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Guest Editorial on the occasion of Luisa Mallari’s first death anniversary

Tribute to Luisa

Luisa Mallari, Filipina, was a dynamic Southeast Asianist who specialized in Malay literature. A faculty member at the University of the Philippines, she obtained her Ph.D. at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. She was a member of SEASREP’s Selection Committee from 1998 until her demise in a plane crash on 19 April 2000 at the age of 37. This article is published in her honor.

It is said that teaching is the most important profession of all — doctor or lawyer, engineer or businessman, even the teacher, is shaped by teachers. But teaching, beyond being a profession is also, ultimately, about being an example to those one teaches. Whether in a private school or a liberal arts university, teachers are inevitably icons of the subjects they teach and the institutions they serve. They are, whether they like it or not, models against which students will measure themselves.

This makes teaching a taller order than one thinks. For one does not only need to have the knowledge to impart and the ability to get this across, a teacher also needs to live what he or she teaches. The classroom is only a venue for teaching. Outside the classroom, teachers are testament to what they teach. A teacher who does not practice what he or she preaches debunks the very things he or she says are important inside the classroom. This to me is the line drawn between professional teachers and real teachers. The former teach for a living, the latter live what they teach.

Prof. Luisa Mallari Hall was the epitome of the latter. More important than what I learned from her inside the classroom was what I learned from her outside. Unlike any of the other teachers in U.P.’s Department of English and Comparative Literature, Ma’am Mallari decided to learn Bahasa-Melayu instead of French, German, or some other Western language. And she didn’t learn it out of a need to — that would have only meant taking the 12 units the University could offer her of a foreign language — she learned it because she wanted to. Because it would only be through learning the language that she would live up to her own standards of comparing literatures in Asia. That is, comparative literature not in translation, but in the original. Because, as she would always tell me, there is just no other right way of doing it.

And really, no other way of studying Asian literature and culture. While it is true that the English literatures in Asia are a valid area of study, to celebrate these literatures invariably leads to the marginalization of cultural texts in the Asian national languages. at the same time that it encourages the study of Asian texts in translation. For why waste time and energy in studying another language, when there is English to fall back on? Ma’am

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Neither "Out There" nor "The Other"

Taufik Abdullah, Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and SEASREP Council member

On 29-31 April 2001 the University of Amsterdam and the National Institute of War Documentation in Holland, together with the National University of Singapore, held a conference entitled “Locating Southeast Asia: Genealogies, Concepts, Comparisons and Prospects” in Amsterdam. The papers were read in honor of Prof. Heather Sutherland, an expert on Indonesia and long-time friend of Southeast Asia. Featured here are the reflections of one of Indonesia’s and the region’s foremost scholars.

It was in the first half of 1969 when Heather Sutherland and I conducted our research on the colonial archives. She investigated the lives and the careers of the Javanese aristocratic bureaucrats, the priyayi, and I tried to get information on the social and political activities in my hometown. Although both of us were graduate students in our respective universities and eager to write up our dissertations, I suspected Heather wanted to contribute something to the world of learning. She, an Australian young scholar, wanted to offer a deeper understanding of a “foreign” country, Indonesia. My interest was, perhaps, less ambitious yet, more “rebellious”. I only wanted to fill a little gap in the history of my country. Well, it might as well have been more than that. As I now remember my intellectual mood at that time, my research agenda was to some extent also influenced by anger. Being a Sumatran boy, it was difficult for me to accept the fact that only Java has a continuing and uninterrupted history — from the time of the Java Man, through the Tarum

Nagara, the successive Hinduized kingdoms, Islamic Sultanates, and the advance of Dutch colonial rule to the outbreak of the national revolution — while the other islands have nothing but some fragmented histories. Looking back at the time, I would be less than honest if I don’t admit the influence of my father’s stories on the political and religious atmosphere in our hometown during his youth. His stories were so exciting, although my father could not tell me much about the events. But I failed to find the stories — even a portion of them — in the history books.

In the late 1960s the debate on colonial versus national historiography was anything but over. The so-called Neerlandocentric approach to Indonesian history had been totally rejected just as the Indo-centric view of history had been widely accepted. It was also commonly agreed then that the liberation from colonial history could not be simply undertaken by a shift of ethical judgment — the colonial hero becoming the national culprit or the other way around. But then, how should one deal academically with the newly accepted historical approach? After all history was simply not there to be retold or reconstructed. History was — and still is — a matter of choice. What questions are to be asked of the bulk of potential historical sources? What approach should be used? With the advance of Guided Democracy, these questions, like most other scholarly questions, could not be properly discussed and answered. The regime of the Guided Democracy was, I stated on several occasions, the rule of the greedy state. It was a state that could not satisfy itself by having law-abiding citizens or dominant political and economic patronage systems without control of the people’s consciousness and mastery over the nation’s collective memories. The regime was already there to offer whatever ideologically correct answers one might need. In time when the revolution “has been rediscovered,” as Sukarno kept reminding his nation, one should never “abandon
history”. One should always keep “the flame of history” burning in one’s heart. In this ideological and intellectual atmosphere the professional historian had practically lost his and her proper place.

In the late 1960s, these questions were beginning to be asked again. After almost ten years under the rule of Guided Democracy through a traumatic change of regime — a change that until today haunts the nation’s conscience — a new regime was born. And a new hope was rising. Looking back one might say that the period from the late 1960s to the middle of 1970s was an “Indian summer of Indonesian democracy”. It was a period that was soon to be followed by a long winter of authoritarian rule of another “greedy state”. Whatever the case, the period was very crucial, as if a new and wiser Indonesia had finally emerged. The politics of konfrontasi with Malaysia was ended. Five states managed to establish the ASEAN, and regardless of the accusation that it was an anti-communist bloc, the association made a serious effort to sell the idea of ZOPFAN. The association soon also embarked on serious efforts to settle whatever problems were there that might hinder the smooth working of the new regional association. By that time Indonesian political discourse had dramatically been changed — “revolution” was replaced by “development”, “ideology” by “program”, etc. The world of “conflict” was replaced by the world of “consensus”. Scholars and intellectuals were expected to become the new technocrats who could offer something to society at large.

In the late 1960s the Vietnam war continued to rage. Thailand was still under military rule. But something was already beginning to change in the hearts of Thailand and when the time was ripe, the student revolution broke out. Military rule was ended. The short re-emergence of the military regime only paved the way for the establishment of a democratic Thailand. What about Indonesia? Yes, it was dominated by the military, but we were made to believe they were there at the pinnacle of power not to dominate politics but to carry out their double function, sharing the burden of running the country. By the middle of the 1970s, however, this “make-believe” world had lost its credibility. Malaysia, too, had its share of the test of history. In May 1969 the race riot took place in Kuala Lumpur. But when it was over, a new and wiser Malaysia did emerge. By the mid-70s the Vietnamese could claim they had managed to defeat the biggest imperialist power. For the first time in its history the United States lost a war — one it did not really want. Yes, for a while the 1970s gave a hopeful note.

It was in this optimistic intellectual climate that I began to embark on my academic career as a research fellow of a state-sponsored research institute. Perhaps my training and writing could contribute something to the development efforts. Some of my colleagues joined the dominant political bandwagon for the sake of “development”. Some others, like me, simply engaged in different kinds of activities. While continuing to conduct social research, I taught and supervised theses, gave public lectures, wrote columns and book prefaces, presented papers, helped establish a social science association and became its first chairperson, joined a social science foundation, etc. Without my knowing it I was already involved in politics and discourses of the so-called “development”.

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without joining, at least not voluntarily, any political grouping. It was also at that time when we began to promote Southeast Asian studies. Why should we, Southeast Asian scholars, know very little about each other’s country? My colleagues and I were part of the growing number of Southeast Asian scholars who tried to fill a small niche in the body of knowledge about our past and our societies to promote scholarship and mutual understanding among Southeast Asian countries.

The 1970s, however, were also a time of reflection and revision of long established academic paradigms in social and cultural studies. Anthropology, the new darling of Southeast Asian scholarship, was suddenly accused of having originated from the colonial efforts to dominate “the natives”. Orientalism, long considered an example of serious scholarship, was attacked as nothing but the expression of Western hegemony hostile to the Orient, most obviously to Islam. The proud sociology was challenged by “critical sociology”. The 1970s and early 1980s may also be seen as the time when Marxist sociology and literary criticism became fashionable. The claim of history as the only discipline that makes the search for truth its sole objective was ridiculed for being too naive in its self-confidence. The highest it could achieve was only textual truth. That was also the time when post-modern and post-structural approaches to cultural and social phenomena were gaining momentum. Southeast Asia was not spared from the theoretical assault of these critical alternative theories.

No one would dispute that once in a while, the confidence of science and scholarship in their respective capacities to discover the truth and comprehend complex and baffling historical and social phenomena should be put under serious scrutiny. It really does not matter if this test might temporarily shatter the confidence of the self. Occasionally the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences should re-examine their basic premises and re-formulate their respective theoretical assumptions. But how should the scholars, who have also been expected to be the technocratic agents of development, offer their contributions honestly to society if the basic assumptions of their disciplines were being questioned? Most of them might not bother themselves with these questions or even be aware of the process of re-examination. But for those who were aware of it, another problem emerged. If the case of Indonesia was taken as an example, one could ask the question: How can they liberate themselves from the positivist social theory and approach that had long been strongly endorsed, if not sponsored outright, by state planning agencies? At a more theoretical level, it was also not too easy to shift theoretical alliance from Weber to Marx. In the greedy state of the New Order, where the regime had been trying to control people’s consciousness, it was not that easy to reverse the basic assumption. “Marx” was, after all, a dirty word in the strongly anti-communist state. The internal dynamic of academic enterprise and of the system of knowledge apparently not: only promised better understanding and comprehension of society; it also created a problem of academic legitimacy and intellectual integrity of scholars.

