

# GLOBAL TRENDS

## Southeast Asian Studies



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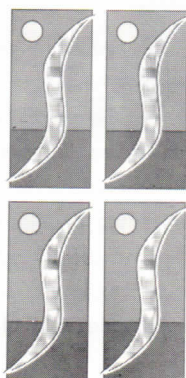
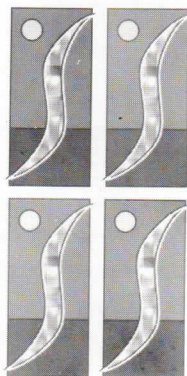
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## FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Maria Serena I. Diokno



With the expanding network of universities committed to the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for Southeast Asian Studies (soon to be eight universities from the present five), the SEASREP Council announces the expansion of its exchange and study grant programs. Where formerly, only the faculty and students of MOU member universities could apply for the grants, starting 1998 the faculty and students of all universities in the region may apply under the SEASREP, provided they take their language courses in an MOU member university or, in the case of postgraduate students, are under the supervision of a faculty member of an MOU university. Too, a Southeast Asian scholar from any university in the region may be invited to lecture in an MOU university under the exchange program. All Southeast Asian scholars, regardless of their institutional affiliation, may now apply for a collaborative research grant.

Why the expansion? The SEASREP Council is aware that one sure way to attain its goal of promoting Southeast Asian Studies is by spreading the opportunities for language training, postgraduate study, research and visiting professors to students and faculty outside the MOU network. The more we are, the better for the future of Southeast Asian studies in the region.

Another thrust of the Council is to help create more venues for scholars to get together and exchange their research findings. Already these meetings are taking place, as the conferences featured in this issue demonstrate. The impact of global trends on studies being done in the region, the effect of development programs on maritime communities, Chinese businesses in Southeast Asia, and current developments in the field of Southeast Asian archaeology, are among the many areas of common interest. We expect more to surface in the forthcoming international conference on *Southeast Asia in the 20TH Century*.

Still much work remains to be done, particularly in the area of collaborative research. We each know our own countries but not quite enough about our neighbors. The interest is clearly there and the opportunities are growing. Let us make use of them.

# Southeast Asian Studies Amid Global Trends in the Region

Recent changes in Southeast Asia and their significance to scholarship in the region were the major themes of a small and informal discussion among nineteen scholars, mainly Southeast Asians. The meeting took place at the NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE campus on 22-23 May 1997 and was organized jointly by DIANA WONG of the INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES, HONG LYSA and ARIEL HERYANTO both from the SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES PROGRAM. The FORD FOUNDATION helped bear the costs.

The aims of the workshop were two-fold: to provide an open (loosely structured) forum for a general examination of the major current events and trends in Southeast Asia; and to explore potential topics for research, enhanced networking among mid-career intellectuals, and possible future cooperation among some or all of the participants in the workshop and those outside. It was hoped that the first aim would substantially inform the second.

The series of open discussions were extremely alive and intense. However, the loose structure of the workshop and the diverse interests and positions of participants on selected issues made it difficult for an immediate follow-up in terms of joint projects.

In preparing for the workshop, the committee distributed some background information and a project statement to the invited participants which outlined major changes in the various parts of the region in the 1990s. Some of these changes are widely recognized and have generated such buzz words as the "economic miracle", migrant workers, AFTA/APEC, Asian values, democratization, human rights, new Islam, middle class, the new rich, environmental degradation, AIDS, and "McDonaldisation" of popular culture.

Some of these changes can be considered to be recent products of the old and familiar processes of modernization, national building and de-

velopment, and capitalism. For instance, post-Cold War capitalism in Southeast Asia engendered a series of trends already predicted at least one hundred year ago. These trends include the consolidation of capital accumulation and increasing social division along class lines, rendering the once appealing notion of "middle class" more problematic.

At the same time, new elements seem to be taking shape. They deserve to be examined with perspectives, procedures, and language that transcend the confines of the social sciences of previous decades. These new elements include a host of consequences of the overwhelming developments in transport and telecommunication (Internet seems the most dramatic example) in the fantasies, daily agenda and interaction of millions of Southeast Asians.

We also witness phenomena that at first appear to be an outdated revival of the old, pre-national, pre-modern solidarity in ethnic, religious, or regional terms. However, there are tenable arguments that suggest these phenomena involve a novel reconstruction of old sentiments in new social contexts, engendering new meanings. Accordingly, they require new ways of understanding and speaking in our dealing with them.

Likewise, many of us are puzzled and dismayed by the level and frequency of political violence and mass riots that have consistently accompanied the presumed modern and rationally-based "economic miracles" in the region. Current scholarship is simply inadequate to help us understand this prevailing violence. In fact, political violence seems to have been one of the most understudied and untheorized areas in the social sciences.

In short, the impetus for the workshop was not a renewed sentimentalism for ASEAN solidarity. Rather it was a series of materially observable events and profound social changes whose nature, direction or magnitude have yet to be examined







is nonetheless valid and urgent especially in reference to Indonesia in the 1990s.

The three Indonesian scholars believe that "countries in the region are in a different historical trajectory than that of earlier industrializers, whose experience eventually produced democratic polities." Thus democratization does not necessarily or automatically follow industrialization. What remains to be investigated are the potential and limits of something that can be fairly described as democratization in the region.

KASIAN TEJAPIRA (THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY) brought the attention of the workshop participants to the changing role of what he called "public intellectuals" in Thailand by examining the debates between the "globalizers" and "communitarians." KASIAN had earlier presented his main ideas on the subject at the 1996 Annual Conference of the Association of Asian Studies in Honolulu and the *Southeast Asian Studies Bulletin* (1/97) reviewed it.

KASIAN observed that "[t]he market demand for Thai university academics to perform the function of public intellectuals has its immediate cause in the recent economic boom in Thailand... This has led, on the one hand, to the rise of a nouveau riche, educated, largely Sino-Thai urban middle class centered around Bangkok, and on the other, to a fast expanding and diversifying media industry." Compelling intellectual debates aside, KASIAN reminded us that all these did not happen without cost. The question is, who must pay.

BUDIAWAN (independent researcher, Yogyakarta) pointed to the plight of the underclass in the context of contemporary globalization. He argued that these social groups have not gained adequate attention in the euphoric stories of Asia's "economic miracles". Elaborating on BUDIAWAN's points DIANA WONG developed a larger theoretical framework and emphasized that no adequately rigorous counter-discourse is yet in place in response to the dominant discourse on "globalization".

In presenting his paper SUMIT MANDAL (UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA) shared both his joy and frustration working as a Southeast Asian intellectual in Southeast Asia after an extended period of training in the U.S. He remarked: "The joys of contributing to the development of local perspectives has more often than not been frustrated by the over-

whelming flow of rhetoric and change that acknowledges the local in symbol but erodes it with nearly every contract signed, policy implemented, and bows to the achievements of several decades of independence from colonial rule. Colonial political and cultural structures and thinking remain incompletely digested in present-day life."

In the light of such perspective, he proposed that we exert serious effort to re-examine the culture and history of the nation-state. But he warned that such research must not be "idealistic ...for instance[s] of ethnic solidarity". This, he feared, would not lead us very far from the old and hegemonic premise that countries like Malaysia (and for that matter several others in the region) are constituted of discordant elements. SUMIT preferred an "independent and exploratory historical research [that] would lead to new perspectives on the social, cultural, political and economic contiguities and disjunctures within the boundaries of the nation-state". In addition, he noted that "working on topics that cannot be voiced by our colleagues next-door may well be one of the roles for researchers of Southeast Asia to play."

FRANCIS K.W. LOH (UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA) indicated his current interest in the study of new political cultures that have emerged in Southeast Asia. His interest arose from an observation of the strengthening of the state in Malaysia in tandem with sustained economic growth in the region, and his pessimistic view of urban middle class politics. According to FRANCIS, these middle class urbanites have withdrawn from politics, demonstrate self-centeredness and indulge in consumer culture. FRANCIS also expressed a serious concern about rhetoric of "new nationalism" that rages among government officials who believe that Asians have distinct cultures and political ethics, and the seemingly wide acceptance of it among the public.

A critical stance towards the rising hegemony of state and capitalism in the region was common among the workshop participants. Included in the list of targets of their criticism is the so-called "Asian Values". In their joint paper, VEDI HADIZ, MELANIE BUDIANTA and MUHAMMAD HIKAM noted that the Asian values rhetoric is an essentialist position that "only serves the interests of elites as it helps to legitimize their hegemony and enable them to dismiss pro-democratic movements which are



not in line with the government." SUMIT MANDAL expressed a similar sentiment. But there was no unanimity over the issue among workshop participants. MUHAMMAD IKMAL SAID (RENONG EDUCATION CENTRE) was wary of the easy inclinations to universalize histories of diverse societies, to attribute many of these histories to Western hegemonic forces, and downplay the distinctiveness of local and regional histories in the region.

Recognizing the ambiguous consequences of the deconstructive process at work in the region and its conceptual representation, BRENDA YEOH (NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE) suggested that Southeast Asian scholarship could help redress the problems pertaining to identity crisis. She encouraged "research and teaching at a level beyond the individual nation-state ... [and a] focus on the collective history, culture and future of the region". In addition, she contended that "[m]ore needs to be done to affirm, or at least to debate [upon], whether, at the baseline, contemporary Southeast Asia forms an entity with its own *raison d'être*, and its own identity (beyond what is politically or economically expedient)".

