
Bridging Southeast Asian Scholars

A Filipino in Indonesia
Thai-Viet Study of the Mekong Delta
"Asianization" of Democracy in Southeast Asia
The Philippine Revolution Viewed by Indonesians
EDITORIAL BOX

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IN DECEMBER LAST YEAR, the SEASREP Council decided to broaden the network of Southeast Asian universities who signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for the promotion of Southeast Asian Studies in the region. Since two Indonesian universities already belong to the MOU network and only one each from Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, the Council agreed that one more university would be invited from each of the latter three countries. Efforts are now being made to bring Chulalongkorn University in Thailand, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Ateneo de Manila University into the network. The Ateneo de Manila University and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia have signified their intention to take part in the Consortium (We are awaiting the response of Chulalongkorn University). We expect the signing of the MOU to take place in Bangkok later in the year. The Council also plans to invite Vietnam to join the network in a year or so.

What is the value of the MOU network? From an administrative standpoint, the memorandum is necessary in order to allow the exchange of faculty and students among the universities. Graduate students enrolled in any of the MOU universities can now do research or train under a supervisor from another university in the network for his or her master's or doctoral thesis. Each member of the MOU network can now avail of the expertise of scholars from their partner universities through the visiting professors program.

The liaison officers of the signatory universities to the MOU met in Manila for the first time in December last year to iron out the administrative procedures necessary to facilitate the exchange program. Each university provided the other four with information on admission requirements, academic calendars, language course offerings and the like.

But more than discuss just the administrative aspects of the program, the representatives of the universities, along with the members of the SEASREP Council, defined their roles in implementing the agreement to foster Southeast Asian studies in their respective institutions. The liaison officers will meet again this year and together with the new signatories to the MOU, will update each other on local developments and plans.

Most important is the meeting of minds that the SEASREP Council envisions through its various exchange programs, the end goal being greater, more meaningful collaboration between Southeast Asian scholars across disciplines and national boundaries. This is already taking place in the region, as the researches and conferences featured in this issue clearly illustrate.

Southeast Asians are setting their own research directions as they view the developments in their disciplines in the context of their own societies and history. Comparative perspectives are emerging, even as Southeast Asians recognize the particularities of local communities within a country and nations within the region. They are learning each other's languages and, in the process, coming face-to-face with each other's cultures. They are sharing their own experiences in the hope that, as Malaysian archaeology Prof. Zuraina urged her Filipino students to do, Southeast Asians can recapture their past. Best of all, they are learning about the other's experience not just for the purpose of comparison, but because understanding the other's history, economy or society has value in and of itself, as the Indonesians will attempt to show in their forthcoming conference on the Philippine revolution.

This, in the final analysis, is what SEASREP is all about.
Bridging Southeast Asian Scholars: 
Promotion of the Conference on Southeast Asia in the 20th Century

THE PHILIPPINES AND VIETNAM have never been close either historically or in any other way. Even as academic institutions, the opportunity for cooperation between Vietnamese and Filipino scholars has been so limited as to appear negligible. My trip to Vietnam, therefore, was one I anticipated with deep interest. Not only was this my first visit to Vietnam, whose image I conjured from its long history of anti-colonial resistance. I was also looking forward to learning about how their academic system works and what research areas their scholars presently investigate.

I traveled to Vietnam from 8-10 April 1997, where I visited Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) and Hanoi, to promote the Conference. Dr. Mai Ha, Deputy Director of the Institute for Scientific Information in Hanoi, graciously arranged my meetings and thanks to him, I was able to meet the top heads and officials of universities and important research institutes.

In Ho Chi Minh, I visited the Institute of Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh City, National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities of Vietnam, which was established after the reunification of Vietnam in 1975. I also went to the Vietnam National University in Ho Chi Minh which two years ago, upon the government's order, merged nine single-discipline universities in the city to form one multi-disciplinary university.

In Hanoi, I met leaders of seven institutes and universities. These were the Institute for Scientific Information, Institute for Asian-Pacific Science and Technology Research Cooperation, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Institute of World Economy, Institute of the History of Vietnam, Hanoi Pedagogic University, and Hanoi University of Science.

I became acquainted with the Vietnamese system of education and research which was patterned after that of the former USSR. Serving as national academies of sciences are two...
To promote the Conference on Southeast Asia in the 20th Century to be held on 28-30 January 1998 in Manila, three professors from the University of the Philippines went to major research institutes and universities in Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam. Former Chancellor of the University, Dr. Roger Posadas, Professor of Physics and Technology Management, flew to Vietnam; Prof. Luisa Mallari, Department of English and Comparative Literature, visited Malaysia; and Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer, Department of Political Science, traveled to Indonesia. Here they recount their visits.

The Author with Dr. Nghiem Dinh Vy (Rector, Hanoi Pedagogic University)

national centers: the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities and the National Center for Natural Science and Technology. Under these Centers are research institutes representing the various academic disciplines, while under each institute are research sections called “centers” composed of about 3 to 5 researchers.

Most of the scholars I met were from the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities, but I was also able to talk with some researchers in the field of natural sciences and technology. All the Vietnamese scholars expressed keen interest in participating in our Conference. They look forward to the Conference as an excellent opportunity for exchanging country experiences in national development efforts and for drawing lessons in preparation for the 21st century. They also view the Conference as a venue where they can establish or enhance academic and research linkages with academic and research institutions in the region, and with Philippine institutions, in particular.

Finally, I found a high level of scholarship and research productivity in Vietnam. Vietnamese scholars, for instance, publish regular journals on Physics, Mathematics and other disciplines.

I thus came home from my trip full of hope for the Conference next year and with high expectations that Vietnam will send a full complement of participants. I know the Conference will not only promote Southeast Asian studies but also foster stronger ties with our Southeast Asian neighbors.

Dr. Roger Posadas, former Chancellor, Professor of Physics and Technology Management, University of the Philippines Diliman.
CONFERENCES involving regional representation are not uncommon in Malaysia, which has played host to numerous meetings between Malaysian, Indonesian, Singaporean and Thai scholars. The upcoming conference on Southeast Asia in the 20th Century, however, is unusual. Not only is it going to be a gathering of experts reevaluating the changes in the region; it is also going to be hosted by the Philippines. That the invitations to the conference are being extended personally is also something remarkable. These were the main impressions I gathered from the scholars I met when I was promoting the conference in three Malaysian universities.

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) was the first stop. Carved out of what were once rubber plantations and secondary jungle, the UKM campus in Bangi, Selangor is made more accessible by a 15-minute commuter train ride from Kuala Lumpur. It is a university established in the early 1970s in answer to the call for Malay-medium instruction at the tertiary level. From such nationalistic beginnings, the UKM has been able to carve out its own academic tradition in both the humanities and the sciences.

On 26 March 1997, a meeting with the heads of the various departments in the Fakulti Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan of UKM was arranged with the help of Deputy Dean Dr. Sahlan Mohd. Saman. Meetings with the director of the Institut Alam dan Taman Melayu, Prof. Muhammad Hj. Salleh, and the dean of the Fakulti Pengajian Bahasa, Dr. Fawziah Yahya, were held separately. Conducted in an atmosphere of camaraderie, all these encounters yielded a positive commitment towards the formation of a UKM delegation to the conference. A quick trip to Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) in Penang was next. Reached by a 45-minute plane ride from Kuala Lumpur, the USM campus is undeniably a homing beacon for most travelers to Penang. (While I was queuing up for an airport taxi, the five passengers ahead of me were all going to the USM campus.) The dean of the Humanities Faculty at USM, Dr. Md. Salleh Yaapar, had arranged for my accommodation at the sumptuous Rumah Tetamu inside campus. He had also done the rounds and was able to call on the various departments to send their representative to an early morning meeting on 5 April 1997. From the meeting with Dr. S. Ahmad bin Hussein, dean of the Social Science Faculty, I learned there were two groups of scholars already preparing for the conference. The invitation to ALIRAN, a Malaysian NGO, was coursed through Dr. Wong Soak Koon of the Literature Department.

The multicultural perspective is quite pervasive at USM. During my meeting with its faculty, a great deal of discussion was given to the role of Southeast Asians in Southeast Asian studies. Concerns were raised regarding nativism even as it was agreed that the conference was a step in the right direction for Southeast Asian scholarship. These views were later on clarified to me by Dr. Wong Soak Koon of the Literature Department. She said that USM has grounded its academic tradition on the multiplicity of cultures that has identified Penang. As evidenced by the academic stance of its faculty, USM has indeed been successful in this regard.

Back in Kuala Lumpur, a visit was made to Dr. Shaharil Talib, head of the Southeast Asian Studies Department at the Universiti Malaya (UM). With Dr. Shaharil at the helm, the promotion of the Southeast Asia in the 20th Century conference at UM has been well on its way. Another meeting was held, this time over high tea. Tan Sri Ismail Hussein, president of Gabungan Penulis Nasional (National Federation of Writers), and Dato Tengku Alaudin bin Tenku Abdul Majid, Deputy Secretary General of the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism, expressed their enthusiasm and committed themselves to making certain that their sectors will be represented in the conference.