By the beginning of the 1980s the optimistic mood of the previous decade was beginning to exhaust itself. The short honeymoon between PAS and UMNO and its Barisan Nasional was terminated in Malaysia. But UMNO under the guardianship of Mahathir was determined to make Malaysia a modern state and to create a “new Malay society”. Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge might have been pushed aside, but Vietnam emerged as the conqueror, albeit temporarily. The wisdom of a politically stable and economically progressive state of Singapore was beginning to be questioned when the government showed its contempt for the lone opposition winner. Meanwhile Soeharto emerged as an unchallenged ruler. Gradually, as people say, the Republic of Indonesia transformed itself into a pseudo-modern “Mataram”. The official slogan of “unity in diversity” was practically changed into “unity and uniformity”. Re-elected Soeharto had a more efficient and powerful state apparatus than Sukarno and practically made himself the “High Priest of Panaccasia” without ever bothering with the title. President Marcos of the Philippines was no longer seen as the state stabilizer, but a dictator pure and simple. When the time came people’s power forced him to leave the country in disgrace.
and a new President was installed. A new Philippines seemed to have been born. And a new lesson had been learned, at least in Indonesia. The silent people could become the driving force for change.

In time, as the political paradigm was challenged by the course of events, scholars found themselves in a dilemma. How could they oppose the increasingly dominant and reactionary regime if it also offered them economic opportunities? Yet how could they tolerate or even support it if, at the same time, they also saw the state had abandoned the once shared idealism? The situation became more pressing since the state also emerged as the holder of the hegemony of meaning. The concepts “Asian value” (Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir) and “identity of the nation” (Soeharto), which supported the state-sponsored new type of radical nationalism, seemed also to have diminished the right of scholars and intellectuals to offer new ways at looking at realities and to formulate new visions of the future. These scholars might still continue to offer their services in the hope that somebody somewhere up there would look at their proposals and give these some thought. If the expectation proved to be unfounded, the scholars could simply console themselves with the idea that they tried their best. The biggest personal tragedy, however, really took place when their ignored warning about the danger ahead became reality. The tragedy became greater when the course of events turned out far more devastating than they had ever dared imagine.

The situation of the fin de siècle of Southeast Asia has not been very encouraging. This is sad because some of the events that have been occurring might have been avoided had the people in power taken heed of the warning given by their own scholars. Malaysia, the Philippines and particularly, of course, Indonesia have practically lost something of importance, their leaders having undergone the crisis of mutual trust. Several types of disintegrative forces have been threatening national communities. Some scholars may now feel they have been cheated several times and they have perhaps also lost their confidence in the so-called “political elite”. But then a question remains. Should they just stay away and put themselves above all this sub-standard political behavior or should they still try their best to do whatever is possible to serve their country?

C. Geertz once said that an anthropologist studies the village, but he or she does not live in the village. To this I add that a historian studies the past but she or he does not live in the past. Southeast Asian scholars, however, study Southeast Asian countries and societies and also live there. They are part of the societies they study. Their societies’ glories are theirs to share; their tragedies are also theirs to bear. They do not have the luxury of treating the region as something “out there” and the society as “the other”.

The Philippine Center for Policy Studies organized a workshop on *Studies in Transparent and Accountable Governance* at the University of the Philippines on 31 January 2001, about two weeks after President Estrada was ousted from office owing to charges of corruption. Below are abstracts of the papers.

**Corruption in the Philippines: A Framework and Context**

Emmanuel de Dios and Ricardo Ferrer  
UP School of Economics

The paper proceeds from more recent literature on corruption as a principal-agent problem whose significance for development depends on its dimensions relating to the nature of the corrupt transaction itself, such as distinctions based on the agents involved, the scale, type of deal, predictability, industrial organization, etc. All these affect for better or worse the nature of the relationship between principal (as represented by public interest) and agent (politicisans and bureaucrats). From this viewpoint, corruption may be regarded as an incentive-design problem.

The paper argues, however, that there is a larger dimension to corruption that is determined by the historical and social context. Here the ultimate factors are those affecting social cohesion (e.g., income and wealth, education, ethnic and other differences), the economic strategies pursued by government (e.g., minimalist versus interventionist), the political system (autonomy of the bureaucracy, degree of centralization), the extent of market transactions (local, global), and the rate and sources of economic growth. These factors determine the credibility of formal institutional constraints (however designed) on the behavior of public officials and private agents alike.

The principal-agent framework is used to examine how and why the dominant types of corruption in the Philippines have evolved, from nepotism to smuggling; to public works contracts, to debt-financed schemes and asset-privatization programs, until the descent into underworld-related activities. The unprecedented breakdown of governance under the Estrada administration is then explained as the result of a confluence of a growing sense of public interest (the result of education, urbanization, political experience, and expanding market transactions) on the one hand, and the drying up of innovative sources of rents that continued growth would have provided.

**The Industrial Anatomy of Corruption: Government Procurement, Bidding and Award of Contracts**

Amado M. Mendoza Jr.  
UP Department of Political Science

The paper investigates corruption in the area of government procurement, bidding and award of contracts funded both by government and by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and ODA (official development assistance). By industrial anatomy, the paper refers to the technologies used in the corrupt practice, the politico-economic players involved in whatever capacity, the enabling/disabling policy and socio-political environment, and the like.

Three major developments have offered new opportunities for corruption and rent-seeking and have therefore led to the rise of new corruption technologies and the entry of new players into the fray. These developments are globalization and economic liberalization, democratization, and decentralization and devolution.

While globalization and economic liberalization theoretically lessen the opportunities for corruption and
rent-seeking in a heretofore protected economy, the transition period affords entrepreneurs of all types new opportunities to capture rents through corruption. While it may be argued that the rents created during the transition may be an acceptable one-time cost that must be borne by the economy, there is reason to believe that the transition to liberalization will be a long drawn-out process in the Philippines. In a protracted process, more episodes of rent-capture by entrepreneurs through corrupt deals can be expected.

Democratization after the 1986 EDSA Revolution, ironically, also brought about new opportunities for corruption. Whereas the dictator centralized rent opportunities and tried to dispense the same to favored interests in exchange for loyalty to the regime and other considerations, the demise of the Marcos dictatorship also "democratized" corruption and corruption opportunities. The post-1986 situation seems to suggest that a looser industrial structure of corruption replaced the more systematic and controlled one established by the dictatorship. Democratization coupled with economic liberalization can in fact create new opportunities for corruption.

Prior to the enactment and implementation of the Local Government Code of 1991, corruption in government procurement and contracts was largely centered at national government/agency levels. However, the code, with its grant of new powers and responsibilities to local chief executives, brought these new players into the corruption game, this time no longer having to take the lead from national officials.

Policies Not Based on Transparent and Accountable Processes
Joseph Lim and Clarence G. Pascual
UP School of Economics

Older economic literature on corruption concentrated on rent-seeking and the burdensome "tax" this might entail on the economy. More recent literature [Campos 2001] has started to focus on the lost investments and output resulting from corrupt practices. The paper follows more of the second approach as it explores how policies that emanate from processes that are not transparent and accountable bring about negative impact on the economy. Rather than examine corruption from the perspective of ill-gotten wealth, or illegitimate and under-handed procurements and granting of contracts, or rent-seeking and its negative effects on the economy, the paper approaches the problem from the prescription of wrong policies to the advantage of narrow vested interests.

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Post-Crisis Economic Impasse and Political Recovery

Kasian Tejapira, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University

Three years and a half after the financial crisis erupted in July 1997, the Thai economy hasn't recovered yet although Thai politics has to a certain extent. Among the questions worth asking are why? Is the economic non-recovery linked to the political recovery in any way and if so how? What are the causes, the particular shape and development of the current resurgence of economic nationalism in Thai electoral and people's politics? What are the latent conflicts and dangers lurking in this resurgence?

The fundamental problem with the Thai economy is that the dominant Thai capitalist class went bankrupt in 1997 and has since become a capitalist class with no liquid capital. Still they stubbornly cling to their solid assets and company equity. However, in the final analysis, based on straightforward accounting of capitalist business enterprises, the bottom line of their balance sheets has turned minus. This is because they borrowed too much foreign currency and asset price inflation was huge. The bubble then burst upon the devaluation of the baht.

That mother of all Thai bubbles thus turned overnight into NPLs (non-performing loans). At half the size of the annual GDP, the NPLs became a monstrous shadow or ghost of the burst bubble whose afterlife was predicated upon and guaranteed by a transparent accounting system and the efficient and incorruptible rule of law.

Thus the foreign creditors, their governments and global financial institutions have made use of the burst bubble-turned-NPLs to overcome the resistance of big Thai capitalists and exact the highest price for their foreign-denominated credit. Under the name of “Transparency & Good Governance International”, the trick is to reify and reinforce the ghostly NPLs through financial and legal reform until they become double pliers that squeeze dry the Thai financial and corporate sectors alike. Thus, by strengthening the loan requirements and banking regulations according to the highest global standards, the IMF and Thai government have created NPLs out of a lot of previously performing loans, forcing the banks to recapitalize, and the bankers to go after their newly delinquent debtors. By a package of 11 financial and bankruptcy bills to reform the credit system, they have shifted the creditor-debtor power relationship in favor of the creditors.

In a nutshell, what the IMF and Thai government did to the Thai economy was to forcefully globalize/neoliberalize the dominant financial sector first. Then they let the incompatibility and contradiction between the now globalized financial sector and the still Thai or non-globalized/not yet liberalized corporate sector exhaust the capital base and will to survive of both the Thai bankers and corporate entrepreneurs. This way the non-globalized sector would die a slow, natural but politically bearable death.