A number of other participants raised important points for discussion during the workshop. Reflecting on the experience of running a degree program in Southeast Asian Studies, HONG LYSA discussed what might have motivated some of the more serious and committed area studies students in Singapore. Apparently these students share a desire with a wider segment of the city-state population for an identity beyond nationality, "as the history of the nation and the sense of citizenship is so recent." LYSA observed that "[t]his group of students would see Southeast Asian culture as a source which contributes to the development of a Singaporean culture, giving Singapore a place in history, and a broader reference to the meaning of the word 'multi-culturalism'".

In separate presentations, both DR. LINDA BURTON (XAVIER UNIVERSITY) and PROF. CHRISTINE F. GODINEZ-ORTEGA (MINDANAO STATE UNIVERSITY-ILIGAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY) described the teaching of Southeast Asian Studies in Mindanao. Their comments about the lack of intra-regional studies and the urgent need to redress it found agreement from other participants. According to ATTACHAK SATTAYANURAK (CHIANG MAI UNIVERSITY), the vari-

ous governments in the region are at least partially responsible for this as a result of an obsession with economic interests.

Perhaps no one in the workshop, however, was more able than RESIL MOJARES (UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS) in formulating the problem succinctly, its contexts, and the prospects of responding to it. Without sounding cynical or apologetic, RESIL asserted the notion that "[t]he reality is that research will continue to be driven by such factors as trade and investment patterns, regional security arrangements, programs of economic complementation, migration and tourism. We will just have to find the ways and means to turn constraints into opportunities, and to work with and against the grain of current fashions."

Ultimately, the overall picture is not too bleak. Globalized capitalism is neither monolithic nor systematically consistent. One can easily notice that the recent trends have shifted the emphasis from area studies onto more discipline-oriented and "transnational, multi-site, problem-focused studies" such as migration, gender and communication. These trends are not confined to any particular region. The importance of RESIL's point about the influence of global trends on research areas lies in the recognition of two processes at work. *First*, these new emphases go "against the territorializing, incorporative claims of government and business" which are increasingly active in the production of knowledge on the region. *Secondly*, "there are developments within the disciplines that feed area or regional studies", pushing towards both local and regional traditions and histories in any attempt to study the "nationals".

Reinforcing the original idea of holding the workshop, RESIL stressed that "[w]hile there is a need to foster Southeast Asian Studies, it must draw its impetus not from its claims to existence as an institutional program, or from generalized or sentimentalized notions of cultural affinity and regional solidarity, but from the issues it addresses, the way it frames these issues, and the distinct and compelling answers it offers."

As a way of concluding we want to note the delight of having had a few eminent scholars present (PROFESSOR RUTH McVEY and DR. MOCHTAR PABOTTINGI among them) and undergraduate students of NUS as observers in the workshop. ☼



## FEATURES

Visiting Professor **Dr. Azyumardi Azra**  
State Institute for Islamic Studies in Jakarta

## Contemporary Islamic Renewal in Indonesia



*In the last week of July 1997, DR. AZYUMARDI AZRA of the STATE INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES in Jakarta lectured at the UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES as a visiting professor under the SEASREP. Faculty and students of the INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES and the COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY listened to DR. AZRA's lecture on the contemporary revival of Islam in Indonesia. Below is a summary of his lecture.*

**DURING THE EARLY YEARS** of SOEHARTO's presidency, tension and conflict between Muslim groups and the government was widely evident. This discord was a result of certain government policies which the Muslims felt would uproot the influence of Islam from Indonesian politics. One such policy was the government's disapproval of the attempts by Muslims during the period 1966-1968 to rehabilitate *Masjumi*, a leading Islamic party which had been outlawed by SOEHARTO. In addition, the government blocked all other efforts of Muslim groups to establish a new Islamic political party. Moreover, in 1985 the government enacted a law which required all social and political organizations to adopt the state ideology *Pancasila* as the sole foundation of their organizations. As a consequence, Islamic organizations had to erase the word 'Islam' from their statutes. The tension became more intense when the government launched a political purge and surveilled on Muslims suspected to be members of anti-government movements.

The perceived suppression of Islam continued until the early 1980s. Towards the end of that decade, however, Islam began to show some convincing signs of revival. Although Islamic revival was brought about by changes that took place in

both the international and domestic scenes, Dr. Azra discusses only those pertaining to the latter.

The turning point of Islamic reinvigoration was the acceptance of *Pancasila* by Muslim mass organizations as the ideological foundation of their socio-political activities, thus ending the mutual suspicion between Muslims and the government. Muslim activities geared toward the development and improvement of various aspects of Islamic life are no longer seen by the government as a threat to the state ideology and political stability.

The acceptance of *Pancasila* on the part of the Muslims was brought about by, among others, official policies which were favorable to the cultivation of Islamic life and the improvement of the Muslim community. One of these policies was the status accorded by the government to religion. In 1989 various guidelines and regulations of the government formally stated that the ultimate aim of Indonesian development was the creation of a just, prosperous and religious society, a society which enjoys not only material progress but spiritual well-being as well. The prominent role given to religion was manifested in the official policy on education, for example, which made religious instruction compulsory from elementary to college. Since the majority of Indonesian students are Muslims, religious instructions is mainly on Islam.

Moreover, the government improved the status of Islamic legal institutions. In 1989 it made the *Shari'ah* court, which has a long history in Indonesia, co-equal with the other three courts: the public court, administrative court and military court.

A more recent indication of Islamic resurgence is the increasing number of Indonesian *hajj* pilgrims to Mecca. The improved economic conditions of Muslims have allowed them to build more



religious structures such as mosques, where they congregate for their religious activities. Islamic revival can also be seen in university campuses which have become the site of religious activities, particularly during the fasting month of *Ramadan*.

Another factor reflecting Islamic reinvigoration is the formation of an important Islamic organization, *IKATAN CENDEKIAWAN MUSLIM SE-INDONESIA* (ICMI), or ALL-INDONESIAN MUSLIM INTELLECTUAL ASSOCIATION. Formed in 1990 and chaired by the Minister of Research and Technology, the ICMI serves as a sounding board for Muslims to influence public policy. Today it plays an important role in the establishment of various new government institutions and in the appointment of several top leaders to high offices such as ministries in the Indonesian cabinet or governorships at the provincial level. Lastly, the government lifted restrictions on the conduct of *dakwah* or Islamic preaching. In the past, the government was suspicious of *dakwah* activities for Muslim preachers used these occasions to criticize the government.

To conclude, the revival of Islam came at a time when Indonesia was enjoying economic growth. The improvement of the economic status of the Muslims enhanced their attachment to Islam. The crucial question, therefore, is how to maintain the momentum for economic growth so as to avoid possible negative effects of an economic regression on the revival of Islamic life. Moreover, Muslim leaders and activists working for a genuine revival of Islam should deal with the question of how to eliminate, or at least reduce, the gap between Muslim religious enthusiasm and actual Muslim practices. Although there are signs of Islamic resurgence, un-Islamic practices such as corruption, abuse of power, weak social ethics and poor discipline, are still rampant among Indonesian Muslims. ☸

Summary by Glenda Lopez, Research Associate, Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines

## Impressions of Students in Political Science 178 (Politics and Governments of Southeast Asia)

The lecture projected a picture of Islam that was quite different from how most of us used to see it. As the reactor, DR. CARMEN ABUBAKAR, put it: "Islam in Southeast Asia now has a smiling face." Islam in Southeast Asia has undergone substantive change. A more comprehensive discussion, however, could have been achieved if the lecture went deeper into the main roots of this transformation. — **Oliver Ryan C. Tomas**

The lecture of DR. AZYUMARDI AZRA on the Contemporary Development of Islam in South-east Asia, taking the Indonesian case in particular, was comprehensive. His discussion focused on the phenomenon of Islamic reinvigoration which began to transpire in the 1980s. Such phenomenon, the speaker cited, was brought about by an interplay of changes that transpired both in the domestic and international scenes.

The discussion on the Islamic state was interesting. The reactor, DR. CARMEN ABUBAKAR, clearly discouraged a fusion of Islam and the state in both the Indonesian and Philippine societies. What is needed, she said, is the transformation of Islamic ideals, such as consultation, into a guiding principle of governance and the conduct of politics. — **January T. Agbon**

The Islamic ideals are, more often than not, misinterpreted by people from the non-Muslim world.... The primary achievement of the lecture was that it was able to enlighten the non-Muslim audience about Islam. DR. AZRA stated that a society that is guided by Islam is an ideal or parallel to a perfect society... I find, however, the discussion on the Islamic-guided politics lacking. This should have been discussed more intensively. — **Almario D. Marimla**

The open forum of the lecture proved to be an engaging discussion on the contemporary development of Islam in Southeast Asia. Many points dealing with the difficulties of integrating Islam into politics were raised in the discussion.... I agree with DR. AZRA that the Islamic political ideals can be achieved within a democracy because of two reasons. Firstly, the very nature of democracy which invites the active participation of the people in governance will appeal to the Muslim population. Secondly, contrary to the point raised by one of the audience, I do not believe that majority of Muslims reject democracy on the basis that it is man-made. After all, every government is established by humans, be they theocracies or democracies. — **Myriam Custodio**

Lecture-seminars such as this should be lauded... because they give political scientists and students a chance to get a picture of the countries that are being studied from the perspectives of scholars from these countries. When an outsider studies another culture, there is always the

— continued on page 24 —



# Southeast Asian Studies in Europe

*Since her retirement from the SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, DR. RUTH McVEY has lived in an olive farm in Siena, Italy, where she continues her work as one of today's foremost scholars on Southeast Asia.*

Had I set out to write on this subject thirty years ago, I should have described the collapse of older centers of Southeast Asian studies; fragmented, under-funded, and half-hearted efforts at creating new ones; and a general refusal to study places that had been lost to empire. But by the beginning of the 1970s European scholarship on Southeast Asia had begun to revive, and in the last decade its intellectual and organizational dynamism has been remarkable. I would like to describe here some features of this turnaround.