Beyond its academic and scholarly objectives, it is the personal contact between and among individuals with similar interests and concerns that is most inviting about the conference. That this contact will occur in a Philippine climate (literally and intellectually) has stimulated genuine interest. We welcome all our colleagues from Malaysia.
FOR THE PROMOTION of the Conference in Indonesia, I drew up an itinerary that would take me from the northwestern coast of Java to its eastern neighboring isle of Bali.

The trip included meetings with professors and administrators of major schools and universities in five of Indonesia's 27 territories — the municipality of Jakarta, Bandung in Western Java province, the special administrative territory of Yogyakarta, Surabaya in Eastern Java, and the province of Bali.

In Jakarta, I also visited agencies like the Office of the Director General for Higher Education, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Center for Human Rights Studies.

The visit has made me familiar with Indonesia's system of higher education. In a typical set-up, various departments make up degree-granting faculties; and research centers are organized under a central Research Institute headed by a chief.

The Universitas Indonesia (UI) in Depok, a municipal city about 40 kms. to the southeast of Jakarta; Gadjah Mada University (GMU) in Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta; Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember (ITS) in Sukolilo, Surabaya, and Bali’s Universitas Udayana in its new site in Bukit, Jimbaran, have sprawling campuses of over a hundred hectares. GMU has the largest population, with more than 32,000 students, 2,000 faculty members, and 1,500 administrative and support staff at any one time. GMU alone explains why Yogyakarta is known as Indonesia’s university town. There, I received a warm welcome from Vice Rector Soedarsono, an alumnus of the University of the Philippines Los Baños.

Institut Teknologi Bandung nestles in the mountainous area of West Java and has claims to educating the best in math and natural sciences among the Indonesian youth.

Undoubtedly, I covered only a small portion of such a huge country in 10 days, moving by train, bus or plane from one to the other. But my end goal was clear: more binding ties among Southeast Asian scholars of various shapes and hues, meeting in the University of the Philippines next year to discuss not only the conference themes but how to build on from the initial encounters.

So I take heart in the Tagalog saying that, "Ang simula ay siyang unang hati ng katapusan." ("The beginning is the first half of the end.")

Jakarta

Office of the Director General of Higher Education, Ministry of Education and Culture Dr. Bambang Soehandro c/o Mr. Wibowo.

Universitas Indonesia Dr. Muhammad Budyatna, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences and Politics; Dr. Boedihartono, Department of Anthropology; Dr. Basuki Suhardi, Faculty of Letters.

Jakarta School of Fine Arts Dean Dolorosa Sinaga c/o Ms. Yani.

Center for Strategic and International Studies Mr. Daniel Setjawan, Editor, Indonesian Quarterly.
Center for Human Rights Studies Ms. Liza Hadiz, Editor, Imparsial, Human Rights Quarterly.

Indonesian Political Scientist Association Mr. Nur Iman Subono, Managing Editor, Journal of Political Science.

### Bandung

**Institut Teknologi Bandung**

Dr. Tresna Dermawan Kunaefi, Vice-Rector for Communication and Culture; Dr. Goeswin Agoes, Dean, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences; Dr. Ahmad Muchlis, Chair, Department of Mathematics.

### Yogyakarta

**Gadjah Mada University**

Dr. Joedoro Soedarsono, Vice-Rector for Cooperation; Dr. R. Hardjikono Sastrohamidjojo, Head, Institute for Research; Dr. Nopirin, Dean, Faculty of Economics; Dr. Djoko Suryo, Dean, Faculty of Letters; Dr. A. Samik Wahab, Director, Institute for Community Service; Prof. Dr. Kalil Hadsutroto, Dean, Faculty of Philosophy; Dr. Yahyamuhammad, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences and Politics.

**Universitas Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran”**

Ms. Indah Setiyowati, Faculty of Mineral Technology; Mr. Meilan Sugiroto, Faculty of Social Sciences and Politics.

### Surabaya

**Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember**

Dr. Happy Ratna Santosa, Head, Population and Environmental Research Center; Ontosono Penangsang, Department of Electrical Engineering; Septa Rendra and M. Razif, Department of Environmental Engineering; M. Juud Gani, Chemistry Department; Purhadi, Department of Statistics; Bambang Daryanto, Computer Sciences and Information System Research Center; Suprapto, Energy Research Center; Elly Agustiani, Environmental Studies Center.

### Bali

**Universitas Udayana**

Dr. I. Gusti Putu Suweta, Head, Institute for Research; Dr. I.K.G. Bendesa, Dean, Faculty of Economics; Prof. Made Sukarsa, Head, Tourism Studies; Made Budiarso, Department of Linguistics.

__Miriam Coronet Ferrer, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Deputy Director, Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines Diliman.__

__Rektorat__

Universitas Udayana

Bukit, Jimbaran Campus, Bali
Recovering Our Past

From 27 February to 2 March 1997, Dr. Zuraina Majid of the Centre for Archaeological Research Malaysia, Universiti Sains Malaysia, taught the graduate students in Archaeology 202 (History of Archaeology), at the University of the Philippines Archaeological Studies Program. Dr. Zuraina's visit is part of the exchange program organized by the SEASREP Council and supported by the Toyota Foundation and the Japan Foundation Asia Center.

IN THE 1950s Southeast Asian scholars began to engage actively in the study of archaeology in the region, making their mark in an area hitherto untouched by them before. Although the need for more Southeast Asian archaeologists in the region persists, Southeast Asian archaeology is slowly becoming less dominated by foreign scholars and beginning to assert its autonomy from Western theories and interpretations. A requisite to this development is the appropriate understanding of Southeast Asian history and culture, which scholars in the region are well-positioned to do owing to their familiarity with Southeast Asian ways of life.

Such was the assessment made by Dato' Professor Zuraina Majid of the Centre for Archaeological Research Malaysia, Universiti Sains Malaysia, in one of her lectures as Visiting Professor at the University of the Philippines Diliman.

Hosted by the Archaeological Studies Program, Prof. Zuraina’s lectures focused on the nature, aims and beginnings of archaeology all the way to the development of field techniques and 20th century archaeology. Of particular importance was her presentation on the history of prehistoric research in Southeast Asia.

Dr. Zuraina stressed that archaeology helps us understand our unaccounted and unwritten past as well as our cultural roots, and thus provides us with tools for comprehending our present. She recounted the growth of the discipline from its nascent origins in the 6th century B.C., through the antiquarian period, to its transformation as a scientific discipline in the 19th century, up to its current state. To help the students operationalize archaeology as a discipline, Dr. Zuraina also discussed the development of archaeological concepts and fieldwork techniques in Europe and the Americas.

The core of Dr. Zuraina’s lectures dealt with the state of archaeology in Southeast Asia. The development of the discipline in the region started as early as the 17th century and then proceeded at a varied pace and with different focal points for each Southeast Asian country. Dr. Zuraina noted that despite the region’s rich cultural heritage, Southeast Asian archaeology remains “underdeveloped” compared to that in other parts of the globe. She therefore emphasized the need to further develop archaeology in the region, even as she was encouraged by the growing number of SEA archaeologists. She likewise stressed the need to develop archaeology from a regional perspective in order to push forward each Southeast Asian country’s archaeological studies. In this connection, she recounted how during the prehistoric period Southeast Asia was an entity without political boundaries that made the movement of peoples...
Southeast Asian Research Thrusts
According to Southeast Asians

The 1996 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies was held at the Honolulu Hilton Village, and for those interested in Southeast Asia, it was one of the most successful in recent years because of the participation of so many scholars from the region itself. A highlight was the double panel entitled “Direction and Priorities of Research on Southeast Asia,” sponsored by the Southeast Asia Committee of the Association for Asian Studies and organized by Leonard Andaya. In the abstract for the panel submitted by Professor Andaya to the Program committee, he argued that in Southeast Asian studies the research and methodological agenda “are too often ... set by outsiders,” which can mean the exclusion or marginalization of Southeast Asian scholars. It was hoped that this panel would provide a forum where scholars from the region could express “their particular concerns, their research priorities and their specific methodologies.”

The Honolulu meeting was particularly fortunate because the Japan Foundation was willing to sponsor a number of well-known scholars from various Southeast Asian countries who could participate in this panel. The organizers of the panel and the Committee for Southeast Asian Studies would like to reiterate their sincere gratitude for this support. Without the assistance of Japanese colleagues, this panel would not have eventuated.

In terms of organization, the two panels were divided along mainland/island lines. The first included speakers from Thailand, Burma and Vietnam and was ably chaired by Professor Yoneo Ishii, then of Sophia University. Unfortunately, Myo Myint of Mandalay University was unable to obtain permission to leave Myanmar. His enforced absence was most regrettable, since his paper would have focused on current debates in Burma regarding the relevance of “traditional values” in the contemporary period.

Despite Professor Myint’s absence, the session was both informative and provocative. “Historical Studies in Vietnam Nowadays,” by Professor Phan Huy Le of the National University of Hanoi, provided an overview of work undertaken by Vietnamese historians since independence and discussed efforts to develop a national and modern historiography that can stand independently of Western methodological influences. Professor Phan emphasized that contemporary scholars, while conscious of Vietnam’s heritage of independent historical scholarship, are also anxious to deepen their cooperation with foreign colleagues.