Consequently, thousands of companies folded. Two-thirds of the pre-crisis private commercial banks went under and changed hands. One million workers lost their jobs. Three million more Thais fell below the poverty line while the economy severely contracted and has yet to recover.

So, the debtors strike back politically.

On the one hand, they have deliberately stalled the debt restructuring process in their companies, stopped the sale of their so-called non-core assets and slowed down the reduction of their outstanding debts. On the other hand, they have raised the nationalist banner, mobilized their allies and employees, and joined the opposition or non-core coalition parties. Not content, they entered electoral politics by running in this year's general elections with a declared aim to reverse the legal and financial reform measures instituted by the IMF and the current government. Theirs, essentially, is a crony-capitalist agenda.

However, under the same nationalist banner, another different agenda that belongs to a separate political force is at work, i.e., the non-government (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs). Through people's politics and direct participatory democracy, these groups are pushing for a radical populist reform agenda consisting of three major components.
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- Economic sovereignty component

The NGOs and POs want to restore the partially (and increasingly) lost sovereignty over financial and fiscal macro-economic policies so that they can re-deploy them as an indispensable instrument for several purposes. These are to manage economic openness, mediate the risks and opportunities associated with economic globalization, and mitigate the negative effects of economic liberalization on the people at large. More concretely, they want to push back trade and services liberalization to the pre-crisis level (as of July 2, 1997) and keep it there in standstill condition. They also want to revert from financial liberalization and reinstate control of the capital account. In short, in so far as economic liberalization is concerned, they want to turn the clock back to July 2, 1997 and stay there so as to restore, reform and strengthen the domestic economy before opening it up again.

- Resource management component

They want to decentralize power over natural resource management from the state to local communities to stop any further commodification of naturally-endowed productive resources (water, land and forests) as called for by some international and regional financial institutions—cum-creditors such as the ADB. They also aim to radically redistribute these productive resources from the speculative capitalist class to the potentially productive, resourceless producers.

- State reform component

To achieve the foregoing objectives, it is essential that the Thai state be reformed from a centralized, bureaucratic, authoritarian, corrupt-to-the-core, and actually auto-colonial structure into a popularly controlled, socially responsive and responsible partner of civil society. Otherwise, the Thai state as it is (and has been) cannot possibly serve as an instrument of the people’s agenda. For this reason, they insist that a nation-serving and protecting state need not, may, must not be a dictatorship.

As we can see, even though there are certain overlaps and similarities between the crony-capitalist agenda seeking the reversal of globalist/neo-liberal reform and the radical populist reform calling for the restoration of economic sovereignty, the two agendas are basically different. They imagine two different Thai nations with two disparate destinies.

The crony capitalists call for a return to the good, old days before the crisis. The populist reformers, on the other hand, emphatically state they “by no means (wish) to pull up by a pulley the fallen heaven of the minority from the bottom of the ocean and leave the majority of people to go on languishing in poverty” [Dr. Seksan Prasertkul of the Democracy for the People Group]. A self-proclaimed neo-nationalist political economist insists that Thai monopolistic or oligopolistic capitalists are indeed better than their Western counterparts [Dr. Narong Petprapart of Chulalongkorn University]. In contrast, another leading populist reformist intellectual, Professor Nidhip Aesrivongse, redefines the Thai nation as comprising “the people, freedom and justice” and concludes that:

The rejection of globalized capital doesn’t mean the acceptance of crony capital. Be it which one of the two, both oppress and exploit the majority of people, deprive them of their freedom, and buy up justice for themselves alone alike. The difference between domestic capitalists and foreign ones regarding the people’s welfare, freedom and justice amounts to naught, i.e. there is no difference....

If we do not give meaning to these 3 factors (i.e., the people, freedom and justice), the nation is not worth preserving. □
From the Real Past to Myth: Some Issues in Writing Contemporary Indonesian History

Bambang Purwanto, Department of History, University of Gadjah Mada

Dr. Bambang Purwanto, Gadjah Mada University, was a SEASREP visiting professor at the Department of History, Thammasat University.

Below is an excerpt from his final lecture.

After several decades of neglect, history has emerged as an increasingly prominent field of study in Indonesia at least since the 1980s. New theoretical, philosophical and empirical analyses of Indonesian history are being taught at university and appear in professional journals and books. At the same time, a new generation of students and young scholars in varied disciplines are becoming aware of the inter-relationship between their respective fields and history. Above all, there are growing doubts among different levels of society about the truth of Indonesian history following the political changes after the resignation of Soeharto in 1998. Long considered a product of social and political engineering of the New Order rather than a form of scholarship, Indonesian historiography is now gaining appreciation as people ask for a new, deconstructed history. Interestingly, the most vocal and trenchant criticisms of existing historiography have come from outside the community of historians.

It is ironic that the need to deconstruct contemporary Indonesian history is not an important issue in the academic community or among professional historians. The polemic has taken place mostly in daily newspapers, popular weekly magazines or tabloids rather than in the highly regarded historians' forum. Known historians at university have evidently chosen a different path while politicians, journalists and scholars in the humanities take over the place of historians in discussing the truth of the past.

Postwar Historiography

There is no disguising the fact that much effort has been made to reconstruct Indonesian history since the first national history conference in 1957. However, much of what has been presented as historical reconstruction by Indonesian historians is highly criticized at present, particularly for the period from 1945. People tend to argue that Indonesian history has been divorced or isolated, either in its analysis or methodology, from the real past. Such separation has led to and has also been reinforced by irresponsible scholars, bureaucrats and political elites.

Academically, one reason for this divorce is to be found in the philosophical heritage of modern Indonesian historiography, namely, nationalistic ideology. This ideology rejected the concept of universal objectivity of a reconstructive past. Moreover, a great deal of recent work on contemporary Indonesian history concerns political history. Except for a few studies, it is fair to say that much of the attention to contemporary Indonesian political history has been devoted to past events surrounding patriotism, Soekarno, Soeharto, the Communist Party, Islam, and the Indonesian military, all in accordance with identifiable political interests. From reading these works, one gathers that history is simply the ideology of incoherence and the raw material for legitimacy. It is therefore difficult to deny that certain current practices of Indonesian historiography do make an easy target for advocates of novel viewpoints and different approaches.

There are, in fact, many controversies today about Indonesian events in the last 50 years. Most notable are the Serangan Umum Satu Maret (1 March Attack) of 1949, Gerebek 30 September (30 September Movement) of 1965, Surat Perintah 11 Maret (11 March Instruction) of 1966, and the socio-political role of the Indonesian armed forces. All these had a close link to Soeharto either as an individual or to his regime. In large part the end of the Soeharto era and the still dominant role of the military in Indonesian politics since Soeharto's fall from power explain the rise of these controversies. Every section of society now seems to have come up with various pieces of historical evidence that are considered reliable in deconstructing the history of these four events. More critical is the question of what might be called "political legitimacy"—the extension of the central role of Soeharto in history for obvious political purposes. History was created and used to
strengthen Soeharto's political power. History became the main vehicle to justify all actions in the name of government or state. History, too, was a source of intense personal pride for Soeharto.

From History to Myth

Indonesian historiography thus finds itself between political actors and subjective historical reconstruction, all claiming to stand on solid objective facts. This dilemma is, in a way, not new. Over time Indonesian historiography moved from colonial and eurocentric historiography to the ideological historiography of decolonization. The latter orientation became the basis of the national or Indonesian-centric historiography which as it developed, applied social science approaches. The political color of Indonesian historiography remained, however, albeit differently from the colonial orientation, despite the application of social science methods.

Present debates over Soeharto-related events suggest that Indonesian historiography has changed little since 1957. This is because ongoing reconstructions of the past still apply history as a symbol of national strength rather than a way to understand society. History for this purpose then becomes ideology in which empirical facts are transformed into myths. Indonesian-centric historiography, which replaced colonial-oriented history, created even more problems concerning the truth of history (or the past). Despite its social science approach, which aims to reconstruct the past as accurately as historic rigor allows, Kuntowijoyo argues that history “contributed nothing and contradicted nobody.” He adds that history is “like those living in an ivory tower... alienated from society” [Humaniora, 2000] because it lacks social, critical function.

It is true that both existing historiography and its critics agree on the need for a less subjective (less politically tainted) reconstruction of the past. But when it comes to the reconstruction process itself, both are trapped in historical anachronism owing to political preferences or ideologies. Hence history is no longer regarded as a structure of explanation but a system of legitimacy. Consequently, redefining the role of the individual or group in history is one of the most complex challenges facing Indonesian historiography today. Although more attention has been paid in the last few decades to this particular problem, Indonesian historiography is still not able to exemplify the proper understanding of the role of historic actors. Despite Kuntowijoyo’s argument that the social science approach to history is able to answer the question of actors in non-ideological terms at the academic level, in fact the general picture of historical writing in Indonesia is still marked by an ideological approach.

This approach has colored the process of historical reconstruction and altered the past into myth rather than history. By simplifying the past, historical processes are given less attention than historical products. Because of its anachronistic tendency, there is also no clear distinction between fact and fiction in most Indonesian historical writing. Deliberate deception or manipulation of history need not even have caused

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On 26-27 February 2001, the University of the Philippines College of Fine Arts, in cooperation with the university’s Office of Initiatives for Culture and the Arts, held the 3rd Annual Asian Arts Festival.

On a bright Monday morning, the rhythmic melody of hammers striking the saron and the gender broke the usual silence around the inner garden of the College of Fine Arts. Under the skilled direction of Balinese musician Wayan Sudiartha, the ASIAN INSTITUTE FOR LITURGY AND MUSIC GAMELAN ENSEMBLE enchanted the gathering of faculty, students and staff with the graceful sounds of Balinese music, welcoming one and all to the 3rd Annual Asian Arts Festival.

