control and Research Project being conducted in the Surat District.

■ By JAN BROUWER



The objectives of this workshop were to share the findings of a two-year long study by the Centre on community perceptions of malaria and local knowledge systems regarding health; to draw out clear messages for information and education for mobilizing people for health awareness, and the training of the health personnel; and to contribute to the development of culturally appropriate health interventions. The deliberations were centred on three themes: (a) community health needs, perceptions, and initiatives; (b) the state: health agenda, perspectives, and action; and (c) health care delivery: indigenous healers and private doctors.

In Prof. Kothari's keynote address one question stood central: why have the objectives of the National Malaria Eradication Programme not been achieved after so many years? He believes this was because the programme was unilaterally based on providing allopathic health care by outside doctors through infrastructure such as the Primary Health Care (PHC) centres. The problem is not so much one of geographical distance between the PHC and the target group, but one of cultural distance. Prof. Kothari praised the sponsors of the project for standing open to the incorporation of the Indigenous Knowledge Component into the Project, so that the 'cultural gap' between the government provisions and the indigenous healer and that between the beneficiaries and the interventionists can be narrowed.

Sharon Wilkinson (British Council Division, New Delhi) attributed the decline in effectiveness of the National Malaria Eradication Programme to the lack of an integrated control strategy and the fact that people are still largely ignorant about the mosquito-malaria link. Therefore the medical-technical components of the project need to be supplemented by 'an ethnographic component covering knowledge, attitudes, practices and behaviour in relationship to fever, with a special focus on malaria'.

Dichotomy

In a report session Dr Lobo concluded that 'a genuine understanding of the local habitat, culture, and values of people at village level is the only solution for making any intervention a success.' Hence people's

behaviour as well as their conceptualizations and perceptions have to be included in the baseline for the design and implementation of any health care policy. Dr Rama Baru (JNU, New Delhi) expressed two worries about the report: the emphasis on the dichotomy bio-medical/traditional, and the absence of any insight into the perceptions of the interventionist. The discussion remained inconclusive about the problem of validation of traditional curing methods and the issue of intellectual property right of indigenous treatment procedures. The participants agreed that a perception study should include the perceptions of all stakeholders.

Dr Purendra Among Prasad's conclusions let loose a lively debate. He stated that indigenous health care covers a much wider field than modern health care and includes both the individual and the community; the physical and the mental, the social and the ritual domains. Whatever medical system(s) the patient consults, the traditional healers are always included; and there is a constraint relationship between the patient and PHC doctors. Dr Brouwer suggested that the structural position of the healer in the local community has to be identified prior to any intervention taking place. As the healer serves all people in a locality we should not speak about the poorer sections but about the voiceless sections of society.

The participants agreed that the diverse types of healers have to be studied in more detail, looking closely at their relationship to social strata and the natural environment. Qualities such as the transfer of knowledge between healers and their capacity for innovation and adaptation have to be considered.

Indigenous knowledge

Dr Prasad opened the second day with a presentation on the Ethnography of PHCs. Among his conclusions were that (1) the state supports exclusively the modern system of medicine, ignoring the indigenous systems; and (2) although the PHC's success depends fully on the involvement of the local community, the effective utilization of local (human) resources is still to be operationalized.

The participants agreed that the project should divide its attention equally between indigenous and modern aspects, both horizontally and vertically. In this context Dr Michael Elmore-Meegam (International

Community for the Relief of Starvation and Suffering, Kenya) stated that community participation needs to be the epicentre of a new interactional model in order to achieve the social sustainability of the intended interventions.

The concluding session, chaired by Mrs Padma Prakash (EPW, Mumbai), brought three points to the fore. First of all the ethnology of the target groups needs to be mapped out; second, the research methodology of the Indigenous Knowledge component needs to be refined on the basis of clearly stated definitions. Thirdly the modern concepts of health etc. and the perceptions of the state need to be detailed in order to promote a sound interface between people's health and governing structures.

The organizers should be congratulated for having brought together specialists from the medical and social sciences as well as representatives of the bureaucracy in a fairly unique workshop in which ethnography was allowed to take centre stage. ■

Dr Jan Brouwer is the Director of the Centre for Advanced Research on Indigenous Knowledge (CARIKS), in Mysore, India.

Conference on South Asian Archaeology



The Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists will be held in Leiden, The Netherlands, from 5 to 9 July 1999. The conference is organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). The official language is English. Research papers are welcome on any aspect of the archaeology or art history of South Asia. There will be two sections, one on prehistoric archaeology, and the other on historical archaeology / art history. Those who want to participate are kindly requested to send a message to Congress Team SAA99, c/o Inter-

8 > 12 SEPTEMBER 1998
CHARLES UNIVERSITY, PRAGUE

15th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies

■ By THOMAS DE BRUIJN



A major, multi-discipline conference like the one held in Prague is to the participant like the proverbial elephant in a village of blind men: everyone touches a part of it and believes it to be the whole. After a joint opening session by professors Elizarenkova (Moscow) and Rothermund (Heidelberg), the conference diverged into a delta of numerous panels covering a range of historical, sociological, anthropological, cultural, and literary topics. This format restricts the participant's opportunity to 'surf' the many simultaneous panels and learn from other disciplines, which, besides delving deep into one's own field, is a purpose of such meetings. The inherent logistic problems of the much-heralded concept of multi-disciplinary studies become obvious on such occasions.

During the more in-depth experiences at this conference, as a convener of a panel on Sufism and early Islam and as a participant in a panel on the representation of marginality in modern South Asian literature, it sprang to mind that the approach from various disciplinary angles should be found in the limited space

of specific areas of research rather than across the vast expanse of the field of South Asian studies.

The Sufism and early Islam panel evolved from collaboration with scholars who work on the medieval and early modern religious literature in the Indian 'vernaculars'. In this area the interaction between the popular Sufi centers and Indian religious traditions has been a dominant feature which forced Indologists to cross over into the study of Islamic traditions in India, and vice-versa attracted Islamologists to the field of Indian religions. The role of Sufi-centers in providing a 'stage' for the emancipation of lower castes, challenging existing positions in the field of popular devotion and religious prestige, and offering a cosmogonically defined locus which facilitated settlements of nomads and others in many areas of South Asia, has instigated interesting comparisons with research into Sufi-traditions all over the Islamic world. The application of methodology from the cultural studies provides an interesting handle for a many-sided approach to the development of Indian Islamic traditions. As an example I proposed the application of the concept of the literary field as a continuous element in the development of Indian Islamic literature throughout its crossover into modernity.

Another example of the development of a multi-disciplinary approach within a specific field was the panel on modern literature. The theme of marginality turned out to be such a ubiquitous and fundamental element of modern fiction in the Indian languages, that the approaches put forward in the papers contributed to a varied and rich perspective on this issue. From the late nineteenth century writings to Arundhati Roy's award-winning fiction, the characters from marginal groups in society, the authors' experience of not fitting in with their environment, and the inherent marginalization of individuals in a modern urban society have been major elements in Indian writing. The tension between margin and centre, as represented in literature in many Indian languages, provides an amazingly manifold insight into the struggle with identity that went on throughout this century in all layers and corners of Indian society.

The conference, which was hosted by the Indian Institute of the Charles University, Prague, effectively brought together scholars in this broad field. Its success will undoubtedly be carried on in its next instance, at Edinburgh, in the year 2000. ■

Prof. dr. K.R. van Kooij, President of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Kern Institute, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Insular SW Asia



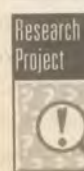
MADAGASCAR
MALDIVES
MAURITIUS
RÉUNION
SEYCHELLES

Sakalava outrigger-canoe at the Malagasy west coast

The First Malagasy

The Netherlands has occupied a niche in the history of Madagascar since Frederik de Houtman, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, wrote the first-ever dictionary of the Malagasy language, listing about two thousand words which he compared with their Malay equivalents to demonstrate the connection between the two languages. Subsequent research has served to confirm De Houtman's view that the Malagasy language may be classed as part of the Austronesian language family. The view generally accepted among modern scholars is that the closest relative of Malagasy is the Maanjan language of southeast Borneo.

By **STEPHEN ELLIS & SOLOFO RANDRIANJA**



The analysis of language, together with archaeology, anthropology, and such specialized skills as historical botany, is one of the techniques which, in the absence of documents, may be used to determine the earliest history of human settlement in Madagascar, and most notably the question of where the first Malagasy came from. There is agreement among scholars that the great Indian Ocean Island, in spite of its size - bigger than France, Belgium, and the Netherlands combined - was uninhabited until some two thousand years ago.

The first sites that can be determined through archaeological analysis date from the fifth century AD, and suggest that the first known human settlements were close to estuaries, strengthening the generally held view that the island was settled by parties of seafarers who, to judge from the language, had a strong connection with Indonesia. Who were these speakers of an Austronesian language who settled in Madagascar? How did they arrive, and when?

Some twenty per cent of the vocabulary of modern Malagasy is said to be of non-Austronesian origin, including not only Bantu words, but also others derived from Arabic and, much later, from French, English, and Dutch. Perhaps the most difficult of all questions facing historians who

try to use language to determine some sort of chronology of the settlement of Madagascar concerns the exact circumstances under which Bantu words in particular became incorporated into the language of the proto-Malagasy. Although there have been all sorts of theories about this, there is a consensus among modern scholars that navigators from Indonesia settled along the coast of East Africa, acquired some Bantu vocabulary, and then sailed to Madagascar already speaking a language which contained a considerable admixture of Bantu words. This process probably took place over a period of centuries, as traders of Indonesian origin shuttled between a number of points along the western shores of the Indian Ocean, only gradually founding permanent settlements in Madagascar from perhaps the fifth century.

Clues may be found in the categories of words in modern Malagasy which are of Bantu origin and in the presence in Malagasy of words of other origin, particularly Sanskrit, which appear to have been acquired



by the ancestors of the first Malagasy before their departure from Indonesia. The ancestors of the Maanjan, the Indonesian language closest to modern Malagasy, are said to have formed part of a Barito group of Borneo who travelled to Sumatra and Java in the first five centuries of the present era. There, they acquired new skills and also new words under the influence of the Hinduized states, which existed in Java in those centuries. The presence in the Zambezi basin in east Africa of modern peoples with legends and funerary rites which appear to be of Indonesian origin, and which also exist in Madagascar, suggests indeed that the proto-Malagasy, probably

being Barito navigators, touched the coast of East Africa before settling permanently in Madagascar. The presence of a small number of Sanskrit words in the vocabulary of the proto-Malagasy suggests that the proto-Malagasy left Indonesia at a period fairly shortly after the earliest Sanskrit influence on Borneo, in about the fourth century AD. Barito navigators appear to have left Indonesia shortly after that time, trading and settling on the coast of east Africa and founding their first settlements in Madagascar. It is likely that there was a considerable fusion of Indonesian and Bantu culture on the coast of East Africa which survived in Madagascar but which disappeared in east Africa with the large scale immigration of Bantu, perhaps in the period AD 800-1000.

Further research on the Malagasy language may provide further clues to dating the arrival of the proto-Malagasy and may also lend material to the analysis of the history of other Austronesian languages. ■

Stephen Ellis and Solofo Randrianja are preparing to write a general history of Madagascar from the period of the proto-Malagasy to the present. They would welcome communication with specialists of Indonesia particularly who may be interested in the connection with Madagascar.

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New Dictionary Malagasy-French



Dr Philippe Beaujard recently published an impressive dictionary of the Tanala dialect. The Tanala live in southeast Madagascar. Beaujard studied their society for over five years and in this period he published various books and articles on the anthropology and literature of the Tanala.

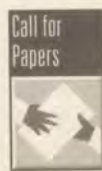
Beaujard's dictionary contains over six thousand entries. With reference to former publications on other Malagasy dialects, he studies the Tanala dialect in a comparative perspective. In addition, he deals with the etymology of the words and gives the ethnolinguistic meaning of the key words of the Tanala dialect.

The etymology of the words clear-

ly points to the fact that the Malagasy language is an Austronesian language. In this respect Beaujard not only provides for the origins of new words, he also rectifies the explanations of scientists who studied the Malagasy language before him. ■

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International Conference in Mauritius



In March 1998 Mauritius reached its thirtieth year as an independent sovereign state. In the context of this anniversary, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute proposes to organize an international conference from Tuesday 8 to Saturday 12 December 1998.

1. The conference will provide an opportunity to examine and reassess: (a) The processes of decolonization and their implications; and (b) The ideals and aspirations embodied in the national movements and

those of their leaders, and the ideological choices of the new states, in the light of the current social, economic, and political configurations in those countries.

2. The Conference will also provide an opportunity for an examination of national education, national cultures, and post-colonial literatures as challenges to the legacy of colonialism.

3. A special session of the Conference will be on Republic, Citizenship, and Fundamental Rights.

The countries and regions under consideration include Britain, Egypt, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia,

Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Senegal, Singapore, USA, and the West Indies. Mauritius will, of course, constitute a major focus of the conference. The Conference organizers welcome contributions that provide fresh insights into and perspectives on the study of the problems that have confronted the new Mauritian nation.

The response to the first call for papers has been very encouraging. Participants from Britain, India, USA, France, Singapore, and Mauritius responded to our invitation.

Deadlines

1 October 1998. Confirmation of participation with title of paper, abstract as well as a short curriculum vitae, 1 November 1998: Full paper on diskette. ■

For more information:
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Southeast Asia

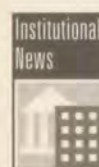


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The Land of the Sugar Palm Tree

The creation of an independent Social Science Institute in Cambodia, a country which has never experienced a social science academic tradition, and where social structures are based upon political alliances or patronage, didn't happen overnight. However, after three years a flourishing agency does exist. The development of the organization mirrors the development of the country. The aim of this short paper is to describe these developments and to introduce both Cambodia and the research institute to the European reader.

By JOHN VIJGHEN



Until you run out of sugar palm trees you are in our land'. It is said with a smile and a warning: 'do not touch our land'. Kampuchea (pronounced *kampucha*) or the Kingdom of Cambodia is inhabited by smiling people who at various times in their history have turned ruthlessly against invaders and their fellow countrymen. It is known throughout the world for the genocide by Pol Pot who caused the death of a quarter of the population. It is also the country which was brought into the realm of democratic nations by a tremendous effort of the world community: one of the successes of the United Nations. Some called it an experiment in democracy, until the second prime minister took power by force and

ousted his rival first prime minister last July. In this country another experiment is still taking place. The creation of an independent Social Science Institute in a country which never had a social science academic tradition, and in which social structures are based upon political alliances or patronage, did not come about without problems, but, three years later a flourishing agency seems to have found its feet.

While the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia prepared the nation for general elections and thousands of foreign electoral officers introduced the concept of democracy to a once fatalistic population, the idea was born of introducing the idea of studying the country's own society. The general elections were a success, the majority of the population voted for a democratic alternative. Immediately after the elections the losers, the former communist party, refused to relinquish power and manipulated the world powers into accepting a 'government of national reconciliation' which kept the former power structure largely intact. Lack of insight into the social

system and a limited understanding of the social processes have contributed to this abandonment of a tough stance by the world community. At the time there were no Cambodian researchers to provide such insight and understanding. Some foreign scholars warned about the outcome, but they were not heeded. The study of the Cambodian society had yet to begin.

National capacity

One year after the general elections, a research group was founded with the aim of studying the society and the processes of development in terms of poverty alleviation and participation in decision making at all levels. Although the assistance of foreign scholars would be needed to introduce proper social research methodologies, the aim was to develop such skills and capacities among nationals. The research group was set up as a Non-Governmental Organ-

ization, not associated to any government agency or the national university, the latter being inescapably under the patronage of political figures. The name chosen for the organization 'Cambodian Researchers for Development' symbolizes both the advancement of national capacity and the development of society. A national folk theme animal, the rabbit, as the seeker of truth, was selected for the agency's vignette. Effective from January 1995 the Social Research Institute CRD (acronym for Cambodian Researchers for Development) with the co-operation of the international development community, was formed. The first major studies focused on children and about women, two marginalized groups in Cambodian society.

Cambodia's major social problem is the distribution of resources and the limited freedom to participate in social and political decision making. Owing to the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, more and more children are denied sufficient food and an adequate education. Women constitute more than half of the population, but are not represented in the public realm which is the domain of

men. Women guard the household budget, but a significant proportion of men use violence demanding money for gambling, drinking, and visiting prostitutes, causing their women not only physical suffering but also leaving them with the burden of feeding the children. Women may also suffer most from the traumatic events during the terror regime of Pol Pot or the continued guerrilla fighting in remote parts of the country. They lost loved ones and had to feed and protect their children during those terrible times.

CRD has initiated and executed such studies into these problems, some are now running, some are on hold pending further funding. A major problem is that during thirty years virtually no field studies about the Cambodian society and population could be conducted. Cambodia is still a white spot on the social science map. Researchers from CRD aim to fill these white spots to increase knowledge and understanding.

Backbone

On 5 July 1997 fighting broke out between rival forces of both major political parties. The Pritikar (the Event), as Cambodians call the 'coup which was not a coup d'état' was a turning point on the way to democracy. Ten-

tion had been at virtual breaking point between both sides for years and there were few who believed in a peaceful solution. The former com-

Cambodian Researchers For Development

The 'Cambodian Researchers for Development' was established April 1994 by a Dutch anthropologist and two Cambodian colleagues. It became a Non-Governmental Organization in January 1995. Its mandate is to increase local capacity for social research through social studies and training. Since its inception over fifty studies, workgroup sessions and training courses have been completed, resulting in over twenty study reports and several academic papers. Working relationships exist with sections of universities in Uppsala, Gothenburg, Chiang Mai, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, and Phnom Penh. Currently, one major academic research programme entitled 'Local Participation in Development and Democracy', is sponsored by Sweden. A major training programme is the School for Social Research, sponsored by the Netherlands. Since October 1997, this agency has been under local management with a professional staff of around ten. Income is generated through contract-research, training courses and consultancies. Except for project funding no core funding was ever received and the agency is proud to be independent.

munist party took back what it lost during the general elections with unexpected rigour and violence. Democracy received a blow but there are many rays of hope for democracy. For more than two years researchers from CRD have been studying local participation in the affairs of rural communities. Evidence is starting to emerge that the concept of democracy as a basic principle has taken root. The re-

sults are still weak and further research is needed, but there is a light at the end of the tunnel. The Cambodian researchers are helping their countrymen to find the way out of the darkness.

Who are these men and women who started from nothing and created an Institute which has completed over twenty studies on topics ranging from Water Use Practices to Village Decision Making, Village Development Committees and Political Rhetoric; and who continued to conduct field work on democracy issues while fighting was still going on? Their names are not important, their nationality is. With the exception of the Dutch founder who at present acts as advisor and is phasing himself out, all are Cambodians who have remained with their countrymen in times of conflict and hunger. This group of researchers, academics and non-formally educated field researchers alike, are the backbone for the kingdom's emerging young research core who wish to study their own society in order to improve its development. They are still vulnerable and need advice and support from more senior (European?) scholars and institutions. ■

John Vijghen can be reached at
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2 > 4 APRIL 1998
LONDON, GREAT BRITAIN

The Economies of Southeast Asia in the 1930s Depression

This workshop took place at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2-4 April 1998. A total of fifteen papers were presented, by scholars from the Netherlands, Great Britain, Indonesia, France, Denmark, Malaysia, Singapore, and the United States.

By PETER BOOMGAARD & IAN BROWN

Report
The workshop pursued two central themes. The first was the proposition that when the 1930s depression crisis struck Southeast Asia, the populations of the region – large sections of whom were heavily dependent on production for the world market – created or discovered a number of mechanisms by which they could defend their material condition. These survival strategies included an expansion in pro-

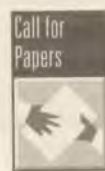
duction to compensate in part for the collapse in crop prices; resistance to the demands of tax collectors, landlords, and moneylenders; and a sharp decline in the prices of articles of consumption, notably imports from Japan. Much of the discussion on this point focused on attempts to establish the relative effectiveness of each of these strategies.

The second, and more important theme arose from the observation that the world economic crisis of the 1930s had a vastly varied impact across Southeast Asia. The impact varied, for example, between the countries of the region, within coun-

tries, between agricultural classes, between rural and urban populations, and between crops. This point was brought out particularly clearly in the two papers on the Philippines. The corollary of this argument is that the precise impact of the crisis in a particular locality was determined by one or more of a host of possible factors – the level of agrarian debt on the eve of the crisis; the ease of access to international markets during the depression years; the land, labour, and capital regimes of the crops grown in that locality; the ability of local tax collectors, landlords, and moneylenders to force payments from the population. The final discussion revolved principally around an attempt to construct some general principles by which the impact of the depression crisis on a particular locality could be predicted. Was it, for example, access to international markets or was it mainly the tightness of local credit conditions, which determined the severity of the depression in a given locality?

The papers from the workshop are now being revised. In addition, a further paper – on Siam during the 1930s economic crisis – is being sought. The participants and their revised papers have reconvened as a panel at the EUROSEAS Conference in Hamburg in September 1998. The panel was used to make the final revisions to the papers and, in particular, to consider the first draft of an introductory paper. It is intended that the papers will be published as a single edited volume. ■

Places of transit, exchange and encounters Fairs & Markets in Southeast Asia



Call for Papers
Southeast Asian specialists are invited to participate in our interdisciplinary research project 'Fairs and Markets in Southeast Asia'. Aim of the project is to underscore the specific forms of sociability disclosed by these places of transit, exchange and encounters. We wish to develop a comparative approach that would be both synchronic and diachronic. Contributions on 'peripheral' markets in India, China or Japan are therefore also welcome. Rather than list the various kinds of markets according to their nature or establish a typology based on their different specialities, we suggest a transversal interpretation of markets that will emphasize similar patterns of articulation.

The starting point would be the market as a locus (does it have its own space, are there permanent buildings or not, is it in a special neighbourhood?), sometimes geographically distinguishable (crossroads or river junctions, ports, nearby stations). It might be observed that the market place is frequently associated with a sacred spot (spring, tombstone, temples, churches, or mosques) or a place of power (e.g. palaces). The market can also be a place for proselytism (cf. the fairs at which Mohammed preached). The place where a market is held could be considered a kind of 'forecourt' for political and public life, the strategy of political figures concerning the information (and the money) which is exchanged in a market. One should also look into the extent to which the people frequenting markets have taken an active part in political upheavals.

Another aspect is the timing of a market, which, if not sacred, is at least very special as it is often connected with a religious festival. Markets therefore are special occasions, not only thanks to their links with neighbouring markets but also because of their own calendar.

The conditions for the emergence of a market would have to be studied. These are first and foremost historical. Everyday practices are very important: a police force which protects merchants, special jurisdictions, rights and particular codes,

the nature of contracts made, and systems of loans. The origins of merchants should also be looked into, where they go, how they travel and how they are lodged and fed. We could also pay attention to the reasons for the eventual decline, renewal, or metamorphosis of markets disfigured or abolished faced for instance with urban reconstruction. One could also observe the forms of exchange and the products exchanged (perishable, luxury, valuable, lightweight) and the mode of transport.

The question of 'what is exchanged in markets in addition to commodities' could also be studied. This would include words, languages, currencies, and peace between different religions, cultures, and customs. This leads to the question: 'who are encountered in a market, merchants and their families, sedentary population and nomads, town and country dwellers, more and more tourists? We can define market people (such as packers, porters, money changers, hawkers, storytellers, medicine sellers) and a 'peripheral' population (beggars, brigands, thieves) excluded from other spaces of sociability. The market as a place for festivities could be also considered. Finally, the mythology of markets could be analysed, claiming for instance to date back to 'the dawn of time', or to a utopian place of multicultural receptivity as the market is also a place for special 'staging' procedures of the foreigner for example, or of a stereotyped cultural identity.

To sum up, markets and the images that they convey constitute, through the exchanges that are accomplished by them,

the backbone of other social exchanges. Markets are always attesting globally to the needs, desires and hidden dreams of a society. ■

'We suggest
a transversal
interpretation
of markets'

31 AUGUST > 4 SEPTEMBER 1998
BERLIN, GERMANY

The seventh EurASEAA Conference

The European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (EurASEAA) has held conferences every second year since its establishment in 1986. The main aim of the association is to bring together European scholars working in the field of Southeast Asian archaeology, including protohistory and early history, epigraphy and art history, and to offer facilities to present and discuss new data. There is no fixed membership; scholars and students from all countries are welcome to participate in the international conferences. The association also strives to raise funds for inviting Southeast Asian colleagues to participate.

By MARIJKE KLOKKE

Report
The Seventh International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (EurASEAA) took place in Berlin, from 31 August to 4 September 1998. It was organized by Dr Wibke Lobo and hosted by the Museum für Völkerkunde. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft Bonn, the Heinrich-Böll Stiftung Berlin, the Gesellschaft für indonesische Kunst Berlin e.V., Senator für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur, Berlin, Partner für Berlin e.V., and the Ford Foundation in Jakarta all sponsored the conference.

About a hundred participants

(from Australia, Austria, Cambodia, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Indonesia, Italy, Malaysia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, the USA, and Vietnam) attended. They presented sixty-nine papers spread over five days. The subjects ranged from 'Metal objects from Champa, Central Vietnam' to 'Epigraphical Evidence of Pasupata Saivism in Bengal and Cambodia', 'Chinese and Middle-Eastern Ceramics Found in Barus, Sumatra', 'Underwater Archaeology of the Pandanan Wreck', and 'Secularization' of Burmese Mural Painting in the 18th and 19th Centuries'.

The board of the EurASEAA met to discuss the organization of future conferences and the publications of

the proceedings of the conferences. The proceedings of the 1992 conference in Rome, edited by Roberto Ciarla and Fiorella Rispoli, have been published by the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente and the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome in 1997. The first volume of the 1994 conference in Paris, edited by Pierre-Yves Manguin, has been published by the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull in 1998; the second volume will follow soon. The proceedings of the 1996 conference in Leiden, edited by Marijke J. Klokke and Thomas de Bruijn, are in press. By the time this Newsletter appears they will have been published by the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull. Seven of the papers delivered at the Leiden conference were edited by Ian Glover and have been published in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 85/1-2 (1997). ■

Patrizia Zolese of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente has offered to organize the next conference in Toscana, Italy, in October 2000. She can be contacted at: Via Vittorio Veneto 108, 00187 Rome, Italy, fax: +39-6-4827085.

In addition to publication, a round table is planned. Papers, in French or English, to be sent by December 2000. They may be 5 to 25 pages long and sent in on PC or Macintosh disk (Word), with a print out. Kindly send to Gilbert Hamonic and Nelly Krowolski, CNRS-LASEMA (UPR 297), Opération Foires et Marchés d'Asie du Sud-Est, 22 rue d'Athènes 75009 - Paris, France, tel: +33-145-26 15 12, fax: +33-144-53 04 06.

Political Hypocrisy: An Indonesian Way

Two shocking events which were intensely upsetting to Soeharto before he decided to withdraw from the Indonesian Presidency on May 21, 1998, were the appeal from the Parliament/Peoples' Assembly that Soeharto should step down followed by the statement of withdrawal of fourteen Cabinet Ministers in the following week. Both surprising proposals were sent to him by persons who had always been his loyal followers, just at the moment when he was being pushed into a critical corner by his political opponents.

■ By AMRI MARZALI



The first proposal was sent by Harmoko, the Chairman of Parliament/People's Assembly, who was once Soeharto's brilliant and loyal cadre, and the second came from Ginanjar Kartasasmita, the Co-ordinating Minister of Economics, Finance, and Development, who once used to be the loyal protégé of Soedarmono, former vice-president and close friend of Soeharto. They were all president's

men, who metamorphized into president's foes.

The proposals deflated Soeharto, filling him with a sense of hopelessness. He seemed to be so isolated, deserted by men who used to respect him, hanging on his every word. It seemed that Soeharto had reached a nadir of loneliness and disappointment. It must have been similar to the way he felt two years before when he was left alone after the death of his wife. His spoiled children, who had frequently undermined their father's dignity, and were unable to resist the tempta-

tion to accumulate wealth for themselves by manipulating their father's position, were powerless to help their father out of the crisis, or consoling Soeharto's wounded and disillusioned heart.

This is a tragedy of a human being, who had become enthralled by his worldly grandeur. He thought that Indonesia was well and truly in his grasp, and was blind and deaf to people's cries of misery. He was able to order the poor to tighten their belts while he and his children accumulated billions of dollars by collusion, nepotism, and manipulation. He kept quiet when right-wing Indonesians - mostly Javanese - slaughtered hundreds of thousands of their Communist brothers and sisters in 1966 when he was the most powerful general in Indonesia. He had no qualms about ordering his ABRI (military) machine to 'punch' the critical, and intellectually alert young Indonesian students, sending some of them to jail. Others were kidnapped and yet others are believed to have been killed. Soeharto is now bearing the burden of his own sins.

Not Napoleon

Up to 10 July, 1998, when the extraordinary congress of the ruling party, Golkar, was opened (more than a month after the fall of Soeharto), many people in Indonesia still believed that Soeharto would stage a come-back. Now, they say, he keeps silent, lying prone like a soldier. Many people believe that Soeharto's followers are still roaming around, waiting for the right time to make a grab for power and restoring Soeharto to his former position. Soeharto's enemies will begin to count down the days before they are doomed to hell.

This angst is unreal - it will never happen. Soeharto is not Napoleon. He is too old for ordinary men to muster the energy and plan the strategy needed for this sort of goal. His kidneys are failing, and he does not have the heart to carry out such a huge task. Next year, or even in the next months, he will need a stick to totter around.

Nonetheless, the most important factor, of which many people in Indonesia are not aware, is that Soeharto has never attracted fanatical followers. Soeharto is not Soekarno. Soeharto built his gang by the sys-

■
'Soeharto
never attracted
fanatical
followers,
he is not
Soekarno'
■

tem of the 'whip and carrot'. You obey me, adore me, and give me no trouble, and you are eligible for a carrot. Then you will be rewarded with a strategic so-called 'wet position' in the government structure (the term used to refer to a governmental position, which can be manipulated by its holder to produce wealth for himself by collusion, corruption, and nepotism). If, however, you choose the opposite cause, you will be whipped, or sent to jail or, at very the worst, to hell. The way Soeharto built his mass following is highly reminiscent of the Big Man system in Melanesia, or the Tonowi system among the Kapauku in Irian Jaya. This patron-client system of political recruitment will produce a

blurred, illusive, and non-compact group of clients. The clients will be loyal to the patron only when the patron has something of value for them.

Die by the sword

Soeharto is different from his predecessor, President Soekarno, who drew his followers to him with political ideology, namely: Indonesian nationalism, socialism, self-help, and anti-neocolonialism and neo-capitalism. When Soeharto was pushed aside by his opponents, there was no poor lower class mass to defend him, crying the slogan 'pejah gesang nderek Soeharto' (live or die with Soeharto), as it happened to Soekarno.

Soeharto's scenario was very different. At the critical moment the president's men, namely Harmoko, Ginanjar, and Habibie deserted the him. In fact, what dealt the body blow to Soeharto were not the demonstrations organized by the Indonesian students and Amien Rais cum suis against him, but the betrayal of the men who had pretended to be his loyal followers. They were just playing the political game that so characteristic of Soeharto's Indonesia: the strategy of political hypocrisy. Soeharto successfully applied this strategy, only to be struck down by the political hypocrisy of his followers.

As it says in the Bible: 'Those who live by the sword, will die by the sword'. For Soeharto, this phrase should read: 'He who ascends the throne through hypocrisy, will be cast down from the throne by hypocrisy'. Who would dare to say these days that Harmoko, Ginanjar, and Habibie are not among the heroes of the Reformation Order in Indonesia? ■

Dr Amri Marzali (Indonesia) was a senior visiting fellow at the IIAS from 15 February to 15 May 1998.

20 > 22 JULY 1998
KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

The 8th Annual Meeting of the South East Asian Linguistic Society

The Eighth Annual Meeting of South East Asian Linguistic Society was successfully held at Brisdale Inn, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, July 20-22, 1998. Participants from Malaysia, New Zealand, Germany, Singapore, Brunei, USA, Australia, Japan, Canada, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Netherlands exchanged ideas and findings on languages of Southeast Asia in Southeast Asia for the second time.

■ By JYH WEE SEW



Although a few unannounced pull-outs disrupted the flow of the meeting, these did not deter a thorough discussion on Malay linguistics with papers on Malay word stress, Kuala Lumpur Malay as a mainland Southeast Asian language, Malay and English news broadcasts in Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, etc. Other topics ranged from a comparative analysis of grammaticalization between Japanese and Thai, and between Malay, Chinese, and Japanese to Tagalog-Ilocano grammar, and a functional anal-

ysis of Bonggi. As a participant in this conference I thank the organizer David Gil for bringing the conference closer to home and thus more affordable to those from Southeast Asia. The next conference on Southeast Asian Linguistics will be held at the University of California at Berkeley, and will be organized by Prof. James Matisoff, in May 1999. ■

Jyh Wee Sew can be reached at the Linguistics Section, School of Languages, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand.

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1997, 1160 pp. ISBN 979-461-275-8.

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FAKULTAS SASTRA
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YAYASAN OBOR INDONESIA
ECOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT

By DICK VAN DER MEIJ



Interest in texts from the Indonesian Archipelago has never faded. They have been studied ever since the first interested scholars appeared in the field in the nineteenth century, and at present, editions are still being prepared and published. Finding the way in the many collections in the world has often been hampered by lack of the basic tools for searching: catalogues.

Luckily, librarians and institutions concerned with Indonesian studies have always understood that catalogues are an essential part of the scholarly tradition of text exploration. Just as the methods of text editing have changed over the years, so has the method of cataloguing them. It is no longer sufficient to just list the manuscript by title and shelf number, nowadays the average scholar expects to find much more information and details.