This enterprise has not, of course, been an easy one. Until 1945 Vietnam had very few historians, and although numbers increased substantially in the period to 1975, the type of research undertaken by this new generation was heavily influenced by the priorities of the anti-imperialist conflict. While there was considerable interest in history, three broad topics dominated published writings: the early history of Vietnam and resistance against China; peasant uprisings against elite authority; and the revolutionary struggle. Because of isolation from historical trends developing in the rest of the world, Vietnamese historical work was weak in comparative studies and on areas outside Vietnam. History primarily served politics.

Since 1986, with the advent of Doi Moi (renovation), the situation has changed. Now there is much greater stress on modernization and economic growth and this has fostered a new interest in developing historical methodologies which can assist in exploiting the wealth of written materials, in both Chinese and demotic characters, housed in Vietnam’s libraries.

Since 1986, with the advent of Doi Moi (renovation), the situation has changed. Now there is much greater stress on modernization and economic growth and this has fostered a new interest in developing historical methodologies which can assist in exploiting the wealth of written materials, in both Chinese and demotic characters, housed in Vietnam’s libraries. The techniques used to analyze land registers, for instance, will be different from those used for understanding biographies of local saints.

Statistical methods and computerization have provided new ways of interpreting local land registers. It has been discovered, for example, that in 1805, 21.7% of land in the Hadong area was owned by women. In recent times, too, international cooperation has made it more possible to gain access to
material relevant to Vietnam but housed in France and elsewhere. An indication of this new cooperation was the organization of a Euro-Vietnamese seminar in 1995 which was held in Aix en Provence with the theme “Vietnam: Sources and Approaches.”

A survey of recent work also makes it apparent that the interests of young historians are changing. Between 1979 and 1995, 157 Ph.D. dissertations were successfully defended, demonstrating an increasing involvement with modern history and a growing concern with economic and cultural subjects. At the same time, it is important to remember that at the grassroots level the old attachment to studying the past has not faded, and that the writing of local and provincial history is still strong.

Dr. Kasian Tejapira, of Thammasat University, presented a paper entitled “Globalizers vs. Communitarians: Post-May 1992 Debates among Thai Public Intellectuals.” The Crisis of May 1992 saw a number of middle class intellectuals — technocrats, private business people, intellectuals and NGO representatives — come together with a common interest in opposing the military regime. Although relatively little institutional change has taken place, the events of May 1992 resulted in a serious discussion of numerous issues and a surge in popular interest in intellectual debates in the Thai press. There has been a massive part-time migration of university scholars to the mass media because of new opportunities to express opinions, the substantial financial rewards, the publicity generated, and expectations that debate will contribute to an improved political environment. Once united in opposing the return of the military dictatorship to power, these educated and influential people have now divided to express different and even opposing views on the types of reform needed and the paths to achieve such reforms.

From a broad perspective, however, Dr. Kasian felt it was possible to differentiate them into two groups, both of which aim to change the unequal power relationship between state and society, but which advocate different approaches. The first consists of those he terms the “globalizers,” because they advocate a democratization of the Thai state and a liberalization of the economy in accordance with global trends. The second group, the “communitarians,” press for a reduction in the role of the state so that local and rural communities can be politically empowered to sustain their traditional culture and control their own resources.

In developing this argument, Dr. Kasian critically analyzed the views of representatives of these groups on a number of topics. On economic reform, he contrasted the work of Suvinai Paranavalai, with his vision of a national, export-oriented economy in which the Sino-Thai could play a leading role, with that of Chatthip Nartsupha, who has pressed for a nationalist economy based on domestic demand and the hegemony of community organization. In the political arena, Dr. Kasian juxtaposed Anek Laothamatras with Saneh Chamari. Anek presses for a refinement but not revolution of existing Thai institutions, with an extension of urban middle class values into the rural areas; Saneh, on the other hand, argues for far-reaching transformations in the values and ideas of the Thai middle class in order to bring about a shift of political power to local urban communities.

Two of the most prominent and prolific Thai intellectuals, the political scientist Chai-anan Samudavanija and the revisionist historian Nidhi Aeusrivongse, were selected to represent counter-views on the Thai state, official nationalism, the middle class and institutional reform. Embedded in Chai-anan’s coining of the word Lokanuwat for globalization is a whole series of arguments which led him to conclude that the Thai state was losing its grip not only on civil society, but even on itself. The only solution, he believes, is reform from above under royal patronage. Nidhi, however, sees the possibility of political reform in the example of the nest-building ant. By following this model, he suggests, democratic power can be expressed regularly through established and effective channels.

The second panel, held immediately afterwards, was chaired by Professor Heather Sutherland of the Free University, Amsterdam. The first paper was presented by Professor Doreen Fernandez.
A generation later, in the 1990s, we find greater emphasis on a multidisciplinary approach, greater involvement of the academic world in political matters, and greater global communication which draws in Filipino scholars who work in institutions outside the Philippines.

In the social sciences, it is therefore not surprising to find academics cooperating in projects such as agrarian reform, health, governance and gender. Another research direction concerns empirical research, such as the Mt. Pinatubo eruption and fishing practices. A third direction highlights ways of understanding Filipino cultures and values. This interaction has resulted in a healthy interdisciplinary exchange of ideas, theories and research methods.

One question which has surfaced in recent times concerns history and the question of indigenization. This is particularly evident in regard to specific topics such as the Revolution where there is now a greater concern for the inclusion of previously marginalized groups as well as women. The dominant themes in contemporary discussion, however, concern the issues of language, influence from the West and the audience for historical research.

Advocates of the pantayong pananaw (self-focused viewpoint), such as Zeus Salazar, want to see a greater detachment of Philippine historical writing from the colonial experience. They press for the use of the national language, Filipino, in academic discourse because this will engage other Filipinos in discourse with each other. Discussions in English, on the other hand, being pangkami or inclusive, do not advance Filipino self-understandings because the principal dialogue will be with a foreign audience and the Filipinos involved may become reactive and even defensive. Supporters of the pantayong view deny the possibility of indigenization and reject studies written from the outside by non-Filipinos, Western standards and values in interpreting Philippine history, and the use of a foreign language in academic discourse.

The pantayong pananaw approach has engendered criticism, notably from those like Maria Serena Diokno, who argue that reactive history can also be indigenous and that language alone does not determine the audience. Rey Ileto’s highly influential study of the Pasyon, for example, is written in English (and thus could be categorized as pangkami) and yet it reflects truly indigenous perceptions.

In closing, Dr. Fernandez listed several approaches which she felt have been important in developing current initiatives. Revisiting old evidence with new questions has been revealing; the study of contemporary theater and dance has helped retrieve past forms; work has been done on the history of words and languages through dictionaries, lexicons and other literary material collected by the Spanish; a softening of disciplinary boundaries has been extremely valuable; and local histories and biographies have created new “histories from below.”

The second paper in this panel, “Writing Indigenous History in Malaysia: Approaches and Problems,” was presented by Dr. Cheah Boon Kheng, formerly of the Universiti Sains Malaysia. In tracing the history of modern historical writing in Malaysia, Dr. Cheah noted that under colonial rule the teaching of history in Malayan schools largely followed communal lines. It was not until 1956 that efforts were made to introduce a national syllabus for Malay history, and then only in English national and primary schools. However, this largely followed the “Euro-centric” structure which a prominent colonial official and amateur historian, Sir Richard Winstedt, had developed in his History of Malaya, a
revised edition which appeared in 1962.

This interpretation of Malay history was not challenged in any fundamental way until the 1970s, when serious efforts were made to replace English by Malay as a medium of instruction in schools. Not surprisingly, the first national Malay histories, though "Malaysian-centric" viewpoints, closely resembled the earlier English models. It is important to remember that though young Malaysian historians were exposed to these debates, they were themselves products of western historical training.

The problems that surfaced during the 1950s and 1960s continue to be relevant today, for although it was certainly accepted that a Malay-centric approach was desirable, there was no clear solution as to how such an approach might be developed methodologically. From 1963, with the formation of Malaysia, this debate gained a new intensity because of the argument that a historian's ethnicity influenced his or her historical interpretations. In other words, contended some individuals, a European would not be able to write or even appreciate "Malay" history. Furthermore, in a developing country such as Malaysia, the writing of history should serve national interests and concentrate on matters which were of direct relevance. At the same time, there were also calls for methodologies that would make greater use of the social sciences.

During the 1960s the influence of these debates became apparent in academic work. Although British-oriented histories continued to appear, there were others which focused on local issues rather than colonial policy. In the 1970s a new series developed by Oxford University Press played a major role in publishing new histories, by both Malaysians and foreigners, which used indigenous as well as European sources to shape histories in which the Malay point of view was emphasized. By the 1980s it had become clear that sympathetic histories could be written by any competent historian, irrespective of ethnic identity.