The Festival is a project of the Department of Theory of the College of Fine Arts. A yearly activity of the department’s Art History II classes in Asian Art, the Festival is meant to integrate theoretical classroom knowledge with the actual practice of different Asian art forms. Since the idea is to generate interest in and promote awareness of the arts and culture of the different countries comprising the region, the event is open to the public and the entire UP Diliman community. This year’s celebration entitled “Glances at Southeast Asia”, was dedicated to showing the richness of Southeast Asian culture.

At about 11 o’clock, the festival fell into full swing with a spirited performance from the Makiling Ensemble. This extraordinarily talented group of students from the UP College of Fine Arts and the UP College of Music first met and made music while studying at the Philippine High School for the Arts in Makiling, Laguna. Playing a curious mix of instruments like the Tboli hegelung, a sound box, bongos and a violin, they weave an eclectic blend of original ethno-contemporary numbers and classic favorites, including songs by Bob Marley and Joey Ayala. Each piece was greeted by thunderous applause. Even passers-by stopped to watch the inspiringly energetic show, soon filling the small auditorium to a standing-room-only capacity.

A series of talks took place in the afternoon. Entitled “A Forum on Southeast Asian Art and Culture,” the lectures revolved around the cultural endeavors and problems of Southeast Asian artists who are constantly left in the cold, denied global attention and recognition. The first lecture was by Mitzi Aguilar Reyes (Visual Communications Department) on “The Patadyong of Mingao, Iloilo”. The product of more than two years of research on the hand-woven textile unique to Iloilo used for the traditional wrap-around women’s skirt called patadyong. Reyes displayed her collection of patadyong textiles, explaining the meaning behind each of the patterns. Unfortunately, as she pointed out, despite its rich history, the patadyong has fallen out of use especially among young women. Worse, the industry has become so commercialized that the ilonggos have practically been forced out of the textile’s mass production, compelling them to shift to sugarcane production as their main source of income. Reyes’ lecture proved how a rich heritage dies when succeeding generations lose traditional sentiments and values.

The second lecture, “Building a Southeast Asian Art Community Online”, was by Florentina Colayco of the Department of Theory. According to Colayco, because of the region’s geography (island chains and peninsulas), Southeast Asian peoples could be as isolated from each other as the islands themselves. The Web provides the possibility of bringing together the peoples of different cultural areas. Colayco presented ArtPostAsia.com, a website dedicated to building a collaborative and interactive art community among the different Southeast Asian countries. The site seeks to address the shared interest of its audience by providing news and information on researches on the region, and by collaborating with major art institutions to bring Southeast Asian exhibits online. The website also aims to encourage the participation of artists, art professionals, art educators, curators and museum administrators, collectors, art-conscious corporate citizens and foundations, educational institutions, and art enthusiasts to share resources across borders. ArtPostAsia, said Colayco, will provide that much needed platform for promoting art works and art development programs in the region. The site will be launched in May 2001.
The series ended with a lecture by Fatima Lasay (Department of Visual Communication) on “Digital Imaging as a Documentation Tool for Art Research”. Lasay focused on the use of digital imagery for the purpose of art restoration and documentation. Digital imagery can be used to great effect to predict the outcome of any particular method of restoration. A small portion of the painting or mural is cleaned and “before” and “after” pictures are taken. The colors of the two pictures are then compared and a picture of what the painting would look like if cleaned in its entirety is then extrapolated. Lasay also cited many art documentation projects around the world, such as Project Anthivalon, an application of digital image processing and analysis methods dedicated to preserving ancient art (of the Byzantine era) by digitizing their images and archiving them in databases. Art pieces found in the Immaculate Conception Parish Museum in Baclayon, Bohol (the Philippines) and digitized for archive purposes were also presented. According to Lasay, the biggest problem in building a complete archive of great art is the compatibility of the technology of current and future international systems. As a finale to the afternoon’s forum, Lasay featured a project undertaken by digital media students of the college. Gimokud: The Melting Soul showcases artists from around the world and their works, juxtaposed through the use of digital imagery in a visual feast based on a Bagobo myth of the same name. The show is now accessible on the net via www.buoydigital.org@gimokud.html.

The first day of revelry culminated in the screening of “Scent of Green Papaya”, a Vietnamese film that won the coveted Camera d’Or at the 1993 Cannes Film Festival. The beautifully shot film directed by Tran Anh Hung relates the growing pains and coming of age of a young girl named Mui who goes to Saigon in the 1950s to work as a maid. In time she falls in love with her employer, a man of the upper class. He eventually realizes his love for her and defies tradition to be with her. The film was well received by the students as the story echoed Filipino sentiments on romance and class differences.

Demonstrations and workshops on the various processes used in making local handicrafts were held on the second day of the festival. Among the crafts were woodcarving and Pahiyas-tambag from Pakil, Laguna; pastillas wrappers from San Miguel, Bulacan; bone-inlaid furniture from Baliuag, Bulacan; and backstrap weaving of the Ifugao from Cordillera.

One of the more interesting handicrafts was that of Mang Darío of Pakil, Laguna, a master woodshaver originally from Bicol. He indulged curious onlookers by expounding on his art of creating intricate, delicate designs in the shape of flowers or butterflies from a single piece of wood in just minutes. He prefers the soft, straight grain of kayamanda for use in his masterpieces as it is widely available in his home and splits nicely. He uses simple hand-made blade tools, braced against his knee, to shave off little tendrils of wood that later become the feathers of a bird or the leaves of a tree. Mang Darío spoke of his humble beginnings, learning the craft at age 22 in just a week and impressing the manufacturer so much that they made him a master-carver. Now, together with his wife and their children, Mang Darío looks forward to more years of preserving and passing on an art form that is still not appreciated enough today.

Ifugao backstrap weaving was the focus of another demonstration. Aside from requiring fortitude and patience, this traditional weaving method demands precision.

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Towards Understanding Peoples of the Cordillera: A Review of Research on History, Governance, Resources, Institutions and Living Traditions

The Cordillera Research Center at the University of the Philippines College Baguio, with support from the University Center for Integrative and Development Studies and the Asia-Pacific Mountain Network, held its 1st National Conference on Cordillera Research on 9-11 November 2000. The theme was “Towards Understanding Peoples of the Cordillera: A Review of Research on History, Governance, Resources, Institutions and Living Traditions.” A total of 50 papers were presented in the Conference. Below are abstracts of selected papers, all of them by faculty members of UP College Baguio.

The Failure of Autonomy in the Cordillera, Northern Luzon, Philippines
Athena Lydia Casambre

The repeated rejection by plebiscite of proposed legislation for the establishment of an autonomous region in the Cordillera, first in 1990 and again in 1998, as well as the uncereominal termination of the Cordillera Administrative Region established in October 2000, are indications of the failure to establish Cordillera regional autonomy. Ten years ago, it was observed that the debate among active protagonists was characterized by disjunction. Introducing the novel concept of Kaigorasan, the Cordillera Peoples’ Alliance conceived of regional autonomy within national democratic politics. Meanwhile, extending the meaning of bodorg (peace pact among tribes), the Cordillera Peoples’ Liberation Army proposed a “socialist state” for a “Cordillera Nation.” Non-ideologue bureaucrats and cautious middle sector professionals banded around the proposal of regionalization in lieu of regional autonomy.

Ten years later, Cordillera politicians attempted to resurrect discourse on regional autonomy as the Cordillera Administrative Region which had been established near the end of its term. However, a format steeped in formal procedures had the opposite effect, frustrating the discourse. Substance, rather than structure, was what discourse required. The substance of “common and distinctive heritage” as the premise for the constitutional mandate for regional autonomy has to be properly understood to refer to the fact of indigenous customary practices, not to the myth of a pan-Cordillera culture. The aspects of Cordillera indigenous culture pertain principally to land ownership, resource management, and conflict resolution, and it is these, rather than the structure of regional government, which form the content of a fruitful discourse.

A perusal of the proposed Organic Act provides illustrations of the ill-focused articulations of an autonomous Cordillera region. Until the texts defining Cordillera autonomy are revised, until an authentic discourse is pursued — one that is “anthropologically” rather than ideologically or bureaucratically determined or politically driven, the project of Cordillera autonomy will remain frustrated.

Ethnicity, Identity and Internal Migration:
The View from Environmental and Demographic History
Rowena Reyes-Boquiron

Ethnicity according to Rajni Kohli [1989] is a new “spectre” haunting the power elite of our time. As an assertion of cultures, a revivalism of movements of marginalized peoples, and a rallying point of indigenous peoples disadvantaged in their new-found relations with the modern day state, ethnicity binds as well as divides people.
A survey of post-orientalist historical writings on the Cordillera shows that the focus has been on resistance and culture. Who has done the problematizing of Cordillera history? Since representation of the past is a source of power, has the body of historical scholarship on the Cordillera achieved empowerment through praxis (historical writing)? In contesting colonial historiography, have the alternative versions of Cordillera history reflected the people's/peoples' control of the past?

The paper explores the historical bases of ethnicity and identity issues in the Cordillera region by tracing internal migration diachronically from archival sources and interview data from field researchers. The initial study focuses on one of the less-studied sections of the region, viz., the western flanks of the Central Cordillera's southern communities, which cover the Kankanay, Apayao, Bago, Ifugao, and, to some extent, the Maeng and Lubo. Disparate and disjointed local history accounts from these areas are consolidated and analyzed to suggest a framework for reconstructing ethnic relations through the techniques of environmental and demographic history.