Catalogues such as the vast four volume catalogue of Javanese Manu-

scripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collection in the Netherlands compiled by Th.G.Th. Pigeaud (1967-1980) contain a wealth of information on the text level, but not on the manuscript level. Details as to material (paper, palm leaf), measurements and such are found in them, but other details such as watermarks are not. Details on texts, however are. Since a catalogue is primarily concerned with texts and manuscripts, they now tend to offer information in detail on both.

The catalogue compiled by Wieringa has taken quite a few years to compile and the result is marvellous.

Detailed descriptions of all manuscripts, references to other catalogues and places in secondary literature, as well as many illustrations of the manuscripts concerned has turned this book into an indispensable tool for scholars interested in Malay and Minangkabau texts and manuscripts. Also the inclusion of letters written in Malay make this book ever more attractive. Volume one contains manuscripts up to the year 1896. Other volumes of manu-

scripts acquired after that date I hope will appear in the near future.

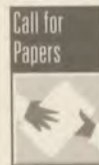
The two volumes of catalogues of the University of Indonesia are a major achievement of Behrend and Pudjiastuti and their vast team of co-editors. All the manuscripts in many different languages have been described in detail and elegant illustrations of illuminations found in the manuscripts make this book even more attractive.

Both catalogues are augmented by detailed indexes and references to make them easily accessible. ■

OCTOBER 1 > 4, 1998
HAMBURG UNIVERSITY, GERMANY

The Third Euro-Japanese International Symposium Religion and Cultural Diffusion

By BAREND JAN TERWIEL



The theme of the third Euro-Japanese Symposium was Religion and Cultural Diffusion. From the outset it attracted enquiries from all around the world and offers of papers from scholars of international repute. What made this symposium so special was the fact that all speakers are familiar with primary sources related to Mainland Southeast Asia. At the same time many different disciplines were brought together. One had an intimate knowledge of Japanese sources, others were specialists on historical Khmer topography, classical Pali literature, Roman Catholic missionary activities in

Southeast Asia, etc. This proved to be the right mix to produce lively discussions. New questions were posed and areas of further study were identified.

During the concluding business meeting it was decided to appoint Barend Jan Terwiel and Alain Forest as editors of the proceedings of this third symposium, which again will be published with L'Harmattan in Paris. A date for the fourth Euro-Japanese Seminar on Southeast Asia was decided upon, namely early September 1999. It will most probably take place in Leiden, where the International Institute of Asian Studies will provide institutional backing. The topic that was decided upon was: Mainland Southeast Asian Responses to the Stimuli of

Foreign Material Culture and Practical Knowledge Between the 14th and mid-19th Century. ■

Prospective participants should contact:

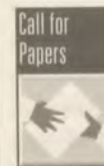
B.J. TERWIEL

Thai Dept
Von-Melle-Park 6
20146 Hamburg
Germany

(B.J. Terwiel will forward all enquiries to the next convenor, still to be decided.)

16 > 18 JUNE 1998
PATTANI, THAILAND

4th ASEAN Inter- University seminar SE Asia into the 21st Century



The main theme of the Fourth ASEAN Inter-University Seminar on Social Development is 'Southeast Asia into the 21st Century: Critical Transitions, Continuity and Change'.

Panels will be organized on the following sub-topics: 'Rural and Urban Poverty and Inequality', 'Industrialization and Labour Regimes', 'Family Strategies and Survival in Southeast Asia', 'Gender, Economy and Politics', 'Security and Strategic Relations in Southeast Asia', 'The Local and The Region in Development', 'Science, Technology and Society', 'Globalization, Crisis, and Local Response', 'Values and Myths: Ancient and Modern', and 'Environment and Society'.

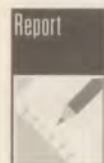
For a paper to be considered, an abstract of less than 250 words should be sent to the seminar secretariat by 31 January 1999. Selection of abstracts will be completed by 15 February 1999. Upon notification of acceptance of an abstract, a completed paper should be submitted by 30 March, 1999. This paper should be camera-ready, single spaced on A4 sized paper and should not exceed 20 pages. Abstract and paper must be submitted on hard copy plus diskette. ■

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A Century of Philippine-Dutch Connections: Philippine Studies in the Netherlands

On the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of the Philippine Revolution and the proclamation of the First Philippine Republic, the International Institute for Asian Studies, Amsterdam Branch, organized a workshop in collaboration with the Philippine Embassy in the Netherlands on August 31, 1998. The venue was the recently renovated Doelenzaal in the University of Amsterdam Auditorium-cum-Library complex.

by OTTO VAN DEN
MUIJZENBERG



The Amsterdam IAS Branch Manager Dr Mario Rutten welcomed the more than forty participants from academia, the media, and business reminding the audience that this workshop brought Dutch and Filipino students and observers of the Philippines together in the Amsterdam setting for the second time after the First European Philippine Studies Conference in April 1991.

The Philippine Ambassador, H.E. Rodolpho S. Sanchez, highlighted the relations between his country and The Netherlands, which started violently in 1600 in sea battles between the Dutch and Spaniards in Philippine waters. After a long period of centuries of mutual isolation, the relations are now 'generally good' in the view of Dutch prime minister, Wim Kok, and economic relations were recently intensified by mutual visits of the ministers of economic affairs. Trade grew from \$340 million in 1992 to 2 billion in 1997. Several big Dutch companies have invested in the Philippines, some of them indeed have been doing so for decades. Dutch development aid has focused on poverty alleviation, higher education, environmental problems, and the rehabilitation of Laguna de Bay. The Philippines contributes to the Dutch economy by its export, which is mainly directed to Rotterdam harbour, and its migrant workers (seamen, nurses, and professionals). In the educational field, it has sent over 1000 fellows to Holland for training. Ambassador Sanchez concluded by referring to an official Dutch suggestion to celebrate Four Centuries of Philippine-Dutch relations in the year 2000, possibly with an exposition of the San Diego treasures in Amsterdam.

National Hero

Professor Otto van den Muijzenberg (University of Amsterdam) raised the much asked question why the Philippine national hero, Dr Jose P. Rizal, never visited the Netherlands, although his name was known to late nineteenth-century Orientalists here. He gave an overview of the development of Philippine Studies in the Netherlands during the late colonial period, when socio-economic and governmental problems were studied in a comparative fashion. But it is the past twenty years which have turned out to be the most productive, for Dutch academic work on the Philippines. The overall picture is one of diversity in

approaches, topics, disciplines. Much work has been done in the applied fields of development and environmental studies as well as more purely scientific disciplines (e.g. anthropology and linguistics). Owing to limited access to archives, history is an underrepresented discipline in Dutch Philippine studies.

Outlining the general set-up of the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, Mrs. Aurora Payayo-Galindo showed how since its inception in 1955 this institution has received hundreds of Filipino students, 365 of whom produced papers and theses on Philippine matters for a diploma or a master's degree in one of eight specializations. Doctoral theses dealt with resource allocation in Philippine households and mail-order bride migration from the Philippines.

Gerhard van den Top M.Ag.Sc. (University of Leiden) introduced the collaborative research and teaching project which his university and its Center for Environmental Problems launched in 1990 in conjunction with the College of Forestry of Isabela State University. The ongoing programme under the name Cagayan Valley Program for Environment and Development (CVPED) focuses on problems connected with deforestation and the transformation of the ecosystem and rural economy and was host to more than a hundred fieldwork projects by pairs of Filipino and Dutch students in the natural as well as the social sciences. Faculty members from both sides transformed this and their own work into PhD theses. The programme tries to contribute actively to the solution of problems of the region.

Historical Conjunction

In her review of Philippine research projects at the University of Amsterdam, Dr Rosanne Rutten showed how a historical conjunction in the mid-1960s in Indonesia led to the diversification of what had been Indonesia-focused work in the University of Amsterdam towards social research in the Philippines (and India), with the first two PhD projects launched in the late sixties. Amsterdam's staff and students have laid great stress on lengthy fieldwork, but insights thus gained are always interpreted in the context of larger and long-term developments. Five themes are to be distinguished: socio-economic change in rural society; changes in urban society, political change and the more recent themes of the social implications of gender and street children, and child labour.



At the University of Amsterdam the medical anthropology unit of the department of anthropology focuses on how people define and experience health problems, improve their health, and respond to health care interventions report. In the mid-1980s Dr Anita Hardon was the first to undertake PhD research in this field in the Philippines, but illness prevented her from presenting her review. Therefore Dr Rosanne Rutten also read the report on the unit's recent and present work, including close collaboration with Philippine counterparts in two action research projects on gender, reproductive health, and population policies; on community drug use and on immunization programmes at several locations in the Philippines.

Joost Oorthuizen M.Ag.Sc. (Agricultural University Wageningen) dealt with research and teaching in which his university has been involved over the years in and with the Philippines. In Wageningen, almost all working relations with the Philippines are based in Los Banos, where the University of the Philippines, the International Rice Research Institute and the Southeast Asian Research Council in Agriculture are located. Much of the work is in the sciences, and research is done in crop science, geographical information systems, soil erosion research, host-pest interaction research, and work on crop ecology, irrigation and, lately sustainability of various technological innovations. More in the social science field is work on the users' perspective in agricultural research, stressing the need for participation by farmers (women) in technology development. Ongoing interdisciplinary PhD research by the speaker and two colleagues deals with contract farming arrangements in Mindanao, interactions between users and officials of irrigation systems and the dynamics of development NGOs in a rapidly changing national and international context.

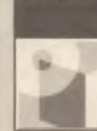
A documentary film 'The Law of the Jungle' which was made in the context of CVPED, mentioned above, concluded the academic part of the workshop which was rounded off by a reception offered by the Philippine

Embassy in the Netherlands. Plans for a regular follow-up in the form of quarterly meetings of a Dutch Philippine Studies network may materialize soon. ■

Prof. W.A.L. Stokhof and
Philippine Ambassador,
H.E. Rodolpho S. Sanchez

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publication



Michael A. Aung-Thwin

MYTH & HISTORY IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF EARLY BURMA:

PARADIGMS, PRIMARY SOURCES, AND PREJUDICES

Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 1998, 220 pp. ISBN 0-89680-201-9

Gert-Jan Bartstra

BIRD'S HEAD APPROACHES: IRIAN JAYA STUDIES – A PROGRAMME FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Rotterdam/Brookfield: A.A. Balkema, 1998, 275 pp. ISBN 90-5410-683-2, ills. (Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia, 15)

Cuong Tu Nguyen

ZEN IN MEDIEVAL VIETNAM:

A STUDY AND TRANSLATION OF THE THIEN UYEN TAP ANH

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, ISBN 0-8248-1948-9

(Second Edition of the 1947 edition)

Craig A. Lockard

DANCE OF LIFE:

POPULAR MUSIC AND POLITICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998, 390 pp. ISBN 0-8248-1918-7

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuphanh Ngaosyvathn

PATHS TO CONFLAGRATION:

FIFTY YEARS OF DIPLOMACY AND WARFARE IN LAOS, THAILAND, AND VIETNAM, 1778-1828

Ithaca NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1998, ISBN 0-87727-723-0

Adolf Maximilian Pino

KOMEDIE-STAMBOEL EN ANDERE VERHALEN

UIT DE PRAKTIJK VAN HET BINNENLANDS BESTUUR OP JAVA 1913-1946

Leiden University, 1998, 192 pp. ISSN 0165-2850 (Intercontinenta No.22)

Li Tana

NGUYEN COCHINCHINA.

SOUTHERN VIETNAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Ithaca NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1998, ISBN 0-87727-722-2

Louis Zweers

INDIË VOORBIJ: VAN KOLONIE TOT NATIE

Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998, 128 pp. ISBN 90-5730-010-9

East Asia



P. R. CHINA

JAPAN

KOREA

MACAO

TAIWAN

19 > 23 JUNE 1998
TRIER, GERMANY

Second International Conference on Yi Studies

Under the title 'Processes of Social Change, Rising Ethnic Identity, and Ethnicity among the Yi Nationality in China' the conference brought together more than forty scholars from China, France, Germany, Japan, Poland, Switzerland, Taiwan, and the US. The majority were scholars from among the Yi themselves. Twenty-nine papers were presented, all in Chinese. The conference was sponsored by the German Research Association (DFG).

By THOMAS HEBERER

Report
The conference started with the issue of ethnic identification and definition. Stevan Harrell (University of Washington) illustrated the complexity of the term *minzu* (nationality) in China. The Yala for example, a group of people in Miya county (Sichuan), are classified as a component of the Yi nationality, even though they do not recognize any kinship between themselves and the local Nuosu branch of the Yi. They are components of the same *minzu*, but they are two different ethnic groups and neither group will marry the other. Therefore there is a difference between the objective characteristics of a group set by the state (nationality or *minzu*) and the subjective consciousness of that group (ethnic group).

Pan Jiao (Central University of Nationalities, Beijing) argued that the ethnoscape in China seems to have confirmed the thesis that ethnicity is created by the nation-state. Although the diversity within the Yi is tremendous, the designation of Yi nationality seems to have been accepted by the Yi population. This is not only because they have no choice, pertinently they are aware of the advantages of forming a larger nationality in any political and economic bargaining with the state.

Wugashinuimo Louwu (University of Michigan) compared narratives from the classics of Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi and concluded that even though 'Yi' is a constructed term, the majority of the 'Yi' population share many cultural elements and a common consciousness.

Charles F. McKhann (Whitman College, USA) criticized the concept that ethnicity in China is fundamentally a bipolar structure, in which all minorities are opposed to the majority Han. Surprisingly little has been done to address the issue

of relations between minorities in the peripheral areas. If one takes Han cultural practices as the gauge of civilization, then there is much to be said for this model, for it accurately reflects a certain kind of historical change – Sinicization. But the model breaks down, if one considers other external sources of culture change, namely the influence of neighbouring minority ethnic groups.

Several paper presenters discussed the revival of traditional local practices. Shaha Gatse (Cultural Centre for Bimo Studies at Meigu County, Sichuan) argued that bimo (traditional priests and healers) were the core of Yi identity, as the Yi as a nationality possess no common language, customs or blood relations. Bamo Ayi (Central University of Nationalities, Beijing) pointed out that the number of bimo is growing both in both rural and in urban areas. Bimo are not only intermediaries between men, ghosts, and ancestors, but also between men, between clans, and between men and nature. The ethics of the bimo are by no means only traditional. Bimo are also models for a modern system of ethics and education. Benoit Vermander (Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies, Taipei) argued that the religion of the Nosu (Liangshan Yi) is not a 'primitive' one, but the result of a profound and continuous historical evolution which has not stopped yet. There is no homogeneous religion, but we can identify a 'world vision' that is proper to Nosu religion.

On the topic of the historiography of the Yi various questions were asked: is there one history of the Yi people or are there several histories (as He Yaohua, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences claimed), have the Yi as a nationality existed since the Zhou dynasty or are they the descendants of various people who have merged together throughout history? And what is the difference between the Yi history imagined by the Chinese state and the historical

perception of various Yi groups and social strata within the Yi?

Ann Maxwell Hill (Dickinson College, USA) argued that the Yi in Xiao Liangshan were not a slave society, if we mean by that term a society where the mode of production was based on the slave-master relationship. Nuosu society bore little resemblance to economies that relied significantly on slave labour. Slavery was indeed the main institution through which outsiders became Nuosu. Nuosu consciousness of slavery was also a window on social stratification. Ma Erzi (Institute of Ethnic Studies of Liangshan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan) claimed that there was no term for 'slave' in the Yi language but that instead there were different words for specific situations and that therefore the English and Chinese terms for

'slave' would not correspond to the Yi terms and would thus present a wrong imagination of traditional Yi society.

Issues of language education were addressed by Huang Jianmin (Central University of Nationalities, Beijing) who considers Yi scripts and literature to be important factors in the identification and identity of the Yi. Halina Wasilewska (Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan, Poland) spoke about the Yi writing system and its multiple presentations. Generally speaking, fewer and fewer Yi are interested in bilingual education, and prefer education in Han Chinese, but there are different local developments. In Lunan county only very few people are interested that their children learn Yi language, as most have already turned to Han language, whereas in Liangshan only a few people understand Han Chinese and therefore have a deep interest in their children receiving a bilingual education. As Thomas Heberer (University of Duisburg, Germany) pointed out, there is still a considerable inequality in terms of minority languages, as access to higher education, employment, and professional career depends on mastering the Han language and not on mas-

tering minority languages. This also has a material foundation and could change under specific conditions, e.g. with the development of an economy in the non-state sector based on ethnic group, with the emergence of a system of higher learning for non-Han nationalities or even with modernization processes that may lead to the revival of minority languages.

After the First International Yi Conference in Seattle 1995 (organized by Stevan Harrell) and the second one in Trier (by Thomas Heberer), the third will be held in September 2000 in Lunan Yi Autonomous County in China. ■

For more information please contact:

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Ghosts and Modernity in East Asia

Call for Papers
There is a celebrated scholarly tradition whereby Japanese spirit and ghost beliefs have been documented by folklorists, historians and anthropologists. In this conference, we focus on spirit and ghost beliefs in relation to modern East Asia. Many 'traditional' beliefs are eclipsed and rendered obsolete in modern society, but it is also the case that modern society and culture maintains and even generates spirit and ghost beliefs. In this conference we aim to document the beliefs themselves and to analyse the social and cultural conditions of believing. We emphasize the following sub-themes.

Spirit-related Commerce. In the name of the dead, money is spent, spaces are fashioned, and services are performed. To a certain extent, this spirit-based commerce forms part of a wider economy of misfortune in which people attempt to offset actual or pre-empt possible misfortune or calamity by investing resources in spiritualist professionals. A wide range of modern prob-

lems, ailments and difficulties (education, career, family, health etc.) are attributed to spirits or other unseen forces (e.g. house position), and a wide range of services are available to counter their effects.

East Asian Ghostliness. One of the features of East Asia is the moral imperative among the living of maintaining a connection with the spirits of the dead. Abandonment of the dead is one of the principal ways in which ghostliness arises. Loneliness is central to East Asian ghostliness: the imperative of social inclusion extends to the spirit world.

Haunted Spaces of Modernity. Death is often the occasion for such beliefs to emerge, to be reinforced, to be activated etc. This is so both for individual deaths but also for large scale times of death such as war or calamities. Just as human life marks space, so too does human death have the power to mark space – for example, the protracted association of the spirits of the dead with the places where they die. Deaths, in addition to representing the ending of lives, also shape the lives of those they bereave. Non-human deaths

also occasion spirit beliefs – particularly the large scale animal deaths demanded by modern industrial society.

We already have a solid block of papers for next summer's conference, but are interested in finding further papers, especially on Korea, China and Taiwan. The conference will take place in Leiden, the Netherlands in July 1999. ■

Please contact one of the convenors:

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IIAS

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or

DR JAN VAN BREMEN

Leiden University, Faculty of Arts, Dept.

of Languages and Cultures of Japan and

Korea, same postal address, e-mail

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Collective Identity, Experiences of Crisis and Traumata

'Asunder breaks the country, only hills and streams remain' (Du Fu, 712-770). Crises, catastrophes, cataclysms - China's long history, exceptionally well documented for over three thousand years, witnessed such ruptures abundantly. How were these ruptures dealt with in Chinese historiography? Which remedies were provided by Chinese historical thought to cope with such catastrophic events and fundamental experiences of crisis and disorder? How were these experiences integrated into society's collective identity so that people could go on living? And what about these soothing "modi" of historical thinking developed in traditional China in the face of the traumatic experiences of modernity? In the face of modern world's 'one big catastrophe that piles up rubble and ruins incessantly', as Walter Benjamin put it in his seminal reflections on history?

■ By **ACHIM MITTAG**



Such were the questions that were discussed for three days by a high-powered group of scholars in history, anthropology, sinology, and religious studies. The conference under the title of *Collective Identity, Experiences of Crisis, and Traumata* took place in the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI), Essen (Germany), and was organized by Jörn Rüsen (KWI), Changtze Hu (National Science Council Taipei, Bonn) and the present author. It was the first of a series of three conferences on Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture in a Comparative Perspective, to be held in Germany from 1998-2000 and supported by the Chiang Ching-kuo

Foundation, Taipei, with a substantial grant.

Closely relating to the contemporary discourse on theory and history, the three conferences are aimed at reassessing Chinese historiography and historical culture in the wider context of cross-cultural research on history-writing and historical thought. They are part of an *International Project on Chinese and Comparative Historiography*, jointly organized by Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, KWI (both Germany), National Taiwan University (R.O.C.), and City College of New York (U.S.A.), and directed by the Professors Thomas Lee, Conrad Schirokauer, Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Jörn Rüsen, Huang Chun-chieh and Ku Wei-ying (for further details see IAS Newsletter No. 16).

In undertaking the intended cross-cultural comparison in the field of

historical culture, the Chinese historiographic tradition makes a good case due to its extraordinary continuity, its great wealth of works handed down to us, its richness of literary forms of historical narration, and its strain of critical and self-reflective thought that was cultivated across the centuries. Thus, we can draw upon a great pool of texts and source materials in rethinking historical memory and historiography, thereby avoiding to take Western concepts of history-writing and historical thinking as a norm.

The twenty papers delivered at the conference contained many perceptive vignettes, adding up to an impressive panoramic view of Chinese historical culture. They centred on four larger themes as follows: Chinese historical identity; historical remembrance and the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in Chinese history; basic challenges to historical memory: crises and humiliations in Chinese historical culture; and traumata and traumatic experiences - toward a new understanding of the fractal structures of Chinese historical consciousness. Topics ranged from the deep moral-spiritual crisis in the Chinese Axial Age to the 'national humiliation days' in twentieth-century China, from the failed and frustrated exam candidates in the late Tang period to the young widows in late imperial Huizhou (Anhui) lost to the chastity cult's in-

sanity, from Sima Qian (c. 145-90 BC), known as the founding-father of Chinese historiography, to the Neo-Confucian eccentric Wang Gen (1483-1541), to the prominent modern historians Liu Yizheng (1880-1956) and Chen Yinke (1890-1969).

Footbinding

In the course of the conference, the guiding notions of collective identity, crisis and trauma proved to be a fortunate choice for coping with the great thematic variety and structuring the discussions. But not only that. They also appear to provide a conceptual framework to discuss the difficult issues of forgetfulness, amnesia, and suppressed memory with regard to traumatic experiences such as, e.g., the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864), which brought death to twenty to thirty million people, or the catastrophic famine in 1960-63 resulting from the economic disaster of the Great Leap Forward, for which estimated figures range up to thirty-five million casualties. In his key paper, Jörn Rüsen undertook to show how the three notions of identity, crisis, and trauma are related to each other and how they can be effectively utilized for an intercultural comparison in the field of historiography and historical thought. Rüsen's argument was taken up by Georg G. Iggers (Buffalo), who thoughtfully commented on the comparability of historiographies.

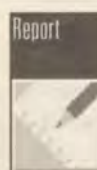
The refreshingly vivid and stimulating discussions opened up new perspectives and led to many intriguing questions beyond the topics discussed in the papers such as, e.g., how are we to understand the phenomenon of 'second-hand traumatizations'? And which role does historical scholarship play in generating and/or controlling this kind of traumatizations? To which extent is the Chinese attitude toward history shaped by what has been termed 'epistemological optimism'? Is this optimistic outlook a salient characteristic of Chinese historiography? Which notions in pre-modern China can be conceived as equivalents of the modern notion of trauma? Can the practice of footbinding be understood as an in-built trauma of Chinese women's life? To which extent are, in present China, the traumatic experiences of the Cultural Revolution worked through in the Freudian sense? How are we to understand the contradictory role of Mao Zedong as both the hailed saviour of the Chinese nation and the presumed epitome of modern China's trauma? It is hoped that some of these issues will be addressed and more fully dealt with in the conference volume, which is in preparation, jointly co-edited by Jörn Rüsen, Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, and the present author.

Naturally, many other important questions were not or not sufficiently dealt with. Nevertheless, the conference has certainly made a first step forward into the direction mapped out by the noted historian Christian Meier who called for 'an elaborated comparative view of the different forms, within which the different cultures and societies correlate historical questions, worldviews, and interests with certain ways of activity, of change, of expectation, and with certain structural peculiarities of society'. ■

Europe in China III

The third meeting of the research group *Europe in China* was entitled 'Between Ming and Qing: The Jesuits, Dynastic Decline, Internal Strife, and the Establishment of a New Order in Seventeenth Century China' and took place at Technische Universität Berlin, 22-26 April 1998. Although this title was broad enough to include several topics, one might ask whether anything new can be said about a period that has been fairly well studied for a long time. Like former meetings, however, this one again turned out to be innovative in several respects.

■ By **N. STANDAERT**



At the first level of innovation were the discussions on lesser known people or texts: e.g. the bizarre role of Buglio and Magalhaes at the court of the rebel king Zhang Xianzhong (1644-1646), who organized a large-scale massacre of the Sichuan people, or the problem of Christianity's foreign origin as discussed by the Chinese Christian Zhu Zongyuan. Three papers were devoted to Mingli tan, the first Chinese translation of Aristotle's *Isagoge Porphyrii* and *Categoriae*. Although this text had very little success in the seventeenth century, it came to the attention of

scholars like Hu Shi, Ma Xiangbo, and Chen Yuan in the early twentieth century. Among the texts scarcely studied before were treatises on music and medicine as well as Chinese and Manchu memorials to the Throne concerning Christian-related topics. The Manchu interpretation of Christianity is a whole field open for further investigation.

At another level of innovation was the question of whether the transition between Ming and Qing was a change from success to failure, or from interest in to indifference to Christianity. The first point is to understand better what success means, since the diminishing of elite converts ran parallel to an enormous increase in conversions at the middle

and lower levels of society. Most participants thought that the transition between Ming and Qing itself was not responsible for this change. Two interpretations were advanced: the disinterest in religious subjects either had already started around 1630 (since a detailed analysis of the prefaces written by elite scholars shows a sudden decline around that period) or it occurred around 1670 when Qing scholars moved their interest from learning from the West, mainly scientific subjects, to rebuilding their own Confucian tradition.

The conference delved deeply into the process of appropriation of European ideas. It appeared that these were appropriated, some said digested, in very different ways, by very different people at very different times. Through questions like how they were accepted (did Christianity provoke the acceptance of new ideas or were they already present in China?), a whole new view of the reception by the Kangxi Emperor was presented: for him the appropriation of Western learning became an instrument of control which implied

aspects such as loyalty, confidence, and a new relationship to the Classics and to specialists or simply to specialists. It was also noted that Chinese as well as Western missionaries participated in the construction of myths about each other's cultures (Western learning having its origin in China or the Chinese learning having its origin in the West). The purpose of these myths should be studied in more detail: they often functioned as a rhetorical means to argue for or against the acceptance of Western learning.

One final paradigm for discussion was the question of language and translation, which was touched upon in many papers. Apart from the question of plurality of languages in this early contact between China and the West (different European languages, Chinese, Manchu, but also the regional languages and specialized languages), much attention was devoted to the question of categories: how some basic categories like science, religion, medicine, and music as understood in the seventeenth century might well be different from what are understood in present-day usage. Instead of a simple explanation of the tension between understanding and non-understanding in the seventeenth cen-

tury, participants were made aware of the complexity of the dialogue involved, a complexity that was not very different from the dialogue at the conference.

A selection of the papers will be published. ■

N. Standaert is attached to the Department of Eastern and Slavic Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
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Europe in China is a research group sponsored by the European Association of Chinese Studies. Its primary goal is the study of the interaction between Chinese and European cultures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly from a Chinese perspective, and based on Chinese sources. The group was established in 1990, held a first colloquium in Paris in 1991, and a second one in Rome in 1993. The organization of the third meeting was in the hands of Michael Lackner and Catherine Jami.

15 MARCH 1998
BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA

Chinese Business Networks

On March 15, 1998, Chi-Kong Lai organized a workshop on Chinese business networks. Several important characteristics of networks were discussed, including their complexity; their international nature; their relationship with the State; their policy of co-operation; their relationship with indigenous groups; their native-place ties; their different categories; and their flexibility and fluidity. Although the role of networks in the current Asian economic crisis was not discussed, it can be argued that those involved in the networks have a better chance of survival.

By CHI-KONG LAI

Report
The Head of Asian Languages and Asian Studies at the University of Queensland, Professor Kam Louie expressed the hope that workshops such as this would help build up support groups among the underprivileged in the Chinese community as well as help our understanding of the network systems among the wealthy.

Carl Trocki (Queensland University of Technology), discussed the history of Chinese opium networks in Singapore. Throughout Asia, from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, opium farming was the largest source of colonial government revenue and opium farmers were key figures in every society. The complex system of net-

works used by opium farmers involved: the 'kongsi' (companies made up of a large number of investors) secret societies (the enforcers who policed 'kongsi' security), and the elite (native leaders and colonial officials). Networks were established for the rich and powerful to exploit the labour of the poor who were paid in opium, to fuel their addiction.

Paul Ivory (Sunshine Coast University) discussed how Chinese organized crime also involved complex, inter-relational networks: the Han core of mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong; the inner diaspora of neighbouring Asian nations; and the outer diaspora of overseas Chinese in Western countries. He commented on the huge upheaval in organized crime in the 1980s and 1990s, owing to the great influx of refugees and migrants to the outer diaspora. John Butcher (Griffith University) pointed out that

both opium farming and organized crime networks involved at least some collaboration with the State. This is a valuable key in understanding how Chinese business networks can use the law for financial gain.

On the other hand, Sue Jackson (University of Queensland) gave a good example of the State's attempt to restrict network activity. The Malaysian government imposed a New Economic Policy in 1971 to undermine Chinese economic power. The result was a massive increase in state-owned, indigenously operated enterprises. The ploy ultimately failed because Chinese business networks simply joined forces and invested in a wider field of industries. She called this strategy 'co-operation before competition'. It seems to be an important factor in the successful survival of networks.

Liew Leong (Griffith University) raised the issue of the tentative relationship between the Chinese community and the indigenous elite. Chinese networks tend to be exclusive which may be seen as a positive or negative characteristic. Consequently, there seems to be an unwritten code of intra-group co-operation and inter-group competition, as exists between the Hakka and Hokien communities.

David Ip (University of Queensland) discussed how Chinese migrants used their family and social networks to emigrate. Migrants from the People's Republic of China were mostly highly-educated students who decided to stay in Australia after 1989, foregoing professional careers in China. They came to Australia with little money, few contacts, and no knowledge of the Brisbane area and could often find employment only as cleaners or factory workers. In contrast, the Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese were mostly business migrants with established native-place ties and were soon able to build up their businesses. Therefore Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese concentrated mainly on ethnic markets, whereas PRC migrants tended to join the mainstream Australian market. Older mainland Chinese migrants, who shared a background of traumatic experiences, gained a reputation as determined entrepreneurs, willing to try anything to succeed in their second chance for happiness.

David Schak (Griffith University) criticized Hamilton's work on networks in Chinese society. He argued that networks have been used by Western scholars to explain Asian economic success. This would be satisfactory if the term were used loosely

to encompass all relationships involving transactions. However, in his study he found three different categories of networks: the family enterprises which were moral, kinship ties, friendship networks which had no hierarchy and were based mainly on trust, and enterprise group networks which were based on status and were exclusive and restricted. He believed that networks were transient, unpatterned, and fluid in nature. If this is so, the current crisis will not negate their effectiveness.

Sherman Cochran (Cornell University) questioned Schak's sharp distinction between hierarchical and egalitarian networks, believing that networks are too difficult to categorize. He highlighted the issue of 'native place' as culture capital, using as an example the success of Hong Kong entrepreneurs who used 'restaurant ties' to establish Chinese restaurants in London during the 1960s and 1970s. He pointed out that native-place ties appear to grow stronger outside China, another reason for their success.

In a nutshell the speakers showed how networks are complex and co-operative, national and international, exclusive and flexible. The Malaysian incident of 1971 reminds us that although economic setbacks occur, those involved in such networks are capable of survival. Thus, in the current Asian economic crisis, the positive characteristics of the Chinese business networks appear to suggest that the network system will continue to remain a competitive advantage. ■

CHINA, JAPAN, KOREA

Religion and Economy in East Asia

Relations exist between religion and economy. To highlight this thesis from various angles was the main aim of the three-day international workshop 'Religion and Economy in East Asia (China, Japan, Korea)', in March 1998. The Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation (ESF) was the chief sponsor and an additional contribution was offered by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Professor Knut Wolfgang Nörr, Chairman of the Deutsch-ostasiatisches Wissenschaftsforum, Tübingen, presented the welcome address. A selection of the total of seventeen papers are mentioned here.

By DR STEPHAN PETER BUMBACHER, DR GERHARD LEINSS, DR SUNGJONG PAIK

Report
To approach the vast subject in an interdisciplinary way, the conference was divided into five parts. In the theoretical part, Günter Kehr (University of Tübingen) offered a model for a micro-economic analysis of religious actions. Basing himself on the thesis that religious promises are comparable with economic goods, he discussed a matrix of religious/non-religious means leading towards religious/non-religious ends and applied it to a variety of examples of religious behaviour.

Klaus Antoni (University of Trier) spoke in the part on religious aspects of modern economic organizations in East Asia. He investigated the enormous commercialization of the Shintô wedding rituals in Japan. As

an 'invented tradition' the ceremony was introduced in 1900 in the wake of the Shintoization of Japan and did not really belong to the realm of authentic Japanese religions. Its commercialization after the end of state Shintô in 1945, therefore, did not impinge on religious feelings. Hirochika Nakamaki (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka) presented a paper on company memorial monuments on Mt. Koya, which were originally erected to honour the memory of employees who died before retirement. Annual memorial services are conducted at the tombs with the covert purpose of praying for the prosperity of the company.