In the 1980s, however, communal preoccupations again resurfaced, articulated around controversial issues as to whether Penang was actually "founded" by Captain Francis Light. Should this be a source of pride for the city, or something to be remembered as a "shameful event" that marked the beginning of British colonialism? Among academic historians a more contentious issue was the National Biography Project of 1986. While it was decided that colonial officials should be excluded, there were more extensive discussions as to whether the listing of "foreign nationals" such as early Chinese and Indian leaders was also appropriate. Because politicians have picked up some of these debates, the concern with a more inclusive approach to Malaysian history is sometimes depicted as a challenge to the special status of Malays guaranteed in the constitution.

In 1989 a new Malaysian history syllabus which stressed the position of Malays as the "indigenous people" was made compulsory in Malaysian schools. Some Malay historians argued that the stress on Malays as the original or base society was essential if Malaysia was to avoid becoming simply a "melting pot" in which all races were of equal importance in its history. Malay society must be the basis of a national culture and national history. Interlinked with this stress on a Malay foundation for Malaysian history is the view that Malay history is itself intimately linked with the development of Islam.

An alternative argument has been presented by non-Malay Malaysian historians, as well as some foreign scholars, who believe that writing indigenous or Malaysian national history entails using more local sources and giving more emphasis to the activities of local players. The post-modernist viewpoint has introduced a new number of views possible, all subject to deconstruction, since every piece of historical writing or source is equally a textual construct. Within the ethnically-charged context of Malaysian historical writing, the problem is thus clearly articulated: can any person or group claim a privileged status for any particular construction or viewpoint?

The third paper, "Beyond Authenticism and Academism: Priorities for Future Indonesian Studies," was given by Ariel Heryanto, then of the Universitas Kristen Satya Wicara, Indonesia. His starting point was a four-day meeting of about fifty Indonesians and Indonesian specialists held in Madison, Wisconsin in summer 1995 with the theme "Expanding Perspectives." Participants came from diverse backgrounds and many had not previously met. The emotion and engagement apparent in the meeting demonstrated that scholarship in Indonesia cannot be neutral, and is increasingly
Another aspect of contemporary intellectual life in Indonesia is the emergence of new social movements, which cover issues ranging from the treatment of workers and human rights to historical interpretations of the 1965 coup and feminism. In the Madison meeting, the idea of a “civil society against the state” became a central theme. In the context of an emerging civil society the role of the middle class is problematic. A vague term in itself, the “middle class” in Indonesia is often dismissed by observers because it is (wrongly) perceived as insignificant in size and politically compliant. It has been commonly accepted that the Indonesian middle class is conservative, opportunistic and heavily dependent on government patronage.

Dr. Heryanto disputes this conclusion, arguing that the 1990s have witnessed the continued decline of state power and the assertion of class politics and influence, as evident in the case of Islam. Furthermore, the middle class is not a unified entity, but manifests shifting attitudes and changing relationships that render certain segments conservative and opportunistic at some points and progressive at others. As Indonesian capitalism has developed, challenges to the state are coming not from student movements or social activists, but from within the new capitalist class itself. Meanwhile, the decline of the state authoritarian ideology has left some space for alternative ideas to develop. A new generation of urban workers is also forging alliances, albeit tentative and fragile, with some middle class radicals.

Within the academic world, one of the principal intellectual forces is the rise of communication and cultural studies which question the foundation of scholarship itself. Post-modernism and post-structuralism, with their implicit criticism of Western philosophies and epistemology, are inherently appealing to Moslem intellectuals. The growing interest in post-modernism was evident in the launching of a new journal, Kalam, in 1994 and in conferences, academic publications, university discussions and widespread Indonesian participation in global communication via the Internet. As a result of post-modernist influences, Southeast Asian scholars are realizing they cannot establish an authentic or autonomous scholarship for their own societies. Unlike foreign researchers, insiders will find it more difficult to separate scholarship from political constraints and the desire to intervene in what they study.

The discussions that followed the papers were lively but limited because of the restraints of time. Nonetheless, there was widespread agreement that the contribution of all these scholars made the Honolulu meeting a memorable one for specialists on Southeast Asia, and it is hoped that it will be possible to hold a similar forum at some future meeting.

Barbara Watson Andaya, University of Hawaii. The SEASREP Council has a copy of these papers on file.
A Study of Rent, Rent-Seeking and Development in Southeast Asia

ON AUGUST 27 and 28 last year, the University of Malaya, through the generous support of the Japan Foundation Asia Centre, played host to a workshop on Rent, Rent-seeking and Development in Southeast Asia. The conference aimed to:

- examine the relationship between rents and growth;
- move beyond the misconception of equating rents with rent-seeking, particularly corruption;
- distinguish between the different conditions in which rents lead to growth-enhancing outcomes as opposed to growth-retarding outcomes;
- empirically study the nature and role of rents in various countries in Southeast Asia, and within specific sectors in some countries; and
- examine how social and political conditions circumscribe the state's management of rent-seeking and rent deployment.

Twenty-six participants from universities and institutes based in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, England, Germany, Holland, Canada and the United States took part in the two-day workshop. Eighteen papers were presented which examined a range of topics from theoretical concerns to country-based analyses. These are the summaries of their papers.

Mushtaq Khan, "The Input-Output Function of Rent-Seeking: A Comparative Analysis of Differential Effects"

Khan develops a unified framework for assessing the costs of rent-seeking identified in different theories by developing the notion of a rent-seeking input-output function. The inputs into the function are the resources spent in trying to create, maintain, or alter the structure of rights, while the outputs are the rights created, maintained or altered as a result. The paper also reviews theories of collective action, cognitive failure, and political institutions which attempt to explain output side differences. The paper argues the importance of a fourth factor, namely, the set of political constraints facing the creation of efficient rights. By applying the input-output framework in the comparison of qualitative empirical evidence from India, South Korea and Malaysia, the paper shows why political constraints offer the most powerful explanation for the differential effects of rent-seeking across these countries.

John Ravenhill, "Rents and Development: A Schumpeterian Approach"

Ravenhill presents a critique of the fundamental assumptions of neo-classical rent-seeking theories and underlines the positive role of rents in contributing to growth-enhancing outcomes. By drawing on the work of Schumpeter and recent economic theories of growth and technological development, he argues that economic rents are an integral part of the development process in that they provide the impetus for technological change. But the critical issue pertains to how rents are used. The extent of waste due to rent-seeking depends, according to Ravenhill, on the institutional arrangements, social ethos and the structure of the economy. The paper also attempts to explain why rents have been utilized more productively in some countries than in others. In particular, it focuses on the Korean experience and the lessons that can be drawn for developing countries.

Ozay Mehmet, "Rent-Seeking and Persistent Poverty"

Mehmet tries to address the issue of persistent poverty despite considerable growth. He contends that widespread rent-seeking in developing countries is usually linked to persistent poverty. More specifically, rents are inversely related to the systematic exploitation of labor. Mehmet's emphasis is on the exploitative nature of rents, which is generally ignored in rent-seeking literature. Noting that a producer's surplus exists when a firm's costs are below the industry average, he argues that the difference is a rent at the cost of labor welfare. This is important because unlike the tendency for the profit rate to equalize, restrictions on labor mobility do not allow wage rates to equalize, resulting in some form of "unequal exchange" embodied in the prices of the goods traded. Mehmet suggests that in any discussion on rents and growth, this type of rent must be highlighted.

Paul Hutchcroft, "The Politics of Privilege: Assessing the Impact of Rents, Corruption and Clientelism on Philippine Development"

Hutchcroft argues that depending on the socio-political environment, the manner in which rents are allocated may be relatively more compatible with or more obstructive to the process of de-
Michael Rock, “Thai Development: If Rent-Seeking Is So Pervasive, Why is Development Performance So Good?”

Rock attempts to explain why superior economic performance exists in the face of extensive corruption in Thailand. The traditional answer is that macro-economics and trade policies have been insulated from rent-seeking while it exists in the sectoral ministries. Rock argues, however, that such clear demarcation of policy-making cannot be made, as not only were rents used selectively and effectively at the micro level (in agriculture and industry-specific markets), but also the traditionally “isolated” macro agencies (the Central Bank and Ministry of Finance have increasingly been subject to rent-seeking). The rationalization of policy is thus explained in terms of changes in Thai society, the Thai state and the balance between state and society. Rock warns that rent-seeking in the present period could be detrimental to Thai growth in the long term.

Richard Doner and Ansil Ramsay, “Rents and Economic Development in Thailand”

Doner and Ramsay address the apparently paradoxical question of why Thailand, a country without a strong developmental state and plagued by extensive clientelism and rent-seeking, has successfully developed internationally competitive industries...

Sakkarin Niyomsilpa, “Telecommunications, Rents and the Growth of Liberalization Coalition in Thailand”

Sakkarin poses different questions: Is the bureaucracy still the dominant force in Thai society? How has the political economy changed and how important are rents in the political economy? Sakkarin tries to answer these questions by narrowing his study to the political economy of telecommunications liberalization in Thailand. He argues that Thai bureaucrats have lost their political supremacy over telecommunications policy, thus giving way to a broadly based “liberalization coalition” promoting privatization and other programs in their own interest. While rents have played an important part in the growth of telecommunications business groups in Thailand, Sakkarin contends there are signs that rents will decline in importance as liberalization gains momentum and business groups become more professional.