The classical centers for the study of Southeast Asia were connected with colonialism and intended to combine administrative preparation with scholarly concerns. In fact, professorial interests ensured that their approach was strongly philological, reflecting the influence that discipline had in European universities since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They thus had the strengths and weaknesses of the 'Orientalist' approach. The most prominent were the Indology faculty of the UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN (for the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia) and the FRENCH SCHOOL OF THE FAR EAST (EFEO for Indochina).

These and other academic centers were bolstered by scholarly associations, usually based on (part of) a single colony, which were devoted to the investigation of local cultures. They included as members interested administrators and business people as well as academics — but rarely any Southeast Asians. For British Southeast Asia, such associations were more important sources of scholarship than were academic centers, for the British did not think it necessary to provide special academic training for colonial service in Burma or Malaya. Consequently, the BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY and the Malayan Branch of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY were principal foci for the study of those areas. However, during World War II the British government became conscious of the need for academically trained Southeast Asia specialists, and in 1946 a Department of Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures was created at the SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (SOAS) in the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON. As the name indicated, the new department, like the SOAS generally, favored a philological approach, and thus faced some of the same charges of irrelevance as did older European centers of Southeast Asian studies during the 1950s and 1960s.

That period was marked by emotional reactions to colonial loss and by a general reduction of government funding for subjects considered non-modern. Even more important, however, was the effect of US ideological hegemony in western Europe, which brought an increasing influence of American

scholarly approaches. These emphasized the social sciences, not languages and literature or even history. They were universalizing and teleological in that they saw the study of 'Third World' countries to be aimed at promoting their modern 'development.' That meant the achievement of industrial prosperity under a (preferably democratic) capitalist system. This purpose was tempered by the demands of Cold War mobilization, which required that first consideration be given to preventing a country's being 'lost' to Communism.

The semi-disciplines of development studies and strategic studies arose out of such concerns, and as West Europeans attempted to modernize university teaching in the 1960s and 1970s a good deal of effort went into developing those subjects. This did not work to the strength of European expertise in Southeast Asian studies. It also helped confirm the opinion of the rising group of American Southeast Asianists that European scholarship was useful as historical and cultural background, but that only American research was worth consulting for understanding modern Southeast Asia. Together with greatly superior US research and library acquisition funds, it seemed to doom European scholarship to a second-rate position.

Several important European centers for development studies did emerge in this period, with some distinguished Southeast Asia special-





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ists on their staff — the CENTER OF DEVELOPMENT SOCIOLOGY at the UNIVERSITY OF BIELEFELD, the INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES in the Hague, and the INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES at the UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX, for example. By and large, however, such institutions encouraged policy-oriented research with an emphasis on immediate public utility rather than scholarly depth. When in the 1990s public funding began to dry up and the development studies approach became unfashionable, they were to suffer particularly severe cutbacks.

Another US innovation ultimately had a more positive influence on the European study of Southeast Asia. This was the 'area studies' approach, which provided for the multidisciplinary study of a region, backed by good language training and library facilities. It differed from earlier European programs such as that of LEIDEN's Indology faculty in that language, though important, was seen as a utilitarian tool and not the key to understanding. The philological emphasis on the interrelationship of language, high culture, and history was absent; the past was thought

useful primarily because it helped explain the present.

Needless to say, this reversal of Orientalism's priorities was not popular with its still powerful academic advocates, to the extent that government and university administrators seeking to establish more modern-minded programs sometimes tried to resolve the problem by completely separating the modern and classical study of Southeast Asia. This was a principal reason (along with a desire for academic decentralization) why, following the endorsement of the area studies approach by the British government's Hayter Report, a second UK center for Southeast Asia studies was set up at the UNIVERSITY OF HULL in 1962. The initial thought was that Hull would concentrate on the social sciences, and the SOAS, having shown much reluctance to consider anything else, would stick to language, literature, and history. Some years later, attempts to 'rationalize' Asian studies in the Netherlands by assigning modern times and disciplines to Amsterdam and classical ones to LEIDEN similarly reflected a desire to introduce the new without having to battle entrenched academic interests. Had such segregations been pursued successfully, they would have negated what was to be Europe's great advantage in Southeast Asian studies, namely, the ability to link contemporary issues to historical and cultural heritage. Fortunately, such compartmentalization was largely thwarted by changing scholarly self-concepts, the desire to ensure student numbers and funding, and an increasing international orientation.

One might have imagined that eastern Europe could have supplied a model for the study of Southeast

Asia which would be an alternative to colonial-tainted Orientalism and American developmentalism. Both Czechoslovakia and the USSR had prominent and well-funded centers of Asian studies, which included significant Southeast Asia components. There was a well-established ORIENTAL INSTITUTE in Prague; both Moscow and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) had university departments of Oriental languages and cultures and also research centers of the Institute of Oriental Studies, not to mention Southeast Asia specialists at the ETHNOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE and other academic and government research organizations. However, scholarly interpretation was subject to rigid political control, and few academics were able to visit Southeast Asian countries, with the very partial exception of Vietnam. Members of research institutes were often dedicated scholars, but after churning out Marxist-Leninist potboilers to satisfy their production quotas, they tended to study topics as far from political relevance as possible, and to rely heavily on material in manuscript collections. In consequence, they tended towards a methodologically rigorous Orientalism. (Unfortunately, the situation of east European Southeast Asia specialists has not greatly improved since the end of Communist rule, for political censorship has been replaced by a perhaps even more crippling financial stringency.)

Between the 1960s and 1990s three changes gradually took shape which underlay the renaissance of Southeast Asian studies in Europe. There was a growing consciousness of Southeast Asia as an entity in itself and not a colonial heritage; an understanding that the study of Southeast Asia required a fruitful in-



teraction between the social sciences, history, and culture; and the realization that such studies could only be pursued effectively on a supra-national scale. An early reflection of this changing consciousness was the founding of an Indonesia-centered scholarly journal based not in the Netherlands but in France (*Archipel*, in 1971). In the late 1970s Europe-wide cooperation on Indonesian and Malay Studies was begun on a British initiative, leading to a series of influential conferences (ECIMS). Early in the 1990s Scandinavians launched a similar conference on Vietnam (Euroviet). A number of newsletters and associations specializing on a particular country or culture now engage in networking among European Southeast Asia specialists. Their location has more to do with the interest and facilities of individual organizers than with any historical relationship. Like the colonial-era associations, they unite people with an enthusiastic interest for a particular place or people; unlike them, their membership is usually multi-national and almost exclusively academic.

Countries that had no colonial role in Southeast Asia also began to develop centers for the study of the region. The most important of these was the SCANDINAVIAN (later Nordic) INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES, set up in Copenhagen in 1967. The NIAS, which coordinates relevant scholarly activities in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland and has its own research staff and library, has made itself into a leading global center for research and publication on Southeast Asia. Switzerland, too, has developed a considerable cadre of Southeast Asia specialists, particularly on Indonesia. Brussels for a time housed one of the earliest institutes devoted to Southeast Asia, the CEN-

TER FOR THE STUDY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE FAR EAST, begun in 1962, and currently is home to a EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES.

One might have thought that German scholarship on Southeast Asia would have flourished as part of the move away from colonial ties. After all, that country has a considerable economic and diplomatic presence in Southeast Asia, engages in many development projects there, and has a large student and immigrant/exile Southeast Asian population. In fact, however, German academic emphasis on Southeast Asia is one of the weakest in Europe. This was not (at least until recently) for want of money, as a good deal was given to institutes concerned with Asian studies by West Germany's various states (*Länder*), in whose hands higher education lies. However, each beneficiary tended to build its own little empire, usually heavily philological and with perhaps a documentation center to take care of demands for contemporary relevance. For Southeast Asia the most important of these have been at universities in Hamburg, Bonn, and Bochum. There was no center specifically devoted to Southeast Asian studies until the state of Bavaria, looking for an international focus that would illustrate its interest in Third World regions, hit upon Southeast Asia as a nationally-understudied area. It poured impressive financial resources into establishing a Chair of Southeast Asian Studies at the UNIVERSITY OF PASSAU, with a substantial library and teaching staff. As head it appointed not a philologist but a historian of modern Indonesia, BERNHARD DAHM, who strove to develop a balance between social science, history, language, and culture in a program



with basically contemporary orientation. In addition, German reunification added the SOUTHEAST ASIA INSTITUTE of Berlin's HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY and the smaller EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN INSTITUTE at the UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG. During the 1990s there were increasing efforts at national coordination and consolidation, encouraged by financial stringency, but so far no clear priorities seem to have emerged.

German diffuseness contrasts sharply with French academic centralism, for Southeast Asian studies are concentrated among national institutes in Paris led by the FRENCH SCHOOL OF THE FAR EAST (EFEO). A CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION ET DE RECHERCHE SU L'ASIE DU SUD-EST ET MONDE INSULINDIEN (CEDRASEMI), set up in 1970, did much to energize post-colonial French Southeast Asian studies and extend it beyond Indochina, and the Study Group on the Indonesian Archipelago continues this work as part of the national SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (EHSS). The major exception to location in Paris is the RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA (IRSEA), which was set up at the UNIVERSITY OF AIX-EN-PROVENCE to take advantage of the removal of France's Overseas Ar-



chives to that city. So far it has mostly had an impact on Indochina studies. The concentration of French Southeast Asianist strength in Paris has meant that practitioners of the subject have not felt the isolation from which many of their European colleagues have suffered. Perhaps in reflection of this their work has been innovative and self-confident, especially in developing multidisciplinary approaches. The down-side has been a certain insularity and reluctance to become swallowed up in the overwhelmingly Anglophone discourse of Europe-wide Southeast Asian studies.