In the section on pre-modern economic aspects of religious organizations Roger Greatrex (University of Lund) analysed the economic organization of the Taoist institutions on Mt. Mao during the Tang and Song dynasties. He concluded that, while the Maoshan profited from imperial patronage, it was mainly the literati

interest and involvement with this spot that set it apart from other Taoist centres. Examples of three types of the financing of local cults in ancient China were discussed by Stephan Peter Bumbacher (University of Tübingen). With or without the help of local officials, priests could levy various taxes, particular segments of the population financed cults from their own pockets, or pilgrims and believers worshipping at a local shrine would be requested to contribute objects from their possession.

Self-sacrifice

Structures of *longue durée* in economic-religious thought and actions in East Asia since the eighth century were the subject of part four. Although an integral part of Chinese popular religion, spirit money tended to be mentioned only briefly or not at all. John McCreery (Yokohama) argued that - in contrast to offerings of food, which are used to attract spirits and draw them into social relationships - offerings of spirit money are used to send them away, restoring a comfortable social distance, which shows a fundamental ambivalence toward both gods and ancestors. Olof Lidin (University of Copenhagen) claimed that discontinuities are rare events in Japanese religion and culture; continuous developments seem to be the rule. The

Shintô we meet today has not changed much since the eighth century, and Buddhism - in its earliest form - is still observed in Japan's oldest temples.

The final section of the conference concentrated on sacrifice and its economic-religious meaning. Noreya Sumihara (Tenri University) looked closely into one of the so-called Japanese New Religions, the Tenri sect which emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century and today has almost two million followers. These followers practice a kind of 'self-sacrifice', the *hi no hishin*, a 'daily dedication or contribution of labour towards the happiness of others'. Two examples were presented of companies that act partly contrary to economic laws since not being interested in the maximization of profits they try to buy at high and sell at low prices. This works due to the self-sacrificing attitude of management and workforce.

Economization of life

Indubitably mutual relations between economy and religion exist. Although this close relationship was revealed and light was shed from various angles on the complex connections between religions and economy, it is clear that an economic approach is by no means sufficient to understand all aspects of religions, one reason being that the economy

itself has to be seen as part of a culture, civilization or society at large.

Pertinent problems of economic interpretation arise particularly when religious ideas become the end of economic or otherwise non-religious investments. The issue 'money' in general and questions like 'what are the costs of religion?' or 'who profits economically from religion?' in particular proved to be delicate ones. At the same time the relationships between economy and religion are to be seen within the spatial and temporal dimensions and limitations of relevant cultural contexts. In analysing phenomena of earlier periods, patterns of economic organization, action, and thought that may differ not only in quantity but also in quality when compared with modern times have to be taken into account. That we tend today to see religious life in terms of modern market conditions is, of course, a phenomenon of our own time and culture. We may deplore it, yet it is a consequence of the economization of many aspects of human life.

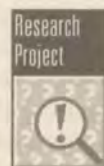
The papers will be edited for publication to present the results to the scientific community. ■

SINCE JANUARY 1998, LEIDEN

China's Civilization Process

During the Tang dynasty (618-907), the Chinese empire extended from Korea to Vietnam and deep into Central Asia, and Chinese civilization reached an apex of splendour. Though militarily far less powerful and constantly confronted with the threat of attacks from neighbouring 'barbarian' states, the Song dynasty (960-1279) also enjoys a reputation as a glorious period, stemming from its lavishly rich cultural achievements, notably in the field of philosophical thought, but also in literati paintings, ceramics, and other more tangible material creations.

■ By JAN DE MEYER,
ACHIM MITTAG &
ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER



Given the strong tendency in traditional Chinese historiography to focus on the period of a dynasty's rise and glory, it comes as no surprise that the second half of the Tang dynasty, i.e. the period of decline after the devastating An Lushan rebellion (756-763), and the subsequent period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-959), was almost completely overlooked. This tendency has changed considerably in modern sinology, a move which is largely the achievement of the Japanese scholar Naitô Konan (1866-1929) the author of the much debated 'Naitô thesis' and the prominent Chinese historian Chen Yinke (1892-1965). According to the Naitô thesis, it was in the Tang-Song transitional period

no less that Chinese state and society underwent radical changes, propelling China toward modernity centuries ahead of the West.

It should be borne in mind that the usage of the notion of 'modernity' has been repeatedly criticized, and it has been argued that the developments in Song and later imperial China led to the formation of a 'neo-traditional', rather than a 'modern' world order. Nonetheless, the Naitô thesis has served as a rich source of inspiration and a catalyst on which some solid research work has been based. Despite this, our knowledge of this crucial period is still insufficient and research work has hitherto lacked broader conceptual frameworks. Owing to the overwhelming influence of traditional historiography, the long-standing view of the Tang and Song dynasties as separate, monolithic entities has impeded the achievement of a deeper understanding of the transitional period, i.e. roughly from 750 to 1050. Be-

cause of its focal concern with the transformation of an aristocratic society into one dominated by a bureaucratic elite, we believe that the notion of the civilization process, borrowed from the renowned sociologist Norbert Elias, can help us to understand better the dynamics of Chinese culture in the three centuries under consideration.

To study the divergent developments and the profound changes that took place in this particular period, we propose to focus on social, religious, and intellectual practices, at what might be termed an intermediate level of analysis. This means adopting an approach which avoids the extremes of treating history as an accumulation of mere facts and a too narrowly defined *Geistesgeschichte*. Our chief concern is situating world views, philosophical ideas, and moral-spiritual concepts in the social, political, and economic context to which they relate. This also entails exploring how the people in the transitional era perceived and responded to the crises and changes they experienced, what they thought about their own times in contradistinction to either previous ages or what they expected from the future.

We set great store by case studies that are based upon original source materials and open up methodologi-

cally innovative ways of dealing with those materials (private literary collections, collections of official documents, local gazetteers, etc.). We have decided to explore five larger topics, which should be of interest to researchers of Tang and Song history alike:

1. The loosening of the traditional order and the development of new world views: Changing patterns of cognition and literati discourse;
2. Empire building and the rise of stable institutions;
3. Religious beliefs and cults - their roles in state legitimization, commercialization, and local community life;
4. Status, social roles, career patterns: the rise of new elites and the extension of urban culture;
5. The shifting centre of gravity and the formation of new state, regional, and cultural identities.

Our main aim is to generate interest in this field, to encourage dialogue between scholars and researchers of Tang and Song history, to create a forum for discussions and communication, and to provide an impetus for long-term activities such as, e.g., the compilation of a textbook or biographical and bibliographical reference tools for the study of the Tang-Song transitional era.

As a first step, we organized a series of eight afternoon sessions during the past semester.

Going one step further, we presented our ideas during a round table discussion at the Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS) in Edinburgh, September 10-13, 1998, which received considerable attention. The lively discussions that ensued not only broadened the scope of topics deemed worthy of closer scrutiny, but also encouraged us to proceed along the projected path. ■

In the near future, we want to concentrate our efforts on the preparation and organization of a small, focused international symposium (preferably to be held within two years), the results of which will be published in book form. To this end, we would like to invite interested scholars to contact us at one of the following addresses:

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MARCH 9 > 12, 1998
BEIJING UNIVERSITY, PRC

The IIAS-Beida International Symposium on Modernization in Asia and China: 1860-1960

By EDUARD B. VERMEER

Report
During this conference some 30 papers were presented by both Chinese and Western scholars. Many stressed the role of government in modernization, and some questioned the modernization of government and challenged ideas about its proper functions in society. The traditional Marxist-Leninist framework of analysis (including such issues as periodization, the role of imperialism and colonialism, and the result of state intervention in capitalist development) was quite notice-

able, but increasingly, attention was turned to internal social and economic factors in China and other Asian countries. Sometimes, such as with the generalizations about the adaptivity of traditional Chinese culture and its periodic waves of 'self-negation' (in contrast with the 'complete westernization' of Taiwan) by Chang Paomin of the Institute of Political Economy of Taiwan Chengkung University, historical interpretations differed widely.

In accordance with the conference theme, transnational issues were highlighted. Different periodizations were suggested for the process of peripheralization in Southeast Asia,

which some saw as a twin sister of modern commercial development. Several historians compared Japanese and Taiwanese or Korean developments with those in China. Liu Hong (National University of Singapore) sketched the role of China (or rather, of its image) in the post-colonial build-up of Indonesia, and Kurt Radtke analysed the foundations of the image of China in pre-war Japan. Vermeer examined the rapid economic modernization effort of the Chinese government in Taiwan under pressure of the Western powers and Japan from the 1860s till the 1890s. Thomas Lindblad outlined three phases in Indonesia's economic

orientation, using international trade and investment data. Li Minghuan presented interesting data about the life and work of Wenzhou migrants in Europe.

Most historians showed great interest in such economic questions, such as industrialization and capital formation. Zhu Yingui compared the role of capital in China with that in Japan. Some papers discussed rural organizational change. Chong Wai-keong contrasted the Chinese share-holding companies set up since the late Qing period with the Western limited liability companies, and stressed their nationalistic appeal and fund-raising efforts. David

Clayton characterized Hongkong's industrial structure as being dominated by small, market-oriented, family firms, and looked for explanations of why their transaction costs were so low. At the micro-level, Wang Hongsheng analysed the links between politics and education in the recent history of his native village, and particularly the conflicts between the youth and the older generation.

Professor Dong Zhenghua of the host institute, the Center for Studies of World Modernization Processes, scrutinized modernization, first as a process and second, as a goal; besides the progress from agricultural to industrial societies, he emphasized cultural and psychological changes: secularization, urbanization, and diversification.

Very lively exchanges of views followed the formal comments of the discussants. Dong Zhenghua and Eduard Vermeer will edit a selection of revised papers, for publication in book form in the Beida Modern History series, scheduled for spring 1999. ■

Dr Eduard B. Vermeer is a member of the Academic Committee of the IIAS.

1 > 3 MAY 1998
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

The IVth International Conference on the Lotus Sutra

An International Conference on the Lotus Sutra, with the theme 'The Development of Lotus Thought and Practice in East Asia,' was held May 1-3, 1998, at Leiden University, under the sponsorship of the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies. It provided a splendid opportunity for the coming together of Japanese, European, and American scholars who specialize in Buddhist Studies with a particular interest in the Lotus Sutra tradition.

By PAUL SWANSON

Report
This meeting was the fourth international conference on the Lotus Sutra. This was the first time the conference was held in Europe, allowing greater participation by and co-operation between European and American scholars. A book based on papers from the first conference was edited by George and Willa Tanabe and published as *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*. A volume of essays based on the proceedings of this fourth Conference is also being planned for publication.

The conference opened with a reception at the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies. A welcome address by Professor Erik Zürcher of Leiden University set the tone of high expectations for the conference with a stimulating talk outlining the importance of the Lotus Sutra in East Asian Buddhism and the role of the early translations of this text into Chinese. This opening address reflected the fact that this was the first time that the theme of an International Conference on the Lotus

Sutra focused on East Asia as a whole; the themes of the previous three conferences had centred on the role of the Lotus Sutra in Japan.

The first theme of the conference focused on 'The text and its transformations'. Willa Tanabe (University of Hawai'i) provided insight into 'visual piety' by examining Lotus Sutra paintings in China and Japan and Daniel Stevenson (Kansas University) discussed the question of Lotus Sutra apocrypha and the problem of scriptural closure and authentication. One theme brought out in this panel, which reappeared many times during the following sessions, was the idea of the importance of the 'body' in Lotus Sutra religiosity.

The subject of another panel was 'Interpreting the Text'. Jackie Stone (Princeton University) looked at the hermeneutics of subjective 'mind-discernment' (kanjin) in the Lotus Sutra commentaries of medieval Japan. Jean-Noël Robert (Université Paris) analysed the 'Hundred Poems' (Hokkehyakushū) of Jien as a poetical commentary on the Lotus Sutra. The most surprising and satisfying aspect of this panel was the un-



pected synergy among the papers; each brought out different aspects of how the Lotus Sutra has been used and interpreted by its followers, whether by reciting the title, expanding on the teachings of the sutra through an avowedly subjective hermeneutics, or literarily (not literally) building on the doctrine through Lotus-themed poetry.

The third panel followed the theme 'Doctrines of Buddhahood Drawn from the Sutra'. Paul Groner (University of Virginia) argued for the importance of physical manifestation of Buddhahood in asking 'What's physical in Tendai theories of sokushin jobutsu (the realization of Buddhahood with this very body)?' Brook Ziporyn (Chung-hwa Institute of Buddhism) gave a philosophical analysis of the question of time entitled 'How to Will Backwards: Time, Forgetting and Repeti-

tion in the Lotus Sutra'. This panel added further nuance to the meaning and place of 'body' in the Lotus tradition, a theme that was prominent during the first day. The papers also served oppositely to show the depth of the philosophical traditions that have grown from the Lotus Sutra.

The final panel examined 'Lotus-inspired Praxis'. Kitagawa Zenchō (Risshō University) spoke of the figure of the bodhisattva, Sadāparibhūta from the Lotus Sutra as an ideal and guiding model. Saitō Enshin (Taishō University) provided details on the support Ennin received from lay Buddhists during his travels in Tang China. Unlike some of the earlier sessions, these papers gave a sense of the practical aspects of the Lotus Sutra tradition.

The conference was brought to a fitting close with an informal recep-

tion where the participants were able to pursue issues raised during the conference at a more personal and detailed level. A spirit of lively exchange, discussion, and camaraderie attested to the great success of the meetings. Highlights included the suggestion by Ichishima Shōshin that we aim eventually to have a total of twenty-eight conferences to match the number of chapters in Kumarajīva's version of the Lotus Sutra.

I would like to make two remarks, firstly on the prominence of papers by Western scholars given at this conference from the perspective of the T'ien-t'ai/Tendai traditions. I believe this reflects the maturation of T'ien-t'ai/Tendai studies in the West, an area that is finally taking its rightful place in Buddhist Studies. Secondly, an unexpected and most welcome synergy emerged spontaneously as the papers and discussions proceeded. The papers seemed to build on each other, with similar themes reinforcing presentations and comments of previous sessions. The total result grew to be more than a mere sum of its parts: the themes that emerged during the session, and the personal contacts and relationships that developed during the conference, will surely bear fruit far into the future.

The conference was well organized by Lucia Dolce of the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies. Financial support was provided by the International Institute for Asian Studies, the Faculty of Arts, Leiden University, Leids Universiteitsfonds, Minobusan University, Risshō University, the Royal Netherlands Academy for Arts and Sciences, Taishō University, and the University of Hawai'i. ■

Paul L. Swanson is attached to the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture.

How did the Asian Crisis affect China? The Case of Guangdong

Until the recent crisis, Asia attracted almost half the total capital inflows to developing countries – nearly US\$ 100 billion in 1996. In the last decade, the share of developing and emerging market economies of Asia in world exports has nearly doubled to almost one-fifth of the total. However, since July 1997, both Southeast and East Asia have experienced an economic shock of unprecedented severity after decades of uninterrupted high growth. The crisis in Asia has raised questions about the Asian economic miracle.

■ By CEN HUANG



China has been one of the fastest growing countries in Asia. In 1996 alone, China actually utilized foreign investments amounting US\$ 42.35 billion, which makes up about 42.3% of total foreign investment in Asia in the year. Between 1978 and 1995, China's economic growth accounted for nearly two-thirds of the increase in total income of the low-income countries, and per capita income has increased at an average annual growth rate of 7 to 8%. How has the Asian crisis affected China? Can China avert the crisis? The author tried to find answers to these questions during her recent field study in Guangdong, South China.

Guangdong export makes up more than forty per cent of mainland trade. In the past fifteen years, Guangdong has attracted a total of US\$ 36 billion foreign investments, and it had a high economic growth rate of up to 15% in 1996. Guangdong has been in the front line in meeting the challenge of the Asian crisis, and it can be seen as a window through which to glimpse what the Asian crisis has meant to China. With this purpose in mind, the author interviewed government foreign trade and economic officials and foreign investors in Guangdong in order to understand their experiences and perspectives on the Asian crisis. Indubitably the Asian crisis has had important impact in the province, which can be summarized in the following points.

First of all, foreign investments have declined. For example, Shantou, one of the three Special Economic Zones in Guangdong, approved 62 new projects with foreign investments of US\$ 75.49 million in the first quarter of 1998. Although the total number of the new projects was up 32%, the amount of the contract investments was down 46% on the same period last year. Studies reveal that at least 80% of the total foreign investments in Guangdong is from overseas Chinese sources, and the overseas Chinese have suffered badly in the Asian crisis. Another report reveals that in the first quarter of 1998, Japanese investment in Guangdong was down 42%, and South Korea investments were down by 50% on the same period last year.

Secondly, export slowed down in the first seven months in 1998. Owing to the depreciation of currencies in many Asian countries, export-

ers are seeing business shift to cheaper factories in Thailand and Malaysia. As a result, Guangdong export is facing great difficulties in competing in price with Southeast Asian exporters, especially when the Chinese Yuan still remains strong. The study found that export orders declined by an average drop of 20-30% in many small and medium export firms. During the Guangzhou Spring Trade Fair in May 1998, the export prices were forced down up to 20% on the same period last year.

Overseas donations

International buyers took the opportunity to demand lower prices, which in some cases were even lower than the production costs. This is because the buyers could find cheaper importers elsewhere. An overseas Chinese investor in several export firms told us that he was worried about how to compete with rivals in Southeast Asia who lowered prices after their currencies tumbled. With earnings dropping, this investor has dismissed one-third of his workers. His experience and the worries in its wake represent those of many foreign investors in the region. It has emerged that in some heavily foreign invested industrial zones, the shortage of labour supply is no longer a problem. On the contrary, many export firms studied have laid off or are planning to lay off workers owing to insufficient manufacture orders.

The third impact was that the charitable donations from overseas Chinese to Guangdong qiaoxiang dropped significantly. The overseas Chinese have played an important role in Guangdong's development through substantial donations of money and materials towards the construction or renovation of schools, hospitals, and other welfare projects. Now the Asian crisis has caused the decline of such donations in Guangdong. A survey found that in the past ten years Chaozan county of Shantou, for example, benefited from overseas donations in an annual range of RMB 30 million, but in the first six months of 1998, it only received a tenth of that amount. Several social welfare construction projects in the county have to stop because of the discontinuation of the overseas financial support.

Despite this negative impact of the Asian crisis on Guangdong's economy, the province still enjoys the advantages of being the leading exporter and foreign investments recipient in the country. Guangdong foreign trade and the economy con-

tinue to grow. For example, in the first quarter of 1998, Guangdong approved 3473 new projects with foreign investments of US\$ 1,994 billion, which were up 16.19% and 38.58% respectively on the same period last year. Export was US\$17.6 billion and the actual foreign investment was US\$3.06 billion, which were both representing a 20.2% increase compared to 1997.

Dreams

Although the foreign investments from Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia declined, direct investments from Europe and America increased. During the first six months in 1998, Guangdong received European investments of US\$ 1.2 billion, which was up 60.62% on the same period last year. The American investment in Guangdong was US\$ 71.27 million, up by 86.91%.

Another big leap in foreign investment in China is represented by Taiwanese investments. In the first four months in 1998, Taiwanese investment in China amounted to US\$550 million, up 41.2% on the same period last year. In the first half year of 1998, Taiwanese investments went down in Indonesia with 96.62%; in the Philippines with 87.69%, and in Thailand with 45.7%. It was interesting to note that the turmoil in Indonesia and the crisis in the Asian economy seem to have made the Taiwanese investors feel that China might be a safer and more stable place to realize their dreams of international development.

In addition, two new developments in Guangdong's foreign economy have been observed. One is the scope of foreign investment on individual projects. In the first half of 1998, Guangzhou, the capital of the Guangdong province, approved 70 projects with a contract investment of US\$ 10 million or more each, 50 projects more than in the same peri-

od last year. Another observation is that the foreign investors were encouraged to invest in some new industrial areas, such as private housing projects, and high technology projects. Dongguan is where the computer industry has established its professional production zone. The professional and technological industrial zones have become an important factor in attracting foreign investments in Guangdong.

Lesson

In a nutshell, the Asian crisis did have a great impact on China, but China has not, at least so far, suffered the way the other East and Southeast Asian countries have. The challenges facing China come from several sources. Although most academics and governments believe that China can and will maintain its current RMB exchange rate, the market seems to have a different opinion. Black market currency trading to sell RMB has reappeared on the mainland of China. Investors have shown hesitation. The IMF forecasts that China can only grow 7% this year, while the Chinese government expects its GDP growth to reach 8.1% in 1998. However, the target of 8% simply means that the economy can generate nearly enough jobs to soak up the six million Chinese entering the workforce each year, as well as the 12 million being laid off by restructuring state enterprises. The current massive laying-off in turn requires substantial investments in new firms to absorb the unemployed. Foreign investment is a major source of financing the non-state sector. So, it implies that any decline in capital inflow means a rise in the unemployment rate. Considering the lack of social welfare system and of a channel to dilute the discontent arising from joblessness and corruption, high unemployment in some contracted areas is a possible precursor to social unrest.

The Asian crisis has been a good lesson for China in terms of how to adjust its direction of the future development. China must make the effort to meet putative challenges not simply by reconstructing its economic structures and banking sys-

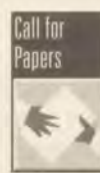
tems, but also by strengthening its social welfare and legal systems. China needs to re-establish its confidence and competitive positions in the global market. The case of Guangdong is not representative of how other provinces were affected by the Asian crisis, but it reveals that there are also opportunities in the crisis which depend on how these challenges are handled. It is hoped that China will learn lessons from the Asian crisis and not only to survive it, but also be able to maintain its fast economic growth. ■

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ECAN Second Annual Conference



The EU-China Academic Network (ECAN) will organize a conference on 'Economic Reforms, Social Conflict, and Collective Identities in China', at the Centro de Estudios de Asia Oriental, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain, January 21-22, 1999. Speakers will include Prof. Barry Naughton (University of California), Prof. Fan Gang (National Economic Research Institute, Beijing), Prof. Peter Nolan (University of Cambridge), Prof. Steve Tsang (Oxford University), Prof. Hung-mao Tien (Institute for

National Policy Research, Taipei), as well as other senior scholars, government and business representatives from Europe, China, Taiwan and the United States. Topics to be addressed will include SOE reforms, social change, the resurgence of nationalism, and the impact of the Asian financial crisis. A final panel discussion will seek to provide uniquely European perspectives on current developments in China and Asia. ■

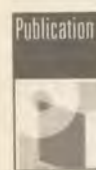
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The Original Analects

If you assume that Confucius's Analects consists of a small but still discernible kernel plus various people's additions to this core, 'The Original Analects' is a fascinating read. One must be prepared to master yet another transcription system, and the substitution of 'o' for 'BC' - ('0479' for '479 BC') but the numbering of the chapters and verses is the same as in the standard 'Lunyu'. 'A review of The Original Analects - Sayings of Confucius and His Successors', E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, 342 pp. ISBN 0-231-10430-8).

By B.J. MANSVELT BECK



It is widely recognized that classical philosophical texts, often attributed to and named after an individual, may in fact be the result of an accretion process around an older nucleus. This has been shown for the Mozi, may be surmised for the Laozi, and a convincing case has been made for the Guanzi. Not all such texts, however, have grown in this way. The Zhuangzi, for instance, stubbornly resists all efforts to slice and dice it into different layers, as does the Mengzi, but in this study it is taken for granted that the Zhuangzi is a multi-layered text, and that mere 'inconsistencies' in the Mengzi 'do imply an accretion process'.

Are mere 'inconsistencies' proof of an accretion process?

The authors apparently think so, for 'inconsistencies' in the standard Analects form the backbone of the accretion theory in these Original Analects: if we find two mutually inconsistent verses in the Lunyu, we assume that one verse is the older one, reflecting a philosophical position that the school subsequently abandoned. The school's new position on the subject was then formulated in the pithy Lunyu-style (often introduced by: 'The Master said...') and haphazardly interpolated into the old text - but the older, now 'offending' verse was not expunged. If, for example, Confucius speaks at length about the virtue *ren*, such verses obviously belong to a period in which *ren* was deemed important; when we

then meet the highly problematical verse IX.1 'The Master seldom spoke of profit and fate and *ren*', we are equally obviously dealing with a phase in the school's development where *ren* is being abandoned. This coincides nicely with Lunyu Chapters X and XI, where *ren* is not mentioned at all. So, sometime in the period to which the authors assign Chapters X and XI, somebody forged?, designed?, wrote? the above description of the Master, but did not append it to his Chapters X and XI. He interpolated it at the very beginning of the previous, pre-existing Chapter IX.

This study distinguishes no fewer than nineteen such interpolators, most of them not only adding their own chapters to the Lunyu but also dropping verses here and there in the others' chapters. Three of these interpolators had the brilliant idea of putting their own chapter at the beginning of the whole collection, so that the Analects, which began their existence with Chapter IV at the front, after a century and a half acquired Chapter III in the front of that; then years later someone added his own chapter and called it chapter II; and a further twenty-five years down the line someone did the same and called

it no. I. This form of accretion then stopped, but the text continued to grow, but only at the tail end, acquiring Chapters XVI to XX before being closed in about 249 BC ('0249').

Readers of the Analects may be surprised to learn that Confucius's most famous phrase, 'To have friends coming from far places, is this not also delightful?', is therefore a late addition, belonging to a phase in the development of the Confucian school when 'loss of court influence' seemed 'permanent', i.e. after 295. Therefore Chapter I offers 'a citizen ethic, which holds that virtue is valuable even without public service'. The busy forger (Zigao, the fifth head of the school) also left some verses in the body of the received text, but so skilfully hidden that some of them escaped detection 'until 15 October 1993'.

It will be clear that this is a book a *prendre ou a laisser* - there seems to be no middle way. The question is not whether the Lunyu is a monolithic work - it is not, the great Han commentator Zheng Xuan already suggested three authors for the text. The question is whether one can agree with a nineteen-fold layering of the work. Can one accept 'interpolation' left, right, and centre as the solution for perceived inconsistencies? The question is: can one resolve inconsistencies in the Analects by creating a new set of inconsistencies?

A detailed examination of the method employed is superfluous, consisting of a mixture of sound philological reasoning and a great deal of special pleading to tie up the loose ends. There is no doubting the authors' erudition, but one cannot escape the impression that the forces of this erudition are too often marshalled only to overwhelm the reader.

Readers who keep their wits about them will notice that the questions raised by this kind of approach are not mentioned, let alone answered. Do philosophical schools change their values as soon as the going gets tough? Do they announce their new stance by forging 'words from the Master' which they then pass off as genuine? Why do they keep the old, offending verses? If the answer is 'veneration for the old text', this leads to the question: Why did they rape the old text by interpolating into it? And perhaps most of all: do the authors really want to say that ninety-five per cent of what 'the Master said' is not what the Master said?

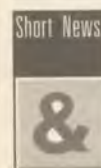
The chief value of this study, in my view, are its character as a treasure trove of Lunyu lore, and the fresh translation of the Analects that goes with it. ■

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Researching China's Provinces

It seems self-evident that Chinese provinces, with their large populations and considerable economic wealth, would attract the attention of scholars involved in China Studies. The area of central-local relations has become a favoured topic among Sinologists, particularly with the devolution of power in the post-Mao period and the increase in the scope and intensity of bargaining between the centre and provinces in such areas as fiscal and foreign trade policy. However, the study of provinces in and for themselves has been somewhat neglected.

By KEITH FORSTER



Until recently, research tended to concentrate either on the national (macro-level) or the micro-level of village or *danwei* (work unit) studies. In the 1970s there was an abortive attempt in the United States to carry out a systematic study of China's provinces, but this failed partly due to the lack of available data. One factor behind the flourishing (and, for the author, most gratifying) state of affairs today is that scholars of provincial China face exactly the opposite problem to that which saw the 1970s project collapse. The question now is how to handle the flood of material which continues to pour off the Chinese printing presses.

The challenge to describe and explain what has been happening in

China's provinces was taken up by Professor Goodman, Director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney, who since 1995 has organized a series of workshops in different Chinese cities around the theme of Reform in Provincial China. The first volume of papers was published 1997, a second volume will appear this year. In 1997 David Goodman built on the success of the workshops to launch a new journal *Provincial China: research, news, analysis*, and in 1998 a Centre for Research into Provincial China was established in Sydney under the joint sponsorship of UTS and the University of New South Wales. The Centre is sponsoring a series of provincial monographs around the theme of reform, to be published jointly by Wild Peony Press (Sydney) and the University of Hawai'i Press.

The first task has been to describe and analyse provincial economic and

social development during the period of reform, and to identify key source material to enable this to be carried out. Provincial China has published key provincial economic and social indicators, and bibliographies concerning Guangdong, Sichuan, and Zhejiang provinces. Some of the issues which have emerged from the China workshops include the nature and characteristics of provincial culture and identity, the variations in sub-provincial economic and social development, and the re-emergence of pre-revolutionary patterns of social, economic and political organization and behaviour. Future research will elucidate and develop these themes. ■

Some recent publications on Provincial China:

Peter Cheung, Jae Ho Chung and Lin Zhimin (eds),
Provincial Strategies of Economic Reform in Post-Mao China: Leadership, Politics, and Implementation
(NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

Keith Forster
Zhejiang in Reform
Wild Peony Press and University of Hawaii Press: Sydney and Honolulu, forthcoming 1998

Hans Hendrischke and Feng Changyi (eds),
The Political Economy of China's Provinces: Competitive and Comparative Advantage
London: Routledge, 1998

Keith Forster is attached to the Southern Cross University.

Chinese Linguistics

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IALC) was held in conjunction with the Tenth North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics at Stanford University on June 26-28 this year.

By WOLFGANG BEHR



The joint organization of the two meetings by Professor Sun Chaofen and his Stanford colleagues resulted in an unexpectedly high number of participants. A hundred and thirty scholars, or almost one half of the current membership of the International Association for Chinese Linguistics (IACL), were present.

The regional distribution of participants - roughly one half from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the PRC and another half from North America, with eight Europeans and a handful of Australians, Japanese, and Koreans scattered in between - reflects the current geographical affiliations of the Association's members quite closely. The ridiculously low number of mainland Chinese scholars, who, if Hong Kong is excluded, do not even constitute one-twentieth of the overall membership of the world's largest international association for Chinese linguistics, is deeply to be regretted.

An extraordinary breadth of topics was addressed at the conference, ranging from generative syntax, over functional approaches, including grammaticalization studies and dis-

course pragmatics, to historical linguistics, phonetics & phonology, semantics and cognitive linguistics, psycho- and sociolinguistics, the study of language acquisition, computational linguistics and even the historiography of Chinese linguistics. Unlike last year's meeting in Leiden, topics directly related to Sino-Tibetan comparative linguistics were almost entirely absent at this conference.

The Stanford meeting has shown that topics in generative/minimalist frameworks, which have tended to dominate IACL's conferences during the mid-nineties in view of the sheer number of speakers working in these paradigms, are gradually receiving heavy competition from new and not-so-new areas of research, such as discourse pragmatics, functional studies of grammaticalization processes or corpus-based approaches to lexical semantics and information structure. A marked and very welcome trend, which crosscuts these coarse methodological classification is an increased interest in the study of Chinese 'dialects'. It remains to be seen if it will continue at the next two annual meetings in Melbourne (1999) and Singapore (2000) under the Association's new president, Anne Yue-Hashimoto of the University of Washington, Seattle. ■

The Way of Tea

Anna Beerens is of the opinion that 'The Japanese Way of Tea. From Its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū' by Sen Sōshitsu XV and translated by V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998. 32 pp., ISBN 0-8248-1897-0) should be approached with caution because of its tendency to read history backwards.

By ANNA BEERENS



The title of this book suggests that it is the story of the Way of Tea, that is *chadō*, or *chanoyū*, best known in the West as the Japanese tea ceremony. Actually, it deals with the prehistory of the tea ceremony, but, it is no simple history of tea-drinking either: to its author, tea-drinking and the tea ceremony are much the same thing. The story moves from Tang China to Sen Rikyū, the founder of modern *chanoyū*, with striking inevitability. The evolutionary line presented by Sen may not be quite so straightforward.

It is significant that the term *chanoyū* is not defined at the outset or

later in the book. Although it has been used throughout the history of tea-drinking practices in Japan, it has not always had the same meaning. In obscuring these differences, Sen creates an impression of continuity that is not altogether justifiable. The term *chanoyū*, left undefined, is turned into an extremely elastic concept by a veil of rather vague spiritual, aesthetic, and idealistic notions.

Sen tells his story mainly by presenting quotations from sources relating to what may be called a spirituality of tea, beginning with Lu Yu's *Chajing*, or *Classic of Tea*, from Tang China. This focus on spirituality often obscures the reality and actual practice of the period under discussion. For example, in the last chapters on Murata Jūkō, Takeno

Jōō, and Sen Rikyū, Sen focuses so exclusively on the texts expressing the thought of these masters that he forgets to tell us how the 'tea ceremony' had developed in the meantime. We find words cropping up like 'tea master', 'tea student', 'beginners', 'men of tea', 'practice sessions', that make us realize that 'tea' had become an established 'Way' with its own recognized rules, teaching practices and hierarchy. This development, however, is not discussed in any systematic way.

The starting point of Sen's book is the *Chajing* of the second half of the eighth century. As this work is simply the oldest remaining monograph on tea it might be considered the ancestor of any tea drinking tradition. The *Chajing* has been a very influential book, both in China and in Japan, but it never led to the development of a Chinese tea ceremony, nor did it set in motion a chain of reactions that produced Sen Rikyū some centuries later. The *Chajing* and the other Chinese sources mentioned by Sen should be studied for their own sake and be carefully related to their own context, to the subtleties of the Chinese literati way of life and the role of connoisseurship.

It is a pity that the format of *The Japanese Way of Tea* does not permit any discussion of later reactions to Sen Rikyū's *chanoyū*. Then we would have seen how the Kyoto literati of the eighteenth century used that same *Chajing* and many other Chinese works on tea to justify their rejection of *chanoyū* which they had come to see as an anaemic and stilted performance, an expensive pastime that pursued an image of rustic simplicity at high cost.

