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ABSTRACTS

In Search of a New Kingdom of Lahore

Joyce Pettigrew

Contemporary Sikh political protest occurred in the context of increasing centralisation of power in New Delhi, affecting Sikh political, economic and religious rights, and in a context of a developing clash between the theocratic tradition and the secular state. It was a broad-based agrarian protest, which acquired after 1978 a nationalist dimension as single issues of an economic and political nature were not treated on their merits. The Akali Dal emphasized states rights, whereas Bhindranwale and the All India Sikh Students Federation were concerned with the status of Sikhs as a people. The latter two framed their protest in terms of Sikh tradition, which they saw as distinct in its absence of ritual and secular hierarchy, in its historicized religious tradition, and in its emphasis on justice and collective autonomy. However, the ruling Congress Party became a major influence in the developing association of community identity and nationality that emerged. Consistent Sikh participation in Indian institutions could not overcome the Hindu chauvinism sponsored by the ruling party nor the community's retreat into cultural tradition.

From Punjab to "Khalistan": Territoriality and Metacommentary

Harjot S. Oberoi

For many people it appears "natural" that many Sikhs claim Punjab as their homeland. Many of the Sikh Gurus were born there, and they constantly traversed it; its sacred literature draws its imagery from the surrounding landscape; its major pilgrim centres are scattered all over it, and the faithful for five centuries have tried to mould the land in their own corporate image. Surprisingly, territory did not play a key role in the self-definition of the Sikhs until the demand for Pakistan became articulated and partition seemed likely. Then the Sikhs began to visualize the Punjab as their homeland. In the process they reinterpreted their own past and reformulated the history of those around them.

Affective attachment with the Punjab among the Sikhs is fairly recent, and does not date back to the early annals of the Sikh community, as some ideologues of "Khalistan" assert. It is the intersection of history and geography, discourse and space, that has transformed the Punjab into Khalistan.

From Moderates to Secessionists: A Who's Who of the Punjab Crisis

Andrew Major

A clear understanding of the recent and ongoing "crisis" in Indian Punjab has been thwarted in part by the imprecise use, by journalists and other commentators, of certain labels—"moderates," "extremists," "fundamentalists," "terrorists," "secessionists," etc.—to categorize those Sikhs who are, in some way or another, in opposition to the Congress (I) Party and the government of India. Each of these labels is analyzed to determine its precise (or most acceptable) meaning, and the Sikh individuals or political organizations to whom it ought properly to apply. It is argued that these labels cannot be used interchangeably, and that they are—in any case—only heuristic devices and not shorthand descriptions of the political reality in present-day Punjab.

Grappling with History: Sikh Politicians and the Past

Robin Jeffrey

Appeals to—and manipulation of—"history" play a greater part in the politics of Sikhs in the Indian state of Punjab than among people in most other parts of the world. This results from the effects of two vast institutions—the Indian Army and

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

- JOYCE PETTIGREW, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, the Queen's University of Belfast. Author of *Robber Noblemen: A Study of the Political System of the Sikh Jats* (London and Boston, Massachusetts: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).
- HARJOT S. OBEROI, Visiting Fellow in the Faculty of Asian Studies, the Australian National University.
- ANDREW J. MAJOR, Lecturer in Modern South Asian History, the National University of Singapore.
- ROBIN JEFFREY, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics, La Trobe University. His most recent book is *What's Happening to India?* (London: Macmillan/New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).
- SHELDON W. SIMON, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Asian Studies at Arizona State University. His most recent book, now in a second printing, is *The ASEAN States and Regional Security* (Stanford: The Hoover Institution Press, 1982).

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the committee that controls Sikh temples—and the relative newness of the Sikh religion, whose rise coincided with that of “scientific” history in the West. For analysis, it is useful to distinguish three types of history practised in the modern world—“Popular,” “Rhetorical,” and “Academic.” For the reasons outlined above, among Sikhs in modern Punjab a particular variant of Rhetorical History has come to overpower the other two. This has far-reaching implications, not only for the Sikhs and Punjab, but also for Indian politics.