Chinese Studies in the Cordillera: Problems and Prospects
Anawin Bagamaspad

The first part of the paper presents a historical account of the integration of the Baguio Chinese and the methodological considerations of the study. From this initial study on the Chinese in Baguio, areas of possible research in the Cordillera are derived. The second part of the paper discusses the prospects, perspectives, and problems of Chinese studies in the Cordillera.

The historical integration process of the Chinese in Baguio took place at three levels. The first generation Chinese (those born between 1880-1919), who were the first to arrive in Baguio from China during the early American period, regarded China as their point of reference, their cultural source and the home to which they would return in old age. The second generation Chinese (those born between 1920-1949), who arrived in Baguio from China and other parts of the Philippines or who were born in Baguio, possess a Philippine Chinese orientation characterized by a regard of the Philippines as an adopted country and a deep sense of loyalty to China consolidated during the years of conflict between China and Japan. The third generation Chinese (those born between 1950-1979), who are mostly Baguio born, possess a Filipino orientation characterized by a regard for the Philippines as their homeland.

The framework used in the study is integration. The history of the Baguio Chinese shows that when a minority group exists within the context of a larger society, the members of the minority group work to achieve a status that would afford them the same opportunities and privileges enjoyed by other members of that society. The Baguio Chinese achieved a considerable degree of integration into the greater Baguio-Benguet community in particular and the Philippine nation in general.

To come up with the history of the integration of the Baguio Chinese, two methods of securing data were employed: interview and gathering of primary data from written sources. Heretofore there was no written history of the Baguio Chinese.

Beyond Orientalism: Alternative Writings on Cordillera History
Ma. Nela B. Florando

Edward Said's Orientalism [1978] has had tremendous influence on the analysis and re-reading of colonial discourse. Though colonial historiographies have been the dominant histories, these representations by the west of their subject populations have not resulted in despondence. Third world peoples have challenged these externally generated histories with re-presentations and postcolonial discourse has become the arena for the alternative inquiry.

There are issues though that have been posed regarding the process of reconstructing the histories of subject populations. As postcolonial intellectual Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak asked: "Can the subaltern speak?" Can the subject population reclaim its place in history?

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A survey of post-orientalist historical writings on the Cordillera shows that the focus has been on resistance and culture. Who has done the problematizing of Cordillera history? Since representation of the past is a source of power, has the body of historical scholarship on the Cordillera achieved empowerment through praxis (historical writing)? In contesting colonial historiography, have the alternative versions of Cordillera history reflected the peoples’ control of the past? The paper attempts to answer some of these questions.

Notions of Justice in the Cordillera
Alejandro N. Ciencia

The study seeks to answer the general question: What do groups in the Cordillera comprehend as “just”? To answer this, the following questions were first addressed: (1) What constitutes an offense or an unjust circumstance? (2) What is their notion of a “just” remedy? (3) What procedures for the processing of disputes are accepted as “just”? (4) Who are regarded as the legitimate executor of justice? The answers were derived from content analysis of earlier and more exhaustive ethnographic studies of Cordilleran groups. Also consulted were more contemporary survey results and findings of key-informant interviews obtained from the Cordillera Studies Center-Social Weather Stations (CSC-SWS) Project entitled “Ethnic Variations in Citizen Attitudes to Government and Dispute-Settlement.”

The study shows that offenses in the Cordillera are almost always viewed as injuries against a collectivity, not an individual. While the village is perceived as the offended party in Bontoc, in the whole Cordillera it is ultimately the kinship group which is recognized as the aggrieved. Remedies, meanwhile, must heal the injuries suffered by the kinship group. The payment of fines has replaced vengeance as the remedy for most offenses. Nonetheless, for a resolution to be “just,” it must bring about the reconciliation of the disputants either through face-to-face hearings or mediated private negotiations. The resulting decision must be acceptable to the disputing parties and case-handlers.

Unlike modern and “western-style” legal procedures which are essentially conflictual, traditional settlement dispute practices are more conciliatory and consensual. Moreover, in traditional Cordillera communities, authority resides in elders who are regarded in the same manner that a father is regarded in the family. The community then is an extension of the kinship group and its leader, a magnification of the family head. It is the assumption of the study that the traditional Cordillera communities are representative of the culture that prevailed in the Philippines and perhaps in most of the Southeast Asian region prior to the coming of western colonizers.

Apfu-ab-chi Chokoh: Mayoyao’s Ethnomedicine in Changing Cultural Context
Leah Enkiwe-Abayao

Building up from the earlier works of Fr. Francis Lambrecht (1933–1955) and H.E. Loofs (1979), this paper aims to present transitions in both ethnographic data and paradigms on traditional health concepts. While the documentation of healing rituals abounds from previous researches, the explanation of the traditional healing system is sketchy. Essential to the understanding of Mayoyao ethnomedicine is an understanding of the traditional religious system. Healing rites and rituals are grounded on the indigenous religion which invoke ancestral spirits, deities and gods during recitations of ritual myths. The paper presents how indigenous pantheons have bearing on the health care practices and healing approaches of the people. It also illustrates how local people perceive the relationship between the natural and the supernatural realms. Based on ethnographic research conducted from 1997–1998, the paper presents the components of Mayoyao ethnomedicine and analyzes the healing techniques and health perspectives of traditional health specialists in Mayoyao. From there, the paper explores this living tradition as it survives in a changing cultural context.

From Artifact to Art: Configuring the Material Culture of the Cordillera
Delfin L. Tolentino, Jr.

Although not as extensive as the scholarship on social, political and historical aspects of Cordillera society, the literature on Cordillera material culture indicates substantial and sustained interest in the objects or artifacts that serve as cultural markers of the various ethnic groups in the mountain region. From colonial ethnographies produced during the early part of the American period to contemporary accounts, there have been significant attempts not only to document but also to interpret this material culture from the vantage point of an external dominant culture. These documents, both scholarly and popular, may thus be read as representations of societies that have been “othered” in the course of their textualization.
Unlike modern and “western-style” legal procedures which are essentially conflictual, traditional settlement dispute practices are more conciliatory and consensual. Moreover, in traditional Cordillera communities, authority resides in elders who are regarded in the same manner that a father is regarded in the family. The community then is an extension of the kinship group and its leader, a magnification of the family head.

The paper seeks to determine the meaningful shifts in the representations of secular and ritualistic artifacts of the Cordillera peoples as described and defined in major or representative texts. A chronological survey of the literature indicates a perceptible change in the reading of these objects (baskets, agricultural implements, ritual devices) from artifacts of a purely utilitarian value, sometimes with token references to the craftsmanship involved in their construction, to works of art (postwar accounts like Baradas, Maramba). Drawing from postmodern theory and scholarship (Price, Torgovnick, Errington), the paper attempts to explain these developments as well as the problems involved in configuring the material culture of the Cordillera either as primitive art or exotic artifact.

Change and Identity in Ibaloi Pop Songs
Prof. Jimmy B. Fong

The study of Ibaloi pop songs reveals how the Ibaloi make sense of past and current historical events. From listening to “voices from below,” what knowledge has been and is being produced by the Ibaloi to understand and explain experiences under new forms of power?

The first two songs composed right after World War II speak about the natives’ gratitude to Kabunian and to America for helping them survive the war which inflicted pain on both rich and poor. The songs specifically celebrate the people’s survival as a group of Igorot. Because of this, the songs speak of how the people can go on with their lives and do as they were wont to, taking turns in holding feasts, playing songs and drums, and butchering animals.

Capitalist economy, however, soon began to take its toll on the Ibaloi. The younger generations are now caught in a dilemma between the customs of their elders and the new secular order.

Ibaloi pop songs of today reflect this dilemma. The study focuses on these songs, which show the present generation’s ambivalent feeling about the demands of both life modes.

Released as one side of a 45 rpm record in the 1970s, one song is an introspective piece occasioned by a physical infirmity. The persona asks whether his sickness, which the doctors failed to cure, is caused by his failure to observe the community’s custom or by unrequited love. The observances of the elders summarized in the expression, shilos kaapuan, are felt to be economically burdensome. Another song, part of a 1998 album, proposes the observance of the practices of one’s elders not only to avoid physical emaciation but more importantly to embrace and uphold one’s identity as an Igorot.

Corruption Analyzed (continued from page 9)

The objective of the study is to find out how such policies impact negatively on the economy. The hypothesis is that such policies are more damaging: 1) the more they are inconsistent with the main economic program of the government; 2) the more they impair the capacity and credibility of important regulatory bodies which enforce property rights, ensure fair competition and/or address “market failures” in the economy; 3) the stronger the adverse feelings of the public with respect to the unfairness of the policy; and 4) the more social cohesion is broken and the more key economic players withdraw their cooperation due to the adoption or disclosure of such policies.

The first part of the paper discusses how institutions and governance structures are vital to the economic development of the country. The second part shows how state transitions in the Philippines, as they historically unfolded, did not sufficiently strengthen these institutions and governance structures. Neither did they displace the dominant clientelist type of relationship in the state bureaucracy and institutions. The last section analyzes within the foregoing context a number of “hot” issues involving the Estrada administration, such as the insider trading of the BestWorld Resources stocks, the reversal of the open sky policy to allegedly lift Philippine Air Lines from its financial woes, and the jueteng scandal that resulted in the impeachment of the President.
Imagining the Past, Remembering the Future: War, Violence and Memory in Asia

Xin Liu, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley

The workshop with the title above took place on 8-10 March 2001 and was sponsored by the Japan Foundation Asia Center and the University of the Philippines.

As a continuation of the Singapore conference last year and an earlier meeting in Tokyo, a group of scholars from (primarily East and Southeast) Asia gathered in Mactan Island, Cebu (Philippines) on a beautiful beach to discuss how our “memories” of the future are always implicated in the way we “imagine” the past. (Thanks to Professor Kiichi Fujiwara for suggesting this phrase as the title of the workshop.)