Sen, however, presents Lu Yu as the representative of a certain aspect of *chanoyū*: the creation of a world apart, away from the daily grind and the vulgar. In the same way, looking back at the history of tea drinking in Japan with a thorough knowledge of the finesses of modern *chanoyū*, Sen states that occurrences 'foreshadow' later developments, certain expressions are 'an embryonic form' of later terminology. Eisai (1141-1215) and his *Kissa Yōjōki* are declared representative of the quotidian and rational element of *chanoyū*. The tea drinking habits of the Zen temples of the mediaeval period provide the necessary link between Zen and *chanoyū*. The tea-tasting contests of the same period 'introduce' the elements of enter-

tainment, hosts and guests and the growing importance of utensils both as decoration and as prize. The last part of the book shows the emergence of the 'grass hut style' *chanoyū* and the terms of *wabi* and *sabi*. While these developments are often depicted with a certain objectivity and independence in the chapters in which Sen deals with them at length, later in the text they are inevitably summarized in such a way as to fit seamlessly into the line of the argument.

This book directs one to a large amount of relevant source material and this is a redeeming feature. But it is marred by its tendency to read history backwards. In his foreword to this book Paul Varley states that the 'greatest value' of it 'lies in the authority with which Dr Sen has been able to describe the evolution of the way of tea in Japan from its beginnings to the age of Sen Rikyū'. This is exactly what is wrong with this book. In spite of its great erudition, Sen's *Japanese Way of Tea* is a book that should be approached with caution because of its highly teleological character. ■

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22 > 24 JUNE 1998
PARIS, FRANCE

Third Ancient Chinese Grammar Colloquium

For the third time after Zurich 1994 and Beijing 1996, the International Symposium on Ancient Chinese Grammar was held on June 22-24 this year in Paris. Almost fifty speakers from China, Taiwan, Japan, the United States, Canada, France, Norway, Germany, and Switzerland gave their papers in the Amphitêatre Stourdzé of the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, where the conference was jointly organized by the Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale of the C.N.R.S. and the University of Oslo.

By WOLFGANG BEHR



The meeting started as a small workshop-like event in Zurich four years ago, with the intention of bridging the gap between Chinese and Western scholars working in the field of Ancient Chinese grammar. It then quickly developed into a full-fledged conference with several hundred participants in Beijing and now seems to have reached a preliminary and always precarious balance between the acceptance of a large variety of presentations and participants on the one hand, and wishes for more intensive and unhurried exchanges on the other.

The heading 'Ancient Chinese' was understood in a fairly broad sense, so that the topics of presentations, albeit roughly concentrating on the five hundred years before the unification of China by the First Emperor of Qin (221 BC), addressed an overall time-frame spanning from the earliest inscriptions on oracle bones during the late second millennium BC to

the very end of the pre-modern period. Several of the papers dealing with syntax and/or semantics, traced the development of verbal complement constructions from Ancient throughout Medieval Chinese, the origin of classifiers and measure words, the evolution of passive constructions, as well as various aspects of pronoun systems in Archaic, Classical, and late Medieval Chinese.

The increasing use of inscriptional source materials, uncorrupted by the history of transmissions, omissions, and editions, is certainly one of the most gratifying developments in the study of Ancient Chinese grammar during recent years. It allows for a fresh and sometimes rather surprising perspective on topics otherwise reputed to be dead, such as the syntax of attribution in Archaic Chinese, which was argued by Anne Yue-Hashimoto of the University of Washington to display a 'Head + Modifier'-pattern, rather reminiscent of Tibeto-Burman languages, in its oldest stages. A panel focusing on the history and theory of Chinese writing and its first explicit classification in the *Shuowen jiezi*, reflected

the continued European interest in a topic outside the core of what is usually perceived as Chinese linguistics by scholars from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. The fairly novel concern with the study of conceptual categories, semantic fields of synonyms and antonyms in Ancient Chinese on the other hand, would seem to indicate a certain steering away from more traditional lines of inquiry, certainly enhanced by the increased availability of computerized text-corpora facilitating fine-grained semantic classifications. A similar broadening of its research focus characterizes the field of phonology, represented by two papers at this symposium, in which attention was directed more towards interfaces with morphology and syntax, than towards the reconstruction of the Old Chinese phoneme system per se.

Commemorating the centenary of the publication of the first grammar of Ancient Chinese, this symposium sought to evoke the spirit of the author Ma Jianzhong (1845-1900) and his striving for a true amalgamation of Chinese indigenous philology and Western grammatical concepts. The organizing committee at the Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale, facing the tough job of hosting an international conference at a time when the French capital was besieged by legions of soccer fans flocking in for the World Championships from all over the world, is to be congratulated for the creation

of a very pleasant atmosphere of scientific exchange in a smoothly scheduled, exciting programme.

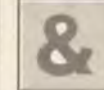
During recent years, communication between Asian, European, and American scholars of Chinese linguistics, despite its still rather perfunctory nature, sometimes seems to be even more intensive than that within Europe itself. Acknowledging this problem, an important side-event of the conference was a preparatory meeting for the establishment of the European Association of Chinese Linguistics, which will be open to all interested scholars working in Europe, regardless of their respective

theoretical frameworks or periods of specialization. The Association will be dedicated to the co-ordination of research projects, sources, and the overall enhancement of communications in Europe at a time when the splendid isolation of strictly national research endeavours has ceased to be a scientific option. ■

Dr Wolfgang Behr was an IAS research fellow from January to November 1998, and has now taken up a position at the Faculty of East Asian Studies, University of Bochum, Germany.

Japanese Library of Art

Short News



Last April, a Japanese art library was opened in Amsterdam. Almost two thousand volumes (mainly in Japanese) have been brought together, covering a wide range of fields, including calligraphy, painting, sculpture, *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints), *suiboku* (ink painting), Buddhist art, pottery, lacquerware, and tea ceremony. The library is open for scholars and anyone generally interested in Japanese art. The library is established in an especially designed interior so as to create an intimate atmosphere dedicated to the appreciation of Japanese art. Detailed information about the collection of the library can be found in the computerized library catalogue, both in English and in Japanese, at the library and via the Internet.

The library was opened by the Culture Communication Fund BV (CCF), an institute connected with the Cen-

tury Museum in Tokyo and the Century Cultural Foundation. The aim of CCF is to develop the understanding and study of Japanese culture in Europe, especially through the art of calligraphy, for which Japan is famous. The undertaking of the present library is linked to the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the relationship between the Netherlands and Japan.

The library is open weekdays from 9.30 am to 4.30 pm. It is closed in weekends and on national holidays. Entry is free, though membership registration is required. ■

Further information:

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<http://www.ccf.nl>

The Korean Nation and the 'World System'

The current global malaise is taken by many as *prima facie* evidence that the world is describable, at least with regard to economics, in terms of a unifying system. In South Korea, where until recently calls for internationalization were made with increasing frequency and confidence, the demonstrated risks involved are now turning attention more urgently to questions about the global system: what is the nature of the beast, what is the relation of the two Koreas to the world-system, and what place can the Korean nation have as a self-determining cultural entity within the world-system? In short, is there a nation-state future for Korea?

By KENNETH M. WELLS

The concept of a division era has been refined as a theory of division contradictions. Son Hoch'ol, the sociologist, has analysed whether the division is an effect of imperialism or an effect of capitalism. This created an impasse over whether democracy had to wait upon reunification or whether the reverse was the case, and a search began for a unified theory of contradictions relating to the division. But the search was motivated also by a desire to find a particularly Korean, third way between the Vietnamese and German reunifications and a Korean alternative to capitalism and degenerated socialism that is appropriate to both northern and southern regions of the peninsula (Son, 1994:318-22).

A significant attempt to break the PD (People's Democracy) - NL (National Liberation) impasse over theory and practice has been made by the literary critic and publisher Paek Nakch'ong, who advanced the theory of a division 'system' that encompasses north and south as one whole, in the sense that its contradictions are not between the two states but between their combined populaces and the world-system that maintains the regimes that rule and divide them.

The thrust of Paek Nakch'ong's theory of a division-system is that all the social, economic, military, political, and cultural contradictions of Korea are systemic. Paek draws heavily on Immanuel Wallerstein's writings on the world-economy, particularly the view that virtually the entire world has become a system of capitalist division of labour. Thus the interstate system - the system of nation-states - is the political expression of the capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein, 1984:4). For Paek, the two Koreas together form a single boundary within which there is a major contradiction, the division, which means that no satisfactory change can occur in either north or south since this contradiction will always stymie the attainment of real democracy and real autonomy so long as it exists.

Unique position

The place of the Korean nation is clarified by Paek's formulation of the relation between the Korean division

and the world-system: 'While a subordinate system to the world-system, [the division-system] is a unique union of north and south Korean systems that has its own definite characteristics' (Quoted in Son, 323). This unique union has its own self-reproducing dynamic, which can only be tackled satisfactorily by the Korean *minjung* (ordinary populace). More than this, the unique characteristics of the Korean case are due to Korea's being the sharpest focus of the contradiction of the world-system, and as such are in the forefront of global development. The solution found by Koreans to their division-system will become the pattern for the solution of the world-system itself (Paek, 1994:113, 322-6). Hence it is prescribed by the world-system and Korea's unique position within it that a Korean national movement must flourish at this point.

For Paek, the test of their validity is whether national movements are anti-systemic, and he argues that even though they have obvious imperfections, reforms which issue from these movements are nevertheless real in themselves and must be understood in relation to the overall movement to topple the division-system, a movement Paek believes is clearly winning (Paek, 1995: 204). Again, this echoes Wallerstein who adopts an optimistic view even of anti-systemic movements that seem to disappoint the purpose. Social movements have found it very difficult to remain essentially anti-systemic once in power, and nationalistic movements have found it virtually impossible' (Wallerstein, 130). Wallerstein believes that the cumulative effect of these movements will be to create a crisis for the world-economy that will favour socialism. In a sense, the key element in Paek's arguments about the role of recent movements in Korea and his willingness to promote the issue in national terms may be understood as an adoption of Wallerstein's faith that such movements can be 'revitalized,' and that 'we can feed our knowledge back into these movements and thus contribute to progress in the mode of operation of the movements themselves' (Paek, 1995:205).

Not only the sophistication but also the motives behind Paek Nakch'ong's elaboration of a 'division-system' theory stimulate rethinking one's view of the world as well as on Korea's particularity.

Moreover, he corrects the common tendency to attribute all negative aspects of Korea's past and present to non-Korean factors and thus endows Koreans with the dignity of being significantly involved in the course of their own affairs.

The commitment equally directs attention to the question of analysis, which is not, it seems, without its problems. In this respect one might well question literature or historiography that promotes nationalism either as the only possible or desirable arrangement (as an end in itself) or as the proper strategic form for the time in question (as a means to an end). To the extent that nationalism concerns the political organization of peoples, it is an arena of concentrated power-seeking or power-building, and nationalist historiography becomes willy-nilly an aspect of this, affirming the validity of its *modus operandi* even where it is written on behalf of an opposition movement.

This is to say that for the kind of aims desired - reunification, democracy, abolition of productive inequalities and contradictions - nationalism or nationalistic historiography might be neither helpful nor necessary. Can nationalism be simultaneously promoted and restrained; can it ultimately be turned to the desired ends and dropped once its 'strategic' usefulness ends? There is, of course, a larger issue in the case of the division-system theory over the validity of Wallerstein's world-system and the function of initially anti-systemic nationalist and other movements within that system. There are some points specifically relating to nationalism that should be addressed, even if I can only do so briefly.

Anti-systemic movements

Although I do not find evidence that Kang Man'gil accepts the world-system in Wallerstein's sense, or even perhaps the division-system in Paek's sense, it is clear that he favours historical research that promotes nationalist categories. When he predicates the establishment of his '*minjok chuch'e saron*' (historical theory of the national subject) on first identifying 'non-national, anti-historical' elements, it is not clear what 'anti-historical' means. Does it imply that 'history' is something transparent that is spread out before us from past to future as a process of which the goal is known? One cannot help noticing a strong element of romanticism in Wallerstein's formulation of this relation, which masks the all too well known facts concerning the enormous human calamities of this century - a century that Hobsbawm aptly characterizes as an 'age of extremes.'

So long as nation-states exist, they are the necessary arenas of the class movement and the galvanizing force for anti-systemic movements of var-

'The union
has its own
self-reproducing
dynamic'

ious kinds. A nationalistic movement, where the term is appropriate, must be on behalf of the nation-state in relation to others; a class movement must be on behalf of that class's interests primarily within the nation-state and only secondarily in relation to other nation-states. If it were possible for the primary and secondary aspects of a class movement to coincide with the interests of the nation-state qua nation-state, such a phenomenon would be counterfactual to the very notion of a genuine capitalist world-system in which the nation-state is its 'expression of power.' On the other hand, if this is not possible, there is certainly no logical reason for the claim that there is a cumulative, progressive effect of movements of 'false consciousness' that comprise the absorption of class struggle into nationalist movements.

There is no logical reason for moving from the observation that anti-systemic movements such as Pol Pot's Cambodia 'have discovered no single state-structure [and] can enact a transformation either of the interstate system or of the world-economy' (Wallerstein, 107), to the assertion that these movements indicate a looming, fatal crisis for capitalism, and that therefore their complicity in nationalism is not ultimately problematic. For if it is really the case that the ideological or moral commitment of the leaders of such movements is powerless against the 'social relation' they find themselves in when they do gain power, which is to say that they are in the same structural position of the capitalist leadership they set out to replace and therefore in no sense 'anti-systemic,' then the case is, on logical grounds, hopeless.

That the strategic appeal to nationalism and the principle of 'revitalization' appear to be grounded in nothing other than appeals to those who feel victims of the system is the Achilles' heel of the whole scheme. In such a case, how can 'revitalization' become anything other than 'repetition'? And in the process we must, apparently, witness the savage excesses of nationalist movements or socialist-revolutionary movements that if politically successful become perpetrators of the chilling oppressions with which this century has become horribly familiar. Further, we are to expect and accept that the Korean scholars whose values we might now appreciate will even now be transforming into protagonists of principles contradictory to their present positions, since 'how can proponents of a Marxist world view...

doubt that the contradictions of a capitalist world-economy would find expression in their own actions (just as much as in the actions of other social actors)?' (Wallerstein, 9-10).

This 'explanation' not only of nationalism but of betrayal and the accompanying mass suffering, surely gives one pause. One might say the world-system theory is eminently flexible, capable of encompassing a great variety of phenomena and likely to be upset by very few developments. On the other hand, this reduces its utility and raises a number of doubts. It is difficult - and not always meaningful - to negotiate with a position to which almost any development can be assimilated. The many hundreds of thousands of people who continue to be slaughtered this decade on the altar of ethnic or racial 'identities,' which provide the soil of nationalist movements and opportunities for other powers' interests, are also 'real' concerns of our times that should not be absent from historians' consciousness. One certainly does not need a nationalist perspective in order to agree that treatment under military regimes, colonial occupation, monopolistic economic giants responsible to no electorate, and so on, is something to oppose. One wonders, when faced with the downside of the world-system as we are now, whether strengthening ethnic and supposedly single-culture bases of identity and political organization will either topple the 'system' or lead into better conditions of human dignity. ■

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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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Visual Art Impressions

This year I travelled to Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, China, and Japan to research the work of young visual artists. I concentrated on young artists who had not yet been absorbed into the local establishment. My research was focused on the preparation of Platform 2 (the second artbook published by Canvas Foundation), in which work of these artists is presented. I met critics, art historians, exhibit organizers, museum curators, art academy teachers, gallery owners and, of course, many artists. I will briefly discuss some of my impressions of the visual art situations in the countries that I visited.

By MARTIJN KIELSTRA



The high speed of change in Asia had raised great expectations. In general modernization and a changing political climate are creating better opportunities for modern art. When I visited Tokyo, I expected a dynamic young art scene, as a lot of Japanese artists had emerged on to the international stage during the past few decades, but the studios were hard to find. Not many people in Tokyo were able to give me information about them. Take galleries, for instance. Many of them work with a virtually unchanging set of mainly foreign artists. Young Japanese artists can only show their work in these galleries by paying a high rent.

As a critical statement against this expensive 'gallery on hire' system, the artist Tsuyoshi Ozawa created the Nasibu Gallery, the smallest gallery in the world, in 1993. From time to time Japan's finest young artists are still on show (for free) in this mobile gallery. Galleries which do present young Japanese artists are often not aware of 'young' developments in the rest of Tokyo. The independent curator and critic Fumio Nanjo explained to me that this lack of knowledge about others flows from the insular nature of the Japanese. In other words, you just mind your own business. This may be true, but there are also other developments.

Previous generations had the drive and the ambition to achieve international success; many of them left for Europe or the US. Partially due to the economic crisis, today's youth find it hard to escape the vicious circle of disinterest of their own country. But cream will always rise to the top. Mariko Mori is becoming a new international star. Her photography calls for an 'eternal harmony of human spirit'. I also enjoyed a multi-media rock experiment by Hiroyuki Matsukage and Muneteru Ujino. For the period of one year they

are combining (graphic) design, photography, performance, and rock music.

Between layers

In contrast to the Japanese invisibility of young artists, their Vietnamese counterparts pop up all over the place. This is true of both the typical paintings for foreigners, to be found in hundreds of galleries of all sizes in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, and of more progressive experimental art on show at foreign exhibitions. A walk along the commercial 'street-galleries' quickly shows that it is mostly the same artists on show. At international exhibitions outside Vietnam a limited circle of artists is also continuously on display. Catalogues of earlier exhibitions are often the only source of information for foreign exhibitors.

In Hanoi I searched for artists between the two visible layers of galleries and international catalogues. But very few young artists explore experimental imagery or themes that deviate from the Vietnamese mainstream art so popular with foreigners. And it is exactly those who do, like Minh Thanh, Van Cuong, and the female artist Dinh Y Nhi, who are welcomed by the international art trade.

'Art from Very Young Artists' was the name of one of the exhibitions I visited. It showed work by artists in their early twenties. As the title suggested, the work was indeed very young. But nevertheless I had never seen their style and way of working before in Vietnam. It goes to show that more and more young artists are finding their own way. The artist Truong Tan has greatly influenced this development. His work unmistakably has homosexuality as its theme; obviously a rather controversial subject in Vietnam. Tan has shown that art can also be used as a medium for engagement.

Social Misery

Engagement or social conflict is the driving force behind the work of many young artists in Indonesia.



Photographing the work of Xin Haizhou

Their social environment forms an inescapable source of inspiration for their work. According to critic Jim Supangkat, a lot of work is no more than an outcry or a slogan. There is no real social criticism: artists are too much a part of society to be able to step back and comment. Artists such as Agus Suwage and Agung Kurniawan heed this criticism and are trying to identify their position in society. Kurniawan explained to me that he is growing tired of expressing social misery over and over in his work, but at the same time he cannot ignore it.

Younger artists like Isa Perkasa and Nandang Gawe in Bandung and S. Teddy D. and Yustoni Volunteero in Yogyakarta seem to be even more radical. If the political situation in Indonesia ever really 'normalizes', it will be interesting to see how the artistic creativity of these artists will develop. Meanwhile, art critic Dwi Marianto stressed to me that young artists do not confine themselves to this 'conflict art'. Take Diah Yulianti for example. She has just finished the art academy in Yogyakarta and in her work shows the beauty and the diversity of her childhood surroundings, the natural beauty of Kalimantan villages.

Global centre

Although I focused mainly on two-dimensional art, I had the impression that a new wave of art in China highlighting the things which interest and influence the youth of today, apparently without passing judgement. These artists, still in their twenties, were in school when China was opening up to foreign ideas and culture. They see, and make use of, the new possi-

bilities. The English language, pop music, cartoons, and most consumer goods are as everyday to them as to someone in Amsterdam or London.

According to art critic Li Xianting, Fang Lijun's 'Water' paintings, although silently hiding something behind the stillness, marks Fang's movement to a more silent method of dealing with scenes of daily life. These 'Water' pieces were recently on show in Fang Lijun's solo exhibition in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. The representation of daily life charged with a sense of alienation, complacency, and apathy has become a new and more and more recognized visual language to many of these artists.

Meanwhile, China's art world is not only dreaming but also talking about China as the new global centre for modern art. The rapid growth of China as a world power, the new conservatism in art and even the post-colonial placement of China's modern art in the West should make such a development possible. China is teeming with happening, but it is one of those places where the infrastructure still leaves much to be desired yet. In the meantime, young artists worry about their work disappearing into foreign collections and not being available in China when the modern art museums finally arrive.

I was only in Thailand for a week, too short to learn about the most recent developments of the artistic climate. Anyway, in Bangkok I was almost laughed away by young students who heard I was looking for artists with a grounding in painting, drawing, or graphical techniques. I wonder: in a country

where interest in and understanding of modern art is so minimal, making foreign attention financially important at the very least, how many of these students will still be exhibiting in five years' time.

Not understood

This brings me to some concluding remarks. One of the great frustrations for many contemporary artists I met is the fact that their work is barely seen or understood in their own country. It is mainly foreigners and art academy students who turn up for exhibition openings. Participating in exhibitions abroad is not satisfying enough in the long run, and leaving their country seems to be the only option for some.

Naturally artists should not be guided by commercial motifs. But, on the other hand, I think it is a mistake for young artists to think that they 'have' to make installations. Bangkok's art academies have some good teachers in the field of three-dimensional art. But in many other countries, like China, courses at art academies still tend to be preponderantly conservative. Many multimedia artists have a 'classical' background. Over the years they have also learned about other media and finally became strong in that area too. Perhaps for many young artists that is still a good 'road' to follow. ■

Martijn Kielstra and Joris Escher founded Canvas World Art in 1995. This is a Dutch organisation that supports and promotes young artists from Asia and Latin America. Work of the artists is published in books (the Platform series) and exhibited. Canvas also leases the work to companies and other institutions in the Netherlands. In order to present a continuous picture of artists in Asia and Latin America, Kielstra and Escher make regular visits to the artists.

New Media Art from India

16th World Wide Video Festival

In the past sixteen years the World Wide Video Festival has grown from an experimental event to a renowned international platform for the presentation of the newest productions of media art for an increasing public. This year again the festival programme was distinguished by a rich diversity: installations, site specific work, performances, videotapes, CD-ROMs, and websites. To enhance the mapping of the developments within media art, a seminar was about the ontology of the electronic image, narrative structures in media art, and how to create exhibition spaces for it. International speakers analysed media art at this moment in time, when this art form seemed to be breaking through to a much wider audience.

By JOHAN PIJNAPPEL
translated to English by
PAT RAFF

As a meeting place for modern experimental art, the World Wide Video Festival has followed the developments in performance art. In the eighties video was no longer being used solely as a recording device in performance art, but had taken its place as an integral part of the art form. Performances started to assume the character of multi-media to a growing extent. The new and revived developments in performance art recently, show an intermeshing of very different disciplines. This is not confined to the Western world, but is also found in South America, Asia, and Africa. These innovations affect form as well as content and can be broadly summarized as follows: computer and digital editing, blending of highbrow and lowbrow (no hierarchy), total experience and new dimensions/worlds and interdisciplinary collaboration.

This year the World Wide Video Festival paid extra attention to media art from India. India has a big film production system and a strong documentary history but media art is a relatively new phenomenon. Research in India revealed a strong relationship between politics and contemporary art. To get a better idea of the modern art scene on this Subcontinent, the festival arranged a lecture by Geeta Kapur. As an art critic Kapur has written extensively on contemporary art in India. Her recent work brings to the fore ideological matters that are clearly connected to modernism in India and Third World culture and its relationship to the Western world. 'Today it is the secular cultures of the postcolonial era that are premised on a countering impulse. It is this heritage which is to be carried over into the present post-modern to evolve a more definite commitment to praxis. This will incur perhaps a dispersal of the regimental movement of the Euro-American avant-garde into more differentiated moments which we can now begin to see as radical interventions in the ideologically regressive one-world system.'

Nuclear testing

The new production 'Remembering Toba Tek Singh' (1998) by the Pakistan artist Nalini Malani is a direct reaction to nuclear testing. On May

11, 1997 nuclear tests were carried out by the government of India in preparation for the production of nuclear weapons. More nuclear tests by India followed and Pakistan followed suit. In all the discussions it looked as if no simple rational solution was possible or even desired. Political parties used this momentum to stir up old frictions between Hindus and Muslims again. India, the largest democracy on earth, still felt the wounds of the separation of 1947 from Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In front of a quiet, dark room there is an image of smoke – the smoke of bombs, of the pyre of the hearth. On either side there are large black and white images of women, in the act of folding a saree, in slow motion. They seem to come together to fold the edges of the garment – but cannot really meet – separated by the passage that is the room itself. We hear recordings about the sorts of absurdities that exist between nations the world over. In between are stories, one is 'Toba Tek Singh': a couple of years after the Partition of the country, governments of India and Pakistan exchanged inmates of lunatic asylums, in the way as prisoners were exchanged.

After the installation 'Remembering Toba Tek Singh' has been exhibited in Amsterdam, it will move on to New Delhi and Bombay where it is certain to contribute to a critical discussion.

In her work 'Is it what you think' (1998) the Indian artist Rummana Hussain questions the stereotype of the Muslim woman, projected by the media and by the West. Considering the wide geographical spread of Islam which is accompanied by vastly dissimilar practices and rituals, is it possible to create an image of the universal Muslim woman? Therefore Hussain only asks questions, to which there can be no fixed answers. Besides conveying this message the performance is also about the translation of notions of war and love and how they become connected with the woman's body. It begins with Sufi chants, which could be about a lover or God or both at the same time. She narrates a story about a woman who fought for the freedom of her country. She reads out questions from a book, as if she were chanting from a holy book. As Rummana Hussain chants, there are slides projected on her body, of newspaper images of Muslim women. When she finishes reading, she picks

up the veil lying on the floor, folds it and places it carefully on the stool, removes her prosthesis and walks out.

Unknown destination

The title 'House/Boat' (1994) literally describes what this first media installation by Vivan Sundaram consists of. The cube-shaped house is constructed of walls of thick, handmade paper with rusty metal connectors. In this humble self-made dwelling, of which you see millions in India, is a metal cube upon which sits a large dish of water with a glass bottom. Video images of burning gas flicker through it. Only the common basic elements of water and fire are

present. The big boat next to it seems to be stranded on a dozen railway sleepers, the last useful leftovers of British rule.

The transportation of people who have been driven from their homes for political or religious reasons to an unknown destination has been a constantly recurring tragic occurrence throughout India's history. With this work of art Sundaram again seizes on a politically loaded event, a position that in the past in India was not really expected of artists.

The artists selected for the 16th World Wide Video Festival, Rummana Hussain (1952, India), Nalini Malani (1946, Pakistan), and Vivan Sun-

daram (1943, India) have shown a strong commitment to the religious and political situation on this Subcontinent in their work over the years. Unlike the mainstream of modern art being produced in India, their paintings, installations, and performances are attracting growing attention at an international level. The media element in these works is still quite slight and can be explained by the relatively high production costs of media-related art, certainly when seen in the context of the standard of living in India.

The subjects of Malani, Hussain, and Sundaram continually bear witness to firm social commitment to the problems of modern India involving nationalism, neo-colonialism, feminism, and ecology. Video holds an exceptional place within this wide-range of media categories. It is still rarely used in India by modern artists as an independent medium, although it is used for documentation. ■

Indonesian Art

The Creation of a National Identity

Helena Spanjaard's thesis, which was defended in June 1998 at the University of Leiden in The Netherlands, is a lengthy work on modern Indonesian painting. Spanjaard divides Indonesian developments in the modern visual art into different periods, starting from the beginning of this century. On many occasions the political situation has exerted an influence on the artistic scene. The rise of Indonesian nationalism, the fight for independence, and the ensuing process of decolonization have caused major cultural changes. Spanjaard distinguishes four phases.

By KARIN STRAATHOF

Originally Indonesian painters followed the Western standard of the 'Beautiful Indies' (Phase 1, 1900-1942). During the fight for independence (Phase 2, 1942-1950) the character of Indonesian painting changed. A socially engaged realism replaced the 'holy trinity' of the ricefield, the misty volcano, and the palm tree. The self-taught pioneers of modern Indonesian painting chose a realistic, impressionistic, or expressionistic style to manifest their revolutionary ideals.

After official independence from the Netherlands (December 1949), the two official art institutes: the ASRI (Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia) art academy in Yogyakarta and the art academy in Bandung were the most influential bodies (Phase 3, 1950-1965). The ASRI was a product of the struggle for independence. The painters from Yogyakarta continued the socially involved traditions till 1965. The art academy of Bandung, derived from a Dutch school for teachers of drawing and painting (1947), was more internationally orientated. The artists and art critics of Yogyakarta who ironically labelled Bandung 'the laboratory of the West'



did not appreciate the inclination towards abstract art shown by the Bandung painters.

The political changes of 1965, when the Orde Baru of President Soeharto was established, opened up new directions in the field of art. The socially involved, realistic art gave way to more abstract-decorative and aesthetically inclined art. Hand in hand with this there was a conscious effort to use traditional Indonesian motifs in modern Indonesian art (Phase 4, 1965-1995). This process of 'Indonesianization' evolved from two circumstances. Firstly, some Indonesian painters, who had been studying abroad, started to see their own culture through different eyes.

Secondly the Indonesian government promoted an art in which the 'Indonesian character' should be clearly pronounced. Nowadays motifs borrowed from many different local cultures are an intrinsic part of Indonesian art. The position of artists today is often double-edged. On the one hand there is a bond to be continued with disappearing traditions, but on the other the same traditions stand in the way of new developments in society as a whole.

As Helena Spanjaard states, contemporary art can no longer be divided geographically and the artificial, colonial differentiation between East and West is no longer valid. The art-historical term 'non-Western' for any art that is produced outside the West is an example of the colonial model of a centre (the West) and a periphery (the East). This model follows the hierarchy that has been used by the West for ages to document the art of other cultures measured against 'dominant' Western culture. An analysis of modern Indonesian art, therefore, can only be valuable if taken from a pluralistic viewpoint, in which Western and Indonesian norms and values can co-exist. For Spanjaard, the formulation and spreading of a knowledge of Indonesian modern art could correct the dominant role of the Western judging 'non-Western' art. And in such way the Western imagination about 'the Other' can be corrected and eventually lead towards a more balanced international dialogue. ■

Helena Spanjaard, *Het Ideaal van een moderne Indonesische Schilderkunst 1900-1995: De creatie van een nationale identiteit*, 1998, 276 p.

Art

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BELGIUM

Chinese Pavilion / Japanese Pagoda

Van Praetlaan 44/10120 Brussels
tel: +32-2-2681608
daily: 10am - 5pm closed on Monday

until 10 January 1999

Between tradition and innovation,
Japan 1842 - 1912
Overview of the last cultural changes
towards modernisation in Japan during
the last century. Lacquer ware,
ceramics, cloisonne enamel and
engravings.

CHINA

Red Gate Gallery

Level 3 China World Hotel
China World Trade Centre
1 Jianguomenwai
Beijing 100004
tel: +86-10-65052266/ 682115729
fax: +86-10-6532 4804
daily 11am - 6pm

28 November - until 23 December

New artist(s) Christmas, Chinese New
year

Courtyard Gallery

95 Donghuamen Dajie
Beijing
tel: +86-10-65055511
fax: +86-10-65055522
Tuesday to Sunday 11am - 7pm

16 November - 28 December

Still-life
An exhibition of mixed media on
canvas from Ji Dachun and small
sculptural objects from Lin Tianmiao.
both artists use simple forms from the
tradition of still-life: plants, vases,
household objects, which they rework
to a new, individual sense of beauty.

FRANCE

Musée Cernuschi

Avenue Vélasquez 7
75008 Paris
tel: +33-1-45635075
fax: +33-1-45637816
Daily 10am - 5.40pm
closed Monday and public holidays

until 25 January 1999

Rituals and Feasts in ancient China
The exhibition of bronze sculptures
from the Shanghai Museum

Musée Guimet

Place d'Iéna 6
75116 Paris
tel: +33-1-47238398
fax: +33-1-47238399
Due to renovations the museum will be
closed until the end of 1998.

GREAT BRITAIN

Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

South Kensington
London SW7 2RL
tel: +44-171-9388500
fax: +44-171-9388264
daily 10am - 5.50pm, Mon, 12-5.50pm

until December 1998

Japanese Masks: ritual and drama
Using material exclusively from the
Museum's collections, the display brings
together many aspects of the masks
performing arts of Japan: the austere
masks of Buddhist processions, the
formalised characters of the Nô
theatre and the humorous individuals
depicted in popular festivals.

Royal Academy of Arts

Piccadilly
W1V 0DS London
tel: +44-171 300 8000
fax: +44-1713008001

until 21 November

Asian Art in London
An extended calendar of events
in which the academic and commercial
worlds have joined forces to stage
a programme of museum exhibitions,
lectures, seminars gallery shows and
auctions. (See photo's on these pages).

17 November - 20 December

100 Masterpieces of imperial
Chinese ceramics
An exhibition of the Au Bak Ling
Collection, a private group of imperial
Chinese porcelain collectors.

Museum of East Asian Art

12 Bennet Street
Bath BA1 2 QL
tel: +44-1225-464640

from 3 September 1997

Myths, Stories and Riddles in Chinese
and Japanese Art

British Museum and Museum of Mankind

Great Russelstreet
London WC1B 3DG
tel: +44-171-4127111
fax: +44-171-3238614/8480

until end 1999

Arts of Korea
Arts of Korea, will present an
overview of Korean art and archeology,
ranging from the Neolithic period to
the 19th century. The exhibition
includes loans from the national
Museum of Korea, the British Library
and several private collections.
The exhibition will be a forerunner
of the Museum's new permanent
Korean Gallery scheduled to open
in 2000.

