



HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies

Volume 22
Number 1 *Himalayan Research Bulletin No. 1 &
2*

Article 16

2002

Conference Digest

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Recommended Citation

. 2002. Conference Digest. *HIMALAYA* 22(1).

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CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES ANNUAL MEETING
WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 4-7, 2002

Tibet and the Discourse of 'Cultural Genocide'

Barry Sautman, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

"Cultural genocide" constitutes a major trope of the Tibetan émigré discourse. The putative atrophy of Tibetanness and spread of Han culture on the Tibet Plateau is said to be tantamount to a state policy of extirpating the Tibetan ethnic group. As the Dalai Lama frames it, cultural genocide may be intentional or unintentional, while most émigré leaders represent it as deliberate and impelled by racial animus, atheism, and totalitarianism. The claim is advanced that the cultural requisites of Tibetan identity are being disintegrated by the migration of Han into Tibetan areas, official encouragement of Chinese language use in schools, state-society interaction, and economic relations, controls over religious communities and practices, and the toleration of bars, karaoke, billiards, prostitution, and other malign phenomena.

This paper examines "cultural genocide" in Tibet in international and comparative perspective. The explication of the concept by Tibetan émigrés is considered in light of how it has been elaborated in international law. The empirical dimensions of the claim are tested by comparing the extent of erosion of Tibetan culture with the evisceration of ethnic minority cultures in other societies. It is argued that the changes denominated as "cultural genocide in Tibet" do not amount to a violation of the internationally recognized rights of ethnic minorities, that as to language and religion, cultural erosion is less marked among Tibetans than among many ethnic minorities in liberal democracies, and that the discourse of cultural genocide in Tibet is a problematic elision of ethnic suppression with global processes of cultural hybridization.

Destroying Difference, Schooling Consent: A Critical Analysis of Education Policy in Indian-Administered Nagaland

Dolly Kikon, North Eastern Social Research Centre

The Naga people inhabit the eastern Himalayan ranges and have been politically and geographically spread over the boundaries of two nation-states since mid-twentieth century. The State apparatus in India and Myanmar and the Naga people have been engaged in conflict for the last five decades. The role of culture as a field of resistance and control is important as it reflects the dissonance between what the Naga people aspire to achieve, in terms of their right to self-determination, and what the State is willing to concede, in terms of allowing the Naga people the right to maintain their political, economic, and cultural sovereignty.

The role of education has been instrumental in perpetuating certain forms of cultural dominance that seek to institutionalize the cultural hegemony of the dominant notions of Naga culture and identity. This dominance is based upon the denial of forms of indigenous knowledge as much as it is based on the reproduction through education of colonial notions of "Naga tradition." This paper is limited to analyzing the process of negating through education the cultural identity of the Naga people by the Indian State. The latter has undertaken several institutional initiatives on education in its Naga-inhabited areas as part of its commitment to civil governance. The paper will focus on the historical development of the "Naga conflict" and a textual analysis of the material used for primary and secondary education in Indian-administered Naga-inhabited areas, to locate the primary motor of cultural oppression of Naga society by the Indian State.

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES ANNUAL MEETING
CHICAGO, IL, MARCH 22-25, 2001

Tibet, British India, Subaltern Studies: Notes from a Different Bengal

Carole McGranahan, University of Michigan

Empire does not end at the edges of the colonial state. The bulk of literature on empire and colonialism, however, focuses on situations of direct colonial rule. In this paper, I propose to look at the edges of empire and at the worlds

beyond them. What can we learn about the European colonial project by studying places never colonized by Europe, but which nonetheless had important and often telling relationships with agents of empire? Specifically, I ask what insights does Tibet, for so long an object of the imperial imagination, offer us about the intricacies of colonial administration in British India? In addressing these questions, I engage the work of the Subaltern Studies collective, whose work often focuses on Bengal. Turning our gaze north, to the far Himalayan reaches of Bengal we arrive at the borders of Tibet, and to a different political and cultural economy of empire. Kalimpong, in the years 1936–46 was a heady mix of peoples and politics from across Europe and Asia, including a large Tibetan community diverse across class and region. Inspired by Bengali nationalists and Sun Yat-sen, a group of renegade Tibetan nationalists in Kalimpong formed a progressive political party they called the “Tibet Improvement Party.” Their activities, the decision of the British that this group was a threat to the colonial state, and the ensuing drama—a tale of race, nation, and colonial insecurities—that ended with the deportation of the group’s leader to China comprise the heart of my paper.