Pasuk Phongpaichit and Sungsidh Piriyarangs, “Rents and Growth: The Thai Economy and Money Politics”

Pasuk and Sungsidh argue that unlike in other developing countries, rent-seeking in Thailand has not repressed growth. The explanation for the “reasonable” level of rent-seeking is two-fold: first, the democratic parliamentary framework creates an atmosphere of competition among rent-seekers (i.e., politicians and bureaucrats), which allows businessmen to exert some leverage in negotiation; and second, there is evidence that some large business corporations build long-term relationships...
with rent-seekers, thereby making it in the latter’s interest to sustain their growth. Rent-seeking has, nonetheless, led to a political culture of “money politics” with negative repercussions on the political development of the country. Moreover, the authors maintain there are indications, particularly since the Banharn Cabinet came to power in August 1995, that the future growth of the economy may be dampened by rent-seeking activities.

**Chin Kok Fay and Jomo K.S., “The Deployment of Financial Sector Rents in Malaysia”**

Chin and Jomo focus on the creation of rents in the financial sector, specifically, the set of financial policies called “financial restraint,” based on the stylized analysis of policies pursued by a number of high-performing economies. Financial restraint involves the government creating rent opportunities for the private sector, which are contingent on the agent’s actions and which may only be captured through the agent’s own efforts. It is argued that these rent opportunities lead to outcomes that are more desirable and efficient than either financial repression or free market policies. The authors also critically evaluate the sources and deployment of financial rents in Malaysia.

**Rajah Rasiah “Rent Management in Proton”**

Rasiah analyzes the experience of the Malaysian national car project, Nasional (Proton) Berhad, where state-created rents have been instrumental. As Rasiah’s access to data on the different subsidies and protection extended to Proton is limited, he is unable to undertake a rigorous assessment of the Proton project. According to Rasiah, some of the factors that explain the continuance of monopolistic rent include increasing investments to accelerate Proton’s ability to catch up with firms operating at the technological frontier and to shift more of the car value added chain to Malaysia; the lack of an effective government appraisal mechanism to review the firm’s performance; and access to the politically powerful. While the first factor is associated with entrepreneurial profits, the remaining two are unproductive. The real test of Proton’s efficiency, then, will only occur once protection is gradually reduced.

**E.T. Gomez, “Patron-Seeking, Rent-Seeking and Rent-Shrinking: The Operation of Big Chinese Capital in Malaysia”**

Gomez tries to investigate how the large Chinese business groups in Malaysia have continued to build on their corporate base despite being actively discriminated against by the Malay-dominated state, particularly since the beginning of the NEP in the 1970s. Using two big Chinese business groups as case studies, Gomez links their operation and growth strategies with their success in “patron-seeking” to secure rents in a highly competitive and ethnically-charged political environment. Acquisition of rents from the politically dominant Malay, however, entails rent-sharing by the client, i.e., Chinese businessmen, with the Malay patron. Gomez asserts that although both groups secure rents through political patronage, one of the two groups he studied represents a relatively more “productive” deployment of rents than the other.

**David Brown, “Rents and Forest Product Industries of Indonesia and Malaysia”**

Brown’s paper focuses on the role of timber resource rents in the development of forest product industries in Indonesia and Malaysia. The author is interested in two questions: the role of timber taxes in the environmental and economic implications of rent dispersal in the timber sector; and how levels of timber rent capture differ in Indonesia, Sabah and Sarawak. Brown’s explanation is that the level of government rent-capture (and therefore taxes) will depend on what a shifting ruling coalition of political and economic elites determines will maximize their wealth and power. In Indonesia and Sarawak, where timber taxes are low, leaders and timber companies are appropriating most of the available rents up front. In Sabah, where timber taxes are higher, rents are also lost because the government, which is itself a timber concessionaire, does not pay taxes to itself. Thus seemingly different cases are found to result in “predatory” outcomes.

**Andrew Maclntyre, “Funny Money: Fiscal Policy, Rents and Economic Success in Indonesia”**

Maclntyre’s main goal is to explain whether rent-seeking can be controlled or managed. He examines this question in the context of fiscal policy in Indonesia, especially its off-budget component. The paper first provides a detailed ac-
count of sources of off-budgetary financing and attempts to estimate the approximate amount for the year 1994. The paper also estimates the impact of these rents and concludes they have not had a deleterious effect on macro-policy. Additionally, the impact on overall economic policy is limited. The paper then returns to the familiar paradox common to most East Asian NICs: why, in the face of pervasive rent-seeking, has performance been good? Building on an article by Schleifer and Vishny (1993), Maclntyre argues that the underlying institutional structure in Indonesia resembles that of a unified monopoly where the central agency is sufficiently motivated to ensure that rent-seeking remains reasonably efficient. This in part explains Indonesia’s superior performance in the face of excessive rent-seeking.

Richard Robison, “Politics and Markets in Indonesia’s Post-Oil Era”

Robison examines the more recent dirigiste policies and the elimination of certain rents in the post-oil era in Indonesia. Although rents were effectively removed from the non-oil export sectors so as to increase export competitiveness, rents have continued to exist where structural pressures for reform were not great. In such areas greater economic concentration in the hands of conglomerates and politico-business families has resulted. Moreover, deregulation has had a limited impact on creating an economic environment run by rules and procedures. Surprisingly, however, the continued existence of rents at a time of resource constraints has not led to fiscal crisis. Neither has it affected foreign investments or prevented domestic businessmen from investing, suggesting that pervasive rents have not been detrimental to economic growth. Robison predicts the real threat will occur with the end of the Suharto regime, when the present social and political order will likely unravel, thereby making the rent-seeking process much more “fluid and unpredictable.”


Rosser examines the dismantling of rents in the banking sector of Indonesia. He argues that the process of reform and the elimination of rent mirror the struggle among different groups and institutions within Indonesian capitalism. From the very beginning, rents in the financial sector were not utilized for development purposes but for political reasons, i.e., to subdue a rentier capitalist class which, if mobilized, could be a threat to Suharto’s regime. Similar political constraints have impeded the reform of the banking sector. For example, eliminating preferential credit to the agricultural sector has been difficult given the different constituents that reside there. Overall, it seems, the main targets of the reform process have been small indigenous business groups while large conglomerates continue to benefit from the existing financial sector.

Alex Irwan, “Rent and Ethnic Chinese Regional Business Networks: Indonesia’s Puzzling High Economic Growth”

Irwan’s explanation of Indonesia’s high growth in spite of pervasive rents is its location within regional ethnic Chinese business networks. Although there is high growth, he argues, the rents are harmful in the long term as they prevent Indonesia from moving upwards in the international division of labor. While Chinese firms continue to invest despite rents, foreign investors resent such government interference as the massive import subsidies and tax benefits given to Tommy Suharto to make the national car, Timor. Other “rents” discussed by Irwan are pay-offs or illegal levies offered to government officials to facilitate business transactions. These, he believes, increase the cost of production to the point where firms cannot recoup their costs, making them uncompetitive in the international market.


Fforde’s paper on Vietnam attempts to explain the role of rents in the development of the Vietnamese market economy from one that was centrally planned. The very high rents in Vietnam, combined with the commercialization of the state sector, allowed for high output growth despite the end of Soviet aid and the elimination of some rents. This growth was particularly significant among state-owned enterprises which showed they could perform well without the rents of the centrally planned era and under competition. The critical question is whether the Vietnamese state will be able to recreate the necessary rents required for a market economy for this will partly determine Vietnam’s performance in the next decade.

Prof. Jomo K. S., Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, and conference organizer. The conference was supported by the Japan Foundation Asia Center. For copies of papers, write Prof. Jomo.
LAST YEAR THE FILIPINOS began to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Philippine Revolution. This year in August the Program of Southeast Asian Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), with support from the Toyota Foundation, will hold an International Conference on the Philippine Revolution in Jakarta. Why commemorate this event in Indonesia, too?

The Philippine and Indonesian relations were different in many ways. The Filipinos attempted to establish a nation-state at a time when colonial competition was at its height. Had the United States stayed away from the archipelago, the Philippine Revolution would likely have succeeded in liberating and uniting the Philippines from the yoke of the decaying Spanish colonial power. The revolution, however, was frustrated by the Americans who, at the time, were in the process of defining their national self in the newly emerging world order — the order that would eventually dominate the first half of the 20th century.

The Indonesian Revolution, on the other hand, broke out at the end of the Second World War, at a time when the world was in the early process of regrouping itself after a disastrous conflict. No longer was this the period of imperial might, as during the time of the Philippine revolution, but rather one of highly competitive industrialized powers. The difference of a half century between the two revolutions that took place in Southeast Asia says something about the change in the world order.

There was also a difference in the process of nationalist awakening in both countries. It was at the beginning of the 20th century when some educated urban Indonesians began to realize the subordinate nature of colonial relationships. It took four decades for the growing nationalist educated class to spread their ideas among the local population before they could confidently declare the independence of Indonesia. The Philippine Revolution, on the other hand, erupted before the reformist ilustrados could take a similar action. There was no intervening factor — such as the Japanese occupation in the case of Indonesia — between the growing awareness of being a subjugated people, as was first expressed in the writings in La Solidaridad, and the revolution against Spanish authority, except perhaps the execution of Rizal.