Oriental Bridge Gallery

British Museum
Eskenazi Ltd 10 Clifford Street
London W1X 1RB
tel: +44-171-4935464
fax: +44-171-4993136

until 3 January 1999

Minakar: Spun gold and woven enamel
An exhibition of contemporary textiles
from India, woven in Moghul style.

Brunei Gallery

School of Oriental and African Studies
Thornhaugh Street
Russel Square
WC1H 0XG London
tel: +44-171 3236230
fax: +44-171-3236010

until 11 December

Treasures from Kuwait
An exhibition of Islamic art from the
al-Sabah Collection

Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art

53 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0PD
tel: +44-171-3873909
fax: +44-171-3835163

From 16 December 1997

For poets and princes.
Fifteen centuries of Chinese celadons.
A new display of celadons in the Lady
David Gallery.

19 November - 31 May 1999

Rare marks on Chinese ceramics
A joint exhibition with the Victoria and
Albert Museum which will explore the
nature and meaning of rare marks using
ceramics from both collections. The
pieces date from the 15th to the 20th
century and were made in Jingdezhen,
Dehua and Yixing.

INDIA

The Window

33 Altamount Road
Mumbai 400 026
India
tel: +91-22-386 96 28
fax: +91-22-389 1606

26 November - 8 December

Maqbool Fida Husain:
The beacon of energy
In his oil-paintings he succeeds in
expressing the Indian diversified-
unity in themes as 'popular and elite',
'rural and urban' or 'east and west'.

10 - 22 December

The artist-teacher-scholar tradition
A series of 36 woodcuts and etchings
made by Benode Behari Mukherjee.
The works are made during the 1940's
at the Kala Bhavan - Santiniketan,
a centre where artists experimented
with various art forms, from print-
making and sculpture to mural art.

24 December - 5 January 1999

Dissolving contradictions
An exhibition of oil paintings and mixed
media works of K.G. Subramanyan.

7 - 19 January 1999

Anguish Absorbed
Etchings, intaglios and lithographs of
Somnath Hore.

21 January - 2 February

An uncompromising integrity
An exhibition of oil paintings by Tyeb
Mehta. All his images, ranging from
the trussed bull to the falling figure,
to the rickshawala on to Kali, represent
the overwhelming helplessness and
fragmented nature of the human figure.

4 - 16 February

A passionate detachment
The evolution of the oil paintings
of Biren De clearly reveal an erotic-
spiritual struggle in the manner
by which the figure and its human
togetherness gradually dissolves.

18 February - 2 March

Preliminary studies
An exhibition of pen and ink drawings
of A. Ramachandran.



Artist: Kitagawa Utamaro (1754-1806)

- Publisher: Tsuruya Ichibei / Format: Oban = 38 [h] x 25 cm [w]

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February 1999

Zoukifli Yusoff
A exhibition of paintings by this
contemporary artist from Malaysia.

March 1999

Comic World
Comics of Thariq, Motul, Cimot and
Pidi requestion the change of histories,
myths, values of truth and nations.

JAPAN

Setagaya Art Museum

1-2, Kinuta-koen Setagaya-ku
Tokyo 157
tel: +81-3-34 15 6011, fax: - 6413

31 October - 6 December

Yoshihiko Yoshida Exhibition
A retrospective exhibition of one of
the leading Japanese Style painter,
Yoshihiko Yoshida, who studied under
Gyoshi Hayami, Koke I Kabayashi and
Yukihiko Yasuda.

MALAYSIA

Balai Seni Maybank

11th Floor Menara Maybank
1100, Jalan Tun Perak,
50050 Kuala Lumpur
tel: +603-2308833
fax: +603-2322504

19 December - 28 January 1999

Contemporary Malaysian Islamic
Art Exhibition — The exhibition will
showcase a wide range of Islamic art
including textile, fibre art, ceramics, fine
metal and architectural designs as well
as paintings and sculptures.

THE NETHERLANDS

Foundation for Indian Artists

Fokke Simonszstraat 10
1017 TG Amsterdam
tel/fax: +31-20-6231547
daily 1pm - 6pm, closed on Monday,
1st Sunday of the month 2pm - 5pm

14 November - 17 December

Arpana Caur — Recent works of this
artist from New Delhi. In her paintings
she tries to harmonise what in fact
cannot be harmonised, the inner and
outer world, the figurative and abstract.

Kunsthof 88

Elisabethhof 2, 7600 AS Almelo
tel: +31-546-852692

20 February - 28 March 1999

Canvas
Contemporary Art from Asia and
Latin America in co-operation with
the Canvas Foundation.

Rijksmuseum

Hobbemastraat 19
PO Box 74888, 1070 DN Amsterdam
tel: +31-20-6732121
fax: +31-20-6798146
daily 10am - 5pm

New permanent exhibition — The South
wing of the museum presents a new
permanent exhibition of Asiatic art.
The choice has been made not to
categorize according geographical area
- China, Japan, India, Indonesia but to
divide the whole collection into
sculpture, painting and decorative art.



Pair of six fold paper screens painted in ink and colours on a gold ground.
Each screen shows blossoming plum trees, flowers and pairs of birds in a river landscape with mountains above.

- Kano School / Japan 18th century / Dimensions: 26,5" [h] x 75,5" [w] (66,5 cm x 191 cm)

FROM 'ASIAN ART IN LONDON' A WORLDWIDE PROMOTION OF LONDON AS A CENTRE FOR ASIAN ART

Tropenmuseum

Linnaeusstraat 2
1092 CK Amsterdam
tel: +31-20-5688418
fax: +31-20-5688331

New Department
Semi permanent exhibition about the life of people in the tropics. The South-east asia department is a new department about people and cultures in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia.

until 31 January 1999

Colonial painting in the Dutch East Indies
An overview of four centuries of painting in the Dutch East Indies. The exhibition comprises an historic overview from the 17th century until the end of the 19th century, portraiture and 20th century painters amongst others Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet and Willem Hofker.

Museum of Ethnology

Willemskade 25
3016 DM Rotterdam
tel: +31-10-4112201
fax: +31-10-4118331
Tuesday to Friday 10am - 5pm,
Saturday and Sunday 11am - 5pm

until 31 December 1998

Soaps
Multimedia-exhibition centring on nine contemporary soapseries from nine different countries.

until 31 December 1998

A Last Farewell
Funeral and mourning rituals in multi-cultural Holland. A selection of more than hundred black and white photographs from the book of the same title by the Dutch photographer Marrie Bot. Since 1990 Marrie Bot has attended more than hundred funerals of several ethnic groups living in the Netherlands amongst them from China and Pakistan. She depicts both traditional and more recent customs.

Made in the Pacific
Top items from the internationally renowned Oceania collection of the museum.

NEW ZEELAND

Govett-Brewster Art Gallery

Queen Street, New Plymouth
tel: +64-6-7585149
fax: +64-6-7580390
Daily 10.30 - 5pm from October 1997
Artists in Residence: Yuk King Tan and Callum Morton

PORTUGAL

Museum of Ethnology

Avenida Ilha da Madeira 1400 Lisboa
tel: +351-1-301526415
fax: +351-1-3013994

From May 1997

Stories of Goa
An anthropological exhibition about Goa (India) as a cultural area in which christianism and hinduism are superposed.

SINGAPORE

Asian Civilisations Museum

39 Armenian Street
Singapore 179939

From November 1997

Calligraphy from the Tareq Rajab Museum Kuwait
The Qur'an, Holy Book for Muslims, was central to the development of the art of beautiful writing. In this exhibition we will explore the various scripts that developed over the centuries and also calligraphy as a decorative motif on various media like ceramics and metalwork.

The National Museum

61 Stamford Road
02-01 Stamford Court
0617 Singapore
tel: +65-3309552
fax: +65-3309568
daily 9am - 5.30pm

From January 1997

Jade Gallery
This Gallery houses the Haw Par Jade Collection donated by the Aw Family comprising largely decorative carvings from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and jasper, quartz and agate exhibits.

SWITZERLAND

Baur Collection

8 Rue Munier-Romilly
1206 Geneva
tel: +41-22-3461729
fax: +41-22-7891845
daily: 2pm - 6pm, closed on Monday

From 6 December 1997

Renewed permanent collection
A presentation in four new exhibition rooms of rarely shown Japanese and Chinese objects: Satsuma ceramics, stamps, Chinese lacquerware.

Rietberg Museum

Gablerstrasse 15
CH-8002 Zurich
tel: +41-1-2024528
fax: +41-1-2025201
daily 10 am - 5 pm, closed on Monday

26 September - 10 January 1999

Glance of the Orient
An exhibition of 145 paintings for royalties from Instanul to Delhi.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

5th Avenue at 82nd Street
New York NY 10028
tel: +1-212-8795500
fax: +1-212-5703879

Continuing exhibition

Chinese Galleries Reinstallation
On show in the Douglas Dillon Galleries and the Frances Young Tang gallery will be 8th to 20th century paintings. The Herbert and Florence Irving Galleries for Chinese Decorative Arts will house jades, lacquers, textiles, metalwork and other objects from the 12th to 18th centuries.

Honolulu Academy of Arts

900 S. Beretania Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814-1495
tel: +1-808-532 8700
fax: +1-808-5328787

Continuing exhibition

Taisho chic
Many of the early 20th century art movements which originated in the west such as Impressionism, Art Nouveau and Art Deco, also affected the modern Japanese artist. This exhibition highlights Japanese works of art and everyday items which show modern design elements of the Taisho period (1912-1926).

The Asia Society

725 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10021
tel: +1-212 2886400
fax: +1-212-5178319
daily 11am-6pm, Thursday 6pm - 8pm,
Sunday 12 - 5pm

15 September - 3 January 1999

Inside Out: New Chinese art
The exhibition shows how social, economic and cultural changes in the late 20th century in all parts of the Chinese world have served as catalysts for the significant works by artists in China, Hong kong and Taiwan as well as by artists who left China in the late 1980's.

18 February - 30 May

Bamboo masterworks
Japanese baskets from the Lloyd Cotsen collection. Around 85 of the finest pieces of this collection will be on show for the first time.

China Institute

125 East 65 Street
New York, NY 10021-7088
tel: +1 212 7448181
fax: +1-212-6284159

From October 1997

Kilns and Collections: A tour of China for connoisseurs
Designed for serious Chinese art enthusiasts, Kilns and Collections includes not only visits to some of the finest collections of Chinese art objects, but also to the sites where some of the objects were created.

16 September - 15 December

Chinese snuff bottles
The Pamela R. Lessing Friedman collection features over 100 snuff bottles from the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Materials range from carved jade and chacedony, to delicately painted porcelains, overlaid glass and rock crystal painted on the inside of the snuff bottle.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

5th Avenue at 82nd Street
New York NY 10028
tel: +1-212-8795500
fax: +1-212-5703879

from 22 May 1997

Chinese Galleries Installation



A rare large early ming blue and white dish.
- Ø 147/8" (36.7 cm)

FROM: ASIAN ART IN LONDON / A WORLDWIDE PROMOTION OF LONDON AS A CENTRE FOR ASIAN ART

Asian Art Museum San Francisco

Golden Gate Park
San Francisco
tel: +1-415-3798801

21 November - 17 January 1999

(Hiroshige)
Hokusai and Hiroshige
Great Japanese Prints from the Jmaes A. Michener Collection, Honolulu Academy of Arts. The exhibition offers visitors the rare opportunity to view original prints including Hokusai's The Great Wave Off Kanagawa and Hiroshige's Rain at Shono.

Ongoing exhibition

Chinese Bronze Sculpture from the Permanent Collection
Jade: Stone of Heaven

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Smithsonian Institute
1050 Independence Avenue SW
Washington DC 20560
tel: +1 202 3574880
fax: +1-202-3574911 (7862317)

Continuing indefinitely:

The Arts of China
Metalwork and Ceramics from Ancient Iran
Sculpture of South and Southeast Asia
Luxury Arts of the Silk Route Empires

From 5 April 1998

Khmer Ceramics
Eighty rare glazed ceramics from the 9th to the 14th century Khmer empire go on view in the South Asian sculpture gallery. The works range in height from less than an inch to more than 2 feet and are fashioned into animal, bird and human forms, as well as into gracefully curving jars decorated with incised designs.

Freer Gallery of Art

1000 Jefferson Drive at 12th street SW
Washington DC 20560
tel: +1 202 3572104
fax: +1 202 3574911

From 4 June 1997

At the Margins
In the context of Western art, the idea of adding an asymmetrical border around a watercolor may seem strange. But in Mughal painting between the 16th and 19th century, as in its Persian counterpart from which the practice is derived, decorated margins were an integral and accepted part of the artistic repertoire.

From summer 1997

The seven thrones of Jami: A Princely Manuscript from Iran
A copy of the Persian mystical poem, the 'Haft Awrang' (Seven thrones) by Jami, created between 1556 and 1565 for the prince and bibliophile Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, is one of the great masterpieces of Persian painting and a treasure of the Freer collection.

From 2 August 1997

The Evolution of Chinese Celadon
This exhibition of about 60 Chinese ceramics illustrates the development of the gray-green glaze known in the West as celadon.

From 20 September 1997

Japanese Art in the Meiji Period (1868-1912)
This is the first exhibition to focus on the Freer's holdings of paintings, drawings, ceramics, lacquer, metalwork and cloisonne from the Meiji period in Japan. Included will be works by such painters as Kano Hogai (1828-1888), Kawanebe Kyosai (1831-1889) and Hashimoto Gaho (1835-1908), as well as painter and lacquerer Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891).

Continuing indefinitely

Séto and Mino Ceramics
An invitation to Tea



A bronze drum with zoomorphic finial of spirited form and with thickly formed malachite patination.
- Height: 67 cm

FROM: ASIAN ART IN LONDON / A WORLDWIDE PROMOTION OF LONDON AS A CENTRE FOR ASIAN ART

The Art Agenda is produced by The Gate Foundation in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Please send all information with regard to activities and events relating to Asian art to:

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WEBSITE:
<http://www.base.nl/gate>



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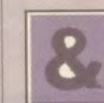
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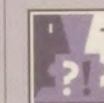
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IIAS NEWS

International
Institute
for Asian
Studies



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25 > 28 JUNE 1998
NOORDWIJKERHOUT, THE NETHERLANDS

When Research Traditions Meet The International Convention of Asia Scholars

The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) which took place from 25 to 28 June 1998 in Noordwijkerhout, the Netherlands, was an experiment in terms of the parties involved, the nature of the participants, the contents, the manner of organization, and the size (at least in the European context). On this page I will try and give my impressions of this Meeting and add some recommendations. As I was the ICAS supervisor, this short report might be a little biased but I hope it will give food for thought.

By PAUL VAN DER VELDE

Report
How did the ICAS come about? For some of years the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) and the International Institute for

Asian Studies (IIAS) had been thinking of ways of internationalizing Asian Studies. Internationalization meetings took place during the annual meetings of the AAS. This transatlantic dialogue gradually matured and was thought of as an arena in which American and European Asianists could get together. It acquired a name: the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS). Apart from the AAS and the IIAS, the European Science Foundation Asia Committee and the six major European Asian Studies associations participated. This was the first time that these associations had formally co-operated in an Academic Programme Committee, which in itself should be considered a promising sign. Quite apart from this European and transatlantic collaboration the organizing committee attached great value to setting up a cultural programme to encourage the cultural rapprochement between East and West, which it sees as one of the most important challenges facing Asianists. It joined forces with Film South Asia, the School for New Dance Development Amsterdam, the Netherlands Filmmuseum, the Rotterdam Conservatory, some thirty renowned publishers in the field of Asian Studies, the Gate Foundation Amsterdam,

and Canvas World Art, and organized the 'The Eurasian Century' forum of journalists.

Scope of ICAS

There was never any doubt that Asianists from all over the world should have the chance to participate and once the convention was announced, enthusiastic replies came from every quarter of the world. Thus the convention grew to a platform on which Asian, American, and European Asianists could study problems of interest to all. Nothing can demonstrate this more clearly than the geographic origin of the participants and participating institutions. More than three hundred and fifty universities, institutes, and organizations were represented at the ICAS. There were nearly a thousand participants from some

forty countries and there was a remarkably equal distribution continent-wise. Thirty-five per cent of the home institutions is located in America, an equal percentage in Europe, and thirty per cent in Asia. It is no exaggeration to say that the main goal of the ICAS and its Programme Committee was to transcend the boundaries between disciplines, between nations studied, and between the geographic origins of the presenters in its more than a hundred and thirty panels.

Let me quote one of the many letters we received from participants. Geoffrey Wade, also on behalf of his colleagues of the Centre of Asian Studies (Hong Kong) wrote: 'The greatest value of the ICAS was that it did allow a greater mixing of Asian, North American and European scholars than we have experienced at any previous such gathering. This was of course one of the aims of the Convention and we hope that its unqualified success will be sufficient incentive to encourage you to attempt a 'repeat performance' in future. We were all greatly impressed with the Convention - its venue, its scope, the excellence of the organization, the diversity of activities and



the range of scholars who attended. The only drawback was that it was impossible for one to attend all of the sessions, but that indicates a surfeit rather than a deficiency. Particular thanks are due to your administrative staff who handled each and every query with concern and good grace.'

Unqualified Success?

The remark passed by Wade on the unqualified success should be put in perspective. From the questionnaires filled in by a fair number of participants it transpired that ICAS had its teething problems. Transportation was singled out as the biggest one: many people had a tough time getting to the Convention site. This was due to insufficient information on the schedules and the fact that these schedules were not always followed. Whereas this was viewed as the main on-site problem, difficulties in communication plagued the entire process leading up to the Convention, which were mainly due to an overreliance on the Internet without adequate technical control. It should be added that the size of this first ICAS also took the organizers by surprise and we waited too long to increase the staff. There is one other severe shortcoming which should be mentioned here. The organizers or chairs of the panels were asked to send in summaries of their panels which were to be put on the ICAS website. So far ten-odd summaries out the total of one hundred and thirty panels have been received. This kind of sloppiness, in view of all the effort which has been put into ICAS, is hard to understand. Therefore I would like to personally ask all those who have not yet sent in their summaries to kindly do so. I have a good reason for this, namely that an overwhelming majority of the respondents opted for what Wade called a 'repeat performance'.

ICAS 2

In this context a meeting took place on 27 June attended by representatives of European Asian Studies associations, the AAS, and the IIAS during which it became clear that a second ICAS was deemed desirable. There were discussions on when it should be held (every three to four years), where it should be held and who should organize it. No conclusive decisions were taken. The participants of the meeting recommended setting up an ICAS Steering Committee. This committee is still in the process of formation but plans are to have the first meeting during the Annual Meeting of the AAS in Boston, 11-14 March 1999. Information will be disseminated both through the IIAS Newsletter and the AAS Newsletter. All ICAS 1 participants will be informed about the outcome of the meeting of the Steering Committee.

On behalf of Helga Lasschuijt (the ICAS Project Manager), I would like to thank the numerous sponsors, all ICAS staff members, the organizers of the cultural events, the booth holders, the Leeuwenhorst Congres Centrum, and all the participants who turned ICAS into an unforgettable experience of which Helga and I think that it will ultimately seriously change everybody's orientation. ■



International Convention
of Asia Scholars

You will find the edited versions of the ICAS keynote addresses by Goenawan Mohamad and Anthony Reid on pages 4 and 5.

STAFF

15 NOVEMBER 1998

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 Special chair at Nijmegen University,
 'Ethnolinguistics with a focus
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 1 September 1998 – 1 September 2001

RESEARCH PROGRAMMES
AND PROJECTS

– CLARA: 'Changing Labour Relations
 in Asia'
 (in co-operation with NIAS-Copenhagen,
 ANU-Canberra, and the International
 Institute of Social History- Amsterdam
 as the executing body; Programme
 Co-ordinator: Dr R. Saptari)
 – 'International Social Organization
 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 M. Klokke)

1. RESEARCH FELLOWS
(POST PHD)

a. individual
 b. 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, NIAS Copenhagen, and
 ANU Canberra

They are attached to the *International
 Institute for Asian Studies* for max. 3 years,
 carrying out independent research and
 fieldwork, and organizing an international
 seminar.

At present the IIAS is host to several
 long term research fellows. Hereunder
 you will find an overview of their names
 and research topics:

Dr Wolfgang Behr (Germany)
 'Forms, Functions, and Foundations
 of Ablaut in Old Chinese And Beyond',
 individual fellow.
 Until 1 January 2001

Dr Henk Blezer (the Netherlands)
 'The 'Bon'-Origin of Tibetan Buddhist
 Speculations Regarding a Post-Mortem
 State Called 'Reality as It Is'', individual
 fellow.
 Until 1 August 2000

**Dr Hanne de Bruin (the Netherlands),
 stationed in Leiden and Amsterdam**
 'Kattakkuttu and Natakam: South
 Indian theatre traditions in regional
 perspective' within the programme
 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and
 Innovation' (PAATI).
 Until 15 July 2001.

Dr Matthew Cohen (USA)
 'The Shadow Puppet Theater of
 Gegesik, North West Java, Indonesia:
 Memory, tradition and community'
 within 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),
 1870–2000', individual fellow.
 Until 1 October 2001

**Dr Cen Huang (Canada),
 stationed in Leiden and Amsterdam**
 'Structure and Social Organization of
 Transnational Enterprises and
 Entrepreneurship in East and Southeast
 Asia' within the programme
 'International Social Organization in
 East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang ties
 in the twentieth century'
 Until 1 November 1999

Dr John Knight (Great Britain)
 'A Social Anthropological Study of
 Contemporary Japanese Forestry:
 commercial and environmental
 perspectives', individual fellow.
 Until 1 September 1999

Dr Hae-kyung Um (South Korea)
 'Performing Arts in Korea and
 the Korean Communities in China,
 the former Soviet Union and Japan'
 within the programme 'Performing Arts
 of Asia: Tradition and Innovation'
 (PAATI).
 Until 1 January 2001

Dr Reed Wadley (USA)
 'The Ethnohistory of a Borderland
 People: the Iban in West Kalimantan,
 Indonesia', individual fellow
 1 August 1998 – 1 August 2001

2. SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS
(POST-PHD, NO AGE LIMIT)

The IIAS offers senior scholars the
 possibility to engage in research work
 in the Netherlands. The period can vary
 from 1 to 3 months. The IIAS will be host
 to several senior visiting fellows in 1998:

Dr John Wolff (USA)
 Preparing a glossary and phonological
 history of Austronesian Languages
 1 September 1998 – 30 November 1998

Prof. Eddy Masinambow (Indonesia)
 'The Cultural Concept in Studies
 on Indonesian Societies'
 15 September 1998 –
 15 December 1998

Prof. Micheal Godley (Australia)
 'Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in
 Southeast Asia', within the research
 program 'International Social
 Organization in East and Southeast
 Asia: Qiaoxiang ties in the twentieth
 century'
 15 September 1998 –
 15 December 1998

Dr Andrew McWilliam (Australia)
 'Narrating the Gate and the Path: place
 and precedence in South West Timor'
 1 October 1998 – 31 December 1998

Dr Christian Pelras (France)
 'Maritime Anthropology and Cultural
 History of Nusantara: the
 Bugis/Malay/Bajo connection'
 1 November 1998 – 1 December 1998

**Dr Pamela Stewart and
 Dr Andrew Strathern (Australia)**
 'East Meets West: 'Indonesia'
 and 'Melanesia'
 1 November 1998 – 31 December 1998

**Dr David Ip (Australia), stationed at
 the Amsterdam Branch Office**
 'Diaspora Chinese Capitalism and
 the Asian Economic Crisis' within
 the research program 'International
 Social Organization in East and
 Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang ties in
 the twentieth century'
 1 January 1999 – 15 February 1999

Dr Pancha Maharjan (Nepal)
 'Problems of Democracy in South Asia:
 A Case Study of Nepal'
 3 January 1999 – 16 February 1999

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.

The IIAS has established the European
 Chair for Chinese Studies. Prof. Vincent
 Shen is the second Chairholder, and will
 focus on the philosophy of Zhuangzi. He
 will be in Leiden from October 1998 –
 September 1999.

4. VISITING EXCHANGE FELLOWS
(POST-PHD LEVEL)

The IIAS has signed several Memoranda
 of Understanding (MoU) with foreign
 research institutes, thus providing
 scholars with an opportunity to partici-
 pate 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.

DUTCH VISITING
 EXCHANGE FELLOW:
Prof. Reimar Schefold
 'Three sources of Ritual Blessings
 in Indonesian Tribal Traditions'
 February – April 1999

5. AFFILIATED FELLOWS
(POST-PHD LEVEL)

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 is host to
 the following affiliates:

Prof. G. Bongard Levin (Gonda-Fonds)
 'Eastern Turkmenisan' (preliminary)
 November 1998 (1 month)

Dr Thomas de Bruin (NWO)
 'Nayi Kahani: New Stories and
 New Positions in the Literary Field
 of Hindi Literature after 1947'
 15 June 1998 – 15 June 2001

Dr Joost Coté (Deakin University)
 'The Modern Colonial City: Semarang,
 Society and Culture, 1875 – 1925'
 21 August 1998 – 21 February 1999

Dr Cristina Eghenter (ESF)
 'The Use of Migration and Trading
 Routes in the Interior of Borneo'
 20 November 1998 – 15 January 1999
 (preliminary)

Prof. Chris Healey
 (Northern Territory University)
 'Eastern Indonesian Livelyhoods'
 1 February 1999 – 1 March 1999

Dr Elizabeth Lambourn
 (British Academy)
 'A History of the Sultanate of
 Samudera-Pasai from the Region's
 Islamic Cemeteries'
 5 October 1998 – 31 November 1998

**Dr Rosalia Sciortino (Ford Foundation),
 stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office**
 'Islam, Gender and Reproductive
 Health in Southeast Asia'
 5 October 1998 – 20 November 1998

Dr Alex de Voogt (The Netherlands)
 'Differentiation-processes of Material
 culture in Asia: the case of Indonesian
 mancala'
 1 October 1997 – 1 September 1999

Dr Guo Wu (NWO)
 'On Discourse LE'
 15 July 1998 – 15 January 1999

Prof. Yang Enhong (CASS/KNAW)
 'The General Situation and
 Methodology of Tibetology in Europe'
 1 November 1998 – 1 May 1999

6. ESF/IIAS-NIAS FELLOWS
 Selected by the Asia Committee of the
 European Science Foundation (ESF-AC)
 and attached to the IIAS, partly within
 the framework of and financed by the
 IIAS-NIAS Strategic Alliance.

Dr Giovanni Vitiello (Italy)
 'Exemplary Sodomites: pornography,
 homoeroticism and sexual culture in
 late imperial China'
 Until 1 January 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'
 1 December 1997 – 30 November 2000

**Dr Evelyne 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)'
 1 July 1998- 1 July 2000

7. DUTCH SENIORS
 Max. two Dutch seniors per year can
 apply for this position of max. 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.

**Dr Leo Douw (University of Amsterdam,
 Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)**
 'International Social Organization in
 East and Southeast Asia: Qiaoxiang Ties
 in the Twentieth Century'
 September 1998 – March 1999

Prof. Rik Schipper (Leiden University)
 'Stele Inscriptions of the Temple of the
 Easter Peak (Dongyue miao) in Beijing'
 1 September 1998 – 1 March 1999

Nomads in the Sedentary World

An international colloquium was held in Leiden, July 1998, on the role which nomads have played in the history of the sedentary world. The idea for this colloquium emerged from the observation that the influence of sedentary societies on the nomads has been extensively studied but that the reverse, the impact of nomads on the sedentary world, has to a large extent been the subject of speculation. The intention of this colloquium therefore was to study this issue in a systematic and comparative framework and raise questions at a general level. A book on the subject, containing most of the contributions and a few additional articles, is in preparation.

■ By ANATOLY M. KHAZANOV & ANDRÉ WINK

Report
The keynote of the colloquium was set by Anatoly Khazanov in his general reflections on 'Nomads in the History of the Sedentary World'. The main conclusion which he advanced was that although in some periods the nomads played a very important role in political, ethno-linguistic and, to a

lesser extent, in socio-economic and cultural developments in many parts of the sedentary world, nowhere or almost nowhere was the nomadic factor on its own the determining one among many factors that defined regional historical developments of long duration. This means that the impact of nomads cannot be isolated from the general internal dynamics of sedentary societies. Correspondingly, we see that even the short- and middle-term effects of nomadic involvement vary a



great deal in different parts of the sedentary world.

Nine papers were presented which dealt with various regions from Hungary to West Asia, Iran, India and China, in periods that ranged from the first millennium BC to the early modern period. Excepting the paper by André Wink on long-term developments in India, all papers addressed issues relating to the short-term and middle-term impact of nomads. The conclusions of most authors were remarkably similar but showed the different ways in which the nomadic impact varied according to factors at work in the seden-

tary societies under review. Those nomadic institutions, such as the 'sharing system' of the Mongols which was analysed by Thomas Allsen or the notions of charisma and divine mandate to rule bestowed upon a chosen clan as analysed by Peter Golden, that were at odds with sedentary ones and were simply imposed on sedentary societies, did not last long. On the contrary, even the victorious nomads had to a significant degree to adjust to or adopt the socio-political institutions of the conquered, sedentary population. It was also demonstrated by the participants of the colloquium that the

people of the nomadic world of the Eurasian steppes sometimes played an important role in the armies and ruling elites of the Middle East or India, but not as nomads. In this context, a distinction was drawn between genuinely nomadic and 'post-nomadic' traditions and institutions. ■

Anatoly M. Khazanov was an IIAS research fellow in July and August 1998 and is the Ernest Gellner Professor of Anthropology. André Wink is a Professor of History and is attached to the University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA.

IIAS (Travel) Grants

Institutional News
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 the travel grants can be obtained at the IIAS secretariat. ■

IIAS (Recent) Publications

Publication
The following IIAS publications can be ordered from:
Kegan Paul International, London, tel: +44-1-5805511, fax: +44-1-4360899.

Kurt W. Radtke, Joop A. Stam, John Groenewegen, Leo M. van der Mey and Takuo Akiyama (eds).

DYNAMICS IN PACIFIC ASIA
1998, ISBN 0-7103-0598-2, 287 pp.

P.J. Moree, (ed.);
A CONCISE HISTORY OF DUTCH MAURITIUS 1598-1710
1998, ISBN 0-7103-0609-1, 127 pp.

Dick Van der Meij, (ed.)
INDIA AND BEYOND
1997, ISBN 0-7103-0602-4, 696 pp.

Paul van der Velde, P. and Alex McKay (eds)
NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIAN STUDIES
1998, ISBN 0-7103-0606-7, 376 pp.

Wim Stokhof and Paul van der Velde (eds)
THE ASEM PROCESS: A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY
1998, ISBN 0-7103-0622-9.

IIAS Research Partners

Short 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 cooperation 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.

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
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



IIAS AGENDA DECEMBER 1998

14
New Thoughts on Old Frontiers in Southeast Asia: State Spaces, Non-State Spaces
Prof. J. Scott
Utrecht, The Netherlands
IIAS

17-18
'Third Workshop on ABIA - South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology'
Leiden, the Netherlands
Dr Marijke Klokke / Prof. Karel van Kooij / Dr Ellen Raven
IIAS / ABIA

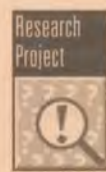
17
'Searching for Cross-Regional Comparative Themes from Mythology to History in Eastern Indonesia and New Guinea'
Leiden, The Netherlands
Dr Pamela Stewart / Prof. Andrew Strathern
IIAS

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IN THE IIAS
NEWSLETTER**

Performing Scholarship

R.G. Collingwood, in an essay on how philosophical reflections arise upon contemplation of subjects including history and art, draws an important contrast between views of art held by philosophers and artists. For philosophers, Collingwood says, art by definition is a transcendental concept. Artists, in contrast, view art empirically: they are interested in particular works of art as far as they are good and beautiful. A celebrated architectural atrocity (Collingwood gives the example of the Randolph Hotel) can be for philosophers not only a work of art, but a good one in the sense that it obeys architectural norms of what constitutes a class of buildings. Collingwood imagines a dialogue between a philosopher and an artist. The artist, upon hearing such an outrage as the Randolph Hotel being described as a good work of art, 'will probably leave the room, banging the door.'

■ By MATTHEW COHEN



The research programme of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), 'Performing Arts of Asia: Tradition and Innovation' (PAATI), which began in October 1997, is an effort to raise a ruckus: banging (though never shutting) the doors, pounding on the ceilings, and hammering on the steam pipes of the halls of learning. Academic distinctions between artists and scholars of Asian performing arts have been breaking down for decades. The transcendental-empirical contrast between philosopher-scholar and artist outlined by Collingwood has been radically challenged in the last decades. In the Netherlands, Arnold Bake and several students of Jaap Kunst (considered by some as the founder of ethnomusicology), including Bernard IJzerdraat and Mantle Hood, long ago practised as well as preached about music. For such scholar-musicians, their instruments were their passports to musical cultures and societies of the world. As PAATI board member Ernst Heins suggested, however, performing scholars have potentially new and important roles to play as cultural mediators in a rapidly changing world. Abilities of scholars to play instruments, dance, sing, act, tell stories, clown, juggle, or animate puppets should ideally not only be means towards acquiring data. Such abilities, and the lengthy processes of training associated with their acquisition, are also potentially creatively subversive of sedimented distinctions between 'us' and 'them,' 'consumers' and 'producers,' 'scholars' and 'artists,' 'Europeans' and 'Asians.'

The year since the PAATI programme began has been a turbulent one internationally. Economies world-wide have been heavily impacted by what was first characterized as an Asian economic crisis that began in late 1997. The thirty-year regime of President Soeharto of Indonesia has ended. Tensions between India and Pakistan mounted over India's nuclear weapons tests.

Dr Matthew Isaac Cohen is a Research Fellow for the PAATI Programme at the IIAS.