Increasing national coverage of Southeast Asian topics is now no longer felt by Europeans to be such an important goal. They recognize that Southeast Asia is too large and complex and most European countries too small for such ambitions to be realistic. Moreover, the formation of the European Union has helped to move consciousness (and fund-

ing) to a Europe-wide level, and the most significant developments of the last decade have reflected this widened arena. From the late 1980s efforts got underway to unite Europe's Southeast Asianists, leading to the formation of the EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES (EUROSEAS). This group will only hold its second conference in 1998, but it has already had a considerable effect on developing interdisciplinary and international collaboration.

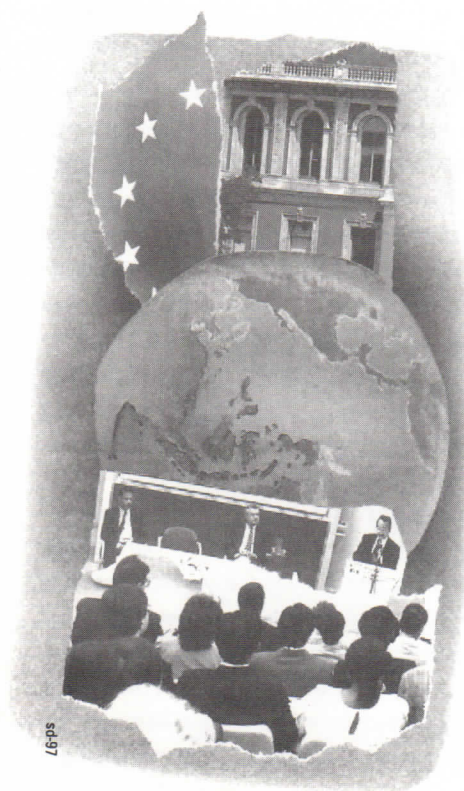
The INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES (IIAS) was established in 1993, with its headquarters at Leiden. Although it was set up as a postdoctoral research institute funded by the Dutch government and was sponsored by the two Amsterdam universities and the UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN, it was not simply an arena for these interests to express themselves internationally but instead emphasized global networking for the furtherance of Asian studies. Global approaches are also stressed by the ASIA COMMITTEE OF THE EUROPEAN SCIENCE FOUNDATION (ESF), which was set up in 1994 and has a strong Southeast Asia component.

The new globalism has its roots in the realization that a true strengthening of European intellectual resources depends not on protecting them from outside competition but in broadening their involvement in the wider world. This understanding was exhibited earlier by the NIAS, whose example had a considerable effect on the later organizations. In practice, the major emphasis has been on developing greater cooperation with Asian countries, particularly those in Southeast Asia. This was not without precedence, for the Netherlands has a long history of collabo-

rative projects with Indonesian academic centers, while in the UK the UNIVERSITY OF HULL pioneered scholarly exchanges with Southeast Asian universities in the 1970s. It is also part of a larger trend towards global scholarly networking. Thus the US ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES has combined with the IIAS to promote the first International Convention of Asia Scholars, which is to be held in the Netherlands in June 1998. But in admiring such steps we should bear in mind that Orientalists have long sponsored world congresses that ignored national and ideological boundaries. That 'modern' Asian studies is only coming to it now is a mark of the extent to which it has been limited by national boundaries and Cold War agendas.

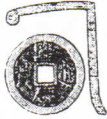
The increasing ease of global communications and travel, with electronic access to library materials and news sources, makes it much easier for scholars in outlying parts to participate in a Europe-wide or global intellectual community. However, at least as important for international scholarly cooperation is the fact that discourse on Southeast Asia is now framed in a way that is much more accessible to both Europeans and Southeast Asians. The developmental positivism of the 1950s and 1960s has largely been replaced by approaches such as structuralism, post-modernism, and post-colonialism, which draw heavily on European schools of thought and also pay much more attention to the perceptions of Southeast Asians themselves. History, anthropology, literature, and culture are no longer marginalized, and the inter-relationship between disciplines is stressed. This plays to the strengths of European scholarship, and helps dissolve its own cold war between Orientalists and Asianists.

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# Chinese Capital and Business Operations in Southeast Asia

 Among the various elements that make up today's Southeast Asian economies, Chinese business – from the high profile firms of Taipans to the more invisible Chinese brokers and traders – merit serious study. Last June, the UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA returned to a theme studied in the past but from the standpoint of today's entirely new and vibrant context. The conference, organized by economist PROF. JOMO K. S. under the SEASREP's regional collaboration grant, aimed to analyze the role and nature of Chinese business in the economies of Southeast Asia and assess their impact on the region.

Several broad themes were covered in the conference. One dealt with the structure and organization of Chinese firms, in particular the role of the family, lineage, and networks. Significantly, this theme included research into the operation of medium and small-scale businesses. Another was the impact of state policies on the changing operations of Chinese and their effect on the business strategies of these firms. The third theme looked into the relationship between Chinese and indigenous capital, state capital, and the variety of foreign multinationals. Another examined the impact of regionalization and international networking on the development of Chinese capital in Southeast Asia, and the scope of the globalization of big as well as small and medium-scale Chinese businesses. Finally, the conference also discussed the extent to which specific conditions in particular Southeast Asian countries may have impeded the development of Chinese capital.

In all, 32 papers were presented by participants from the region and outside. These papers will soon be published in two volumes. Following are abstracts of five selected papers.

## TZONG-RUEY SHEN

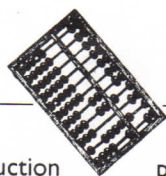
The Business Operation of Taiwan's Medium and Small-Scale Enterprises (MSE) in Southeast Asia

The writer uses a comparative analysis of the original operation of enterprises in Taiwan and that of Taiwanese medium and small-scale enterprises in Southeast Asia. Business operation was classified into five departments: capital, financing, personnel, production chain, and the original equipment manufacture system. Cultural elements, particularly the role of the family, lineage and networks, were emphasized in the discussion of the market approach.

In-depth interviews of twenty Taiwanese medium and small-scale investors in Malaysia were conducted to determine the implementation and operation of the new ventures. The industries of the interviewed enterprises consist of wood products, chemicals, basic metal and metal products, electrical products and electronics. These were traditional industries in Taiwan before the 1980s and provided the biggest portion of overseas investment capital. Hence the interviews of Taiwanese businessmen in Malaysia were important to derive a general picture of Taiwanese business operations in the region.

With the low cost of labor, businesses were mainly medium to small-scale enterprises. With market expansion and the lifting of foreign exchange control, Taiwanese businessmen moved to lower wage countries, mainly Southeast Asia and China. When their market position was threatened, most of these export-oriented MSEs preferred to cut costs rather than change their product because their managerial, financial and technological capabilities were limited. In Taiwan, financial resources are derived from family members, partnerships, and social networks like informal credit clubs or the black financial market. However, when the Taiwanese invested abroad in the 1990s, they already had a powerful capital network and found it easy to establish in countries with a weak industrial base. Furthermore, Taiwanese businesses in Southeast Asia are dependent on ethnic Chinese in local marketing.





In general at the beginning, the production organization of Taiwanese overseas firms was seldom different from that of the Taiwan originals. But with overseas circumstances, the Taiwanese investors had to adapt their business in order to achieve their goals. These changes were the widening of the organization, the tendency to be more labor-intensive, and the innovations of new products to meet the specific demands of customers. Note that these innovations evolved out of existing production capacity rather than of improved technology. To understand the present reality, the author recommends that Taiwanese MSEs existing in SEA for more than five years be studied.

#### **JOMO K. SUNDARAM**

##### **Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia**

The failure of capitalism to emerge earlier in Southeast Asia has been attributed to the Chinese religion but JOMO explains that the main causes were, rather, the Chinese political economy and its related institutions. The Chinese certainly do not lack the values necessary for capitalism such as diligence, frugality, and respect for authority which are values emphasized in Confucianism. But Confucianism is not homogeneous nor is the culture in the new industrialized estates in East Asia. Although culture and conditions have been favorable to Chinese capital accumulation in Southeast Asia in the last millennium, Chinese firms seem to be far behind in attaining the economies of scale and scope associated with the success of large firms.

The author draws heavily from past studies in considering the norms, customs and institutions associated with the Chinese. Among Chinese capitalists, there seems to be a widespread lack of confidence in the governments of most Southeast Asian countries coupled with a perception of lack of official support for private business. Chinese enterprise was then encouraged to adapt and transform cooperative mutual aid institutions into institutions supportive of accumulation, credit and investment without state support. Vulnerability and tentativeness led to a tendency for short-term thinking or a strong

preference for asset liquidity. In turn, this brought about constraints in the nature of enterprise investment, organizational development and the unwillingness to invest in research and development beyond the workplace. However, most Chinese, coming as they do from poor peasant families in southeastern China, were better equipped to take advantage of the new commercial opportunities of trade expansion than most Southeast Asian residents since they were prepared to strive harder to succeed, often foregoing current comforts in favor of subsequent generations.

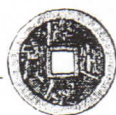
There is great willingness among the Chinese to invest in education for their children with the expectation of achievement and upward mobility. The children become involved early in business, especially in small enterprises, and are expected to share their knowledge and skills. Even large modern firms in Southeast Asia remain family-controlled. Extended kinship relations, whether real or fictive, are the bases of many Chinese business enterprises since there is the ability to enforce implied contracts and to effectively pool limited financial and other resources for development. Networks are based on personal trust and mutual confidence. However, this kinship, often perceived as ethnic preferences by others, has invariably led to the resentment against the ethnic Chinese and their business practices. In some Southeast Asian countries where other ethnic groups are a majority, this kinship caused their political exclusion but this only strengthened their resolve to rely on each other.