ASEAN's Strategic Situation in the 1980s

Sheldon W. Simon

The realities of growing great power military deployments in Southeast Asia have confined ASEAN's hopes for regional neutralization to political rhetoric. As long as the Soviet Union increases its naval and air presence in the South China Sea and China continues to build a blue water navy, ASEAN members will welcome the maintenance of an American presence. Nevertheless, the Association's repeated emphasis on creating a Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) for Southeast Asia is important. Such declarations reaffirm the independence of ASEAN's members and their refusal to accept a permanent strategic division of the region based on alliances with outside powers. A serendipitous result of external military balance in the region is the placement of Indonesia and Vietnam on opposite sides. To the relief of Thailand and Singapore, the status quo in which Jakarta and Hanoi are kept apart as reluctant adversaries is preferable to their collaboration as erstwhile allies in a region free of great power activities.

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ABSTRACTS

Japanese Patents: Olympic Gold or Public Relations Brass?

Earl H. Kinmonth

Recent writings on Japanese economic success have stressed patent applications as indicative of technological innovation. This emphasis represents national pride on the Japanese side and careless research by non-Japanese. Patents, as such, have only limited standing as indicators of innovation, while patent *applications* have no standing whatsoever. Administrative and legal differences in the U.S. and Japanese patent systems make comparisons meaningless. Studies of technological levels indicate no decline, but rather possibly an increase, in Japanese reliance on foreign technology in the most advanced sectors. Exaggeration of the Japanese position in technology may foster the sense of racial superiority expressed in Prime Minister Nakasone's infamous statement on American minorities and divert attention from more important factors in Japan's success.

The Ubiquity of Islam: Religion and Society in Bangladesh

Ahmed Shafiqul Huque and Muhammad Yeahia Akhter

Bangladesh was born out of a movement based on secular ideals, and originally there were attempts to relegate religion to the background in the new state. However, Islam has emerged as a strong force. The society was not prepared for secularism. Moreover, inclination towards Islam has been accelerated by several persistent forces and institutions operating within it. These include the family, mosques, religious schools and leaders, shrines, Islamic literature and festivals. In addition, there are a number of changeable factors—educational institutions, the mass media, political parties—which could be used in favour of, or against, the strengthening of Islamic values. Due to the nature of the society and the attitude of the rulers, the changeable factors are now also contributing to the triumph of Islam in Bangladesh.

Economics, Economic Bureaucracy, and Taiwan's Economic Development

Samuel P.S. Ho

This paper, using Taiwan as a case study, attempts to examine the role of the economic bureaucracy in economic development. After reviewing some salient aspects of Taiwan's postwar economic performance and examining the relationship between economic policy and economic development, the paper discusses the role of Taiwan's economic bureaucracy in the formulation, debate, and implementation of two major economic policies—the 1949-53 land reform and the adoption of an export-oriented strategy of industrialization in 1958-60. The paper argues that Taiwan's economic bureaucracy played a large and positive role in the development and implementation of these policies.

The Political Economy of Sugar in Thailand

Ansil Ramsay

With few exceptions, farmers in Third World countries have been unable to convert their numbers into political power. Sugarcane farmers in Thailand are a clear exception to this pattern. Three factors have facilitated their success in creating politically influential organizations: high concentrations of land holdings; geographical concentration; and the industrial structure of the sugar industry. To these must be added the leadership initiatives of particular sugarcane farmers. Their successes call into question several assumptions of the "bureaucratic polity" model of Thai politics, as well as those of certain dependency and neo-Marxist models. The implications of the emergence of sugarcane farmers' associations for these models of politics are discussed.

War, No-war and the India-Pakistan Negotiating Process

Douglas C. Makeig

Relations between India and Pakistan have always been a minefield of mutual recriminations, communal antagonisms and military confrontations. Despite this grim record, the two South Asian rivals have made sporadic progress at the negotiating table whenever both sides demonstrated statesmanship, restraint and perseverance. New Delhi's strategy of managing bilateral relations stresses interdependence, cooperation, bilateralism and a preponderance of Indian military power in the region. Islamabad is characteristically more interested in emphasizing distinctions, forging external security ties and maintaining countervailing forces against perceived Indian bullying. Current efforts in the pursuit of détente center on a series of intertwined diplomatic proposals relating to South Asian security arrangements. Although movement toward a bilateral "no-war pact" is fraught with obstacles, there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic.