With all of these developments, there is an accompanying danger of falling back upon primordial defensive positions, reifying 'Asian values' or 'the Western tradition of capitalist democracy.' The ability not only to write about Asian art forms vis à vis European scholarly models, but also to produce these art forms in ways similar to how they are performed in Asia is *de facto* a strong counter-argument against such primordial sentiments and essentialisms. Art does not make people more humane. But interacting with the people we study as artists, and being seen by others as participants in genuine exchange might help in preventing too-rigid barriers across cultures from being constructed or defended. And representing the products of this creative exchange not only as written texts but as artistic performances opens up the esoterica of scholarship to a larger public. Doors can be banged on entering as well as leaving a room.

The PAATI Programme

The PAATI programme is an initiative to research and represent contemporary and historical Asian performance grounded in a theory of practice and the praxis of theory. Three postdoctoral research fellows – Hanne de Bruin, Matthew Isaac Cohen, and Hae-kyung Um – with Wim van Zanten as programme director and an executive board composed of Ben Arps, Joep Bor, Ernst Heins, Wilt Idema, and Saskia Kersenboom, have recently completed the first year of a planned four-year investigation into Asian performance.

Each of the three research fellows has come to the study of Asian performance from different backgrounds and with distinct theoretical and disciplinary orientations. Dr De Bruin is by training an Indologist, with a background in philology, comparative linguistics, and religious studies. She is also a producer and costume designer for theatre, and has organized social relief efforts for actors and musicians involved in Kattaikkuttu, a folk theatre of Tamil Nadu. Dr Cohen is a cultural anthropologist specializing in Indonesian performance, literature, art, and religion. He is a practicing puppeteer as well, and during the five years he has lived in Indonesia he has fre-



quently performed wayang kulit (shadow puppet theatre) for village audiences in Java, extemporizing dialogue in Javanese in a traditional style associated with the Cirebon region of north-coastal West Java. Dr Um is an ethnomusicologist, but was first educated as a performer of Korean classical music. She not only writes about classical and popular Korean music, she also performs and has given lecture-demonstrations throughout Asia, Europe, and North America. More than anything, it is a shared interest in combining practical work as participants with scholarship that brings the fellows together in dialogue.

Kattaikkuttu in Europe

The PAATI programme's official opening was marked with a performance by a Kattaikkuttu theatrical performance of the play 'Arjuna's Penance' on 23 October, 1997, at Leiden University under the sponsorship of the IIAS. The performance was part of a tour of the Tamil Nadu Kattaikkuttu Kali Valarcci Munnerra Sangam under the direction of P. Rajagopal. This event was not only an opportunity for the PAATI programme to present the spectacle of this little-known Asian art form to a public audience, it also provided an opportunity for Hanne De Bruin, whose works focuses upon Kattaikkuttu and related Tamil theatrical forms, to investigate European audience reception of an Asian theatre and the creative choices made by performers in adapting their art to novel settings. The results of this investigation were presented in an article co-written by Dr De Bruin and Dr Wim van Zanten entitled 'Negotiating Cultures,' published in *Oideion Online*. (More about Kattaikkuttu on page 15).

Education through performing

Education is a performative process, involving the establishment of a common framework, the assumption of roles, dialogue, and trust. Performances are likewise educational: conveying information, evaluating skills, instilling values. Reciprocal processes of learning and teaching take place not only in classrooms, conferences, and scholarly journals, but also on radio, in trade fairs, at museums, on-line, and th-

Matthew Isaac Cohen, performing a matinee wayang kulit show for a village audience in north-coastal West Java

rough artistic performances. The complex relation of performance and education is not only a central research topic for PAATI; it also constitutes an area for deep practical involvement.

The research fellows have consulted for a radio programme on Korean music and an exhibition on Indonesian performing objects; given lecture-demonstrations of Korean music and impersonation techniques in Kattaikkuttu theatre; given six lectures for a class on the performing arts of Asia, presented a course on music and politics in East Asia, and delivered numerous guest lectures in universities and museums in the Netherlands and abroad: all within the course of the first year of the project. During the coming years, the fellows plan to sponsor a theatre festival in India, assist in bringing an Indonesian theatrical troupe to the Netherlands for workshops and performances, and present courses on Korean and Indonesian theatres including acting workshops.

Project presentation

The first major collaborative presentation of the PAATI fellows took place at the Agnietenkapel of the University of Amsterdam on 26 May, 1998. It was an opportunity for the fellows to voice some of their plans for the coming three years and to engage in discussion with interested scholars and members of the performing arts community of the Netherlands.

The presentation took place at a particularly tense moment in Asian political and economic affairs: the Soeharto regime was in the process of collapsing; the South Korean economy ailing from 'the Asian flu,' and Pakistan and India apparently at the brink of a nuclear conflict. Many researchers interested in artistic aspects of Asian cultures were forced during the months around the presentation to justify the importance and relevance of studying art in these dire circumstances. Different solutions have been reached. Dr Heins spoke in his opening com-

ments in Amsterdam about gamelan musical groups around the world presenting benefit concerts for financial assistance to Indonesian counterparts and raising public awareness of and sympathy for Indonesia's economic and political tribulations. Professor Stokhof developed a contrast between the playful nature of the PAATI programme and IIAS programmes focussing upon applied scholarship. In moments of darkness, play is not simply an escape valve, but also a source of strength, hope, and determination.

ICAS Panel

The major collaborative event of the first year of the programme was a panel at the International Conference of Asian Scholars in Noordwijkerhout on 27 June 1998, addressing the theme of performing arts of Asia and the methodology of practice. Talks were presented by the three research fellows, with Dr van Zanten acting as moderator and Dr Kersenboom as discussant.

The free-ranging talks and the discussions that followed focused upon the applicability of practice theory as developed by French sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau to Asian performance, the development of methodologies that account for live performance's 'liveness' and detailed particularity, the locus and focus of scholarly observation and participation, the utility of a scholar training in a particular tradition herself, and the significant roles that new technologies such as CDs and the internet can play in future scholarship. It is planned that the next issue of *Oideion Online* will contain versions of the presentations given at the ICAS conference, with audio-visual examples.

Future Directions

An important initiative taken on the part of the PAATI programme has been the institution of post-doctoral level master classes on themes related to the study of Asian performance. The first three-day long session was given in July by Dr Stuart Blackburn from the School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London, and focused on South Asian performative traditions, the concept of perfor-

Continued on page 45

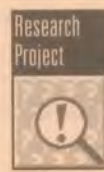
mance itself, and research ethics. The coming years will see more master classes and the generation of much more dialogue. A research seminar on popular theatres of Indonesia is being taught by Dr Cohen and Mr Wartaka, a sandiwara masres theatre impresario from West Java, in the autumn of 1998, under the auspices of the PAATI project. An international conference on the theme of patronage, spectatorship, and performance is planned for 2000. A jointly authored volume entitled *Performing Asia Abroad*, focusing on the experiences of Asian artists performing and teaching in Europe and the United States, is in the pipeline.

Finally, there are embryonic plans for the development of a European research centre or department with a focus on the performing arts of Asia. Such departments exist in Asia, and the United States, but no comparable institutions are to be found in Europe. The combined focus on scholarship and practice of Asian performing arts provides fertile ground for new approaches to performing scholarship. ■

A Case of the Overseas Chinese Business Network The Tai Yi Firm in Nagasaki and its Documents

In recent years the Chinese have been making extensive use of network analysis to explain their business activities. Chinese networks have played an unusually prominent role among the East and Southeast Asian Chinese and have made a great contribution to their economic success in this region. However, the concept of network is used largely as descriptive technique and is extremely loose. The study of Chinese networks is still at a relatively primitive stage and needs to establish itself more firmly in both case study and theoretical construction. The discovery of the Tai Yi documents contributes a very interesting opportunity to explore the Chinese business networks around the China Sea in greater depth.

■ By DAI YIFENG



In the late 1840s or early 1850s the Chinese trader Chen Guoliang moved to Nagasaki and there devoted himself to the trade between China and Japan. With seven of his fellow townsmen, he set up the Tai Chang Firm in 1861. Tai Chang's main business was the export and import trade as a wholesaler and agency. Exactly how many companies had business relations with Tai Chang is unknown, but a hundred and sixty traders were named in its account books. Most of these were Fujianese, and they distributed in Japan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Singapore. Tai Chang thus represented a fairly large-scale business network around the China Sea.

In 1901 Chen Guoliang left Tai Chang and set up a new company in Nagasaki, Tai Yi. He handed over the business to his son, Chen Shiwang. Before taking over his father's position, Chen Shiwang had worked in Tai Chang for many years. The account books show that in Tai Yi's early years (1901-1905), it inherited several businesses from Tai Chang and Tai Yi put his shoulder to the wheel to extend its business network. Letters show that Taiwan was the area where Tai Yi's business made most rapid progress. In its first five years there were fifty-five firms in Taiwan with business relations with Tai Yi.

After 1906, business began to boom for Tai Yi (1906-1915). It had 249 customer firms and Taiwan, where more than half were located, still continued to be the most rapidly developing area. Southeast Asia was another area of development. There were 47 customer firms, most of which were concentrated in Singapore. In this period, because of the change in trading port, many overseas Chinese, among them Tai Yi, moved from Nagasaki to Kobe. Tai Yi established relations with twenty-two firms in Kobe, a business network that laid a solid foundation on which Tai Yi's business could flourish. It enjoyed an eleven-year period of prosperity (1916-1927).

A victim of worsening relations between China and Japan about

1928, Tai Yi went into decline. In 1928, Tai Yi made its first loss. In 1938, Tai Yi had to suspend business owing to the Sino-Japanese war and it finally closed down in 1939. In its forty years of existence, Tai Yi preserved a large number of documents which consists of four parts as follows:

1. Documents relating to Tai Yi's business, consisting of more than fifteen thousand volumes of account books, such as *Huashang Zhongbu* (General Book for Chinese Traders), *Taishang Zhongbu* (General Book for Traders in Taiwan), *Peizhi Chachun* (General Cash Book) and *Juecai Fengying* (Final Account Book), and forty thousand letters.
2. Documents relating to other companies in Nagasaki. They cover 368 volumes of documents concerned with thirteen companies. These companies had close relations with Tai Yi. They were mostly (South) Fujianese, which shows that Tai Yi was the leader of the Fujianese group in Nagasaki during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.
3. Documents relating to Fujianese associations in Nagasaki. There are forty-five volumes documents consisting of records of meetings, account books, lists of members, etc, mainly relating to the Fujian Guild in Nagasaki. The Fujian Guild in Nagasaki, *Bamin Huisuo*, was set up in 1868 and Tai Chang was one of its sponsors. Chen Guoliang became its President in the 1880s. He rebuilt the guild and changed its name to Fujian *Huiguan*. The number of members grew from sixteen to twenty-three companies. As soon as Tai Yi was established, in 1901, it joined the Fujian *Huiguan*. Ten years later, Chen Shiwang, then manager of Tai Yi, became chairman. His son, Chen Jinzhong, took this position before he died in 1940. The documents reveal that the chief activities of the Fujian *Huiguan* were (a) organizing memorial ceremonies for ancestors; (b) subsidizing the overseas Chinese schools; (c) giving financial aid to poor villagers from south Fujian; (d) organizing social and diplomatic activities; (e) collecting donations for China; and (f) admin-

istering the temple and public graveyard.

4. Documents relating to various institutes in Nagasaki. These consist of nearly five hundred volumes of material from the Nagasaki Overseas Chinese School, of which Chen Shiwang was a board member, eighty-five volumes of documents relating to the Chinese temples in Nagasaki; and three volumes of material from the consulate of the Republic of China, the American consulate and the Kuomintang organization in Nagasaki.

The Tai Yi documents attracted the attention of Japanese scholars when they came to light in the early 1980s. In 1984, Professor Ichikawa, joined by some Japanese and Chinese scholars, started to sort out and study the material. Some research reports have been published.

It is very surprising that as a medium-to-small company, Tai Yi had a wide business network. There are some forty thousand letters on which addresses and postmarks can be distinguished and these show that four thousand companies had had business dealings with Tai Yi between 1901 and 1938. They distributed in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia. Tai Yi's business network consisted of four interlinked trade zones: the North China Sea (*Huanghai*) trade zone, the East China Sea (*Donghai*) zone, the South China Sea (*Nanghai*) zone, and the China coastal zone.

The most fascinating point is that, as a family-managed trading company, the structure of Tai Yi's business network can be analysed in terms of concentric circles working, from inside to outside, from core management, through basic customer companies and general Chinese customer companies to Japanese customer companies. The core management of Tai Yi was composed of members of Chen Shiwang's family and more distant relatives. In the early days of Tai Yi these family members and relatives made up more than seventy percent of all the salesclerks and were the main force of Tai Yi.

It is worth mentioning that there were certain customer companies that had special relations with Tai Yi. These core customers not only did a lot of business with Tai Yi, they also acted as transfer traders. Tai Yi would deliver goods to these core companies, which then transferred the goods to various consumer companies. They served as an intelligence network being responsible for collecting local news and sending it to Tai Yi, and assisted with funding and dealing with remittances. Tai Yi also had many general customers, but, these companies only had tem-

porary business relations with Tai Yi and the trade value they generated was generally small. Before a business relationship could be established, companies needed an introduction from Chen Shiwang's clan or a fellow villager before such a connection could be considered. The credit of these firms could offer was the most important factor when they were introduced.

Although Tai Yi's business network consisted predominantly of Chinese merchants, generally, Chinese merchants and Japanese merchants tended to operate in their own exclusive spheres, but Tai Yi also had business dealings with a few Japanese merchants, mainly wholesalers. The Japanese customers were however regarded as inferiors.

An important conclusion is that Tai Yi established its business network through personal relationships. This network started with relatives and later included clan members and villagers and finally general Chinese merchants. This personal relationship network went far beyond the transportation of goods, it was the basis for other special functions such as the exchange of news, meditating, the co-ordination of loans and the introduction of sales clerks, and much more. ■

References:

- The documents of Tai Yi.
- Dai Yifeng, *The Overseas Chinese Business Network: A Case Study on Tai Yi Firm in Nagasaki (1901-1938)*, Asian Culture, Singapore, 1998.
- Nobuchika Ichikawa and Dai Yifeng (eds), *Jindai liri huaqiao yu dongya yuanhai diqu jiaoyuquan* (Overseas Chinese and the Trade Zone on the East Asian Coast in Modern Times), Xiamen Daxue Chubanshe, 1994.
- Zhu Delan, *Meijiki ni okeru Nagasaki kasho Taishogo to Taiekigo to no boeki nettowaku no keisei* (The Form of the Business Network of the Chinese Traders Tai Chang and Tai Yi in Nagasaki, Minji era), *Kyushu kokusai daigaku shakai bunka kenkyusho kiyō*, No. 35, 1994.
- Yuka Yamaoka, *Nagasaki kasho no kei-shi teki kenkyū: Kindai Chugoku shonin no keiei to chobo* (A study on the History Management of Chinese Traders in Nagasaki: The Management and Account Book of Chinese Trader in Modern Times), Mineruba shobo, 1995.

Dai Yifeng was an IIAS research fellow in between June and September 1998 and is currently attached to Xiamen University as a Professor of History at. He is the director of the Centre for Chinese Customs Studies. E-mail: yfdai@xmu.edu.cn.

VACANCY

The Department of Asian Studies at Cornell University invites applications for a

TENURE-TRACK POSITION

AT THE ASSISTANT PROFESSOR LEVEL IN PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINESE LITERATURE

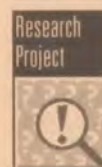
Specialization open, including cultural studies, to teach an undergraduate education course on the China area in addition to specialized undergraduate and graduate-level courses. Position will start July 1, 1999. Evaluation of applications will begin December 15, 1998.

Send letter of application, cv, three letters of reference, and writing sample(s) to:

EDWARD GUNN,
Chair, Chinese Literature Search Committee,
Department of Asian Studies,
Cornell University, 388
Rockefeller Hall, Ithaca,
New York 14853-2502.

Progress Report Qiaoxiang Ties Programme The Chronicle Development of the IIAS-Xiamen Joint Research Project

■ By **CEN HUANG**
& **LEO DOUW**



The IIAS-Xiamen project was launched in December 1997 for the purpose of establishing international research collaboration on the topic of qiaoxiang studies, to conduct joint research, and to exchange research data and archive materials. The project has been running smoothly, and made good progress since then.

In December 1997, the project was launched in Xiamen. Dr Cen Huang delivered a lecture on research methods to the Xiamen research team.

In February and March 1998, fieldwork was carried out under the joint research agreement. The Xiamen research team conducted more

investigations into the relationship between overseas Chinese investment, qiaoxiang development and qiaoxiang enterprises. Forty more enterprises were surveyed looking at the aspects of investment, structure, organization, management, marketing, production, profit, etc.

In June 1998, the Xiamen team completed the first draft of research data files and theses based on the Jinjiang qiaoxiang survey. Three research theses cover: (1) the dynamics of the Jinjiang private enterprises, 1970-1990; (2) overseas Chinese and qiaoxiang education, a case study of Jinjiang; and (3) the role of remittance and donations in Jinjiang's social and economic development. Research data files include: (1) investigation reports on individual villages; and (2) compiled data files of surveyed households and enterprises. The research parties have worked

jointly on the issues of the selection of data files for further analysis.

In August 1998, Dr Cen Huang visited Professor Zhuang Guotu at Xiamen University. They discussed the progress of the joint project and its future plans. The IIAS research party received the first set of research data and reports of the Jinjiang qiaoxiang investigation.

In October 1998, the Xiamen team will hold an international conference on the topic of 'Qiaoxiang Studies.' Dr Cen Huang will organize an IIAS/European panel as part of the conference, which will be held on 28-31 October 1998 in Jinjiang where the qiaoxiang survey took place. It will mark the conclusion of Phase I of the IIAS-Xiamen joint project. About fifty scholars from ten different countries will present papers at the conference. The Xiamen research

team and the Jinjiang government will be host and organizer of the conference. An edited volume based on the Jinjiang empirical data is planned to be published as an outcome of the joint project.

Other News

The programme panel: 'Chinese Transnationalism: cultural and economic dimensions' was successfully held on 25-26 June 1998 in Noordwijkerhout as a panel at the ICAS conference. Twelve papers were presented and the panel attracted a fair amount of academic attention from the ICAS audience. Dr Leo Douw, Dr Cen Huang and Dr Michael Godley have been working on the edited volume based on the panel papers since then.

Dr Michael Godley has been selected as a senior visiting fellow to join the Qiaoxiang Ties Program from 15 September to 15 December 1998. He

will continue to work on the ICAS panel volume.

Dr Leo Douw and Professor Dai Yifeng have established another joint research project: 'The Role of Overseas Chinese Invested Enterprises in the Development of Labour Markets in South China, 1978 - Present.' To get the project off the ground, Professor Dai held a senior IIAS fellowship from June to September 1998. ■

Dr Leo Douw has begun an IIAS senior fellowship (1 September 1998 to 1 March 1999), entitled 'Transnational Entrepreneurship and the Establishment of Free Market Institutions in South China, 1900 - Present.'

Dr. Cen Huang took a field trip to south China. She interviewed foreign investors and government officials on the issue of the Asian crisis and foreign economy and enterprises in Guangdong. She also visited the Center of Asian Studies at the University of Hong Kong.

NEW BOOKS BY KITLV



H.A.J. Klaoster

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION

Leiden: KITLV Press 1997, 666 pp.

ISBN 90-6718-089-0

(Bibliographical Series 21)

Herman C. Kemp

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

Leiden: KITLV Press 1998, 1128 pp.

ISBN 90-6718-121-8

(Bibliographical Series 22)

Helen Creese

PĀRTHĀYANĀ: THE JOURNEYING OF PĀRTHA.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BALINESE KAKAWIN

Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998, 504 pp.

ISBN 90-6718-117-X

(Bibliotheca Indonesica 27)

William A. Collins

THE GURIOTAN OF RADIN SUANE:

A STUDY OF THE BESEMAH ORAL EPIC FROM SOUTH SUMATRA

Leiden: KITLV Press, 548 pp. 1998

ISBN 90-6718-115-3, (Bibliotheca Indonesica 28)

David Bulbeck, Anthony Reid, Lay Cheng Tan and Yiqi Wu (comp.)

SOUTHEAST ASIAN EXPORTS SINCE THE 14TH CENTURY.

CLOVES PEPPER COFFEE, AND SUGAR

Leiden: KITLV Press, Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 195 pp. 1998

ISBN 981-3055-67-7 (Data Paper Series. Sources for the Economic History of Southeast Asia no. 4)

Gregory Forth

BENEATH THE VOLCANO.

RELIGION COSMOLOGY AND SPIRIT CLASSIFICATION AMONG THE NAGE OF EASTERN INDONESIA

Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998, 369 pp.

ISBN 90-6718-120-X (Verhandelingen 177)

M.J.C. Schouten

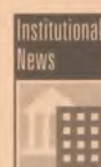
LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN A SOUTHEAST ASIAN SOCIETY.

MINAHASA 1677-1983

Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998, 334 pp.

ISBN 90-6718-109-9 (Verhandelingen 179)

The ASALFA Network Organizes a Course on MERCOSUL, Asia and the EU



In 1995 the European Union constituted the Alfa Programme for the exchange of students at the postgraduate and undergraduate level between universities in the European Union and in Latin America. This Programme of forty million ECU's also included the possibilities of professionalization courses for Latin American university teachers, and improvement of the administration of Latin American Universities and their relations with local private enterprise.

Within the frameWORK of the Alfa Programme, the University of Leiden proposed in 1997 to constitute a network of European and Latin American universities, to organize a professionalization course for postgraduates and teachers at Latin American universities interested in processes of integration in Asia and Europe. About eighteen postgraduates and junior teachers at the MERCOSUL universities of Cordoba (Argentina), Porto Alegre, (Brazil) and Santiago (Chile) will, together with students from the universities of Mainz and Trier (Germany), Stockholm (Sweden) and Leiden (Nether-

lands), attend an intensive programme of courses and tutorials during six months.

The University of Leiden, co-ordinator of this programme, will be the host. Courses will be given by guest professors from all participating universities of the Asia-Latin America (ASALFA) network, and by our Amsterdam associates, the International Institute of Social History and the Centre of Latin American Studies and Documentation. The International Institute of Asian Studies has an important logistical role in the organisation of this very first programme in which European universities make use of the exchange possibilities offered by the European Union to offer their high level specializations in Asian cultures, politics and economics to Latin American universities with a strongly emerging interest in Asia.

Because of this strongly emerging interest in Asia among MERCOSUL countries and its associated partner Chile, the focus of the programme will be on the development of integrative processes in the extended MERCOSUL, Asia and the European Union. Moreover, the developing relations between Asia and Latin

America and the consequences of these relations for the European Union will be analysed. Close attention will be given to the comparison of developments within Asia, the MERCOSUL and the European Union, so as to provide students with the necessary knowledge for understanding the different processes of integration taking place in these three areas. After having followed thirteen courses given by European, Latin American and Asian specialists, students will write a final paper in June 1999. ■

DR MARIANNE WIESEBRON

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2300 RA Leiden

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Fax.: +31-71-5274162

E-mail: iias@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

NOVEMBER 1998

25-27 NOVEMBER, 1998
Seoul, Korea
5th Asian Congress of Sexology: Sound Society in Sound Sexuality
Frank Tedesco, Sejong University,
98, Kunjadong, Kwangjin-gu,
Seoul 143-747, Korea,
tel./fax: +82-2-997-3954,
e-mail: tedesco@uriel.net

27-29 NOVEMBER 1998
Reggio Calabria, Italy
First International Conference
on Philippine Studies
Domenico Marciano,
Italy-Philippine Cultural Association,
Via San Francesco da Paola 102,
89127 Reggio Calabria, Italy,
tel.: +39-965-594111,
fax: +39-965-893611

30 NOVEMBER -
1 DECEMBER 1998
Stockholm, Sweden
Interdependence in Asia Pacific:
a multidisciplinary perspective
Dr Bert Edström, Center for Pacific Asia
Studies, Stockholm University,
S 106 91 Stockholm, Sweden,
tel.: +46-8-162897, fax: +46-8-168810,
e-mail: bert.edstrom@orient.su.se

DECEMBER 1998

7-9 DECEMBER 1998
Pune, India
4th Himalayan Languages Symposium
Dr Suhnu Ram Sharma,
Dept. of Linguistics, Deccan College,
Pune 411 006, India,
tel: +91-212-668858,
fax: +91-212-660104, e-mail:
deccan.college@gems.vsnl.net.in

7-11 DECEMBER 1998
New Delhi, India
9th International seminar on Indo-
Portuguese History on Discoveries
The coordinator, History of Science
programme, Indian National Science
Academy, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg,
New Delhi 110002, India

8-10 DECEMBER 1998
Penang, Malaysia
The First International Conference on
Islamic Development Management
Secretariat, Islamic Development
Management Conference,
School of Social Sciences, Universiti
Sains Malaysia, 11800 Minden,
Penang, Malaysia,
tel: +60-4-6577888 ext.
3904/2284/3632/3443,
fax: +60-4-6584820,
e-mail: idmp@usm.my

8-12 DECEMBER 1998
Manila, The Philippines
International Congress on Women's Role
in History and Nation Building:
History Herstory
International Congress Secretariat,
The Philippine Women's University,
Development Institute For Women in
Asia-Pacific, 1743 Taft Avenue,
Manila 1004, The Philippines,
tel.: +63-2-5368648, fax: +63-2-5524002,
e-mail: diwa@pwu.net

14-16 DECEMBER 1998

Bandung, Indonesia
Entrepreneurship and Education in Tourism
Dr Heidi Dahles, c/o IIAS, P.O. Box 9515,
2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands,
e-mail: H.Dahles@KUB.nl

19-24 DECEMBER 1998

Pondicherry, India
XXII Indian Social Science Congress:
Democracy, Peoples' Development
and Culture: The Emerging Challenges
and Initiatives
Indian Academy of Social Sciences,
Isvar Sarab Ashram Campus,
Allahabad 211004, India,
tel: +91-532-645170,
fax: +91-532-645170

28-30 DECEMBER 1998

Madras, India
International Seminar on Skanda-Murugan
International Murukan Seminar
Committee, Institute of Asian Studies,
Sholinganallur, Chennai 600 119,
India, e-mail: ias@xlweb.com,
fax: +91-44-4960959,
tel: +91-44-4961662

JANUARY 1999

8-12 JANUARY 1999

Monterey CA, USA
Annual Japan Studies
Dissertation Workshop
East Asia Program,
Social Science Research Council,
810 Seventh Avenue, 31st Floor,
New York, NY 10019, USA,
tel.: +1-212-3772700, fax: +1-212-3772727,
e-mail: winther@ssrc.org

15-17 JANUARY 1999

Charlottesville VA, USA
38th annual meeting of the SEC/AAS:
Asia 2000 and Beyond
Professor Brantly Womack (SEC/AAS),
East Asia Center, 224 Minor Hall,
University of Virginia, Charlottesville,
VA 22901, USA,
e-mail: bwomack@virginia.edu

MARCH 1999

11-14 MARCH 1999

Boston MA, USA
AAS Annual Meeting
AAS, 1021 E. Huron St, Ann Arbor,
MI 48104 USA,
tel.: +1-734-6652490
fax: +1-734-6653801,
e-mail: annmtg@aasianst.org

18-20 MARCH 1998

Charleston SC, USA
The Evolution of Portuguese Asia.
Quincentenary Reflections, 1498-1998
Prof. Timothy Coates, dept. of History,
College of Charleston, 66 Gearge Street,
Charleston SC 29424-0001, USA,
e-mail: coatest@cofc.edu

18-21 MARCH 1999

Avignon, France
Migration and Countries of the South
Gwyn Campbell and André Ulpat,
Centre for the Study and Research of
North-South Relations, University of
Avignon, 74 rue Louis Pasteur,
case no. 19, 84029 Avignon cedex 1,
France,
tel: +33-490162718
fax: +33-490162719
e-mail: gcampb3195@aol.com

Agenda



22-25 MARCH 1999

Steyning, Great Britain
Managing the Global Economy
in the Light of the Asian Crisis
Wilton Park Conference, Wiston House,
Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3DZ, GB,
tel.: +44-1903-817755
fax: +44-1903-815931
e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

APRIL 1999

7-11 APRIL 1999

Hamburg, Germany
1999 AKSE Conference
AKSE Secretary, Prof. Werner Sasse,
University of Hamburg, Dept. Korea,
D-20146 Hamburg, Germany
tel: +49-40-41233296
fax: +49-40-41236484
e-mail: or5a007@rtz.uni-hamburg.de

23-25 APRIL 1999

Tacoma, Washington, USA
Seventh ASIANetwork Annual Conference
Marianna McJimsey, ASIANetwork,
The Colorado College, 14 East Cache
La Poudre, Colorado Springs, CO 80903,
USA, tel.: +1-719-3897706,
e-mail: mmcjimsey@cc.colorado.edu

MAY 1999

12-15 MAY 1999

La Paz, Bolivia
'Alternative' Histories & Non-Written
Sources: new perspectives from the South
Sephis secretariat, Cruquiusweg 31,
1019 AT Amsterdam, the Netherlands,
e-mail: sephis@iisg.nl

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
fax: +31-71-5272652
e-mail: lindblad@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

7-10 JUNE 1999

Steyning, Great Britain
A Changing Japan?
Wilton Park Conference, Wiston House,
Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3DZ, GB,
tel.: +44-1903-817755
fax: +44-1903-815931
e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

15-18 JUNE 1999

Heidelberg, Germany
The 600th Anniversary of Kabir's Birth
Prof. Monika Boehm-Tettelbach,
Dept. of Modern Indian Studies,
South Asia Institute, University of
Heidelberg, Im Neuenheimerfeld 330,
69120 Heidelberg, Germany
tel: +49-6221-548926
fax: +49-6221-545998
e-mail: m91@ix.urz.uni-heidelberg.de

JUNE 16-18, 1999

Pattani, Thailand
The Fourth ASEAN Inter-University
Seminar On Social Development
ASEAN ISSD4 Secretariat, Division of
Academic Affairs, Prince of Songkla
University, Pattani 94000, Thailand,
tel.: +66-73-312238, fax: +66-73-313485,
e-mail: issd4@bunga.pn.psu.ac.th

JUNE 19-21, 1999

Ann Arbor MI, USA
International Conference on China
Geoinformatics and Socioinformatics
Dr Shuming Bao, Suite 3630, 1080 S.
University, China Data Center,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
MI 48109-1106, USA, tel.: +1-734-6479610,
fax: +1-734-7635540
e-mail: geoim99@umich.edu

25-27 JUNE 1999

Leiden, the Netherlands
4th ESfO conference: Asia in the Pacific
ESfO organizing committee, ISIR,
Nonnensteeg 1-3, 2311 VJ Leiden,
the Netherlands, fax: +31-71-5272632,
e-mail: isiresfo@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

28 JUNE-2 JULY 1999

Moscow, Russia
11th ECIMS: The Indonesian and Malay
World: Milestones of the Second Millennium
Dr Eugenia Kukushkina, Institute of
Asian and African Countries,
Lomonosov Moscow State University,
11, Mochovaya St.,
Moscow 103009 Russia
fax: +7-95-9547622

JULY 1999

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,
Fax: +31-71-5274162
e-mail: IIAS@rullet.leidenuniv.nl
(please mention SAA 99)

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,
fax: +31-20-5253658
e-mail: thaistud@pscw.uva.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, UK
tel: +44-1865-273644
fax: +44-1865-273607
e-mail: cccrw@qeh.ox.ac.uk

AUGUST 1999

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: +66-2-2804022-9
fax: +66-2-2804030
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: +65-8743810
fax: +65-7791428
e-mail: cassec@nus.edu.sg

OCTOBER 1999

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, GB,
tel.: +44-1903-817755
fax: +44-1903-815931
e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

NOVEMBER 1999

8-11 NOVEMBER 1999

Steyning, Great Britain
China Beyond 50
Wilton Park Conference, Wiston House,
Steyning, West Sussex BN44 3DZ, GB,
tel.: +44-1903-817755
fax: +44-1903-815931
e-mail: admin@wiltonpark.org.uk

DECEMBER 1999

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.: +91-413-65177
fax: +91-413-65211
e-mail: bioinpu@iitm.ernet.in

ICAS Panel on 'Changing Industrial Labour Relations in Asia'

At the International Convention of Asia Scholars in June this year, the CLARA programme organized a panel consisting of four speakers who highlighted the diversities shaping the varying scenarios for labour relations in Asia.

■ By RATNA SAPTARI



Bernard Thomann (Institut d'Asie Orientale, Lyon) focused on changes in Japanese-style management as a result of economic recession. In the past, the Japanese economy was based on a unique form of regulation between the interests of the labour and those of the capital based on a 'micro-corporatist' compromise. This Japanese-style 'micro-compromise' can be characterized as creating job stability but with flexible labour conditions; promoting identification of workers' interests with those of the employer. Secondly, there is a large peripheral workforce which is excluded from the micro-corporatist compromise and therefore can be easily adjusted to help preserve the job stability of the core workforce. Thirdly, the labour movement has been dominated by enterprise unions which only defended the interest of the core employees and were not able to develop a horizontal solidarity and a class struggle ideology. However, with the oil crisis and the more recent monetary crisis, some very careful reforms of the Japanese-style management have been taking place in order to adapt the system to those new challenges. The question is what this would mean for labour relations?

Sun Wen-Bin (Centre for Asian Studies, Hongkong) looked particularly at labour disputes in South China. Labour disputes have increased dramatically since the beginning of the economic reform in 1987. According to the data from the Ministry of Labour in China, in 1996 there was a 264 per cent increase in labour disputes compared to the previous year's figure. Examining the working conditions in Shenzhen, there should be more disputes on dangerous working conditions, long working hours with extremely low pay, and harsh work regulations and punishments, but, these are seldom the causes for the registered labour disputes. Wen Bin discussed this phenomenon in the light of institutional constraints, official understanding of economic development as well as worker's choices.