#### **ALEX G. BARDSLEY**

##### **Southeast Asian Chinese Business: The Development of an Idiom**

Using a historical approach, Bardsley teases out factors that inform what he calls a Chinese idiom of business. Although the idiom connotes a Chinese style of capitalism, the author says not to regard it as an independent system but rather as a part of global capitalism. The development of the idiom consists of principles by which labor, capital and technology are socially organized, that is, in a system of communally accepted legitimacy.





The colonial division of labor directed Chinese immigrants into certain economic roles such as wage laborers and traders. Upward mobility became limited to those roles. Observed social patterns such as familialism, paternalism and personalism — described as Confucian values — were viewed as essentially Chinese and thus detached Chinese businesses from other political and economic conditions. In China and many of the European colonies, government rule was indirect and often described as indifferent, ineffective and even hostile to the interests of the Chinese. Because of this, many institutions developed among ethnic Chinese social groups to handle political and social functions which the state did not. Chinese populations were administered by community leaders who were often businessmen. Since disputes and regulatory matters were handled through associations or by prestigious individuals, these mechanisms confirmed the trust in the system. The Chinese chambers of commerce became the association of associations and its chairmen the most important representatives of the Chinese community.

However, upward mobility for the Chinese in Southeast Asia was largely restricted to business-related activities. With the arrival of nationalism and socialism in the region, the legitimacy of Chinese community leaders became alienated from local government and disturbed the relationship between Chinese communities and the newly independent states. This further lessened the trust in government among the ethnic Chinese, and business practices evolved to depend on impersonal institutions. Since the risk of impersonal exchanges remained high, personalistic practices were used to reduce this risk. Thus lineage groups, often covering whole villages, became regarded as family and guaranteed loyalty in business exchanges.

As Chinese businesses expanded in the region in the wake of the depression and World War II, Chinese-owned banks, many of which started as adjuncts to trading and manufacturing firms, emerged as the center of related businesses. Chinese business institutions, adapting to more Western methods in order to handle the multiplicity of distant and impersonal exchanges, became producers of goods and services, far from just being wage laborers and mere players of commerce. Thus

the development of Southeast Asia is based on the expansion of capitalism, and the hostility towards Chinese "domination" reflects the social disruption caused by this expansion.

#### CARL A. TROCKI

#### Opium and the Beginnings of Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia

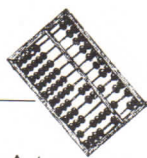
TROCKI describes the transitional phase between "traditional" or pre-market Asian mercantile practices and the modern corporate systems of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to link opium farming to capitalist development in Southeast Asia. The author argues that opium revenue actually paved the way for capitalist development. Opium farming, which long existed in every Southeast Asian state, played an important role during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. To collect taxes from their population, the governments of pre-modern Southeast Asia farmed out portions of the state's revenue to be able to collect a specific tax or to monopolize the distribution and sale of some item like liquor or opium. Of all the various farms found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the region, opium farming was the most lucrative because it generated a high level of cash flow and created large pools of capital, financed commodity production and helped create the infrastructures for consumer economies. In turn, these opium farms also helped finance state structures that protected businessmen and their profits. They also became sources of capital for other ventures.

Two types of opium farms are described in the paper: the Malayan opium farms and the Javanese farms. In the Malayan opium farms in Singapore and Malaysia, the consumers were mostly Chinese laborers or coolies who depended on the drug for endurance of a harsh life. Those who invested in the opium farms prior to 1880 were the same capitalists who dominated the pepper, tin and gambier industries. These businesses formed connections with a secret society organization and tied capital, labor and commodity production systems to opium.

The Javanese opium farm, like those found in Java, the central plain of Siam, Cochin China and







Tongkin, was largely populated by Southeast Asian peasants. The consumers were significantly the indigenous people although opium smoking was primarily considered a Chinese vice. Rich men with business in land, shipping, rice trading or plantations, had opium farms as just one of their enterprises. These farmers, whom the author describes as invariably Chinese, maintained their enterprise by forging a wide range of patronage with local officials and a large body of private security personnel. Thus many colonial administrators viewed opium farmers as men of power in society and a threat to the governing order. Through time, these farms were eliminated when they became larger and more urbanized since they were easier to police and more difficult to finance. By this time, the region manifested a wide array of capitalist enterprises which had become just as lucrative.



**N. RAO KOWTHA**  
**THOMAS MENKHOFF**

**Tribes, Trust and Transaction Costs:  
A Preliminary Model of Trust Building  
in the Asian Context**

KOWTHA and MENKHOFF used a case study approach to arrive at a tentative model of how trust is built in the transaction of business. Past studies have shown that friendly relations with important agencies were built through the exchange of gifts. In time, trust and familiarity were established. The study discusses what conditions were necessary to build trust and how it is maintained. Observations were linked with theory in order to generate propositions. With this approach, the writers provide a tentative model for the production of trust.

Trust is used as a continuous variable and as a matter of confidence. Businessmen rely on indices and credible commitments. The model traces the evolution of relationships into trust-based relations. Strangers can routinely trade all over the world once an initial level of trust is met. In countries with well-developed systems and strong enforcement as in Singapore, where the study was conducted, trust was found to be the result of some structural arrangement which facilitated trade. Furthermore, the model acknowledges the importance of kinship ties in societies with underdeveloped systems.

The writers explain their study can only provide a tentative model since propositions and method are induced by observation. The model lacks generalizability because of the narrowness of the sample and location. Much could be gained, therefore, if this preliminary model were tested in other settings and in various business relations at all levels of the Asian context. The writers also regard the model as incomplete for it does not include the problem of the breach of trust and the means of rebuilding it. The repair of damage to reputation is also important to consider in the model.

What is important, however, is that limited as the findings of the study are, they suggest that the sociological and economic theories used in the West can also be extended to the East without any loss of their explanatory power. ☼

*Abstracts by Divina A. Diokno, Senior Program Manager, Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication.*

## PROFILES

Changing Gender Relations in  
Southeast Asia and the Contribution  
of Women's Organizations

Six synoptic papers will be presented in the international conference on **Southeast Asia in the 20TH Century** at the University of the Philippines in January 1998. The theme on women, presented here, will be done by DR. DARUNEE TANTIWIRAMANOND, the coordinator of the WOMEN'S ACTION AND RESEARCH INITIATIVE in Pathumthani, Thailand. Below is the abstract of her paper. The five of the six themes were featured in an earlier issue of the SEAS Bulletin (2/96).



Women have played an active role in the democratic struggles and modernization processes in Southeast Asia. Yet historical accounts barely recognized their role and contribution. Periods of social upheaval such as colonial encounters or the rise of nationalism often heightened the unequal relationships between men and women partly because of the need to maximize human resources and the ideologies aspiring for greater equality and freedom for all.

Gender relations, traditionally important in the culture and life of Southeast Asian peoples, have encountered in the 20TH century critical phases of colonization, modernization, and globalization. These developments have shaped both the conditions of women and their collective responses. My paper will examine the impact of the changing economic and political contexts of Southeast Asia on the roles and status of women. I will describe country-specific efforts of women to change their condition and improve the understanding and conceptualization of women's issues.

One focus of women's movements in Southeast Asia has been on the critical role and capacity of public policies in defining the status of women and creating and perpetuating subordination. An

equally important focus has been on the realization of the potential of public policy-making systems to promote a more equitable distribution of resources and guarantee women's rights. The relationship between women and public policy has been contested over time in Southeast Asia. These contests have led to the formation of new women's groups, the improvement of public policy options as well as generated public debates on gender equality.



Women's collective efforts, their organization, and growth in countries like Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia can be associated with two different periods of rapid social change. The first covers movements and organizations founded at the beginning of the 20TH century through the rise of nationalism and the end of Western colonization. Their efforts at social and bureaucratic reforms eventually changed the ruling system. The second period covers women's groups founded within the last 25 years partly in response to the growth of international women's movements and the declaration of the two UN Decades for Women (1975-1995). The focus of recent efforts has been the goals of the Decade: equality, development and peace.

In countries like Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines, women participated in the anti-colonial struggles. In Indonesia the momentum of participation started at the end of the 19TH century by many women such as Kartini. In the early 20TH century in Thailand, dozens of women's magazines advocated women's education and the removal of the practice of polygamy. In the Philippines the efforts for suffrage by women were led by Alzona and Planas. Women in Southeast Asia acquired the right to vote relatively early, 1932 in Thailand and 1937 in the Philippines.

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# In Memory of Black May

## (Post-May Reform Incomplete)

Thai politics is remarkably resilient. Despite the best and worst efforts, it appears totally resistant to reform, a process needing the support of the people for change to take place.

Five days after the bloody confrontation between pro-democracy demonstrators and government troops on Ratchadamnoen Avenue on 17 May 1992, a plain single poster was put up in front of the Student Organization Building at THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY. On it was written an anonymous Thai poem, whose disturbingly sceptical and melancholic tone would resound quietly and hauntingly in the minds of any survivor or witness of that tragic incident. The poem read:

*Sixty years have passed in vain,  
 hoping against hope, futilely;  
 Leaving behind but unhealed  
 wounds and pain  
 And the ruins of democracy...*

The burgeoning movement for political reform since then may in a way be regarded as one long desperate attempt by Thai society to dispute that poem. For example, greater freedom has been attained through the limits imposed on state power and its decentralization, thereby distributing self-governing power to the people. The result is a draft charter by the Constitution Drafting Assembly, reputedly the lengthiest of its kind in the world: all 339 articles just to contest those four short lines above.