But the importance of the study of the Philippine Revolution does not lie only in its comparative perspective. It is an event worth studying in itself. The history of the ill-fated yet heroic revolution shows many facets of colonial relationships and international competition. It also shows the limit of religious authority in the face of the challenge posed by the notions of human dignity and national awareness.

An American general once asked Mabini how the newly established Malolos Republic would deal with the matter of financing itself. Mabini answered confidently that this was "a mere detail." Too idealistic perhaps, but the statement reflects the belief in the strength of ideas in the face of all odds. This little episode also shows that a revolution is a matter of commitment and not simply a question of rational calculation.

In this light the LIPI Program of Southeast Asia Studies has organized an International Conference on the Philippine Revolution. In addition to joining the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Filipino revolution and expanding the knowledge of Indonesian scholars and historians on a historical event of great significance not only to the Philippines but to the rest of the region, the conference aims to:

- gain a better historical understanding of the nature of colonial relationships, the development of nationalism, and the process of nation formation in Southeast Asia;
- arrive at a comparative perspective on the process of state formation and nation-building in Southeast Asia; and
- provide a forum for other Southeast Asian scholars to reflect on the historical experiences of a neighboring Southeast Asian country.

With these purposes in mind, history is not simply treated as knowledge about the past or a "foreign country," but also as a means of understanding the present or "our own country" and of visualizing the future, the yet uncharted territory.

The conference will be divided into three major themes as follows:

- The course of the Philippine Revolution and the establishment of the Malolos Republic: the ilustrado and the ideology of La Solidaridad; the outbreak of the revolution and the establishment of the Malolos Republic; Rizal, Bonifacio, Aguinaldo and the tragedies of the revolution;
- Reflections on the Revolution: the revolution, elite formation and the masses; perpetuating revolutionary events through tradition and myth; historiography of the Philippine Revolution; literary constructions and reflections; and
- The Philippine Revolution in comparative perspective: the place of the Philippine Revolution in the history of nation formation in Southeast Asia; nationalist movements in Southeast Asia revisited; revolution, myth-making and national integration; the future of nation-states in the competitive global order.

Scholars from Southeast Asia and outside the region who wish to contribute to the enhancement of knowledge on the historical, theoretical and comparative aspects of the Philippine Revolution are invited to take part in the conference.

Dr. Taufik Abdullah and Dr. Mosyuri, Indonesian Institute of Sciences [See conference announcements for contact persons and addresses.]
A DECADE AGO one could hardly imagine that Thai and Vietnamese academics would work together on a research project especially in the social sciences. Today the regional context has changed and both Thailand and Vietnam have opened their doors not only on the economic front but also in the academic field. This, in turn, has provided an unprecedented opportunity for Thais and Vietnamese to enter into collaborative activities.

Initiated in 1994, the University Foundation of Thailand (UFT) and the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities of Ho Chi Minh City (ISSHO), with the financial support of the Royal Thai Government through the Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation (DTEC), embarked upon a research project on the Mekong Delta. After a long process of painstaking preparation, the research is now being implemented.

For DTEC, the project is the first of its kind under the Institutional Linkage Program. The primary objective of the project is to create a network of cooperation between Thai and foreign institutions, particularly with those of neighboring countries in the Mekong sub-region. The network-building is essential in order to bring together researchers who, as in the case of the Thai and Vietnamese research teams, will have an opportunity to learn together and from each other in the process of expanding knowledge in their respective fields.

Entitled Social Changes in Dong Thap Muoi during the Last Ten Years and New Trends of Development, the project focuses on the Dong Thap Muoi area covering three provinces in the Mekong Delta, namely: Dong Thap, Long An, and Tien Giang. The UFT team, which consists of five Thai researchers from UFT, Thammasat University and Mahidol University, will go to Vietnam and jointly manage the project with their Vietnamese counterparts. The Steering Committee, which set the research guidelines, is presided by Prof. Pradit Chareonthaitawee, former President of Mahidol University, and Prof. Mac Duong, the Director of ISSHO.

The project, which began in January 1997, will run for one year. During the implementation phase, the researchers will exchange their views and experiences in their own fields of competence. At the final stage, a seminar will be organized in the Mekong Delta where the team members will present their research findings. The results of the project will hopefully help set the direction and design of the socio-economic development plan for the Mekong Delta.

Sriprapha Petcharamesree, Mahidol University
The "Asianization" of Politics: A Study of Democracy in Southeast Asia

ALTHOUGH PLURALIST democratic systems have been adopted in many parts of Southern Europe, Latin America, Eastern Europe and Africa, only few gains have been made in Asia. Procedural democracy prevails in India and Japan, while the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea have established or re-established multiparty systems under reasonably free elections. A protest movement prevented the military from seizing power yet again in Thailand. But demands for pluralism have been suppressed in many other states, most notably China, Indonesia, Burma, North Korea and Laos. Other states such as Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam and Brunei have authoritarian systems with rigid restrictions on the formal multi-party system.

All of these regimes (even the more democratic) have made it clear they prefer social stability and controlled development to the adoption of Western-style, individualist pluralism. From a Western, liberal perspective Asia is, therefore, the least democratic of the world's five continents today.

Western dissatisfaction with the lack of freedom in Asia has posed a challenge to Asian state leaders, politicians and intellectuals to formulate ideas that can defend their political systems in relation to those of the West. The need to do so has been strengthened by economic success, the end of geo-politics, and the rapprochement between socialist and non-socialist regimes in the wake of the end of the Cold War.

There is, too, in the region an intense discussion on the applicability of Western liberal democracy. In some countries this has led to a rejection of liberal democracy in favor of Asian versions of democracy and human rights, built on the community rather than the individual, on consensus rather than opposition, and on strong government rather than political pluralism.

These state-dominated political alternatives, which can be termed "Asian values democracies," are closely related to the strengthening of national identity. Asian governments are claiming to provide an alternative to liberal democracy. These ideas are promoted at various venues: the joint Asian Declaration at the Vienna Conference, the Bangkok Declaration, the Committee for a New Asia, among others.

We are witnessing the first wave of an "Asianization" of politics, and we believe it is important that these alternative democratic ideologies are studied. The research project, Discourses and Practices of Democracy in Southeast Asia, aims to examine the various paths and reactions towards democracy in Southeast Asia. To investigate them in more detail involves a multi-disciplinary approach including, among others, studies of the historical experiences of democracy, the various institutional frameworks, intensive case studies of local political values and practices, and linguistic analysis of semantic fields. Hence the collaboration among five multi-disciplinary institutions and scholars from Southeast Asia and Europe:

- Institute for Malaysian and International Studies, National University of Malaysia: Osman Rani, Sabiah Osmam, Norani Othman, Rashila Ramli, Saliha Hassan;
- Research and Education for Peace Unit, Universiti Sains Malaysia: Francis Loh Kok Wah, Khoo Boo Teik, Syed Ahmad Hussein;
- Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences: Taufik Abdullah, Mochtar Pabottingi, Syamsuddin Haris;
- Cambodian Researchers for Development, Phnom Penh: John Vijgen, John Brown, Le Sareoun, Dr. Sorn Sammang; and
- Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Goteborg University, Sweden: Hans Antlov (coordinator), Joakim Ojendal, Curt Nestor and Thommy Svensson.

This multi-disciplinary and comparative research project is supported by the Swedish International Development Authority.

Prof. Thommy Svensson, Director, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies; President, European Association for Southeast Asian Studies and Chair, European Science Foundation Asia Committee.
AS IN THE STUDY of any foreign language, the most effective way to study Bahasa Indonesia is to learn it in its totality, that is, not just to learn the grammar and pick up the vocabulary, but to understand the culture of which the language is an integral part. What better way to learn bahasa, then, than in the heartland of Indonesia’s ancient history?

Last year I was fortunate to have been awarded a language training grant under the SEASREP program, which enabled me to spend four months in Yogyakarta where I enrolled in language courses at the University of Gadjah Mada. To prepare myself for my first visit to Indonesia (indeed, my first ever outside the Philippines), I took a basic bahasa course at the Department of Linguistics at my university, the University of the Philippines.

My first days in Indonesia were fairly smooth since I was not entirely new to the language and could converse in Indonesian, at least enough to get by. It was a great help that all inquiries and the processing of papers in Gadjah Mada are centralized under the very accommodating Bureau of Cooperation which handles foreign students’ applications. I enrolled under the Learning Bahasa Indonesia as a Foreign Language Program and was placed at the elementary level.

Our batch, said to be one of the biggest in the program’s history (about thirty), presented opportunities for me to get to know people of diverse backgrounds and learn the Indonesian language (and culture) together. All of us — Japanese, Korean, Papuan, German, Finnish, Swedish, Swiss, Mexican and myself — bravely (and excitedly) used Indonesian as all our classes were taught in this language: conversation, writing, reading, grammar and vocabulary.

By acquiring the basic skills of the language, I was able to choose which skill I needed to develop further. My real interest was in learning to read the language because of the requirements of my discipline, history. My objective, therefore, was to develop my reading comprehension at the academic level as most publications are written in or translated into Indonesian.