Karin Kapadia (Christian Michelsen Institute, Norway), focused on the changes occurring within the synthetic gem industry, when the domestic-oriented gem industry in Tamil Nadu, India was marginalized by the rapidly expanding export-oriented manufacture. These chang-

es were most tangible in the changing composition of the workforce. A bonded labour force consisting of evenly divided numbers of men and women aged between six to sixty was replaced by a preponderantly young female workforce aged between fifteen to twenty-three, largely from lower middle-class families. Explanations of this change in the labour force are among others: unstable markets requiring a flexible workforce, new technology and the transformation of caste and kinship relations in the local labour-supplying areas.

Ratna Saptari (International Institute of Social History/International Institute for Asian Studies) focused on the dilemmas of resistance in the Javanese cigarette industry and the nature and form collective action which may be coloured by collaboration and accommodation at the same time. This condition reflects the national and workplace level dynamics, as well as the historical background to the industry in the area. Contradictions emerge because of the competition between companies, the local labour markets, and the nature of cigarette-manufacturing employment, which on the one hand is exploitative but on the other hand provides a better source of income than other jobs in the locality. Therefore these structures may serve as a constraint on the emergence of regular and continuous collective action, but at the same time they may provide social and political space for women workers. In response to these papers, discussions focused particularly on the nature of capital which constitutes different interests and which in the past tended to be looked upon as homogeneous; and on the nature trade unions that managed to survive taking into account the fragmented labour force and the flexibility often linked to uncertain markets. ■

Economic Impact of the Crisis on Labour

A Workshop on 'The Economic Impact of the Crisis on Labour' was organized by AKATIGA, (Research Centre for Social Analysis) based in Bandung, CLARA (Amsterdam), and CASA (Amsterdam) and was held in July 1998 in Bandung. The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided financial support.

■ By RATNA SAPTARI



The workshop was held with three aims in mind, namely: a) to bring together concerned scholars and socially committed activists so as to come to a better understanding of the direct and indirect impact of the current economic crisis in East and Southeast Asia. The focus should be on workers, social and economic conditions in the various sectors; b) the workshop should serve as a preliminary step towards a more in-depth research on various dimensions of the crisis; c) to think of strategies to improve the bargaining position of workers in the urban and rural areas.

The workshop brought together a good mix of activists and scholars from Indonesia and the region, namely Malaysia and the Philippines. Although initially our plan was to invite no more than twenty-five activists and researchers, ultimately we ended up with a total of forty-three participants from Asian NGOs, universities and scientific institutions, and from international agencies. Representatives from the Indonesian, Dutch, and United States governments were also present. Seventeen papers were presented in the two-day sessions. Because of the large number of participants and the limited time available, after the introductory and general overviews the sessions were divided into two working groups. The languages spoken were Indonesian and English.

The bulk of the programme was spent in identifying the issues and problems faced by the researchers and activists alike, who work in the urban and rural areas of Java, North Sumatra, and Eastern Nusa Tenggara. The presentations showed commonalities but at the same time differences in experiences of and responses to of the urban/rural poor in Indonesia; and the organizations facilitating them. Considering the complexity of the issues it was felt that there was too little time to compare notes and to reflect on each other's experiences. The breaking up of the workshop into two groups helped to focus the issues slightly. It was felt that many more discussions were needed to tackle each point raised.

Since the crisis in Indonesia for the working classes is experienced primarily in high food prices and the dramatically high level of unemployment, or underemployment, discussions on the workers' situation concentrated on what the crisis has meant for levels of consumption and employment and how workers have reacted to the situation. Studies on la-

bour relations therefore cannot be divorced from studies on strategies of survival. This also has significant implications for organization.

The comparisons with other countries in the region (i.e. Malaysia and the Philippines) showed that the effect of the crisis was not the same. Not only the nature of each country's integration into the global market, but also the internal workings of the state, differed. In the Indonesian case, it could be seen how the higher degree of state corruption and political repression in Indonesia exacerbated the nature of the crisis. This also affected the kind of civil society that has emerged which is quite different from that in Malaysia and the Philippines. The issue of migrant labour brought up the problem not only of distinct government policies, regarding immigration and emigration but also of the commonalities and differences among Asian migrant labour, in this case Philippine and Indonesian. It also brought up the integrated nature of village level dynamics, government policies and international markets. The drastic increase in unemployment raised the issue of return migration and its impact on the village economy; also important is the extent to which the village economy can support those without an income. Therefore the nature of urban-rural links and how this has developed in the economic crisis was another issue we knew too little about as organizers and as researchers.

Workers' activism varied in the different regions and there was no clear analysis on how and why these variations existed. Should this be linked to the nature of the labour market in the respective areas, the nature of workers' organizations existing prior to the crisis, or the level of repression enacted by the local apparatus? There was still no knowledge of sectoral differences in industrial workers' plight. Do we know enough of the diverse community structures to formulate appropriate strategies for mobilization or provide recommendations for policy makers? The discussion on the rural areas brought the same kind of questions. In the rural areas, although protests occurred against village heads, no parallel level of activism could be found. This brought up the question of social institutions available in the village. After 30 years of Suharto's top-down rule, what are left of village institutions that could provide some form of social security for rural people? From these discussions, the need to bridge the gap between researchers and activists was also felt as activism cannot be well planned and formulated if knowledge of an issue or an area is based on superficial information; on the other hand research cannot be useful enough if not sensitized and put into perspective by political activism. ■

■
'Studies on
labour relations
cannot be divorced
from studies on
strategies of
survival'
■

EUROSEAS Conference Panel on 'Changing Labour Relations in South-East Asia'

Eleven speakers from Australia, the Philippines, Great Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands formed a panel at the Euroseas Conference. Their research covered the areas of Java, South Sumatra, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand and of South East Asia as a region. Four overlapping themes could be discerned.

■ By RATNA SAPTARI

Report
One theme concerned the nature of labour. Thus Jonathan Rigg (University of Durham) gave a broad picture of changing labour markets where the rural-urban divide has become less sharp, where non-farm employment has become much more significant, and doubt has been cast on 'household strategies'. Amarjit Kaur (University of New England) discussed the

different conjunctures shaping labour demand in the mining and plantation systems resulting in an ethically and gender-differentiated labour force in these respective systems deriving initially from the colonial system. Daniel Arghiros showed the rapid changes in the labour composition of the brickmaking workforce and the export-industries located in Thailand. The changes in the brick-making industry particularly came about as a response to changes in the local labour supply. Labour, at first, was composed of local landless and

land-poor, then consisted mainly of migrant workers from the Northeast, and later these were replaced by illegal immigrant workers.

Another theme concerned the nature of labour relations as found in specific industries or specific localities. Jennifer Alexander and Paul Alexander concentrating on the export-oriented furniture industry in Java, Indonesia, examined the extent in which the commercial interests of the furniture industry have redefined kin-based relations and terms and vice versa, how kin-based relations utilized relations of production. Arghiros also examined changes in systems of labour control in the workplace following the changes undergone by the brick-making industry.

The third theme was on workers'

politics and the trajectories of trade unions (the two not necessarily analogous to one another). Becky Elmhirst (University of Brighton) referring to the Lampungese women migrants who went to the factories of Tangerang, West Java, showed how relations outside the workplace, rather than in the workplace itself, influenced the political behaviour of the Lampungese women workers. In exercising its moral supervision over young migrant women in Tangerang the ethnic and kin-based Lampungese social network also curtailed their possibilities for political participation. Ratna Saptari highlighted the contrasting phenomena of labour politics in two diverse industrial cities in East Java. Labour activism in Surabaya and non-activism in Malang in this period of

economic crisis should not be explained by modern-traditional dichotomies or by locational differences. Explanations should be sought in the interplay of various factors, but particularly in state and NGO intervention, industrial structure, and community-level dynamics. Irene Norlund (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Denmark) looked at the changing perceptions of the Vietnamese state on the definition of workers.

The fourth theme concerned the issue of the construction or categorization of labour. Focusing on child labour, Ben White (Institute of Social Studies) pointed out the selective nature of the international discourse on children's work and how this contrasts with the reality of children's work. Since such a discourse is exercised in policy-making circles, it very strongly shapes the legal definition of child labour and children's work and the political positioning of government and non-government organizations regarding this issue - irrespective of whether it reflects children's realities and needs. ■

Labour Studies at Other Institutes Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong

The Centre of Asian Studies was established in November 1967. It functions as a Centre in which all departments of the University with interests related to contemporary and traditional Chinese studies, Hong Kong studies and East and Southeast Asian studies may bring together their research and their post-graduate students in interdisciplinary and other seminars. Its other functions include: serving as a Hong Kong base for overseas scholars in these fields; supporting doctoral and post-doctoral research; publishing and sponsoring the publication of journals and the results of research in the field of Asian Studies; and engaging in other activities in the promotion of East and Southeast Asian Studies.

■ By SUN WEN-BIN

Institutional News
A team of researchers comprising a director, deputy director, three research officers and two post-doctoral fellows conducts independent research in the Centre's prescribed field of interest. Research activities of the Centre also include the projects of many University staff who have been appointed centre fellows. At present there are forty centre fellows. In addition, at all times there are a number of local and overseas scholars holding honorary appointments at the Centre, and engaged in research related to topics of interest to the Centre. The research work and other activities of the Centre are supported by eleven administrative and secretarial staff members.

Current materials from China and Southeast Asia are housed in the Centre's library. A collection of reference materials essential to scholarship is being built up, and these include the FBIS Daily Report from the PRC, Xinhua News Bulletins, Asian

Studies journals and newspapers. Many of these materials are not readily available elsewhere. The publications of the Centre include a Monographs and an Occasional Papers Series, a Research Guide and Bibliographies Series, the Journal of Oriental Studies and the East Asian Tertiary/Quaternary Newsletter. The Centre also publishes its bi-monthly Newsletter, which aims to network the Centre's scholars and to keep the readers informed of the on-going Centre activities.

The Centre's research work is definitely heading in two directions. One is on the drastic changes in the PRC since the beginning of the reform in 1978. This includes research on the development of Chinese entrepreneurship, business tradition, and changing labour relations in China. The on-going study on labour relations focuses on the issue of labour disputes and the status quo of the Chinese working class in Post-Mao China. By collecting both qualitative and quantitative data in the Chinese mainland, the researchers are trying to examine several major problems: 1) individual and

collective bargaining over wages and various social welfare benefits; 2) workplace regulations and grievance procedures; 3) internal cleavage and differential reward practice within enterprises; 4) informal social ties among workers; 5) the role of trade unions; and 6) the role of government. Related to this, the Centre's fellows have been doing research on the impact of legislation on trade unions in Hong Kong, and the development of labour relations in Hong Kong (labour's responses to industrial development and the transformation of industrial structure).

The other direction of research is on the study of China and the ASEAN countries. The aim is to link institutes in China and Southeast Asia to stimulate co-operative projects, collaboration in data collection, wider regional research, and to encourage research in this area in Hong Kong. The Centre holds an annual China-ASEAN academic conference and is going to publish a quarterly - China-ASEAN Review. The Centre also has experts running projects on Hong Kong Studies, in both historical and contemporary perspectives. It is in the process of establishing a centre of excellence on Hong Kong history and culture studies. ■

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24 APRIL 1998

AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

One-Day Seminar

The main aim of the One-Day Seminar was to bring together labour scholars to exchange information on ongoing research. Since an increasing number of scholars in the Netherlands is studying work processes, industrial relations, labour migration etc. in Asia, past, and present and many of them have not had the opportunity to get to know of the work of others outside their respective research schools, this seminar was meant to serve this function. The second aim was to look at the diversities in labour relations in different Asian countries. The seminar was attended by Ph.D. students, post-docs, university staff, and researchers.

■ By RATNA SAPTARI

Report
The areas covered were China, India, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Since the topics were quite varied, discussions were more of an informative nature rather than focusing on one common issue. However as a first attempt such a meeting was extremely useful for general exchange. Jan Lucassen gave an introduction to the International Institute of Social History and Paul van der Velde to the International Institute for Asian Studies. The keynote speakers were Rajnavaran Chandavarkar (Dept. of History, Cambridge University) on 'Approaches to Labour Historiography' and Jan Breman (CASA) on 'the Informalization of Labour'. Research presentations were given by Miranda Engelshoven (Amsterdam School of Social Science Research, Univ. of Amsterdam) on 'Labour in the Diamond Industry, India'; Cen Huang (International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden) on 'Transnationalism and Labour in China' Peter

Keppy (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, Amsterdam) on 'Labour Activism in the 1930s in Java, Indonesia', and the last speaker was Rosanne Rutten (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, Amsterdam) on 'Claim-making and labour rights in a Philippine plantation region'. The participants in this one day seminar came from various research institutions in the Netherlands and forms were distributed to expand the CLARA database on researchers working on the theme of labour in Asia. ■

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Negotiating Identities 'Hinduism' in modern Indonesia

Modernity has by now reached all Indonesians in the guise of both rationalised world religion and Indonesianization. Thus, the old and rather self-evident reference points of individual and ethnic identity as well as social solidarity have been challenged by new constructs and lifestyles. Nowadays, we talk about globalisation resulting in an intensification of local identities as if it were an axiom. However, few authors have bothered to describe concrete social processes, which would exemplify and thus help to understand this seemingly paradox axiom. Anthropologist Dr. Martin Ramstedt investigates the discourse and discursive practice of 'Indonesian Hinduism' vis-à-vis individual, ethnic as well as national and thereby global interests in a three-year project which entails fieldwork in different parts of Indonesia and India as well as archive work in the Netherlands.

By MARTIN RAMSTEDT

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.

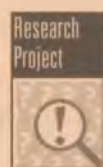
The ESF maintains close relations with other scientific institutions within and outside Europe. By its activities, the Foundation adds value by co-operation and co-ordination across national frontiers and endeavours, offers expert scientific advice on strategic issues, and provides the European forum for fundamental science.

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'Hinduism' as it is understood in contemporary Indonesia has in fact evolved out of a religious reform movement which had started in Bali around 1917. At that time, Dutch colonial rule as well as Islamic propaganda and Christian missionary work had prompted Balinese intellectuals to redefine Balinese tradition in order to reassert the status of Balinese religious practices as 'religion' rather than as rites based on customary ethnic beliefs and to adapt Balinese customary rules of conduct (called 'adat' by the Dutch) to the demands of modernity. When Bali was integrated into the Republic of Indonesia in 1950, the Indonesian Ministry of Religion dominated by representatives of Islam and Christianity rejected 'Balinese religion' on the grounds of its definition of 'religion'.

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 'religion' implies a universal, monotheistic creed based on a holy book which was conceived by a holy prophet whereas Balinese rites and rituals appeared to be ethnic and polytheistic in character. Moreover, those practices were apparently connected to different genealogical traditions and thus to ancestor worship. In an enhanced process of religious reform, Balinese intellectuals reformulated the central doctrines of 'Bali Hinduism' by turning to neo-Hinduistic currents of modern India for inspiration. Complying with the requirements of the Ministry of Religion, they presented Sanghyang Widhi Wasa as the Balinese equivalent to the 'God' (Tuhan) of Indonesian Islam and Christianity with the lesser Balinese deities and deified ancestors corresponding to the angels of Islam and Christianity. 'Sanghyang Widhi Wasa' can be translated either as 'Almighty, Divine, and Supreme Ruler of the Universe' or as 'Divine, Power-

ful Cosmic Law'. Hence, the term in fact accommodates both the Muslim-Christian as well as the Indian Hindu (sananta dharma) notion of the Supreme Principle. Furthermore, it was claimed that certain Hindu texts like the Indian Bhagavad Gita or the Old Javanese Sarasamuccaya are divine revelations conceived by holy seers and are therefore equivalent to the Al Quran and the Bible. 'Hinduism' was finally recognised by the Ministry of Religion in 1959. In 1960, a kind of religious council called Parisada Dharma Hindu Bali was established as the official representative of Bali Hinduism. This council discouraged the Balinese tinge in favour of a much more Indianised version of official Hinduism and consequently changed its name to Parisada Hindu Dharma in 1964.

The advent of Soeharto's 'new order' resulted in an increasing Indonesianisation of both Hindu Dharma and Parisada Hindu Dharma, partly due to the fact that every Indonesian citizen was now required to be a registered member of one of the five acknowledged religious communities (Islam, Christianity [i.e. Protestantism], Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism). Inspired by the glorious Hindu Javanese past imagined by the Indonesian nationalists, a large number of Javanese converted to Hinduism in the 1960s and 1970s. When the adherents of the ethnic religions Aluk To Dolo (Sa'dan Toraja) and Kaharingan (Ngaju, Luangan) claimed official recognition of their traditions, the Ministry of Religion classified them as Hindu variants in 1968 and 1980. Due to Hindu missionary work by Balinese and Indians living in Medan, several members of the Karo in North Sumatra started to embrace Hinduism in 1977. Having become a truly national representative of Hinduism, the Parisada Hindu Dharma changed its name to Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia in 1984. The physical Indonesianisation of Hinduism was paralleled by an ideological Indonesianisation when in 1978 the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture introduced the pancasila-indoctrination program P4. In 1983 the pancasila-philosophy became the sole philosophical base (asas tunggal) of all recognised social organisations including the officially acknowledged religious communities.

The research project addresses the topic by differentiating between three predominantly top-down levels of discourses: (1) the hegemonic discourse of the Indonesian govern-

ment on religion and culture; (2) the discourse of the official representatives of Hindu Dharma Indonesia succumbing to the hegemonic governmental discourse by redefining the Hindu doctrines in the light of the pancasila-philosophy; (3) the discourses of the local adherents of Hindu Dharma Indonesia which partly succumb to and partly try to influence the previous two levels of discourses in favour of local interests by redefining and reasserting local tradition. Each of the three levels of discourses as well as the accompanying discursive practices are analysed in a historical as well as social psychological perspective. 'Discourse' is defined as 'an institutionalised way of speaking about certain things which represents certain interests and which structures the habitus and thus the perception, emotion, motivation and action of people'. 'Discursive practice' is understood as 'those institutionalised regulations which determine the effects of a certain discourse in favour of certain interests'.

The hegemonic governmental discourse has been strongly influenced by the Islamic as well as Christian notion of 'religion'. Moreover, the governmental priorities of Indonesianisation as well as economic globalisation intrinsic to the pancasila-philosophy of the 'new order' have been decisive factors for the cultural and religious policy of the Indonesian state, resulting in the implementation of certain values which reflect not only the values of the so-called Protestant work ethic and Japanese bushido, but also the values of the 'Asian Renaissance'. Thus, 'Islamic and Christian notions of religion', 'Indonesianisation' and 'economic globalisation' have become parameters of the official Hindu discourse. The current political and economical crisis in Indonesia is not likely to change these parameters. It might even enhance their impact on the ongoing rationalisation of Hindu Dharma Indonesia. The local discourses of the Balinese, the modern Hindu-Javanese, the adherents of Hindu-Aluk To Dolo, the Hindu-Tengger, the adherents of Hindu-Kaharingan and the Hindu-Karo are not 'equal' in the sense that they are equally represented by the official representatives of 'Indonesian Hinduism'. The Balinese discourse dominating the two decisive bodies within the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (the Paruman Sulinggih and the Paruman Welaka), the Direktorat Jenderal Agama Hindu-Buddha as well as the Universitas Hindu Dhar-

ma Indonesia, has most successfully influenced 'Indonesian Hinduism' to the disadvantage of the various other local discourses. The Balinese discourse itself, however, is not so homogenous as it might appear, since it is the 'battle field' of various cultural-religious factions, e.g. the pasek-movement, the Satya Sai Baba movement, the Peradah, the Forum Cendekiawan Hindu Dharma Indonesia, the Forum Pemerhati Hindu Dharma Indonesia etc.

'Ethnic identity' has been a recurrent concern of the local discourses. Ethnic or 'local identity' seems to crystallize in the local adat. However, the Hindu members of the Sa'dan Toraja, the Karo, the Tengger or the Ngaju etc. cannot easily claim to be 'guardians' of their specific ethnic traditions on the grounds that 'Hinduism' is 'more accommodating' than Islam or Christianity since adat is exposed to rationalisation by 'Indonesian Hinduism', too. Local adat is both rationalised and defended by adherents of all recognised creeds. Furthermore, the term 'adat' itself is a highly ideologized product of the Dutch indological as well as the official Indonesian discourse, despite its primordial connotations.

One, therefore, has to ask why a certain individual - i.e. a Javanese, a certain member of the Karo, the Tengger, the Toraja, the Ngaju or the Luangan - embraces Hinduism rather than Islam or Christianity. How does he or she negotiate his or her various identities to which ends? Within the general Indonesian discourse 'Hinduism' seems to be associated with 'backwardness', 'ancestor worship', 'trance', and 'magic'. This has inspired me to formulate the following hypothesis: members of ethnic traditions on the fringe of the modern Indonesian state favour either Islam or Christianity when they are socially and economically ambitious whereas those who defend a 'traditional', 'anti-capitalist' lifestyle convert to Hinduism. Within 'Indonesian Hinduism' the popularity of the Satya Sai Baba movement or the various forms of Indian yoga practices seem to hint to a similar and growing rejection of a rationalised religion and a 'disenchanted world' ruled on the terms of modern economy. ■

Dr Martin Ramstedt is a research fellow selected by the ESF Asia Committee and stationed at the IIAS. He is also affiliated with NIAS.

Reconstitution of the ESF Asia Committee

In 1997 the ESF Executive Council decided to continue the Asian Studies Programme for another period of three years, following the recommendations of an external review panel. The contents of the new programme, which have been published in the previous IAS Newsletter, were the result of a debate between the Standing Committees for the Humanities and the Social Sciences. That is why it has taken a while before the programme could be restarted. The Asian Studies Programme will focus on contemporary issues in Asia, while taking into account the cultural and historical context.

By MAX SPARREBOOM

In the mean time, the ESF Member Organisations that have a potential interest in Asian Studies have been approached with a suggestion for a financial contribution. They were also requested to make nominations for membership of the new Asia Committee that will be responsible for the execution of this programme. Presently, most research organisations have replied. At their October meetings (this is written before the meetings had taken

place), the Standing Committees will take a decision on the proposed composition of the new Asia Committee. Thirteen European countries will be represented on this Committee. The composition should take account of a fair spread of disciplinary and regional expertise and is subject to careful scrutiny by the two Standing Committees of ESF. If the Standing Committees come to an agreement and if the proposed new Asia Committee members accept their nomination, the Committee will be established in November. A first meeting could then in principle take place in December 1998.

The total budget for 1999 to be raised through à-la-carte contributions from ESF Member Organisations, national governments and private foundations amounts to FF 2.820.000. The amount of money requested from the ESF Member Organisations is FF 1.450.000. At present, some seventy-five percent of this amount is secured; further commitments are awaited or are under discussion. Private foundations are being approached for further contributions.

In the mean time, the workshops selected in 1997 are taking place, and the fellows selected by the Asia Committee in June 1997 have started work in Leiden. Attached is an update on activities of the Asian Studies Programme. These activities are being paid from remaining funds of 1997 and from an extra contribution to the workshop scheme in 1997 by the government of the Netherlands. More about the activities of the new Asia Committee will be published in the next IAS Newsletter. ■

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ESF ASIA COMMITTEE FELLOWS

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 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

Dr Martin Ramstedt (München)
Stationed at: IAS, 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 Giovanni Vitiello (Rome)
Stationed at: IAS, Leiden, The Netherlands
Period: August 1997 – August 2000
Research topic: Exemplary Sodomites: Pornography, Homoeroticism and Sexual Culture in Late Imperial China

Dr Ines Zupanov (Paris)
Stationed at: School of Oriental and African Studies London, UK
Period: November 1996 – November 1998
Topic: Jesuit Missions in India (16th-18th Century). Ethnography, Theology and Social Engineering

Dr Evelyn Micollier (Aix-en-Provence)
Stationed at: IAS, 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)

WORKSHOPS

SELECTED FOR FUNDING

BY THE ESF ASIA COMMITTEE

The Asian Mediterranean Sea in the 'Longue Durée'

Paris, 3-5 March 1997
Prof. D. Lombard, École Française d'Extrême-Orient / École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

The Place of the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia

London, 16-18 April 1997
Dr Avril Powell, Dr Daud Ali, London University, Dept. of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, UK

A Critical Examination of the Uses and Abuses of Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations

Kent, 8-10 May 1997
Prof. R. Ellen, Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Kent at Canterbury, Eliot College, Canterbury, Kent, UK

Forgeries of Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Twentieth C.

London, 30 June – 2 July 1997
Dr S. Whitfield, The International Dunhuang Project (IDP), Oriental and India Office Collections, The British Library, London, UK
Prof. Lewis Lancaster, Department of East Asian Languages, University of California at Berkeley

Bihar in the World

Patna, 16-19 December 1997
Dr Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, State Resource Centre ADRI, Patna, India
Dr Arvind Das, Asia Pacific Communication Associates, Delhi, India
Dr Shaibal Gupta, State Resource Centre ADRI, Patna, India
Drs Paul Streumer, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands

Opting out of the 'Nation', Identity Politics and Labour in Central, South and West Asia, 1920s – 1990s

Antalya, 14-16 November 1997
Prof. Dr W. van Schendel, University of Amsterdam, International Institute of Social History
Prof. E. Zürcher, International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Dr G. Rasuly-Palaczek, University of Vienna, Austria
Dr I. Baldauf, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Germany
Dr T. Atabaki, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands

Sustainable Urban Development in Southeast Asia

Liverpool, 17-19 September 1997
Prof. D. Drakakis-Smith, The University of Liverpool, Department of Geography, Liverpool, UK
Dr Ooi giok Ling, Institute of Policy Studies, Singapore

From Kaifeng to Shanghai – Jews in China

Sankt Augustin, 22-26 September 1997
Dr Roman Malek, Institut Monumenta Serica and – China-Zentrum
Sankt Augustin, Germany

Religion and Economy in East Asia (China, Japan, Korea)

Blaubeuren, 16-19 March 1998
Prof. Dr H.U. Vogel, Seminar für Sinologie und Koreanistik, Univ. Tübingen
Prof. Dr V. Eschbach-Szabo, Dr G. Leinss, Seminar für Japanologie, Univ. Tübingen
Prof. Dr D. Eikemeier, Seminar für Sinologie und Koreanistik, Univ. Tübingen

Asian concepts of comprehensive security and their implications for Europe

Zushi, Japan, 23-25 January 1998
Dr. Kurt W. Radtke, Leiden University, Faculty of Arts, Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies, the Netherlands
Dr Raymond Feddema, University of Amsterdam, Modern Asian History, the Netherlands

Co-Management of Natural Resources in Asia: A Comparative Perspective

Cabagan, Philippines 16-18 September 1998
Dr G.A. Persoon, Centre of Environmental Science, Leiden University, the Netherlands
Dr P. Sajise, SEARCA, UPLB Campus, Laguna, the Philippines

The Economies of Southeast Asia in the 1930s Depression

London, 2-4 April 1998
Dr Ian Brown, Department of History, SOAS, University of London, UK

Time and Society in Modern Asia

Copenhagen, 18-20 June 1998
Prof. R. Cribb, Dr I. Reader, Dr B. Bakken, NIAS, Copenhagen S, Denmark

Religious Diffusion and Cultural Exchange

Hamburg University, 7-9 September 1998
Dr. B.J. Terwiel, Universität Hamburg, Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Chinas, Abteilung Thailand Burma u. Indochina, Germany

First International Workshop on the Hmong/Miao in Asia

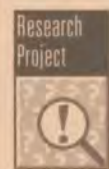
Aix-en-Provence, 11-13 September 1998
Dr J. Michaud, University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, UK
Dr C. Culas, IRSEA – CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, France

Practices and Representations of Health and Illness in the Context of Chinese Culture.

Illness Prevention and Social and Cultural Aspects of the AIDS Issue

In Dr Micollier's project, the lines of study are related to AIDS education and prevention, health-care policies, social change, migrants or foreigners as illness vectors, strategies and discourses of health workers (professional, traditional, and local), patients and families, and practices and perception of the body-self. These last have an impact on practices and representations of sexuality in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic remarkable for its social, cultural, and psychological implications as well as for its economic, and demographic aspects.

By EVELYNE MICOLLIER



The research project is related to three main topics – the AIDS issue, illness prevention, and aspects of religious and social change in contemporary Chinese societies (PR China, Taiwan) linked to health practices.

The individual project is integrated into a teamwork project: the AIDS issue in an intercultural and multidisciplinary perspective is a priority line of study of the CNRS (Thematic programme on HIV/AIDS, French National Centre for Scientific Research, Social Sciences Dept). The aim is to study the human and social dimensions of AIDS in P.R.C. and Taiwan. In 1997 fieldwork was conducted in PR China (Beijing, Kunming, and Yunnan province) and in Taiwan (Taipei) for a period of six months.

Among the thirty million people estimated to be infected with HIV/AIDS in the world, five to seven million live in Asia. Among the eight and a half thousand new infections per day, two to three thousand are related to the Chinese world. The people concerned are ethnic Chinese (from PR China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and diasporas *huaqiao*) or non-ethnic Chinese citizens (ethnic groups living in PR China or Taiwan).

In 1998, China has entered a phase of 'fast growth' of HIV/AIDS cases according to the Ministry of Health. Although the number of HIV-positive patients at the end of last year was estimated at four hundred thousand by UNAIDS-China, only 9,970 HIV/AIDS cases had actually been reported nationwide by March 31, 1998. Since the beginning of 1990s, Yunnan province, with a population of forty million has been the epidemic epicentre: this southwest province bordering Burma, the world's foremost producer of opium, is severely affected by drug abuse and trafficking. Before 1997, seventy per cent of the people officially identified as having HIV had been detected in Yunnan. Now, the rate is reduced to fifty per cent as the epidemic spread from the border to inland and coastal southern provinces and northwest Xinjiang following drug trafficking routes and, more recent-

ly, children and women trafficking routes.

Showing the same patterns as in Thailand, Vietnam, and Burma, HIV first spread in South China through drug injections then through heterosexual contact. The commercial sex trade is booming along two routes: one running in the direction of the coastal regions (Guangxi, Hainan, Guangdong, Fujian), which are developing economically at a great rate and Hongkong; the other reaches Thailand from Yunnan through Burma. The commercial sex trade and trafficking women are becoming very urgent and alarming human and social issues, which need to be addressed. Migration (a mass-

movement putting about ten per cent of Chinese population on the move) as a risk factor for the spread of HIV/AIDS has long been underestimated, a fact that has hindered prevention of the incidence of AIDS and affected the efficacy of the control programme.

Dr Micollier will explain the implications of anthropological understanding in the context of the HIV/AIDS. Anthropological analysis as a form of knowledge bridging gaps between cultures can help in the process of networking and collaborating between local organizations and their foreign counterparts; adjustment of global projects to the local cultural context cannot be undertaken without taking into account qualitative data collected using anthropological methodology. Popular, traditional, and modern (linked to the introduction of Western medicine) practices and representations of health and illness have to be investigated before launching development projects dealing with public health, particularly with sen-

sitive issues like the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This means understanding the components and working methods of medical pluralism.

The fieldwork focuses on various groups in the population: HIV positive/AIDS patients and their families; professional health workers (medical institution); traditional and popular healers involved in STDs and eventually AIDS healing; social organizations (official, non-official, religious) involved in social work and welfare on the HIV/AIDS issue (care and prevention); the general population.

The methodology is one frequently used in the social sciences: quantitative data (epidemiological figures and trends) will be used; qualitative data will be collected by participant observation (in-depth interviews, in-depth ethnographic description), the biographical method (life-stories of main informants); and bibliographical references dealing with the subject of research.

A second line of study about illness prevention is in progress. Pre-

ventive patterns (traditional, local, and modern epidemiological-like) intersect with each other and largely overlap health belief models. Preventive beliefs and behaviours will be analysed to understand the underlying logic of these patterns in the context of Chinese culture.

The third topic is about 'New religions' *Xinxing zongjiao* in Taiwan, religious and social change in contemporary Chinese societies (PR China, Taiwan), realignments in religion: practices in 'New religions' are linked to health practices; these religious activities give a perspective on the cultural identity in Taiwan.

Work in progress is related to the impact of migration, to sexuality, and social change (increase of commercial sex as well as increase in casual sex with peer partners), to vulnerability of local ethnic groups. The case of Chinese Yunnan province and comparative perspectives in Mainland Southeast Asia allow for a focus on South China and Southeast Asia links in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Representations of the AIDS 'medical situation' are highlighted through images and discourses. In Taiwan, recent trends in health policies to do with health and social issues such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, drug abuse, alcoholism among Austronesian people, etc. are approached, providing an original way to shed light on social change. ■

Dr Evelyn Micollier is an ESF-IIAS/NIAS Alliance Research Fellow stationed at the IIAS Branch Office in Amsterdam. For more information on Dr Micollier's, check her web page on the web-site <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl>.

SEALG NEWS

SEALG Meeting in Hamburg

On Wednesday September 2, 1998, members of the South-East Asian Library Group from Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and France met at the University of Hamburg for their Annual Conference.

By ROSEMARY ROBSON-MCKILLOP



There had been no important developments since the last meeting, so the main issue was the Newsletter. Its subscription fee had formerly been the chief source of SEALG's income, but now SEALG news, reports and papers presented at The Annual Meetings appear in the SEALG column in the pink pages of the IIAS Newsletter. The final issue of the old newsletter has yet to appear, which will happen as soon as technical problems with the SOAS scanner have been overcome. In future, if people have reports, book reviews, or articles which they think would be of interest to SEALG and could be published in the IIAS Newsletter, they should contact me at the address given below.