Why so?

Because in terms of political structure, the May 1992 uprising, together with the scores of lives lost in that event, ended up more or less at the same juncture as before the military coup led by the NATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING COUNCIL in February 1991, namely, the bad, old paternalistic and authoritarian electoral system on top of a centralized bureaucratic state. In this light, the two disparate incidents were but different approaches

to dealing with this very same structural problem of Thai politics. And both ended, alas, in vain.

The military might have left the political arena and returned to the barracks, or so it seems. The Anand Panyarachun government might have achieved a certain degree of economic liberalization. But politically speaking, liberal democracy has yet to be realized.

The politicians churned out by the corruption-prone, vote-buying and rent-seeking political system continue to be elected and returned to power. Sleazy politics turns out to be an inherent flaw of the political set-up as a whole, not a problem peculiar to any specific person or party, whether worthy of office or not. No political leader in this system can possibly reach the pinnacle of government power in a manner untainted by sleaze and scandal.

Even with the purest of intentions and the cleanest of hands, these leaders in their exercise of power still have to face an over-centralized but under-coordinated state bureaucracy that has proven itself to be inefficient, sluggish, unresponsive, irresponsible, unjust, open to bribery and obstructive of the autonomous, sustainable development and self-government of Thai society and economy. Perched on top of such a fragmented, pyramid-like state structure, how can these politicians do much of anything?

Hence the past five years have witnessed aggravating internal crises, the loss of credibility and the self-destruction of one establishment institution after another: political parties, the parliament, the cabinet, the police, the judiciary, the *sangha* (monastic order), higher education and the once prestigious and accredited technocratic agencies that oversee finance, commercial banking and the country's fiscal policy.

It seems that Thai society as a whole no longer has anyone or anything to depend on or believe in. Neither does it appear to have any way out of this collective malaise and impasse. More





and more people are desperately seeking their own private escape route, trying to keep their own life boat afloat in the polluted political waters, leaving the nation, the public, the common good behind. Mutually Thai citizens experience each other's powerlessness as something incomprehensible, hostile and condemnable.

Thus the urban middle class believes that the democratic (but "un-free") right of rural folks to vote and sell votes (which is, practically speaking, the one and only effective example of the people's many constitutional but unenforceable rights) results in "the tyranny of the rural majority". Such tyranny, in the urbanite view, has catapulted unscrupulous, uneducated and high-handed mafia bosses from the provinces into misrule in the city and the mismanagement of the economy. On the other hand, the rural poor see the affluent middle class' undemocratic freedom to trade, invest, consume, overspend, exploit and pollute as constituting an "uncivil society". An inevitable outcome, in the rural view, is an avaricious, free-market vanguard of state officials and businessmen who in and plunder the human and natural resources of the countryside. In such a divisive and dissipating society as ours, where all that is solid melts into air and all that is holy is profane, whence could hope come?

Unexpectedly, but come to think of it quite logically, hope has and could only come from the apolitical quarters outside the official circles of politics. It comes from a bunch of academics and journalists who began the public discourse of political reform in the unlikeliest of ways: a lone, quixotic crusader who launched a hunger strike and was branded foolhardy and crazy by most people at the time; a senior citizen-doctor whose good faith, moral stature, kindness and generosity are as overwhelmingly astonishing as his political innocence; an ex-diplomat business leader who twice suffered great misfortune at the hands of the top executive power during times of crisis and yet despises power politics in the same manner that a white swan refuses to mingle in the same pond with a flock of black geese.

These and other people of moral authority, intellectual influence and social leadership have managed to push the politicians along the path of political reform this far; to a point, that is, where

political reform is being carried out by the Constitution Drafting Assembly under the overall organization, sponsorship, influence and final judgement of the powers-that-be who are actually the targets of reform.

It is difficult to imagine any power-holder who would voluntarily and consensually allow reform to go so far as to substantially limit or strip his power altogether. Therefore, reform, especially the particular kind we have today, cannot help but be a compromise ridden with half-truths, half-hearted changes, half-cooked measures, half losses and half gains, that satisfies no one fully and can only be sustained by an unwilling consensus yielded to grudgingly by every side only as the second best choice or the lesser evil.

In this sense, to reform is to change by just the right degree, a delicate balancing act that requires skillful and careful, flexible but principled steering, adjustment, navigation by the force of reform able to advance and retreat in its complex relationship with others at both ends of the spectrum: the force of radical change and the conservative force of resistance.

The change initiated must be meaningful enough to respond to the demands for reform and capable of really solving structural problems in the system. But it also has to be by just the right degree, lest it lead to a life-or-death showdown with the conservative force that ends up derailing the entire reform process or, in the face of pressure from the force of radical change, a breakdown of the very system that needs reforming.

But is there such a thing as just the right degree of change in Thai society? Can it be found? Is it actually useful to Thai politics? Or has the situation already gone beyond the point where only an extreme, thoroughgoing change can produce a breakthrough?

The answers to these and other burning questions of reform need to be sought, hopefully not among a tiny circle of different groups of elite, but among the people generally. Let the people determine the degree of change they want for eventually the only political reform they will defend and sustain will be their own. ☼

*Kasian Tejapira, lecturer in Political Science,  
Thammasat University*





# Current Developments in Southeast Asian Archaeology and Museum Studies

Early in May this year, the NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PHILIPPINES hosted a conference organized by the REGIONAL CENTER FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND FINE ARTS (SPAFA) of the SOUTHEAST ASIAN MINISTERS OF EDUCATION ORGANIZATION. The SPAFA, officially launched in 1978, is located in Thailand. Its current director, DR. RUANG CHAROENCHAI, has held office since July 1993. Through training activities, seminars and workshops, and research and exchange programs, SPAFA aims to promote awareness and appreciation of Southeast Asia's cultural heritage; enrich cultural activities; strengthen professional competence in archaeology and fine arts; and increase collaborative work in these fields.

Twenty delegates from the nine-member countries of SPAFA attended the seminar, namely, archaeologists from Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Archaeologists from Japan and Taiwan also participated in the conference. The participants discussed present developments in archaeology and museum studies in their respective countries.

Most of the countries in the region encounter similar problems, namely, the lack of funds and qualified personnel to conduct research and preserve and restore cultural pieces. Countries belonging to SPAFA cannot depend on this organization for funding but must look for other sources. Joint projects

with foreign institutions have been an alternative solution, but greater international and local linkages need to be established.

A major problem is the continuous illegal excavation, looting and illicit trade of artifacts. A partial cause of the problem is the lack of awareness of the value of these artifacts to the national heritage and the ways by which archaeology can help enrich and preserve this heritage. Archaeological museums, interactive exhibits and layman's books on the importance of archaeology are therefore necessary.

Based on previous and current archaeological researches conducted in each country of the region, there is clearly a need to go beyond one's own country and into the larger Southeast Asian region. We should understand the prehistory of our own country in relation to the prehistory of the whole area. A very good example why we should extend our study to cover the region is that up to the present, the source of obsidian flakes has not yet been found as PROFESSOR ZURAINA of Malaysia reported. There is, too, the possibility of a common culture area in Batanes, Taiwan and Okinawa, as DR. DIZON of the Philippines observed. A definite cultural sequence can only be established if artifacts from different sites are systematically compared. This will be possible through the use of similar methods of excavation. The establishment of the proposed data base center for archaeology and museology will also be of great assistance in achieving this objective. Collaborative researches among member countries must be encouraged.

At the end of the conference, the body agreed to recommend a number of measures to address some of the problems raised during the open forum. These include the establishment of a data base center for archaeology and museology; training courses in archaeometry; sponsorship by SPAFA of cooperative archaeological research projects; and SPAFA's assistance in soliciting funds for research and restoration work.

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## PROFILES

# Maritime Communities and Development Programs

While the bush fires were raging in Kalimantan, Indonesia, a group of marine social scientists gathered at SAM RATULANGI UNIVERSITY (UNSRAT) in Manado, North Sulawesi. The purpose of their meeting was to discuss maritime communities in Southeast Asia in the context of ongoing changes in the region and official development programs. The northern section of the Wallace Line — the zone between the Sunda and Sahul continental shelves — is an important site of development programs, one such example being the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East Asian Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA).

on the "peripheral zone". Among the topics of the papers were the impact of development programs, ethnic identity, migration, the *Bajo*, and social change.

Apart from the seminar, field trips were arranged for the participants so that they could directly experience life in some of the coastal communities referred to by various speakers. The participants were grouped into three. One visited Bunaken, a small island facing the coast of Manado, where a cove called Teluk Liang is famous for its marvelous sea garden. Another group went to Tumbak, a village located on the east coast of Minahasa Regency in North Sulawesi. About 30 percent of the settlers along the coast are the *Bajo* people. This coast, incidentally, was chosen as one of the research sites of the Coastal Resource Management Project of UNSRAT and USAID. The third group toured Bitung, an industrial city on the northern coast of Sulawesi, 47 kilometers from Manado. Recently some southern Philippine *payao* (fish aggregating device) fishermen were imprisoned here for allegedly fishing within the territorial waters of Indonesia.

Because of the limited time allotted to the presentation of papers and the open forum, the seminar was unable to summarize important points such as the reflections of development experience in Japan and other problems common to maritime communities, such as border crossings of Filipino fishermen to In-



donesia, the possibility of "dual citizenship" (Indonesian and Filipino) among Sangihe-Talaud who reside in southern Mindanao, creative strategies in the containment of blast fishing and cyanide fishing within the BIMP islands, the use of textbooks to build awareness of the fragile maritime environment, and parameters for the definition of a homeland and the identification of the coastal regions as ancestral domain territories. Evidently, there is need for another seminar of maritime social scientists.