That the Philippines and Indonesia have almost the same language and culture (since they belong to one language family) made it easier for me to adjust to the environment and learn the language. I did not feel out of place and, like most Filipinos, passed easily for an Indonesian. Since the city of Yogyakarta is a melting pot of Indonesian students, I was also exposed to other Indonesian languages such as Javanese, Sundanese and Batak.

My classmates and I were also given many opportunities to participate in school activities and cultural programs organized by the University. Here Indonesian students played an important part in enhancing my appreciation of their culture. Living in a dormitory (kost) where I was the only non-Indonesian (and non-Muslim) enabled me to make Indonesian friends quickly and easily. As the city’s standard of living is quite affordable, we often ate together, played basketball, and watched movies and television. Yogyakarta, too, is renowned for historical sites that continue to attract visitors to Indonesia: the Borobudur and Mendut Temples in the north; the Palace (Kraton) and the Parangtritis and Glagah Beaches to the south. But for the more adventurous, mountains which abound in the area offer great attraction. With my new found friends, mountain climbing soon became a weekly pastime.

Enjoying while learning makes education more exciting. Appreciating the opportunity which the SEASREP grant gave me cannot be measured solely by grades or other tangible outputs. Certainly, meeting people who share a common heritage and making new friends were an added bonus.

Ferdinand Philip F. Victoria, master’s student in history at the University of the Philippines
and exchanges of culture more fluid than it is now.

In concluding her lectures, Dr. Zuraina challenged the students to recover our heritage, part of which now lies in the form of artifacts excavated during the colonial period by foreign archaeologists and left in the care of foreign museums. “These artifacts,” she asserted, “rightfully belong to the countries from which they were taken.” One way we can ensure control over our heritage is to actively advance the study of archaeology in the region.

Judging from their reaction papers, the students considered Dr. Zuraina’s lectures informative and interesting. Several said they were inspired to actively pursue the development of the discipline in the country as well as in Southeast Asia perhaps because of Dr. Zuraina’s account of current SEA archaeological initiatives, especially those in her own country, Malaysia. Most of the students especially appreciated her lecture on Southeast Asian prehistory as the insights she shared are not found in commonly available textbooks (written mostly by Americans and Europeans).

On her part, Dr. Zuraina said her Filipino students were very enthusiastic about becoming archaeologists. She was impressed by their receptiveness and eagerness as shown by their having read the materials prior to her lectures. She also proposed that a selected number of Filipino students be exposed to archaeological researches of neighboring Southeast Asian countries so that they can acquire a more comprehensive understanding of the region’s prehistory.

[Glenda Lopez, University Research Associate, Third World Studies Center]

[Continued from page 9]

- Our class was fortunate to have an archaeologist from Malaysia sharing with us her views and assessment of...Southeast Asian archaeology from a historical perspective, and most importantly from a Southeast Asian perspective...[which]...help[ed] us develop an alternative interpretation of Southeast Asian prehistory.

- The lecture on the history of Southeast Asian archaeology was gratifying since the [required] readings...for the course did not cover this...The most interesting part of the lecture was Dr. Zuraina’s discussion on the current archaeological endeavor in Malaysia. It was an opportunity for us to learn the different types of archaeological sites in Malaysia as well as the methodology employed by their archaeologists in doing their researches.

- Professor Zuraina’s lecture helped us understand archaeology from a different perspective. Since most of our books are authored by Western thinkers, some of the ideas found in these books are not applicable in our region. She also helped us become aware, through her various projects and excavations, that Southeast Asians are as capable as foreign scholars in undertaking significant archaeological researches. Her various undertakings as an archaeologist which she shared with us were inspiring.

- Though advocating the importance of archaeology in general, [Prof. Zuraina]...emphasized the need to develop further Southeast Asian archaeology...in order for us to understand more appropriately the region which has countries with diverse historical background as well as rich cultural heritage.

- What is interesting about Prof. Zuraina’s lectures is that they were able to emphasize one aspect of archaeology which I think is very important — that as a social science, it can never be divorced from its social milieu. By social milieu, I refer to the beliefs and biases of the investigator which tend to affect the interpretation of archaeological data.

[Continued from page 9]

- Slides were shown with regards to her archaeological excavation project in Malaysia...[which was supported] by their government through the provision of logistics needed for the activity. Unlike here, archaeological excavations are not supported that much by our government.

- Her convictions inspired us. She also said that archaeology cannot progress with the continued insensitivity of some local scientists regarding the issue on the influx of foreigners who want to excavate and recover cultural materials from the host country, which is often hatched with a deal that leaves the latter in an unfair situation.

- Dr. Zuraina’s convictions on the need to uplift the consciousness of local scientists, including the government, regarding the importance of archaeology should inspire us to exert efforts to develop further Philippine archaeology. One way of achieving this is by tapping the assistance of government and private agencies which could provide funding for field operations and other necessary mechanisms for strengthening archaeology in our country.

The student reactions were submitted to Dr. Cynthia Zayas, who taught the course together with Prof. Zuraina.


**VISITING PROFESSORS**

- **Dr. Shaharil Talib** of the University of Malaya will lecture on border problems in the straits of Malaka and Singapore at the University of Indonesia, and on agrarian history of modern Malaysia at the Gadjah Mada University.
- **Dr. Rey Ilento**, Australian National University, will lecture on the emergence of the Filipino identity in the 19th century at the University of Indonesia.
- **Dr. Leslie Bauson** of the University of the Philippines will lecture on agrarian history at the Gadjah Mada University.
- **Dr. Salim Said**, University of Indonesia, will lecture on Indonesian contemporary politics and culture at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya.
- **Dr. Siti Zuraina bte. Abdul Majid**, Faculty for Archaeological Research, Universiti Sains Malaysia, will lecture on SEA prehistoric archaeology also at the Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- **Dr. Mundarjito** of the Department of Archaeology, University of Indonesia, will lecture on the fundamentals of archaeology at the Archaeological Studies Program of the University of the Philippines.
- **Dr. Surin Pookajorn**, Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, will lecture on SEA prehistoric archaeology also at the Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- **Dr. Taufik Abdulrah**, Research Professor, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, will lecture on Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia at the Department of History, Thammasat University.
- **Dr. Onghokhram**, Retired Professor from the University of Indonesia, will lecture on colonial Indonesia at the Department of History, Thammasat University.

**LANGUAGE TRAINING**

- **Siti Rahmah Soekarba**, lecturer at the Arabic Study Programme, Faculty of Letters and Literature, University of Indonesia, received a four-month grant to study Vietnamese.

**MA/PHD INCENTIVE GRANTS**

- **Mohammad Ramli Raman**, lecturer at the Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, will study Javanese at the Gadjah Mada University for a year.
- **Hanizah Bte Idris**, Ph.D. student at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya, will take Spanish at the University of the Philippines for four months.
- **Mala Rajo Sathian**, graduate student at the Department of History, University of Malaya, has a ten-month grant to learn Thai at the Thammasat University.
- **Jesus Federico C. Hernandez**, M.A. student at the Department of Linguistics and Asian Languages, University of the Philippines, will study Thai on his second grant at the Thammasat University.
- **Jorge V. Tigno**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines, will study Thai at the American University Alumni Language Center in Thailand for six months.
- **Ferdinand Philip F. Victorina**, M.A. student at the Department of History, University of the Philippines, will study Bahasa Indonesia at the Gadjah Mada University for eight months.

**REGIONAL COLLABORATION GRANTS**

- **Dr. Masyhuri**, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, to organize an international conference on the 100th anniversary of the Philippine revolution in Jakarta.
- **Dr. Jomo K. Sundaram**, Professor at the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, to organize a research conference on ethnic Chinese businesses in Southeast Asia.
- **Dr. Maria Serena 1. Diokno**, Professor of History, University of the Philippines, to publish the Southeast Asian Studies Bulletin.

**CONFERENCES & SEMINARS**

- **Suwilai Premraksirat**, Chair of the Indochinese Studies Committee, Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University, to compile a thesaurus of Khmu dialects.

- **Dr. Charnvit Kasetsiri**, Department of History, Thammasat University, to research on the history of Indonesia and will oversee the publication of the translations of three books on the region's history in Thai.

- **May V. Datuin**, Assistant Professor of Art Studies and Ph.D. student at the College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines, will research on women artists in Southeast Asia.

- **Sunya Chevaprasert**, Ph.D. student at the Thammasat University, will research on the life and works of Prince Souphanouvong.

- **Dr. Flaudette May V. Dauin**, Assistant Professor of Art Studies and Ph.D. student at the College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines, will research on women artists in Southeast Asia.

**MA/PHD INCENTIVE GRANTS**

- **Abdul Haris**, M.A. student at the Gadjah Mada University, will research on the movement of illegal workers from West Tenggara and its impact on the migrants.
- **Yo Thi Thu Nguyen**, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya, will do a comparative research on nationalism as seen through Malaysian and Vietnamese newspapers for his master's thesis.
- **Linda Sunarti**, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya, will research on the development and expansion of Swettenham Port for her master's thesis.
- **Ma. Luisa R. de Leon-Bolinao**, Assistant Professor and Ph.D. student at the Department of History, University of the Philippines, will do pre-dissertation research comparing the Philippines and Malaysia during the colonial period from a geographical perspective.