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Japan's Keidanren and Its New Leadership

Gary D. Allinson

Keidanren (the Federation of Economic Organizations) is Japan's top business association. It has long been regarded as an equal partner in a ruling triad that also includes the bureaucracy and the conservative Liberal-Democratic Party. However, close analysis of the careers of its highest-ranking leaders suggests that perhaps in its first thirty years it was more a quasi-bureaucratic outpost where former national civil servants often held influential positions. Only in the 1980s has Keidanren begun to draw virtually all of its leadership from the ranks of men who have spent their entire careers in the private business world. This finding has significant implications for our understanding of patterns of political influence, autonomy, and change in post-war Japan.

Reservations in Doubt: The Backlash Against Affirmative Action in Gujarat, India

John R. Wood

During 1985 a bitter conflict erupted in India over the "reservation" system, which allocates quotas of educational and government employment positions to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. In Gujarat State the Congress(I) government of Madhavsinh Solanki attempted to legislate an increase in backward class reservations after apparently winning a strong mandate to do so in the March state elections. Several months of massive rioting, however, forced Solanki to abandon the legislation and eventually to resign. The Gujarat events pointed to several dilemmas facing those who seek to establish an all-India reservation policy. Chief among these is the problem of choosing between the interest of the "advantaged" minority of upper and middle castes, now threatened by reservation increases, and that of the "disadvantaged" majority of lower caste and scheduled groups, ever more mobilized and expectant of benefits from their growing participation in politics and government.

China's Post-Mao Transition: The Role of the Party and Ideology in the New Period

Charles Button

China's post-Mao transition has been marked by the steady transformation of the Chinese Communist Party from a revolutionary élite oriented toward utopian goals to a technocratic élite committed to "modernizing" China, a necessary consequence of a perceived need to avert potential political instability occasioned by unfulfilled expectations of both social and material benefits. This paper argues that the post-Mao reform programme functions to preserve the *status quo* of Party rule by its disassociating the Party from its previous ideological *raison d'être* and establishing a more relevant, viable and appealing doctrine for China's modernization. This paper examines the problems and contradictions inherent in the Chinese Communist Party's complex effort to redefine its legitimating ideology and its role in society.

Governments and Culture: How Women Made Kerala Literate

Robin Jeffrey

Today, Kerala is the most literate state of India (69 percent in 1981). From about 1800 until 1947, it was divided among three political administrations each of which pursued different educational policies. All three areas, however, achieved remarkably high rates of literacy.

Government policies affected the timing of increases in literacy in the three jurisdictions; but culture explains the readiness with which, irrespective of policy, Kerala's people sought literacy-oriented education. The most important aspect of that culture was the place of women. At the beginning of this century about a third of the population was matrilineal and another 20 percent was Christian. Both traditions offered more scope for women than they experienced elsewhere in India. The Kerala evidence suggests that literate men have literate sons, but literate women have literate families.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

GARY D. ALLINSON, Ellen Bayard Weedon Professor of East Asian Studies at the University of Virginia. Has published *Japanese Urbanism* (1975) and *Suburban Tokyo* (1979), both at the University of California Press, as well as numerous essays that examine the social, economic, and political history of Japan since 1868.

JOHN R. WOOD, Professor, Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia.

CHARLES BURTON, Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Post-Doctoral Scholar, Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta.

ROBIN JEFFREY, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics, La Trobe University. His most recent book is *What's Happening to India?* (London: Macmillan/New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).

HUỶNH KIM KHÁNH, Director of the Indochina Project, co-sponsored by York University's Centre for International and Strategic Studies and the Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, University of Toronto-York University. Author of *Vietnamese Communism 1925-1945* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1972).

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ABSTRACTS

Territorial Elements of Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka

Robert N. Kearney

Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, is one of the many multi-ethnic states experiencing a conflict between two ethnic communities, one numerically dominant, existing within the same political entity. Territorial aspects of the Sinhalese/Tamil conflict are examined on the basis of official census data on population distribution by ethnic group and government information on regional voting patterns. Sri Lanka Tamil claims for a separate nation are presented. Overt conflicts concerning territory are shown to be related to recent shifts in the ethnic composition of the population of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Sri Lankan case is a particularly stark example of ethnic tensions and separatist struggle, perhaps rendered especially conflict-fraught due to the spatial limitations of a small island nation.