The seminar was fortunate to have had experts on maritime studies such as DR. ADRIAN LAPIAN of the UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA, and PROF. W.J. WAWOROENTOE, the former rector of UNSRAT, whose wisdom stimulated the floor discussions. The participants enjoyed the hospitality of UNSRAT Rector PROF. DR. IR. J. PARUNTU, who welcomed them and hosted a dinner. Congratulations to PROFESSORS EDDY MANTJORO, KOJI TANAKA, ALEX and SOPHIA ULAEN, BILLY WAGEY and all those who made the seminar a worthwhile trip. ☼

*Dr. Cynthia N. Zayas, Coordinator, Program on Ethno-Linguistic Groups, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines*

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON MARITIME COMMUNITIES IN A CHANGING WORLD  
CHALLENGES OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES  
SAM RATULANGI UNIVERSITY-CSEAS, KYOTO UNIVERSITY  
Manado, 23 - 25 September 1997



Jointly organized by UNSRAT in commemoration of its 32ND founding anniversary and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies of Kyoto University, the seminar aimed to share the results of local researches which could help refine or improve regional development programs and to reflect on the experiences of developed nations like Japan. Participants from various islands of Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, and the Netherlands presented a total of 15 papers which generally focused

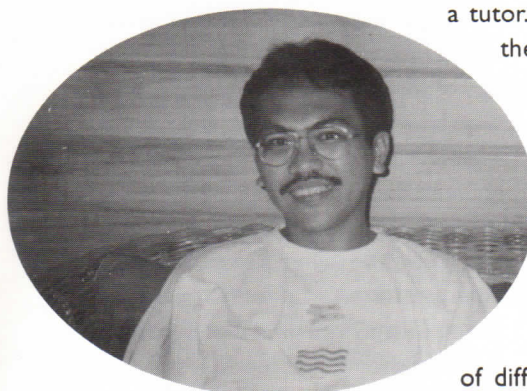


# Learning Tagalog In and Outside the Classroom

How do you understand a culture not your own? Perhaps the best way is to learn its language, not just by sitting in the classroom but also by involving oneself in the everyday life of the people. So reading local newspapers and magazines, local comics, watching Tagalog movies, eating in low-class eateries, getting along with Filipino friends, I found, were effective ways to learn Tagalog.

Under the SEASREP, I received an opportunity to take language courses at the University of Philippines Diliman from June to September this year. This was my second visit to the Philippines since my study at the Ateneo de Manila University from 1992 to 1994. Yet during my earlier stay I never learned Tagalog, although I knew a few words. This time I attended the regular class for beginners on reading comprehension. In addition,

I had a weekly one-on-one session with a tutor. I am very grateful to the faculty members and staff of the Department of Filipino and the Third World Studies Center who were very accommodating during my stay here.



My classmates were of different nationalities — Japanese, Korean, American, Spanish, and Filipino-American — and we tried to practice Tagalog in reading, conversation and writing. Soon after I started the classes, I realized Tagalog is a very difficult language to learn. Although Tagalog and *bahasa* Indonesia belong to one language family, the former is much more difficult in terms of grammar and writing. Aware of this problem, I decided to concentrate first on grammar and develop my reading comprehension and translation skill later. Of course, in such a short time it was not possible to master the language. The local comics and Tagalog newspapers taught me slang words

which gave me a glimpse of the language in its present cultural context since certain words have new meanings or forms which differ from their original.

*Sayang* (alas), at this time I was not able to stay with a Filipino family who would have given me more insights into Filipino culture and helped improve my conversational ability. At least I did not feel out of place and indeed easily passed for a Filipino. I must say, though, that when it comes to eating Filipino food, an Indonesian might find it too sour and salty.

In general, Philippine society is rapidly changing, especially the urban people in Manila. But their traditional values — or Eastern values if we use the Eastern vs. Western dichotomy — are still apparent. *Utang na loob*, *pakikisama*, or *bayanihan*, to name a few, are similar to the Indonesian values of *utang budi*, *gotong-royong* or *tolong-menolong*, respectively. Filipinos, like Indonesians, also like to greet someone they know wherever they meet. “Kumusta ka na?” (how are you) and “Saan ka pupunta?” (where are you going) show the friendly and hospitable character of the Filipino.

One thing that sometimes surprised me was how many Filipinos have so little knowledge of their neighbouring countries. Perhaps this is one reason why some people say that Filipinos are too American-oriented which, in my opinion, is not really true. Fortunately, *bahasa* Indonesia has been taught in UP Diliman for more than 10 years, which I expect can give some information about my country to Filipino students. In this respect, universities in Indonesia lag behind in the teaching of other Southeast Asian languages. Hopefully, my study here will encourage my university to teach Tagalog and increase mutual understanding between our countries. ☼

*Irwan M. Hidayana, Lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of Indonesia*



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danger that the analysis may not be accurate. — *Maria Roseny Fangco*

The Islamic revival is good because it paves the way toward social democracy based on Pancasila. I believe that religious pluralism is a fact of life. Muslims should try to work with others to meet the challenges of the times rather than demand that the government give them rights that are denied to others. Indonesia is a pluralist state and somehow Pancasila ensures that this pluralism continues to be a creative element in maintaining growth and stability within the state. — *Clarissa Sales*

It is possible that Islamic revival occurred in Indonesia because the government believed it was time for such change to take place. It was safer for the New Order to give the people what they desired rather than risk the ire of almost all the populace by suppressing them too much. The change towards the reinvigoration of Islam will not only make the people feel contented and better off (because of a responsive government), but will also bring about political stability for the benefit of the state. Also, the 20th century is a safe period to allow more freedom for the practice of the Islamic faith without the government fearing for its existence. This is because, based on what I read, Western-educated Muslims at present do not anymore wish for a government that strictly observes a religious code. — *Anna Nerissa B. Paz*

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As a result, US leadership in the field is no longer taken for granted, and there is a much more open and equal exchange of scholarship. The evolving world of Southeast Asian studies will surely become more truly international, and will increasingly have its center in Southeast Asia itself. It is hard to predict just how Europe will fit into this future. The recent internationalizing initiatives have depended heavily on the energies of a few leading scholars — notably DENYS LOMBARD from France's EFEO, WIM STOKHOF from Leiden's IIAS, and THOMMY SVENSSON from Denmark's NIAS — and have to overcome a very considerable drag of national and academic parochialism. But the younger generation of European scholars possesses talent and enthusiasm, and there is good reason to believe it will play a creative role in the emerging global community of Southeast Asia scholars. ☼

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On their last day, the delegates visited some of the archaeological sites in Calatagan, Batangas, including the site excavated by the 1997 Summer Field School of the Archaeological Studies Program of the University of the Philippines. To cap the conference, certificates of participation were handed out at the Bayview Park Hotel by FR. GABRIEL CASAL, Director of the NATIONAL MUSEUM; MR. PISIT CHAROENWONGSA, SPAFA Senior Specialist in Archaeology; PROF. WILFREDO RONQUILLO, Chief of the Archaeology Division, National Museum; and DR. EUSEBIO Z. DIZON, Curator of the Archaeology Division and Director of the UP Archaeological Studies Program. ☼

*Grace Baretto, graduate student of the Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines*

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Inspired by the UN Decades for Women, women-centered collective activities increased worldwide. In Southeast Asia dozens of women's groups have emerged in the cities of Bangkok and Manila. Many of these "new" groups have shifted from "welfarism" to activism. Seeking to raise women's awareness, they have brought women together and given them strength and a framework to analyze, understand, and therefore change their situations.

An analysis of the contribution of women's organizations in Southeast Asia requires an understanding of the historical and cultural background of changing gender relations. Such an analysis must ask: How have the variables and local specificity of colonialism, religion and the nature of the state influenced the creation, maintenance and transformation of gender relations? How have the relations between the state and civil activism changed, and how have such relations shaped the initiatives and activities of women's organizations? In what ways have women been able to use the mass media, mobilize their internal resources, and utilize their political opportunity structures to gain greater equality? And what paradoxes have emerged for women in the pursuit of liberal equality when local laws (such as those regarding hazardous work conditions of factory women or women in the service sector) and global treaties (such as CEDAW) have been signed but not acted upon? The goal of my paper will thus also be to provide deeper theoretical insights into gender-based cultural and political challenges in Southeast Asia, and explore the possibilities of formulating gender-responsive policies in the rapidly changing local and global environments in the region. ☼

*Dr. Darunee Tantiwiramanond, coordinator of Women's Action and Research Initiative, Pathumthani, Thailand.*



## RECIPIENTS OF SEASREP GRANTS 1997-1998

### Visiting Professors

- ▶ **Dr. Onghokham** of the University of Indonesia will lecture on Java and the other islands, new research directions in Indonesian culture, and Chinese in Java at the Akademi of Malay Studies, University of Malaya.
- ▶ **Dr. Azyumardi Azra** of the Center for the Study of Islam and Society, State Institute for Islamic Studies, Jakarta, will lecture on contemporary Islam in Indonesia at the Institute of Islamic Studies, University of the Philippines; and on Islamic studies in Southeast Asia at the Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya.
- ▶ **Dr. Shamsul Amri** of the National University of Malaysia will lecture on the politics of rural development in Malaysia at the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University.
- ▶ **Dr. Maria Serena I. Diokno** of the University of the Philippines will lecture on the economic history of the Philippines at the Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University.
- ▶ **Prof. R.Z. Leirissa** of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, will lecture on the history of the outer islands of Indonesia at the Department of History Thammasat University.
- ▶ **Dr. Wardiningsih Soejohardjo** of the University of Indonesia will lecture on women in Indonesian history at the Department of History, Thammasat University.