To say the past is imagined means to emphasize that access to the past, that is, to the happenings of various kinds usually put in the past tense, is not like an archaeologist looking for, say, a Neolithic piece of evidence to prove something true or false. Instead, traveling in the past yes, perhaps like traveling in a foreign country, requires the vehicle of imagination, which is often oriented towards what is to happen rather than what has happened. “Remembering the future,” therefore, means that what lies ahead of us is already embedded in this orientation towards what is to happen.

This group of scholars are not only aware of the global condition of local life in the contemporary world, they are also aware of the fact that due to different trajectories of the modernizing process in the Asia-Pacific region after the Second World War — semi-colonial or postcolonial, socialist or capitalist, democratic or totalitarian — a number of new structures of sentiments or emotions emerged with the rise of several modes of memory as different ways of being in history. For example, three different shapes of memory that emerged in China, Japan and the Philippines after the Second World War, respectively discussed by Xin Liu, Kiichi Fujiwara and Ricardo T. Jose, provided an excellent example of how what Pierre Nora would have called “realms of memory” were controlled by the State for its own interest and purpose [P. Nora (ed.), Les lieux de mémoire, 7 vois. Paris 1984-92]. If such is the case, the question of a marginalized group in a politicized “realm of memory” has to be raised. (See, for example, Naoki Sakai’s discussion of the notion of minority, which was put in an elegant title: “Fears that Classify”.)

This question of how also points to the means by which memory itself is able to be preserved, for example, through (photographic or other) images or literature. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Daqing Yang and Pheng Cheah — among others — brought into the discussion specifically the issue of the means by which society remembers [cf. Paul Connerton’s How Societies Remember, Cambridge 1989]. “How societies remember” is also a question about the power of memory in making sense for a particular group of people in a given political situation; and the power of memory was discussed more specifically by Hedy Shri Ahimsa Putra and Maria
Serena I. Diokno. The discussion of the traumatic experience and its relationship to memory was another perspective cast on the question of how Urvashi Butalia, Chiharu Takenaka, and Thongchai Winichakul discussed the moral dimension of "imagining the past" as a way of being in the present, which invoked an interesting domain of discussion in the literature on trauma and memory today. [See, e.g., Paul Antze & Michael Lambek (ed.), Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory, Routledge 1996].

Given all these interesting discussions of and comments about how memory works, according to my own understanding of the significance of the Cebu meeting, there is an important question that remains open: What is memory? Or, when we use the term "memory," what do we exactly mean by it? Sometimes confusion arises precisely because people use different notions of memory in discussing what is remembered or what is forgotten. Some analytical distinctions regarding the problem of memory need to be made; and an important one, which I propose to draw, is between—borrowing a pair of terms from Husserl—recollected and retention.

What we discussed was not the process of bringing back to our awareness what happened in the past, that is, re-collecting. Rather, we were interested in how our sense of the present was formed within an immediate surrounding of a temporal environment from which the very here-now was created or made possible. In other words, we were not discussing whether or not Japanese troops invaded Asia during the Second World War. What we were interested in was how such a question was formed within a temporal frame of reference at the present moment in time. This is thus not simply about what happened in the past; it is about how "what happened in the past" has been worked into our temporal awareness of things often put in the past tense. Here I draw from David Carr's reading of Husserl [see his Time, Narrative and History, Indiana University Press, 1986] in order to provide a brief explanation of this distinction and its significance.

Husserl makes a crucial distinction between two forms of memory: retention and recollection. Recollection is the usual sense we use to describe what happened in the past, that which we can retrieve from the storage of our memory and bring it to the consciousness of the present. This is re-collection. Retention is not the kind of past that lies in the storage of our mind, however. Instead, if it were the past, it would be the just-past, that which serves as the very background for the present to be recognized as the present. That is, it is the past without which the present can be identified as the present.

For example, in the case of listening to a speech, each word uttered by the speaker must be able to be placed in a series of just-pastness. Otherwise, there would be no possibility for understanding any sentence delivered by the speaker. This sense of just-pastness is different from remembering what, for example, was said 50 years ago. The former is retention, whereas the latter is recollection. This just-pastness is singled out by Husserl to show the presence of the past in the present. It is essentially different from the normal sense of the past. Recollection differs from retention in that the latter is not the past of the past but the past of the present. As Carr explains:

The best way to understand retention is to turn, as Husserl does, to the comparison between the experience of space and the experience of time. Present and past function together in the perception of time somewhat as do foreground and background or focus and horizon in spatial perception. To see a thing is to see it against a spatial background which extends...
Thai Yet to ‘Love Their Neighbour’


The specter of Bang Rachan and a century of nation building still cast shadows over Thais' perception of Burma and the Burmese.

Watching the Thai film "Bang Rachan" is an uncomfortable experience for Burmese as the story portrays the sacrifice of brave Siamese villagers fighting to the death against superior Burmese invaders.

When the two forces engage each other, resulting in the death of the "evil" Burmese, the Thai audiences respond with enthusiastic hurraths and applause. And as the corpses of Siamese pile up and are set aflame, Thai girls start sobbing. "You can hardly feel any sense of humanity in the theatre, where instead all negative feelings are predominantly overwhelmed," says Ko Myo, a Burmese who has seen the movie.

Though there is little historic evidence to support the film's narrative, it succeeds in reinforcing deep-seated Thai prejudice against Burmese. The plot is in fact derived from a well-known national myth which students are exposed to in school. The project was filmed without consulting any historians.

“We intended to [film without consulting historians] for fear that a dramatic element of story telling would be destroyed by factual information and subsequently all enjoyment would be lost. We made it real only to convince the audiences,” says the director, Thanit Jitulkul. Pornpol Sarmsanak, 23, a senior student of history at Chiang Mai University, is unimpressed. "Invented nationalism has been commercialized again in a highly sophisticated manner. It is not a healthy thing to instill patriotism among people through the use of distorted accounts. I don't think we should be that biased," he says.

The roots of such bias are surprisingly shallow, but nonetheless complexly interwoven. Although most Siamese and Thais have always tended to regard Burma as their enemy, the national identities of both countries are relatively recent creations. The premodern kingdoms that covered much of their present territories did not fully encompass either country, and there was considerable overlapping. In some Siamese chronicles, for instance, the city and province of Chiang Mai, now termed as Thailand's "second capital", was identified as part of the Burmese Empire. According to the "Ayutthaya Chronicles", Lan Na (present-day Chiang Mai) had sided with the Burmese virtually from the beginning of their 1563 invasion of Sam.

Not only politically but also culturally the two countries were not so easily distinguished from each other. Both were — and still are — extremely heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, further blurring the line between them. In the Chiang Mai region, which remained an important vassal state of Burma from 1558 to 1774, cultural and religious influences especially ran deep in both directions. It was only with the sacking of the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya in 1767 that the Siamese began to draw a strong black line between "us" and "them".

The destruction of Ayutthaya, the pride of classical civilization, was an unmitigated disaster for relations. It would be difficult to overestimate the impact of this episode on the subsequent development of Siamese perceptions of Burmese.

Krom Phrarawangboworn Mahasasriihanat, a chronicler of Siamese history, gave full vent to the sense of outrage that still simmers in the hearts of many Thais: "The sinful Burmese ravaged our villages and cities. A great number of our citizens were killed, and many temples were razed. Our peaceful kingdom was abandoned and turned into forest. The Burmese showed no mercy to the Siamese and felt no shame for all the sins they had committed."

A leitmotif of much Siamese historical commentary since Ayutthaya has been the image of the cruel and inevitably evil Burmese. Even in other genres, such as the writings of learned monks, the Burmese emerge as dangerous enemies of all that is precious to the Siamese, including their Buddhist faith, something that even now is an integral part of both nations' identities.
By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, such stereotypes had become fodder for the cause of nationalism, the ideological underpinning of Siam’s efforts to build a modern nation state. Anti-Burmese sentiment was systematically inculcated in the mind of every Siamese, through oral tradition, historical literature, textbooks, plays, music and movies, in order to instill a sense of national pride. Thus ancient battles between rival rulers suddenly became wars between nations.

"The negative attitude toward the Burmese does not occur solely as a result of the past relationship," says Dr. Sunath Chutiniarom of the Institute of Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. "It is, rather, the outcome of political maneuvers by Thai nationalist governments, especially military regimes. It is an attempt to stir up a sense of nationalism and at the same time legitimize their ruling authority by claiming that they, like all their brave ancestors who fought against Burma, take as their primary concern the task of protecting the nation, religion and monarchy from external invasion."

In more recent years, other factors besides nationalist propaganda have also contributed to Thais’ negative view of Burma. The steady deterioration of social and economic conditions in Burma after decades of misrule under successive military regimes has added a sense of worldly, as well as moral, superiority to many Thais’ self-image vis-à-vis their neighbor. With the fall of the Burmese currency, the kyat, from three times the value of the baht in the 1970s to just one-tenth of its value since the late 1980s, Burma’s degradation as a nation seems complete. Thai businessmen, setting their watches back 30 minutes as they fly to Burma, may feel that they have in fact regressed 30 years upon reaching their destination.

The shades of discrimination that Burmese now face in Thailand are far more nuanced than in the past. According to Pornsuk Koootszawong, author of "In Search of Sunlight", a book about the plight of Burmese illegal immigrants living in Thailand, "regarding discrimination against Burmese, [legal] status is far more determinent than being Burmese". But in the minds of many Thais the words "illegal" and "Burmese" are almost inextricably connected, as not only "illegal" people, but also illegal substances such as yaa baa (methamphetamines) continue to flow across the border in torrents.