Transnational Corporations and Asian Inequality

David Kowalewski

Transnational corporations (TNCs) in Third World countries often claim to be "engines of development." While, certainly, TNCs may raise the *aggregate* level of Third World production, their effect on the *distribution* of economic values is often more skeptically viewed. The study examines the impact of TNC-penetration on income and land distribution in Asia. Quantitative and qualitative evidence is adduced to shed light on the relationship. The results indicate that greater TNC-domination is associated with less equitable distribution.

The Struggle over the Chinese Community in Vietnam, 1946-1986

E.S. Ungar

The history of the Chinese community in Vietnam in the twentieth century is characterized by a pattern of powerful groups competing for the allegiance of a growing Vietnamese Chinese community. Such conflicts occurred between the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang (GMD), the GMD and Ngo Dinh Diem, the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Geopolitical, economic and demographic factors affected the status of the ethnic Chinese, north and south, in different ways. First, the Chinese in the north came to be perceived as a strategic concern whenever Sino-Vietnamese relations were at issue while the Chinese in the south were viewed as an internal matter. Second, Chinese in the north played a far smaller role in the economy than those in the south. Third, the Chinese population in the north was small (0.5 percent) compared to that in the south (5.5 percent). Research conducted in Vietnam in 1986 reveals new language and cultural policies since 1984 which indicate government efforts to re-integrate the Hoa politically.

Is There Still a Chipko Andolan?

Thomas Weber

The tree-saving Chipko movement is India's most celebrated action group. Since its inception in 1973 it has undergone such fundamental changes that the question of whether the original movement still survives is a valid one. Weber's theory of bureaucracy and Michel's "iron law of oligarchy" are used to provide the prominent theoretical model to explain the evolution and demise of organisations generally, and when this model is applied to Chipko evidence is found to support the argument that Chipko has followed the predicted path. That the Chipko of old may no longer exist is to some extent, however, irrelevant. The term "Chipko" has entered the national psyche of India and now finds its greatest utility as an umbrella-concept able to encompass any nonviolent forest, or even general environmental, action that

may arise in the country. Internationally "Chipko" lives as an inspiration to environmental activists, as a successful model of "appropriate development," and as an example of truly social forestry.

The Sino-Vietnamese Conflict and Its Implications for ASEAN

Chang Pao-min

The intensity and intractability of the Sino-Vietnamese conflict, particularly over Kampuchea, are attributable at least as much to a shared culture that places a high premium on loyalty, reciprocity, and sense of pride, as to strategic and historical factors. Therefore, the conflict is not likely to be extended beyond Indochina or repeated elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Depending on the options ASEAN chooses, three possible scenarios are identified: first, the continuation of the existing stalemate, which is bound to work in favour of Vietnam; second, the recognition of Vietnam's supremacy, which may well be too late an offer to make without inviting humiliation for ASEAN; and third, the increase of pressure on Vietnam, which may appear unrealistic but in fact is not, and can also best serve the long-term interests of ASEAN.



Things Seen and Unseen

*Discourse and Ideology
in Tokugawa Nativism*

H. D. Harootunian

This long-awaited work explores the place of *kokugaku* ("nativism," the sense of a distinct Japanese identity,) during Japan's Tokugawa period. Treating nativism as a discourse, H. D. Harootunian shows how it functioned ideologically—as a radically utopian, communitarian vision as threatening to established forms of power and authority in Japan as the Western presence.

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THE LATE ROBERT N. KEARNEY was a professor of political science at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University. Author of *Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), *Trade Unions and Politics in Ceylon* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), *The Politics of Ceylon (Sri Lanka)* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973), and with Barbara Diane Miller, *Internal Migration in Sri Lanka and Its Social Consequences* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987).

DAVID KOWALEWSKI, Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Author of *Transnational Corporations and Caribbean Inequalities* (Praeger, 1982). *Global Establishment: The Case of Asia*, is scheduled for publication by Riverdale Press.

E.S. UNGAR, Research and Visiting Fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

THOMAS WEBER, Research Scholar at the Legal Studies Department, La Trobe University, Melbourne. Author of *Hugging the Trees: The Story of India's Chipko Movement* (New Delhi: Penguin, forthcoming).

CHANG PAO-MIN, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the National University of Singapore. Author of related books: *Beijing, Hanoi and the Overseas Chinese* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1982), *Kampuchea Between China and Vietnam* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985), and *The Sino-Vietnamese Territorial Dispute* (New York: Praeger, 1986).