- ▶ **Prof. Fauzi Hj. Yaacob** of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, will lecture on the anthropological aspect of Malay entrepreneurship and rural economy at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia.
- ▶ **Prof. Firdaus Hj. Abdullah** of the University of Malaya will lecture on contemporary political science in Malaysia at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia.
- ▶ **Dr. Afan Gaffar** of the Department of Political Science, Gadjah Mada University, will lecture on electoral politics in Indonesia at the University of the Philippines.

### Language Training

- ▶ **Hanafi Bin Hussin**, lecturer at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, will study Filipino at the University of the Philippines for six months.
- ▶ **Letmiros**, lecturer at the Fakultas Sastra/Arab, University of Indonesia, will study Thai at Thammasat University for four months.
- ▶ **Tran Thuy Anh**, an M.A. student from the Vietnam National University-Hanoi, will study Bahasa Malaysia at the University of Malaya for four months.
- ▶ **Mastor Masnar Ampac**, from the University of the Philippines will study Bahasa Malaysia at the University of Malaya for one year.
- ▶ **Suryadi**, lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, will study Tagalog at the University of the Philippines for one year.

- ▶ **Enrique Voltaire G. Pingol**, lecturer at the Department of Arts and Communication, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines Manila, will study Bahasa Indonesia at the Gadjah Mada University for six months.
- ▶ **Misael Llana Racines**, of the University of the Philippines will study Bahasa Indonesia at the Gadjah Mada University for ten months.

### M.A./Ph.D. Incentive Grants

- ▶ **Abdul Haris**, M.A. student at the Gadjah Mada University, will continue his research on the migration of Sasak workers to Western Malaysia and its impact on their areas of origin.
- ▶ **Muhammad bin H.M. Ramli A.A.**, M.A. student at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya, will do research on Southeast Asian investments in the timber industry of Kutai, East Kalimantan in Indonesia.

### Regional Collaboration Grants

- ▶ **Dr. Carunia Mulya Firdausy**, research economist of the Southeast Asian program of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, will continue her research on the Movement of People within and from the East and Southeast Asian region: trends, causes and consequences and policy measures.
- ▶ **Zaiton Osman**, chief librarian of the University of Malaya, will organize a colloquium on academic library information resources for Southeast Asian scholarship.
- ▶ **Mohd. Raduan bin Mohd. Ariff**, Associate Professor, University of Malaya, will research on Water



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Cities of Southeast Asia: From Center to Periphery.

- **Miriam C. Ferrer**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of the Philippines, will complete her research on conflicts and conflict resolution in majority-minority relations in SEA.
- **Dr. Maria Serena I. Diokno**, Professor of History, University of the Philippines, will organize an international conference on SEA in the 20th Century.
- **Dr. Charnvit Kasetsiri**, Lecturer at the Department of History, Thammasat University, will continue his research on the history of Indonesia based on a SEA perspective.
- **Suwilai Premssirat**, Chair of the Indochinese Studies Committee, Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University, will compile a thesaurus of Khumu dialects in Southeast Asia.
- **Isma-ae Alee**, Director of the College of Islamic Studies, Prince of Songkla University, will organize an international seminar on Islamic Studies in the ASEAN Region: History, Approaches, and Trends.

## SEASREP 1998 GRANTS

The following exchange grants are now open for application.

## Language Training Grants

For the study of a Southeast Asian national or local language or a source language (a former colonial language except English) other than one's own, through a formal course or with a private tutor accredited by an MOU university or known institution. Knowledge of the Southeast Asian or source

language must be necessary for documentary or field research.

Eligible to apply: graduate students and faculty affiliated with any MOU university; graduate students and faculty of other universities in the region who will take language training in an MOU university.

## Visiting Professorship Grants

For intensive lectures by Southeast Asian experts from the region invited by a department or institute in the humanities and social sciences of any MOU member university.

## M.A./Ph.D. Incentive Research Grants in Southeast Asian Studies

For graduate students doing documentary or field research on a Southeast Asian country other than their own.

Eligible to apply: graduate students enrolled in MOU universities; graduate students from other universities in the region who will carry out their research under the co-supervision of a faculty member of an MOU university.

## Regional Collaboration Project Grants

Open to all Southeast Asian scholars doing joint research of a comparative or regional nature that: aims to share the results of research on Southeast Asia conducted by Southeast Asian scholars; and views Southeast Asia as a region or uses a comparative approach involving several Southeast Asian researchers. Also for seminars and workshops to promote the above projects.

Deadline for Applications:  
31 March 1998

For inquiries and application forms, contact your MOU liaison officer or write:

The Tokyo Joint Secretariat for SEASREP  
c/o The Toyota Foundation  
Shinjuku Mitsui Building 37F  
2-1-1 Nishi-Shinjuku  
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo  
163-04 Japan  
Tel: +81-3-3344-1701  
Fax: +81-3-3342-6911

## MOU Member Universities &amp; Liaison Officers

## University of Indonesia

Prof. Susanto Zuhdi  
Deputy Dean, Faculty of Letters

## Gadjah Mada University

Dr. Djoko Suryo  
Dean, Faculty of Letters

## University of Malaya

Prof. Mohd Fauzi Hj. Yaacob  
Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

## National University of Malaysia

Prof. Datin Dr. Sharifah Hapsah Shahabuddin  
Director, International Relations

## University of the Philippines

Dr. Maria Serena I. Diokno  
Associate Dean for Research and Development, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

## Ateneo de Manila University

Fr. Jose M. Cruz, S.J.  
Chair, Department of History

## Thammasat University

Dr. Kajit Jittasevi, Vice Rector for International Affairs

## Chulalongkorn University

Prof. Dr. Thien Chay Kiranandana  
President



**CONFERENCES**

**International Conference on South-east Asia in the 20TH Century**, 28-30 January 1998, University of the Philippines. The deadline for registration is extended to 15 November 1997. Registration fee is US\$100 for those received by 15 November 1997; US\$120 for those paid after this date. Please make check payable to SEA Conference.

**Send registration form, fee, and abstract of papers to:**

Conference Secretariat  
Third World Studies Center  
College of Social Sciences  
and Philosophy  
University of the Philippines  
1101 Diliman, Quezon City.  
Tel/Fax +632-920-5428  
E-mail seasrep@cssp.upd.edu.ph

**10th Colloquium on Changing Malaysia: Past Perspective, New Horizons**, 22-23 November 1997, Australian National University, Australia

**For inquiries, contact:**

Prof. Anthony Reid and  
Dr. Khasnor Johan, Convenors  
Division of Pacific and Asian  
History, Research School of Pacific  
and Asian Studies  
Australian National University  
Canberra, ACT 0200 Australia  
Fax +06-249-5525

**12th New Zealand International Conference on Asian Studies**, 26-29 November 1997, Massey University, New Zealand. Themes: society; trade, investment, business; development issues; and New Zealand-Asia partnerships.

**Address queries to:**

Dr. Wanda Anasz  
Senior Lecturer in Japanese  
Department of East Asian Studies  
Massey University, New Zealand  
Tel. +06-350-5369  
Fax +06-350-2271  
E-mail w.anasz@mail.massey.ac.nz

**National Conference on the Ethnic Chinese as Filipinos**, 27-28 November 1997, University of St. La Salle, Bacolod, Philippines.

**For details, contact:**

Ritchie R. Santos  
c/o Chinese Studies Program  
Ateneo de Manila University  
Katipunan Road, Quezon City  
Philippines  
Tel. +632-924-4601  
ext. 2751, 2778  
E-mail ritch@pusit.admu.edu.ph

**Conference on Southeast Asian Studies**, 18 February-1 March 1998, University of California, Berkeley. Theme: Literary, verbal, and visual arts of South-east Asia.

**For inquiries, contact:**

Dr. Eric Crystal, Coordinator  
Center for Southeast Asia Studies  
2223 Fulton Street, Room 616  
University of California  
Berkeley, CA 94720-2318, U.S.A.  
Tel. +510 642-3609  
Fax +510 643-7021  
E-mail cseas@uclink.berkeley.edu

**International Symposium on the current situation in Penang and Southeast Asia**, 6-8 April 1998, sponsored by the Technical University of Darmstadt. The symposium will be held in Penang, Malaysia. Panels are on public and private sectors-conflicting approaches; values and urban identity; housing and working in inner-city-areas; and critique of 'the city' urban visions.

**For inquiries, contact:**

Prof. Arnold Koerte  
Department of Architecture  
Technische Hochschule Darmstadt  
El-Lissitzky Str. 1  
D-64287, Darmstadt, Germany  
Fax +49-6151-163937  
E-mail dh7c@hrz1.hrz.th-darmstadt.de

**Burma Studies Conference**, 2-4 October 1998, Northern Illinois University. All disciplines and academic topics related to the study of Burma are welcome. Deadline of proposals is 12 March 1998.

**For inquiries, contact:**

Michael W. Charney  
Department of History  
University of Michigan Ann Arbor  
MI 48109 U.S.A.  
E-mail: Laichen@umich.edu or  
ddt@umich.edu

**LANGUAGE COURSE**

Learn basic Thai for foreigners at Thammasat University. The course offers language skills at the beginner, elementary and intermediate levels in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Lessons run from 4 November-12 December 1997 and 20 January-27 February 1998. Fee is 4,500 baht per course (36 hours).

**For inquiries, contact:**

Thai Department  
Faculty of Liberal Arts  
Thammasat University  
Bangkok 10200 Thailand  
Tel. +662-221-6171 to 80 ext. 2608