One important topic which was broached was the further development of the SEALG directory in

which we would like to publish as much information as possible about libraries in various European countries with South-East Asian holdings, whether these are public or private. Dr Lieu Cao Thi from IRSEA-CNRS (Aix-en-Provence/Marseille) has already compiled a directory for France. Although this is as yet incomplete, it already contains more than a thousand entries, with a heavy emphasis on Indo-China collections. By about the beginning of October the provisional printed version should be available for sale. Dr Lieu can be contacted at Caothi@romarin.univ-aix.fr. The cost of the publication will be 120 French francs plus postage.

For the work we have in mind it is essential to have a means of publication which is easily updatable, as there is always the possibility that we can come across new sources. The best way of achieving this is to have our own Home Page on the Internet

and negotiations are under way with the IIAS to allow us to do so on their Web-site.

At the meeting it was agreed that the Library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) in Leiden, the Netherlands, would take the responsibility for the organization. So if you have any comments, ideas, or any other suggestions please do not hesitate to get in touch. We shall have to ensure that we encourage colleagues in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries to join in. In Spain and Portugal there must be a wealth of archives of missionary orders, not to mention early official records of contact with South-East Asia. Many unexpected countries have had trading contacts with the region and the archives of various import-export businesses may very well still be extant, not to mention diaries or memoirs of the people who ran them.

To any of you who might think we are suffering from delusions of grandeur, I hasten to reassure you that we are not planning to throw the catalogues of such libraries on the Internet (many of them are still enshrined on ordinary, cardboard catalogue cards). Our simple aim is to record the libraries and their likely potential so that people who are interested can contact them themselves.

At this 1998 Annual Meeting of SEALG in Hamburg, the 1998/1999 Committee was elected as follows:

- Chairman: Drs Rahadi S. Karni (KITLV, The Netherlands)
- Secretary/Treasurer: Ms Margaret Nicholson (U of Hull, Great Britain)
- Member, France: Ms Dr Lieu Cao Thi (IRSEA-CNRS)
- Member, Germany: Ms Christine Grune (Staatsbibl. Berlin)
- Member, Germany: Ms Stella Schmidt (U Hamburg)
- Member, The Netherlands: Dr Roger Tol (KITLV)
- Member, Great Britain: Dr Henri Ginsburg (OIOC)
- Member, Great Britain: Dr Nicholas Martland (SOAS)

The Committee has proposed IRSEA-CNRS in Marseille as host for the Annual Meeting of SEALG in September 1999, and this was accepted by both host and members. ■

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Remembering and forgetting Political and Social Aftermath of Intense Conflict in Eastern Asia and Northern Europe



Several countries in Asia have a history which has been punctuated by an episode of extreme violence and intense conflict. China underwent brutal occupation by Japan and then suffered, perhaps even more deeply, at the hands of its own rulers during a succession of political campaigns in the 1950s and 60s; Cambodia experienced three years of terror under Pol Pot; perhaps half a million people were massacred in Indonesia in the anti-communist purges of 1965-66; Mongolia lost a large proportion of its educated classes in the Stalinist purges; and other cases could be added.

The causes of such events are often very difficult to investigate, because of problems of evidence and ulterior motive, but the impact which they have on their societies is also difficult to fathom. Because intense violence often has the goal of radically transforming society, scholars have been reluctant to suggest that it might be a successful, effective strategy.

Moreover, although there has been considerable research on the impact

of trauma at an individual, psychological level, there has been remarkably little work on the longer-term social and political legacies of trauma. Does the past experience of violence beget further violence, or does it in some way immunize against it?

The topic is one in which the moral implications of research are particularly obtrusive, because of the unresolved question of whether societies heal or improve themselves better by confronting the memory of past violence or by forgetting and concealing it. There is a common contemporary belief that societies can free themselves of the burden of the past only by confronting it, and that tensions which are unspoken will always intensify. On the other hand, it may be argued that silence and even amnesia is the best solution for putting the past aside.

Progress towards an answer to these questions is likely to be faster and more certain when scholars are able to draw on more than one case. Despite Tolstoy's dictum, 'All happy families are alike, but an unhappy family is unhappy after its own fashion', unhappy countries share at

least some experiences and understanding those experiences is likely to be promoted by comparison.

For the sake of comparison, therefore, this workshop will juxtapose two regions seldom considered together in terms of political violence: Eastern Asia and Northern Europe. Eastern Asia's experience is mentioned above; Northern Europe's current image of peace and calm is belied by its history, in particular by the bitter Finnish civil war of 1918. A centrepiece of the workshop therefore will be a consideration of the ways in which Finnish society has dealt with the memories of that violence. It is hoped, however, that the discussions will include one or more of the following: the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, the German occupation of Norway in the Second World War, and the Highland clearances in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The aim of workshop is to examine the approaches which different societies have used to confront the memory of difficult episodes in the past and to consider the consequence of those approaches for the political and social

system. The workshop will be held in Lund, Sweden, on 15-17 April 1999 and will be jointly organized by the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and the Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Lund. The organizers expect to be able to provide accommodation for paper givers and may be able to make a contribution to the travel costs of some participants. ■

Prospective paper-givers are invited to send an abstract (300-500 words), preferably by 20 December 1998, to either:

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Continued from page 5:

In Australia there was a widespread view in the expansive 1970s and '80s, that we could mark our success as Asianists by the extent to which a separate 'Asian Studies' discipline ceased to be necessary. Asia should be 'mainstreamed' or 'infused' into the core curriculum of every discipline. Yet despite much politically correct rhetoric, and special government funding, there are fewer Asianists in Departments of History and Politics in Australia today than there were 10-15 years ago.

The underlying causes are probably of a global nature. In the older disciplines, which once served as windows to the diversity of the world, there is now an alarming dominance of theory, in practice North American - driven and anti-theistic to regional expertise. Dethroning the canon of European classics written by dead white males has led not to a courageously pluralist exploration of the world's cultural and social diversity, but to a new (if swiftly changing) canon of self-referential theory. The current globalization means you can stay at home and read Kompas or the Mainichi Shimbun in English on the net without much specialist study at all. Since Asians too are buying hamburgers and reading Foucault, do we still need specialists to understand them?

That is the bad news, but the good news is more important. Asian languages have flourished - meaning especially Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian, all now present in the majority of Australian universities. They are taught better, with more direct exposure to the societies in question, than was the case when French and German held sway. Secondly, Asian Studies Centres have proliferated, often built around the teaching of languages and some associated 'studies' courses.

This emphatically does not mean that Asia has again become exotic and separate from mainstream education. In all sorts of ways young people do know their neighbours better than previous generations. They want to study the languages as the indispensable key to another society, but they are combining this with disciplines far beyond the old core of history, politics, literature, and anthropology, such as law, architecture, accounting and business studies, health sciences, psychology, fine arts and film. Asianists will be endangered only if they fail to react imaginatively to this broadening of their agenda.

To conclude, I see three reasons for confidence:

1 'Asians' are discovering each other in a phase of globalization, which encourages a quest for regional allies. In a manner parallel to many anti-colonial nationalisms, the

imagined communities first generated by European colonizers or dreamers are having their most powerful effects among the objects of that discourse. These globalizing trends will make Asian Studies in the Asian region ever stronger and better inserted in the world-dominant literature.

From an intellectual point of view one might argue that the most important sub-groups of what I earlier called 'Eurasian Studies' might be European Studies, Slavic Studies, Middle Eastern or West Asian Studies, South, Southeast, Northeast, and Central Asian Studies. Each of these are more promising fora for genuine internationalization in their manageable environmental, intellectual and historical coherence. In the long run it may be the case that international congresses will arise around some of these foci, but in the shorter run the political obstacles are substantial to genuinely equal and open discussions in these hot-houses of historic animosities.

2 The tendency of the older disciplines to become more theoretical, self-referential and impenetrable to outsiders is dangerous, not only to themselves but to students who must negotiate a fast changing, plural world. Area studies operations are increasingly precious as reservoirs of cross-disciplinary new ideas fashioned out of direct contact with difference.

3 Asia will remain the most important source of otherness for the dominant world culture in general. The debates over 'Asian values', 'Confucian ethic', or 'Islamic sociology' have already been of this type - inadequate, essentializing attempts to select ideas from the rich storehouse which is 'Asia' only in the sense of an alternative to the dominant and often misguided world culture. Plunging into this bank of experience will continue to provide the richest vein for understanding ourselves, and stretching our ability to cope with the challenges of constant change in the contemporary world. ■

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Professor Anthony Reid, President of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, held a keynote speech at the International Convention of Asia Scholars, June 1998.

Continued from page 4:

stress such a self-coherence one often has to draw a clear divide between 'us' and 'them.' Samuel Huntington's anticipation for a possible 'clash of civilizations' is another narcissistic syndrome.

But total self-coherence is at best illusory. Ling speaks disdainfully about the European desire for 'a coherent universe', and he is right, not because of his scorn at all things 'European' but because his sensibility to see the failing (if not the malignance) of such a desire.

Despite Marlaux's vision, his novel cannot claim a hundred per cent congruity (as a matter of fact, no interesting novel can). Despite its recurrent Orientalist clichés, it opens its doors to issues that many later postcolonial critics take up. Actually it should be expected. How could you write a novel about a young Chinese meeting a Frenchman without sounding 'post-colonial'? Let us read Ling's scathing comment on European tendency to explain reality. 'Carefully, you label, classify and limit other people, as well as yourselves', he writes. The seventh letter even suggests an early awareness of the relationship between power and representation of the 'Orient' - as if he was joining the endless debate on the subject:

I used to enjoy speculating on what a man could become. Today I like doing so even more; for the antipathy I feel toward Europe does not always protect me from her, and I also become eager to sketch my portrait, even if I must finally destroy it. How can I find myself, except in an examination of your race?

I am not sure how many of you remain engaged, with different levels of intensity, in the polemics on representation. But speaking from this podium, I cannot help finding Ling's last line a reminder of my own position. For one reason or another, the organizer of this conference gave me the honor to talk to a gathering of distinguished Asia scholars. I regard it as an unusual privilege. There is, however, a certain feeling of nervousness. Let me be honest about it. I am both a little bit excited and self-conscious to speak to you who do research and produce scientific papers on people and places you meet in a large area called 'Asia'.

As someone who writes poetry in one of the 'unusual' Asian languages (unusual because it is neither Chinese, nor Japanese, nor Arabic, nor Hindi; it is Indonesian) I like to imagine that one of you, a student from an American or European university, comes to interview me. I imagine myself sitting excitedly on my chair, mumbling one or two lines of obscure poetic words to my visiting scholar. I will probably make a disappointing research project. After all, I am not a Salman Rushdie nor Pramodya Ananta Toer; I am not a jailed author or a dissident writer whose works are banned or burnt. There is nothing in me relevant to broader social issues good enough for a Ph.D. dissertation. Or should I expect that some other day another scholar knocks at my door and take

me as a genuine 'post-colonial subject'? How can I be the 'native Other'? What if I turn out to be the Other that is not Other after all? Once more, I hear the echo of Ling's question: 'How can I find myself, except in an examination of your race?'

In short, my anxiety is that of a cognitive object, an anxiety in front of 'academic gaze'. I sense that the trouble with 'academic gaze' is that it has a long history of being an integral part of a difficult 'conversation' that has been taking place between two different 'cultures'. To be more specific, it is a 'conversation' between 'Asia' and 'Europe'.

In an essay published in 1955, the Indonesian writer Asrul Sani questions the actuality of 'a conversation with Europe'. To him this 'conversation' is something out of balance, because we (the 'non-Europeans') had reached 'the stage of muteness' (tingkatan membisu). Let me quote Asrul Sani further:

We never return the call, because we are in no position to answer it, let alone become a partner or adversary in a conversation... The Europeans frequently try to keep us in one permanent position and in that way believe that they will be able to predict how we would react to different things, based on their knowledge of our old books.

Asrul Sani's complaint is, like Ling's, a subtle rejection of colonization not only as a system of rule, and exploitation, but also as 'a system of knowledge and representation'. In an essay Stuart Hall suggests that colonization works, as a system, by relying on a mechanism of 'otherness'. It generates alterity and exclusion, using 'the tropes of fetishism and pathologisation'. The outcome is an identity fixed and consolidated, to be set as 'a constitutive outside'.

But can you really be free from the process, in a world shaped by European colonialism and modernity? Or, to put it in more general terms, can you escape the need to 'label, classify, and limit other people,' the very moment you step into a space where you encounter, observe, and experience 'cultural differences'? From the perspective of the cognitive object, like Ling under the examination [of the European 'race'], like Asrul Sani in his 'stage of muteness', there are always positions to defy the 'mechanism of otherness'. One of them is to displace the power that puts the 'mechanism' at work altogether. No doubt, it requires a revolution of historical proportion. There is also of a more subversive kind. As Hall sees it, the 'outside' can always slip back 'across the porous or invisible borders to disturb and subvert from the inside'. Such a stance necessarily implies a self-conscious posture, a resistance and a commitment. It is like what Ling does: he eagerly sketches his own portrait, after succumbing briefly to the European persuasion, and finally he destroys it. It is a political act at the symbolic level.

However, it is not the only thing that Ling does. He stays in the novel until the end. The European, as an epistemic subject, may 'label, classify, and limit' him, but ultimately he is no longer a foreigner, an Oriental

walking on the streets of Rome, looking at its porticos and stalls. As I said before, he has become interchangeable with A.D. In which case, the label, the classification, and the limit fail to exclude him. His very presence is a testimony that power, conquest, and knowledge, or 'awareness', which he perceives as things Europe cherishes, lead only to disillusion and death. 'Total awareness of the universe is death - you have understood the fact', Ling writes. Total conceptualization of the Other is violence. As if speaking from a Levinasian ethical perspective, as if maintaining 'the alterity of the Other', or the priority of difference over identity, Ling claims that 'we' (the Orientals) are more capable to 'proceed to irreconcilable differences'.

But I must hasten to add that Ling is an incongruent creature, thanks to Malraux's imagination. 'Let no one find in Mr. Ling a symbol of the Far East,' Malraux warns his readers in the foreword. 'Such a symbol could not possibly exist.' And yet almost at the same breath the author says: 'He is Chinese and as such, dominated by Chinese sensibility and thought, which not even the books of Europe are able to destroy'. The otherness of Ling may be indestructible, or better, incomprehensible, but he is obviously a fixed, predetermined identity all the same.

It is also interesting to see, that while he scraps his own image as examined, and represented, by the West, he eagerly puts Europeans into a compact essentialist cage at their expense. He shifts from being a protesting object of European gaze to a coherent subject who puts European as a 'constitutive outside'. Probably he is not even interested in having a conversation with Europe. It is not clear whether he does it as a kind of revenge. 'I observe Europeans, I listen to them; I don't believe they understand what life is.' Curiously we sense in his words the cadence of European boredom. And A.D never refutes them.

All in all, it seems that one must admit that there is a haphazard plurality of relationship in a moment like this, when an 'I' observes and listens to a 'They'. Especially when it takes place under the shadow of colonialist conquests, especially when the encounter is between a Frenchman and a native coming from the Far East. What makes Ling's observation special is that he acknowledges his own slant.

On no account Ling's perspective is a good case for 'being disinterested' in relating to the Other. But it is surely not a case of indifference. What I am trying to propose is that in our discourse of the Other more is involved than just the famous 'power-knowledge' matrix. I believe there is a feeling of anxiety lurking behind most 'Orientalist' theses. I call it an anxiety of purity (and of influence, for that matter).

For this reason let me take up one point suggested in an essay by Naoki Sakai. Discussing what he calls 'the politicalness of practice in Asian Studies', Sakai drives home the issue of academic gaze when he speaks of 'a displacement of anxiety' performed in the name of theory. Let me quote him:

Theory is often turned into something that does not trouble us or make us feel ill at ease. Instead of disclosing the sites of anxiety in our supposedly epistemic relationship to Asia, theory would then serve to neutralize or silence the questions that might incite us to further inquiry about the enunciative positionality of experts in Asian Studies.

To make it possible to disclose 'the sites of anxiety' in the 'supposedly epistemic relationship to Asia', one has to abandon 'the lure of the universalist pretension of theory'. Sakai's suggests a way out. To abandon 'the universalist pretension of theory', he argues, is to rely more on the operative materiality of the 'subject' that is shutai. One cannot depend solely on shukan, 'the epistemic subject'. Shukan is ahistorical, while shutai is 'in history'. Shutai is essentially open and incomplete. What Sakai aims is (if I understand him correctly) to reach out to the 'singular' other, not the 'particular', let alone 'the universal'. In other words, he recognizes the imperative to concretize. Or, to put it differently, a commitment to 'proceed to irreconcilable differences'.

I do not think this an exceptionally outrageous suggestion; around two decades ago Merleau-Ponty had a word for it, i.e. 'hyperdialectic'. In fact, 'the good dialectic' is a healthy thing in the study of this formless, indefinable, space called 'Asia'. Especially because 'Asia', as we all know, is just a shorthand used by people as diverse as an ancient Greek playwright and a Wall Street fund manager to denote anything that is not 'us.' So, cannot we stop imagining Asia? Especially now, after the disastrous crisis? After nobody talks about 'the Asian miracle' anymore? After the withering away of the much publicized, albeit hazy, idea of 'Asian values' blamed for the moral hazard of crony capitalism and the ensuing economic meltdown?

But then we also know that it is the 'West', this indistinct, imposing entity called 'West', that has yet to do away with its old narcissism. Let me borrow from Sakai's insight

again when he speaks of 'schema of configuration'. The desire for identity is a mimetic one, he says. The East has to be figured out so the West can establish its putative unity and define its 'self'. In short, the East and the West has to be 'configured'. This is obviously a political project that runs against the need to 'proceed to irreconcilable differences'. So when, or if, the 'East' disappears from being the Other, will the 'West' have to imagine another 'East'? Most probably it (or better, 'they') will. In the story of Ling and A.D, the death of China as they know fits perfectly in with Europe's disillusion. It is important to remember that the hidden character behind Ling's Chinese façade is A.D, a Frenchman going to the East to find the Other slipping into the Same.

But in the end, perhaps it does not really matter. The Orient, whatever that is, will survive (so will several research projects put collectively under 'Asian Study'). What is in a name, after all? I have a friend at the University of Tokyo. He is a professor at the School for Oriental Study. He entrusted me that most of the countries labeled 'Oriental' by the School are thousands miles away to the West. ■

Goenawan Mohamad, the renowned Indonesian journalist and former editor-in-chief of Tempo Magazine, delivered a keynote address at the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Noordwijkerhout, the Netherlands, on 26 June 1998.

18 > 21 MARCH 1999
AVIGNON, FRANCE

Migration and Countries of the South

The Centre for the Study and Research of North-South Relations at the University of Avignon is holding a conference in English on 'Migration and Countries of the South' from 18 to 21 March, 1999.

Those interested in participating should send the organizers a title and one page (four hundred word) abstract of their proposed paper before 12 December, 1998. ■

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Views on the Asian Financial Crisis

The financial crisis in Southeast and East Asia has raised fundamental questions about Asia and the world economy. Was Asia's 'miracle' just a 'mirage'? Is a reassessment of the Bretton Woods approach to liberalization and deregulation now needed? Is there not a need for new institutions to supervise global finance? The European Institute for Asian Studies, a think-tank in Brussels sponsored by the European Union, has been at the cutting edge of the debate and analysis of these questions. Some insights were offered at recent meetings of the Institute in Brussels.

By WILLEM VAN DER GEEST

Report
 Contrary to what one may think reading the international press, there is not a great deal of disagreement amongst economic analysts about what has caused the Asian crisis. Dr Ngiam from the National University of Singapore, expressed this with singular clarity. In particular he stressed the appreciation of the real exchange rates, current account deficits, private capital inflows consisting largely of volatile portfolio investment, and imbalances in the private sector as the four causes of the slowdown in export and therewith of GDP growth.

The appreciation of real exchange rates was primarily the result of domestic inflation in Southeast Asia being well above the world average. However, the appreciation of the US dollar and the depreciation of the Japanese yen both taking place against the background of the devaluation of the Chinese yuan in 1994 provided an unstable environment. The 'pegged' currencies of Southeast Asia simply could not cope with these momentous changes.

The current account deficits were partly triggered off by the appreciation of the real exchange rates. They were compensated by foreign capital inflows, which often went to 'unproductive' investments, as real estate, generating little by way of exportable goods, while increasing costs in the economy. An asset price bubble evolved, with companies overvalued and simple apartments priced astronomically. The private capital inflows were mostly portfolio investment and transmitted via the banking sector rather than direct Greenfield investment. The inflows were caused by the perception of a huge growth potential of the Asian economies and an increased globalization of the capital markets.

A large amount of foreign capital went to corporations and banks as short-term US dollar and yen loans that the domestic banks in turn lent to local companies in long-term loans in domestic currencies. Implicit government guarantees led to a sharp deterioration in the quality of banks' loan portfolios and to investment and asset bubbles. In a context of decreasing foreign reserves, these guarantees became increasingly dubious. Without them, overvalued prices collapsed which led to loan defaults and losses for the banks. In

short, the overvaluation of domestic currencies and the growing competition on exports and to attract direct investment, especially from China, led to a slowdown in export and GDP growth across Southeast Asia. Hence, at the heart of the crisis is a failure of financial governance of the Southeast and East Asian economies. It is also quite evident now that globalization means that contagion is also global.

Did nobody foresee the Crisis?

On 2 July, 1997, the Thai baht fell seventeen per cent as its peg with the dollar had to be dropped. The fall of the baht sparked off contagious responses engulfing most of the countries of Southeast and East Asia, in particular because Japanese banks panicked and halted lending across the region. Weaknesses in the economies of Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia had already been noted by the Asian Development Bank and the OECD. Nevertheless, the extent of the falls in their stock markets and of their exchange rates during the last quarter of 1997 came as a surprise to most analysts - a dream scenario turning

Globalization means that contagion is also global'

into a nightmare. However, it is not fair to say nobody had seen the warning signs. Prof. Brian van Arkadie, speaking at the Institute in May 1997 before the eruption of the problems had noted that 'High levels of investments sustained growth in a year marked by a sharp decrease in export growth. The underlying justification for such investments was that it should lead to continuing export-led growth. It is clear that investors will not sign a blank cheque if export growth is not restored.'

Another leading analyst, Yilmaz Akyuz (UNCTAD, Geneva), had also predicted a slow-down of the South

East Asian economies, a particular reason being the 'high degree of short term borrowing which had characterized South Korea and Thailand's expansion.' But, with the benefit of hindsight, we know that at the time these analysts were lone voices assumed to be overly pessimistic. It is now abundantly clear that they were fairly mild in their questioning and warnings and that there was a systemic reluctance to accept any bad news about Asia - from business, governments and international financial institutions alike.

Lessons

In Dr Ngiam's opinion, the best way to cope with the crisis will be floating exchange rates. In such a context borrowers would have to balance the risk of possible depreciation against the benefit of lower US\$ interest rates themselves. Currency boards seem questionable because they are not very flexible and require a strong banking sector plus a very strict monetary policy. Even Hong Kong, notwithstanding its restrictive monetary policy and massive financial reserves, has found it very difficult to cope with speculative attacks on its currency.

A review of several proposals noted that Chile's system of controlling short-term capital offered some opportunities as well as Soros' proposal for an International Credit Insurance Corporation. Controls on capital inflow would slow the investment boom as they would push up domestic interest rates. Another important task for the Asian economies is to strengthen their banking sectors and to improve the regulation and the supervision of the financial system. As short-term remedies, one has to look at the IMF bailout packages, stabilization funds, and regional surveillance. However for the longer term, Asian countries should try to hold more of each other's assets and increase the use of each other's currency for trade within the region - monetary integration such as the Euro may be part of the long-term solution.

A general lesson to be learnt from the crisis appears to be that countries have to build up strong macro-economic fundamentals (such as current account surplus, high saving rates, and low external debt) and to adopt sound policies (e.g. sound banking supervision, transparency, and a neutral government). To avoid over-reliance on short-term capital inflows, it will be necessary to reduce the risk of capital outflows and the excesses in borrowing and lending. It is essential for a country to maintain a high growth rate and a healthy banking sector, to be able to withstand high interest rates in order to defend its currency against speculative attacks. As the IMF Director General Michel Camdessus said: 'I have never seen a speculative attack, when an economy is strong

and government policies are sound.'

Any country with a pegged exchange rate system or a currency board system should be extremely careful to ensure that its economic fundamentals are consistent with the level of the exchange rate that it fixes. If discipline or credibility is lacking, it is better to maintain a more flexible exchange rate regime. By building a deep, liquid, and mature debt market, corporations will be able to borrow long-term in order to reduce maturity mismatches and Asian economies will have a wider range of instruments to invest.

What should be done about Bretton Woods?

Perhaps the most important lesson from the Asian crisis concerns the architecture of the global financial system. Mr Masaya Miyoshi, a former Director General of the Keidanren, the Japanese confederation of industries, said that the recent ex-

'Monetary integration such as the Euro may be part of the long-term solution'

periences in East Asia have fostered a growing discussion of functional limits to the ability of the IMF to prevent financial crises in the newly emerging economies. Two reasons are commonly given for this observation. Firstly, it is argued that the IMF arrives to help only after the foreign exchange market of the country in trouble has already collapsed. As such, it is incapable of preventing a financial crisis. Secondly, it is frequently argued that the IMF does not have the requisite flexibility to cope effectively with the unique features of the countries that it is trying to help. The IMF does not investigate the details of the political and economic structures of individual countries and is not well-versed in the special features of the crisis that it is trying to address. It has a single formula and a single programme, which it attempts to prescribe to all.

The time is now ripe to seriously consider how to rise above these limitations of the IMF. This is a shared challenge for all nations across the world. What one has to contend with is the enormous powers of the international financial markets which today are about twenty-six times larger than the size of the trade volume worldwide. What is more, these funds are not bound by the rules of time and space, which govern the movement of goods. In a matter of

seconds, these funds can travel around the world. Given these realities, the question is how to prevent financial crises in the small and weak economies of the world, and how to minimize the scale of any crisis that may occur.

For the short term, there is a need to create an international organization charged with the surveillance and regulation of the huge capital movements mounted by international institutional investors. Mr George Soros, the financier and owner of a major hedge fund, proposed this at the World Economic Forum in Davos.

European Leaders

On October 1, the Institute organized a Round Table Discussion in the European Parliament in Brussels to review EU-Asia relations in times of crisis. Sir Leon Brittan, Vice President of the European Commission and the EU chief negotiator in the Uruguay Round of the World Trade Organization, was one of the speakers. He said that the European Union would concentrate on five areas of action: first, maintaining confidence in Europe by pursuing the credible launch of the Euro; second, keeping European markets open to Asian goods and services; third, providing direct assistance and advice in helping Asia to rebuild its financial system; fourth, intensifying our political and economic relations with China and Japan - the two lynchpins in the region and fifth, stimulating co-operation between the EU and the US on co-ordinated interest rate policies, and deepening the commitment to multilateralism, including reform of the IMF and the World Bank.

Share your views

The EIAS cyberforum website displays information about seminars and conferences organized by the Institute. Appositively, the full report of the Round Table on the Asian Crisis was put on the Internet the same day as the meeting took place in Brussels. An exciting and important debate regarding the various presentations made at the Round Table and the diverging views on desirable and adequate international responses is ensuing. Please visit the Institute's Cyberforum website and contribute to this important debate: <http://www.eias.org>.

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ADITI News

Contact: The National Organisation of South Asian Dance,
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La Lettre de l'Afrique

Organization: Association Française pour la Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est
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AKSE Newsletter

Organization: Association for Korean Studies in Europe
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ANDA

Organization: Centre d'Etudes Mongoles et Sibériennes, University of Paris X
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ASEASUK News

Organization: Association for Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom
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Newsletter of the Asia Research Centre of the Copenhagen Business School

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La Lettre d'Asie Centrale

Organization: l'Association de Recherche et d'Information sur l'Asie Centrale (ARIAC)
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Fax: +33-1-45488353

BAKS Newsletter

Organization: British Association for Korean Studies
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Fax: +44-171-2106304.

Baruga-Sulawesi Research Bulletin

Contact: S. Koolhof, Research CNWS (Leiden, the Netherlands).
Fax: +31-71-5272615

BASAS Bulletin

Organization: British Association for South Asian Studies
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BITIG

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Boletín de la Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico

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Nieuwsbrief Burma Centrum Nederland (BCN)

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E-mail: bcn@xs4all.nl

Bulletin d'Information du CDIL

Contact: Centre de Documentation et d'Information sur le Laos (Metz, France). Fax: +33-387372709

Newsletter of the Canon Foundation

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Fax: +31-71-5157027.

Caraka, 'the Messenger'. A Newsletter for Javanists.

Contact: Caraka (Leiden, the Netherlands).
Fax: +31-71-5272615,
E-mail: CARAKA@RULLET.LeidenUniv.NL

CEAO Newsletter

Organization: Centro de Estudio de Asia Oriental Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
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Newsletter of the Center for Pacific Studies, Stockholm University

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CERES Newsletter

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China Nieuws

Organization: Stichting China Nieuwsbrief
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Newsletter of the Circle of Inner Asian Art

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CNWS Newsletter

Contact: Research School CNWS (Leiden, the Netherlands). Fax: +31-71-5272939

'Common Ground', Newsletter on Philippine Environment and Development Action

Contact: Philippine Resource Centre (London, UK). Fax: +44-171-4033997.

CSAS Newsletter

Organization: Centre of South Asian Studies, SOAS
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DUJAT Nieuwsbrief

Organization: Dutch Japanese Trade Federation, DUJAT
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Fax: +31-252-266202

EAANNouncements

Organization: East Asian Archaeology Network [EAAN]
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EAACS Newsletter

Organization: European Association of Chinese Studies
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Bulletin of the EAJS

Organization: European Association for Japanese Studies
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East and Southeast Asian News

Organization: Lund University Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies
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ECARDC Network Newsletter

Organization: European Conference on Agriculture and Rural Development,
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The European Institute of Japanese Studies Newsletter

Contact: The European Institute of Japanese Studies, Stockholm School of Economics (Sweden).
Fax: +46-8-313017.
E-mail: japan@hhs.se

ESEM Info

Contact: European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, ESEM (Toulouse, France). Tel: +33-6162-3584

ESF Communications

Organization: European Science Foundation
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Lettre d'information Etudes Chinoises

Organization: Association Française d'Etudes Chinoises, AFEC
Contact: Vincent Goossaert (Paris, France).
E-mail: Goossaert@ext.jussieu.fr

Eurasia News

Organization: European Institute for South and South-East Asian Studies, ASBL
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European Bulletin of Himalayan Research

Contact: Anne de Sales, CNRS (Meudon, France). Fax: +33-45075872,
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European Network for Bangladesh Studies Newsletter

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European Newsletter of Southeast Asian Studies

Organization: EUROSEAS (European Association for Southeast Asian Studies) and KITLV (Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology)
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Friends of Bhutan Nieuwsbrief

Organization: Friends of Bhutan Foundation
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IATS Newsletter

Organization: Finnish Association of East Asian Studies
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ICS Newsletter

Contact: Institute of Commonwealth Studies (London, UK).
Fax: +44-171-2552160.

IDPAD NewsBrief

Organization: Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development
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IDP News

Organization: The International Dunhuang Project
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IIAS Newsletter

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India Nu

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Indonesian Environmental History Newsletter

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INIS Newsletter

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ISIR Newsletter

Organization: Irian Jaya Studies - a programme for Interdisciplinary Research
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Japan Anthropology Workshop Newsletter (JAWS)

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JRC News

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E-mail: jrc@soas.ac.uk

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Organization: ALTIC — Associação Luso Timorense de Informação e Cultura
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Kaname Quarterly Bulletin of Japanese Studies

Organization: Instituto de Japonologia, Madrid
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KIT Newsletter

Organization: Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam
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Fax: +31-20-6684579.

KKTI Bulletin

Organization: Institute for Oriental Communication and Further Training (Külkereskedelmi Főiskola)
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Die Kunstgeschichte Ostasiens im deutschsprachigen Raum

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Central Asia Quarterly 'Labyrinth'

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Memoria de Asia

Organization: Instituto Complutense de Asia
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NAJAKS Newsletter

Organization: Nordic Association of Japanese and Korean Studies
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NASA Newsletter

Organization: Nordic Association of South Asian Studies
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Needham Research Institute Newsletter

Contact: Editor c/o Needham Research Institute, 8 Sylvester Road, Cambridge CB3 9AF, UK.

NIAS Nytt, Nordic Newsletter of Asian Studies

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Nonesa Newsletter

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Oceania Newsletter

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OCIS Newsletter

Organization: Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies
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ONS Newsletter

Organization: Oriental Numismatic Society
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Oriental Ceramic Society Newsletter

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Östasiatiska Museets Vänner — Nyhetsbrev

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Oxford Asian Textile Group

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St.-Petersburg Newsletter on Southeast Asia & Oceania Studies

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Philippines Information Exchange

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PRUS Newsletter

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SALG Newsletter

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Science and Empire

Organization: NISTADS (New Delhi) and REHSEIS (Paris)
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SEALG Newsletter

Organization: South East Asia Library Group
Contact: Patricia Herbert, British Library (London, UK). Fax: +44-171-4127641.

SEPHIS Newsletter

Organization: South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development (SEPHIS)
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Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Japanforschung Newsl.

Organization: Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Japanforschung
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Society for Japanese Arts Newsletter

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South Asia Newsletter

Contact: Centre of South Asian Studies, SOAS (London, UK).
Fax: +44-171-4363844.

The Newsletter of the 'State and Society in East Asia' Network

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Sri Lanka Newsletter

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Südostasien Informationen

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Teaching World Music. The International Newsletter Education in Non-Western Music in the West

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The Tibet Society of the United Kingdom Newsletter

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The Tibet Foundation Newsletter

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Ultramarines

Organization: Amis des Archives d'Outre-Mer (AMAROM)
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