**VISITING PROFESSORS**

- **Dr. Shaharil Talib** of the University of Malaya will lecture on border problems in the straits of Malaka and Singapore at the University of Indonesia, and on agrarian history of modern Malaysia at the Gadjah Mada University.
- **Dr. Rey Ilento**, Australian National University, will lecture on the emergence of the Filipino identity in the 19th century at the University of Indonesia.
- **Dr. Leslie Bauson** of the University of the Philippines will lecture on agrarian history at the Gadjah Mada University.
- **Dr. Salim Said**, University of Indonesia, will lecture on Indonesian contemporary politics and culture at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya.
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**LANGUAGE TRAINING**

- **Siti Rahmah Soekarba**, lecturer at the Arabic Study Programme, Faculty of Letters and Literature, University of Indonesia, received a four-month grant to study Vietnamese.
For details, contact
Dr. P. Nas, and G. Domenig
The European Science Foundation Asia Committee
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel. (+3171) 527-2227
Fax (+3171) 527-4162

Third Euroviet Conference on Vietnamese Society in Transition, Continuity and Change, 2-5 July 1997, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

For details, contact
Professor Nguyen The Anh
International Institute for Asian Studies/CASA
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel. (+3171) 527-2227
Fax (+3171) 527-4162

International Conference on Women in the Asia-Pacific Region: Persons, Power and Politics, 11-13 August 1997, National University of Singapore. Themes: how gender as a category is being reconstructed in the Asia-Pacific context as a result of countervailing forces of globalization; how gender relations can be linked to a wider framework of social relations.

Address queries to
Prof. Nguyen The Anh
Department of Geography
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260
Tel. (65) 772-6810
Fax (65) 777-3091
E-mail geoywc@nus.sg

Regional Congress on Multiculturalism and Challenges Beyond Year 2000, 17-18 June 1997, Sarawak, Malaysia. Topics: forms of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity in the region; processes and trends in the policy and management of programs that relate to the values of multiculturalism.

For information, write
Dr. Daniel Chew
Senior Research Fellow
Sarawak Development Institute
Rumah Laksamana Muda Jalan Rodway 93000 Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia
Tel. (603) (82) 411-799
Fax (603) (82) 258-372
E-mail sdi@po.jaring.my


For inquiries, write
Dr. R. Scheffold, Dr. P. Nas, and G. Domenig
The European Science Foundation Asia Committee
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel. (+3171) 527-2227
Fax (+3171) 527-4162


For inquiries, write
The Organizing Committee
International Conference on The Centenary of the Philippine Revolution and the First Asian Republic
Program of Southeast Asian Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI)
Widyagraha 9F, Jl. Gatot Subroto No. 10
Jakarta 12190, Indonesia
Tel. (6221) 527-1438
Fax (6221) 522-4667

International Seminar on External Challenge and Local Response: Modern Southeast Asia in Historical Perspective, 22-24 September 1997, University Brunei Darussalam. Topics: European powers and Southeast Asia; the Malay world on the eve of European expansion; local responses to expansion; Southeast Asia and the Japanese military occupation; challenges in the 19th century; national identity and nation-building; education and the modern nation-state; and leadership, ideology and new challenges.

Address inquiries to
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Bandar Seri Begawan, Negara Brunei Darussalam

Conference on Trade and Navigation in Southeast Asia, 1-4 October 1997, Tokyo, Japan.

For inquiries, write
Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh
c/o International Institute for Asian Studies
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel. (+3171) 527-2227
Fax (+3171) 527-4162

International Conference on Ergonomics in Southeast Asia, 4-7 November 1997, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Themes: care for the worker, care for the people; care for the new technology; care for the quality and productivity of work; and care for the environment and nation.
ANNOUNCEMENTS

International Conference on Southeast Asia in the 20th Century

SINCE THE CALL for papers was issued in February this year, the Conference Secretariat has received numerous inquiries from interested Southeast Asianists in the region and abroad. To respond to the queries from prospective participants, here are some guidelines.

REGISTRATION FORM
On a regular bond paper, duplicate the entries in the sample registration form found in the upper right corner of the poster. The form is reprinted here for your convenience.

The conference is open to all interested scholars, writers and researchers from all parts of the globe.

Send your registration form by 31 July 1997 if you are applying for a travel grant; or by 31 October 1997, if you wish to avail of the registration fee discount (from $120 to $100). Enclose your check/postal money order/bank draft payable to the Social Sciences and Philosophy Research Foundation.

APPLICATION FOR TRAVEL GRANT
The registration form is the same as the application for the travel grant. Indicate in the pertinent entry that you are applying for the grant.

COVERAGE OF GRANT
The award covers cost of air and land transportation to and from the conference site (within Southeast Asia only), registration fee (which includes three lunches, six snacks and the conference kit), other meals and accommodation. Grants will be spread out among the six major themes and, as much as possible, among the different countries in the region.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR TRAVEL GRANT
Nationality. One who belongs to any of the nationalities in the Southeast Asian region is qualified. Please understand that our objective is to encourage as many SEAn scholars as possible to read papers in the conference. SEAn academics do not have as much access to grants as those from Japan, Australia, Europe and North America. Also, the cheaper cost of travel within Southeast Asia will enable us to award more grants.

Age Limit. 45 years old and below. The reason is that younger scholars generally have less access to funding institutions. Also, by supporting and motivating young scholars, we will help build a longer term human resource base of Southeast Asianists from the region.

Requirements. Registration form and abstracts by 31 July; paper by 31 August 1997.

PAPER THEMES AND CONFERENCE PANELS
The themes are broadly worded to invite a variety of either regional or country-based papers. We will cluster papers on similar topics in a single panel. We urge those interested to take the initiative of tapping scholars they know from different countries and forming their own panels. They can send their application form as a group.

We prefer that papers are printed on letter size paper (8 ½" x 11"); single-spaced, with double spaces in between paragraphs; and not more than 15 pages.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS
Abstracts of travel grant applicants are due on 31 July 1997; for other paper presenters, 31 October 1997. This schedule gives us enough time to review the grant applications, organize the panels, and reproduce the abstracts for the conference kit. Abstracts should only be between 200-300 words.

REPRODUCTION OF PAPERS
Limited copies of papers received before 15 December 1997 will be reproduced free of charge by the Conference Secretariat. During the conference, copies of papers may be ordered at cost from the Secretariat.

For inquiries, write
EUROSEAS Secretariat
c/o KITLV
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel (+371) 527-2295
Fax (+371) 527-2638
E-mail euroseas@rullet.leidenuniv.nl
When reproducing form please enlarge to fit 8.5" x 11" size paper.

CONFERENCE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY
REGISTRATION FORM/APPLICATION FOR TRAVEL GRANT

NAME (Last name) (First name) (Middle initial)

TITLE (Mr./Ms./Dr./Prof./Other) INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

MAILING ADDRESS

TEL. NO. (Indicate country/area code) FAX NO. E-MAIL ADDRESS

Will you present a paper? ( ) Yes ( ) No
If yes, title of paper ________________________________

Are you applying for a travel grant? ( ) Yes ( ) No
Age as of 1 October 1997: ____________

Preliminary List of Lodging Places for the SEA Conference*

Name/Location/Type of accommodation and facilities and Rate/day/room

U.P. Balay Internasyonal (Kapit Balay residential apartments) Within campus

- small studio/single occupancy air-conditioned, refrigerator, private toilet and bath, US$25 (2 units available)
- big studio/2 pax per unit air-conditioned, refrigerator, private toilet and bath, US$25 (4 units available)
- two-bedroom apartments (4 pax per unit air-conditioned, refrigerator, private toilet and bath, US$ 35 (6 units available)

U.P. Institute for Science and Mathematics Education Development (UP ISMED) Within campus

- single room, US$ 10
- double room, US$ 15
- triple room, US$ 20
  ceiling fans, toilet and bath for every 2 rooms (32 rooms available)

- single room, US$ 25
- double room, US$ 35
  air-conditioned, toilet and bath for every 2 rooms
  (12 rooms available)
- single room, US$ 30
- double room, US$ 40
  air-conditioned, private toilet and bath (3 rooms available)

Philippine Center for Economic Development (PCED) Hostel Within campus

- single room, US$ 25
- double room, US$ 30
- triple room, US$ 35
  air-conditioned private toilet and bath
  (20 rooms available)

The Orange Place 2 kms. away

- regular room (air-conditioned, 2 single beds, cable tv, telephone, and private toilet and bath), US$ 45 (5 rooms available)
- de luxe room (air-conditioned, 2 single beds, cable tv, telephone, refrigerator, safety deposit vaults, and private toilet and bath), US$ 55 (12 rooms available)

The Sulo Hotel 6 kms. away

- standard room (single occupancy), US$ 80
- standard room (double occupancy), US$ 90
- de luxe room (single occupancy), US$ 95
- de luxe room (double occupancy), US$ 105
  (Subject to reservation)

*Reservations will be accepted on first-come, first-serve basis. Please inform the Secretariat of your intention. Rates are subject to change.