As the "illegal Burmese" supersedes the "evil Burmese" in popular imagination, even educated Thais are often incredulous when they meet Burmese who don’t fit the "illegal" image.

Although most Siamese and Thais have always tended to regard Burma as their enemy, the national identities of both countries are relatively recent creations. The pre-modern kingdoms that covered much of their present territories did not fully encompass either country, and there was considerable overlapping.

"Whenever I introduce myself as a Burmese student of Assumption University, many Thais just can’t believe it," says one 20-year-old Burmese with a valid passport and a student visa who attends classes at the prestigious Bangkok university.

Despite a tendency to attribute their neighbor’s troubles to some inherent flaw in the Burmese character, there is a growing recognition amongst Thais that all is not rotten in Burma. The emergence of Aung San Suu Kyi as the courageous and charismatic leader of the pro-democracy movement has done much to inspire admiration and sympathy for the Burmese struggle. This, coupled with their own bitter but relatively brief experience of military rule, has made many Thais realize that the use of sheer brute force by the government, rather than a lack of will on the part of ordinary citizens, has been the major impediment to Burma’s desire to rejoin the ranks of civilized nations.

Burma has also become more attractive to Thai investors. With their own natural resources greatly depleted after decades of high growth, Thais have discovered the enormous potential of the land beyond their western frontier. Indeed some Thai analysts believe that as globalization takes hold of Thailand and the country enters the international economic mainstream history itself is losing its significance. Education and culture are seen increasingly in terms of their commercial value and less as a means of constructing national identities based upon interpretations of the past.

King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), the father of modern Thailand, once mentioned that his ancestors had put a curse on future generations of the royal family to prevent them from forming close ties with Burma. This curse, it seems, still has hold over many Thais, whether they acknowledge it or not. Even Pornsuk admits legal status alone would not make much of a difference to her own family’s perceptions of the Burmese: "If I had a Burmese boy-friend, my family and relatives would feel very bad even if he had legal status." Perhaps nothing short of a miracle — or a radical change in the political realities of modern-day Burma — will redeem the country and its people in the eyes of its closest neighbor.\}
behind it and away from it and from which it stands out. Seeing always "takes in" this background as well as the particular object seen; that is, corresponding to the horizon is a horizon-consciousness that belongs to every perception. Just as there is no object without background (and no background without object; the two notions are correlative), so there is no perceptual consciousness of space which does not include horizon-consciousness. Now Husserl says that the temporal is experienced by us as a kind of "field" like the visual field: the present is its focus and the just-past forms the background against which it stands out. Consciousness of the present always involves retention as the horizon-consciousness of this background [1986, 21-22].

To use a spatial metaphor for the discussion of the internal time-consciousness is crucial here. The present cannot be present unless it is set in the background of the just-pastness. This immediate or primary pastness is not the past as we usually understand it, something behind us in time, but the very part of the structure of the present by which any temporal awareness is possibly made. The same can be said about the future: expectation in the normal sense, which means to call to the mind some sort of future event, a birthday party, for example, is different from the primary expectation or anticipation that, to parallel retention, may be called protention. The difference and function of this distinction between expectation and protention is the same as that between recollection and retention. "Taking past and future horizons together, then, one may speak of the temporal as a 'field of occurrence,' in which the present stands out from its surroundings, and of our consciousness as a kind of gaze which 'takes in' or spans the field in which the focal object stands out" [ibid., 23].

What needs to be pointed out here is that when Husserl talked about "field" or "horizon"—dealing with time-consciousness via the employment of spatial images and metaphors—he did not take space as the objective space of geometry. Instead, he took it as "lived-experience," that is, as it is well known in the phenomenological tradition, the latitude of intentionality, which is the structure of experience that is not reducible to the experience itself. The spatial image of a field or a horizon is employed to show that there is an orientation toward the future and not simply that the future is presented as a chain of events to which one anticipates. Husserl meant to stress the openness and interconnectedness of the once with its immediate past and future, that is, as a field of lived-experience or as a horizon of past-present-future from which the now stands out to be the focus of that horizon. The fundamental point, with reference to the metaphor of space, is that "the temporality of an experience of a temporal object is not itself an object but a structural feature of that experience" [ibid., 26].

As David Carr argues, the Husserlian idea of retention-protention as a horizon from which the very present moment stands out, provides a solution to the problem of experience. It is against this horizon that the very possibility of the now is possible, and a temporal whole is assumed within this now-ness. Action is not only meaningful when it is completed but already meaningful when it is being acted out because there is a retention and a protention involved in the now-ness of an experience. The whole point of Carr's discussion means to show that even in the pre-configured human experience, in the very basic mode of simple everyday action, there is already a temporal structure, a certain sense of past-present-future. This argument means to challenge the usual conceptualization of human experience as devoid of any structure, let alone a narrative one.

Carr argues for the narrative nature of the human experience, which is not our chief concern here. My purpose in introducing his work is that he seems to provide a clear and interesting illustration of Husserl's notion of retention, which I consider to be useful in discussing the question of memory. The kind of memory we were discussing in Cebu was not recollection in the Husserlian sense. What we were interested in, it seems to me, was the retentive memory, what Husserl called "primary memory," which is already part of the present, having formed or informed our understanding of ourselves. Ourselves at the present moment in time. A much overused phrase made known by Michel Foucault, "a history of the present," precisely shows the need to look into this temporal background that has made our senses of self different from each other.

In other words, what appears to be different is not what is recollected in the storage of our memory but the way in which a temporal background was formed and the way in which the now-here is made out of this background. Our concern, brought to the foreground of our awareness at the present moment, carries within itself a moment of the past, which always works into the present as a (retentional-protentional) background for our awareness of what
is going on at the present. The dispute between China and Japan, for example, on the issue of the Nanjing massacre, is not simply a political struggle in the rearrangement of the power of the region. It is concerned with two different, so to speak, temporal structures that have produced two different modes of historical understanding.

If I may return to the language I used earlier, I would say that China and Japan represent two different possibilities of going back to the past. This difference is not simply a conscious manipulation of the political struggle at the present. It is, rather, an indication that due to the different paths of development since the Second World War, their (retentional-protentional) backgrounds of temporal awareness, from which their senses of the now-ness stand out, have become different. Here “a history of the present” has become a history of the present for oneself/oneself, due to the two different trajectories of social and cultural experiences in the second half of the 20th century.

This is perhaps what may be called, as Maurice Bloch once said, “different ways of being in history.” Perhaps crudely I would say that a different way of being in history appears to be, at least from the perspective of an outside researcher, a different arrangement of the retentional-protentional background from which the present concerns are able to be pushed to the foreground of our awareness. It is this problematic domain of a background of temporality, a mode of historical understanding, a sense of history, which inform and form our very being as we are, that the Cebu conference has drawn our attention to.

Panel 1
Mapping the Terrain: Identities and Forces that Shape Memory

- Remember to Forget: A Critique of a Critical Case Study – Xin Lu, University of California Berkeley
- Fears that Classify – Neoki Sokai, Cornell University

Panel 2
World War II: Memories and Memory War

- Ways of Remembering: The Rise and Demise of Hiroshima in Japanese War Memories – Kichi Fujikawa, University of Tokyo
- History and Judgment — Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal – Tetsuya Takahashi, University of Tokyo
- War and Memory: Writings on the War Through the Years: Some Comments and Observations on War and Violence, History and Memory – Ricardo T. Jose, University of the Philippines

Panel 3
Post-War Civil Strife and Political Violence

- Remembering the Partition of India: A Violent Moment of Nation Making – Urvashi Butalia, Kali for Women
- We Do Not Forget the 6th of October: The 1996 Commemoration of the October 1976 Massacre in Bangkok – Thongchai Winichakul, University of Wisconsin Madison

Panel 4:
War Memories in Literature

- Memory of a Wartime Atrocity: Literature as History and Social Critique – Daqing Yang, George Washington University
- Spectrality and Reincarnation: Pramoedya Ananta Toer’s Bura Quetet as Historical Memory – Pheng Chek, University of California Berkeley
- Filipina Women Rewrite the War – Cristina Partoa-Hidalgo, University of the Philippines

Panel 5
Commemorations of War and Suffering

- Photographic Memory: Image, Reality and War – Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Australian National University
- Serangan Gereen 1 Maret 1949 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: What Should Be Remembered of It and How – Heddy Shuri Akinsula Putra, University of Gadjah Mada
- The Power of Memory, the Memory of the Power: The Politics of Assertion and Derial – Maria Serena I. Diokno, University of the Philippines

Glances... (continued from page 15)

craftsmanship and excellent hand-eye coordination. The art of inlay, on the other hand, requires dexterity of hand and a fine eye for detail, as can be seen from the symmetrical geometric patterns of inlay.

More activities followed on the second day of the Festival, involving students in dance theater and the visual arts. Their enthusiastic response highlighted the importance of knowing one’s culture and cultivating this vast Southeast Asian cultural heritage through art.
To be the rarest of Asian scholars, particularly in the land of neo-colonial Philippines. To me, she proved to be the rarest ever of real teachers, who lived to teach, and who lived what she taught.

Before Ma'am Mallari died, she was happy and high from a recent trip to Malaysia that she thought was to be a standard affair on Asian culture but turned out to be a surprise tribute to her. She was the guest of honor, with a streamer welcoming her and her picture in the program. (If she had known, she would have sent a nicer picture down.) Her dissertation, written in Bahasa-Malay, was also posthumously published by her university in Malaysia — a moment she had been looking forward to, and an achievement we should all be proud of, unparalleled as it is by any other scholar in this country.

We encounter too many teachers in our lifetime, but few become our teachers for life. Prof. Luisa Mallari-Hall, beyond her lifetime, will always be mine.

From the Real Past... (continued from page 13)

The problem could well be, quite simply, how to interpret past texts in their own time frames. But when history becomes ideology, the public truth is not necessarily the truth of history. Indonesian society might not yet be ready to live with less subjective history but appears happy enough living with myths.

The urgent requirement then, is to restructure the basic concept of Indonesian-centric historiography because it has been polluted by the concept of history as ideology. Restructuring this concept should be based on universal and rational philosophy, theory, and method of history. Notwithstanding the uniqueness of Indonesian history, one can hardly deny that the objective past in history is a universal concept and the reconstructed past, a relative reality. At the same time, of course, time, sources and resources limit the historian's work.

The focus on universality or relativity is strongly objected to by a good number of prominent Indonesian historians. Whatever the outcome of the debate, the new (restructured) Indonesian-centric historiography should be characterized by a deep consciousness of the humanness of history.
CONFERENCES

International Conference on Sanskrit in Southeast Asia — The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures, 21-22 May 2001, Royal River Hotel, Bangkok. Sub-themes: Sanskrit studies in Southeast Asia; Past, present and future; Sanskrit epics and Puranas and their relations to Southeast Asia; impact of Sanskrit language and literature on Southeast Asia; Buddhism and Brahmanism: Their interaction and impact on Southeast Asia; system of Ayurvedic medicine: its impact on Southeast Asia; impact of shastras on Southeast Asian polity, art, architecture; impact of Sanskrit on philosophy in Southeast Asia; Sanskrit epigraphy in Southeast Asia; astrology and astronomy in Southeast Asia; and agama and tantra in Southeast Asia.

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or
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ASIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE JAPAN

- 5th Asian Studies Conference Japan, 23-24 June 2001, Ichigaya Campus of Sophia University, Tokyo. Aim: To broaden communication among Asian scholars of diverse disciplines and backgrounds who are based in Japan.

For inquiries, contact:
Asian Studies Conference Japan
E-mail: sscc@max.ics.ac.jp
Website: http://www.meijigakuin.ac.jp/~kokusai/ssccj01.htm

- 2nd Australian National Thai Studies Conference, 12-13 July 2001, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Australia. Aims: To cement the national network of Thai studies researchers, and to encourage the participation of overseas scholars in Thai studies activities in Australia. Papers on any topic and from all disciplines will be considered. Convenors will also welcome papers on Cambodia, Laos and Burma, especially where they relate to regional issues.

For inquiries, contact:
Convenors
Michele Hayes
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
E-mail: m.hayes@rtmt.edu.au

or
Peter Jackson
Australian National University
E-mail: peter.jackson@anu.edu.au


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Website: http://www.jurnalai.net

Asia Pacific Management Forum

The Asia Pacific Management Forum Annual Conference on New Business: Environments in the Asia Pacific, 5-7 August 2001, Bangkok, Thailand. Tracks and Sub-themes: Market research in the Asia Pacific; organizational development in Asia; macroeconomics and business strategy; Asia Pacific marketing strategy; public and corporate governance; branding in...
Asia; Asia’s E-economy; and an Asian approach to business and management.

For inquiries, contact:
Asia Pacific Management Forum
Conference and Editorial Office
Plaza 138, Suite 21-01, 138 Jalan Ampang
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Tel +603-925-8827
Fax +603-925-8826
E-mail: century@orientpacific.com
Website: http://www.apmforum.com/events/conference2001.htm

Asian Diasporas and Cultures
Conference on Globalization, Hybridity, Intertextuality, 5
September 2001, National University of Singapore. Main emphasis: Diasporas of the Far East and the Indian Sub-Continent. Themes: Asian enclaves; Asian sexualities; Marketing, discourse and power; criminal networks; cyberspores, cyberplaces and diasporic identities; exile; expatriation, diasporas; global cities; Habits and historicity; immigration: labor; culture; values; languages in migration; religion and culture.

For inquiries, contact:
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4th European Philippine Studies Conference on The Philippines in Southeast Asia and Beyond, 9-12 September 2001, Alcala, Spain. Panels: Regional linkages of the Philippines; recent political developments; visual representations of the Filipinos; natural hazards and the environment in the Philippines; ethnic groups in the Philippines — a comparison with Southeast Asia; Muslim in the Philippines and Southeast Asia; the rise of a new middle class and culture; Philippines and Southeast Asia: Contacts along history; the politics and economics of revolutionary times: transformations in Philippine society 1880s-1920s; new approaches in Philippine history; ASEAN: Challenges and developments; economic history of the Philippines, Manila and other megacities in Southeast Asia; and the architecture of Philippines and Southeast Asia: An assessment.

For inquiries, contact:
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EuroPhil Secretaria:
CMUNSA, Avda. Ramiro de Maeztu s/n
Madrid 28040, Spain
Tel +34-91-554-0104
Fax +34-91-554-0401
E-mail: europhi@aeeep.es
Website: www.aeeep.es/europhil

Panel on Intellectual Property and Piracy Issues in East and Southeast Asia, 14-15 September 2001, Singapore. Themes: Internet and political integration; sovereignty; patterns of inequality; net business models and work arrangements; and community and identity.

For inquiries, contact:
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6th International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific, 5-10 October 2001, Melbourne, Australia. Themes: Treatment and care; prevention; socio-economic determinants; and sexuality and gender.

For inquiries, contact:
E-mail: 6icaap@cmct.com.au
Website: www.icaap.conf.au

Workshop on Internet Research:
Methodological Considerations in Assessing Impact of Internet in Asia,
14-15 September 2001, Singapore. Call for papers that outline new and innovative methods for studying the internet or the adaptation of traditional social science methods. Papers should focus on the practical, hands-on aspects of methodology, rather than theoretical issues.

For inquiries, contact:
Website: http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/icm/ipef/index.htm
International Conference on Malaysia and Globalization, 8-10 October 2001, University of Malaya, Malaysia.

For inquiries, contact:
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International Conference on Sukhothai-Sangkalok Ceramics in Asia, 22-23 November 2001, Bangkok, Thailand. Organized by 5 Area Studies Project, Thailand Research Fund, Bangkok with cooperation from Princess Sirindhorn Anthropology Studies Center, and The Toyota Foundation (Thailand).

For inquiries, contact:
Thailand Research Fund
19th Floor, Gypsum Metropolitan Tower
539/2 Sri-Ayudhya Road
Bangkok 10400
Tel: +662-642-5186 ext 89
Fax: +662-642-5190
E-mail: trf-web@trf.or.th

International Conference on Sixty Years on - The Fall of Singapore Revisited, 14-15 February 2002, National University of Singapore. National University of Singapore. Topics: Prewar controversies over the naval base and the Singapore strategy, Japanese and British preparations for war, grand strategy and strategy, command and commanders, the role of civil government, the civilian experience, local and expatriate, intelligence and espionage, the Malayan campaign, air and naval operations, the Australian and Indian experiences, the fall of Singapore, repercussions and postmortems, then and now.

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NEW PUBLICATION


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For inquiries, contact:
The Curator
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2001 SEASREP GRANTS
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The Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program [SEASREP] calls for applications for language training grant, visiting professors grant, The Luisa Mallari Fellowship for M.A. and Ph.D. Research in Southeast Asian studies, and regional collaboration grant for the year 2002-2003. The grants program aims to promote Southeast Asian studies in Southeast Asia by Southeast Asians.

For grant guidelines and application forms of language training visiting professors and M.A. and Ph.D. Research contact:
The SEASREP Council
Marina Secretariat
20F Escalier Street, Loyola Heights,
Quezon City
1108 Philippines
Tel/Fax +632-433-4751
E-mail: seasrep@maynia.com.ph
Website: www.seasrep.org

For guidelines and application forms of the regional collaboration grant, contact:
The Tokyo Joint Secretariat for SEASREP
c/o The Toyota Foundation
Shinjuku Mitsui Building 37F
2-1-1 Nishi-Shinjuku
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 163-0437
Japan
Tel. +81-3-3344-1701
Fax +81-3-3342-6911
E-mail: searsrep@toyotafound.or.jp

Deadline for applications:
31 October 2001

ASIAN STUDIES IN ASIA
Program
Asian Studies in Asia

This grant aims to provide assistance to scholars in Asian Studies who are based within the region to attend and present papers at conferences in the region. It is financed from the Asian Studies in Asia Network's Ford Foundation grant and will meet successful applicants' travel and accommodation costs within the limits set out below.

Grant Terms

Open to scholars who wish to attend conferences on Asian topics that are held within the region*.
Preference will be given to scholars under 40 years of age.
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2) must have a letter from the conference of their choice confirming that their participation is feasible.

* 'based at' defined as holding an academic position in, or affiliated with the institution for the purposes of research (this includes graduate/postgraduate students).

There will be four grant rounds per year. Applications for each round close on 30 March (in 2001, 30 April), 30 June, and 30 September for conferences held up to 30 December 2001, and 30 December for conferences held up to 30 March 2002.

Send request for application to:
Maxine McArthur
Asian Studies in Asia Participation Scheme
RSPAS, Australian National University
Canberra 0200, ACT
Australia
donload it from the website.

The Asian Studies in Asia Network retains the option to not allocate grants for a particular quarter and also to restrict the number of grants allocated if necessary.
**Application Format**

The application should be no longer than five pages, not including item 6 below. It should include:

1. the applicant's curriculum vitae, including list of publications and contact details
2. the title of the conference which the applicant wishes to attend
3. a one-paragraph abstract of the paper to be presented at the conference
4. a budget, showing travel and accommodation costs plus justification
5. the names and addresses (including email addresses where possible) of two referees
6. one letter, fax, or email from the conference organizers, indicating they are willing to accept the applicant's paper in their program