Radical Islam and Nonviolence: A Case Study of Religious Empowerment Among Pashtuns

Robert Johansen, University of Notre Dame

Religious traditions, like national traditions, may foment collective violence. Yet all of the world’s major living religious traditions also contain the seeds of tolerance, justice, compassion, and peace. A preoccupation with the violent elements of these traditions impedes the expression of their less violent themes. For diverse reasons, observers may give insufficient attention to the peace-building prospects in religious traditions. As this case study of Islamic political activism among Pashtuns in North-West Frontier Province of colonial India in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s demonstrates, religion may motivate people for bold action against political repression while confining themselves to nonviolent means in pursuit of humanitarian ends. A formula for Muslim non-violent direct action developed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan has many applications in contemporary conflicts where change is desirable but violent means are often self-destructive. Islamic religious identity can provide the basis for recruiting people to become political activists, for nurturing a strong identity and discipline within their movement, for enabling activists to overcome an inclination to use violence, for contesting the more violent elements of a religious tradition in religious rather than secular terms, for avoiding intolerance toward people of other religious traditions, and for nurturing determination against great odds. If imaginative leadership would draw upon the bold yet nonviolent contributions that religious traditions can make, even in contexts where

violent reactions may seem justified, then a possible clash of civilizations might be managed without irretrievable disasters for the human race.

Transcending Religious Boundaries: Cult of the Eight Matrikas in Nepal

Dina Bangdel, Western Michigan University

The cult of the eight Mother Goddesses (Astamatrika) as manifested in the religious milieu of present-day Kathmandu Valley in Nepal presents an enigmatic problem for both religious and cultural historians. The Astamatrikas have an essential role in both the Hindu and Buddhist ritual practices. This apparent overlapping of religious categories has often led to dismissing Nepal’s religious environment simply as “syncretic”—as a harmonious blend of Hinduism and Buddhism. Rather, in this paper I ask: what allows for this fluidity and multivalency?

The paper re-evaluates the role and importance of the Astamatrikas in the Hindu and Buddhist religious practices, particularly as it relates to the self-arisen sacred spaces (matrika pithas) of the Astamatrikas found in the Kathmandu Valley. Through iconological and textual analysis, I will discuss the defining of the Valley’s sacred geography through these sacred pithas in disparate Hindu and Buddhist contexts. The Hindu and Buddhist ritual practices relating to the Astamatrikas emphasize the importance the goddess tradition (sakti/prajna) that is central to both Tantric Hindu and Buddhist methodologies of Nepal. I suggest it is the Tantric nature of the goddesses that serves to transcend the categories of religious boundaries and allows for the multivalency of religious interpretation, an aspect often glossed in previous scholarship.

Three Journeys from Tibet to Nepal: The Travels of the Buddhist Master Tsangnyön Heruka in the 15th and 16th Centuries

Kurtis R. Schaeffer, University of Alabama

Tsangnyön Heruka (1452–1507) traveled at least three times from his homeland on the Tibetan plateau to the Kathmandu Valley in modern-day Nepal. In 1476, 1494, and 1501 he made the long journey through the Himalayas to visit the sacred Buddhist centers of the Valley, to meet with Valley royalty, and to reconstruct the most important multicultural Buddhist shrine, the stupa of Swayambhunath.

We now have three biographies of this Buddhist master, the earliest of which was composed just one year after his death (1408) and claims to include much autobiographical material. Each biography tells of Tsangnyön’s three trips to the Kathmandu Valley in varying degrees of detail. This paper briefly describes each journey, and then proceeds to an in-depth analysis of the third and longest journey. Dur-

ing this venture Tsangnyön oversaw the restoration of Swayambhunath under the patronage of the King of Kathmandu, Ratnamalla (r. 1484–1520), with whom he had forged the important patron-priest (Tib. *yon mchod*) relationship.

In personal terms the biographies of Tsangnyön provide a vivid account of the life of one medieval Tibetan Buddhist, a man who was at once religious master, pilgrim, missionary, and politician. Yet he was but one among many who made up the Buddhist network throughout and across the Himalayas, between Indic and Tibetan regions. The biographies thus reveal much about the intercultural and transregional exchanges that occurred during the medieval period. It is the goal of the present paper to explicate the biographies with a focus on such intercultural episodes.

Liu Manqing: A Tibetan-Chinese Woman's Journey from Nanjing to Lhasa in 1929–1930

Liping Wang, University of Minnesota

Born in Lhasa to a Chinese father and a Tibetan mother, Liu Manqing (Tibetan name *dByangs can*, 1906–1941) was very young when her family fled the turmoil in Tibet after the downfall of the Qing Dynasty. The family eventually resettled in Beijing where Liu Manqing grew up with a modern Chinese education. In 1928, Liu's bilingual skills caught the attention of Jiang Jieshi who made her an official in Nanjing. Liu soon petitioned to be sent as a government representative to Lhasa which few Chinese officials had been able to reach since 1911. Against all odds, Liu made it through the dangerous Sichuan-Khams border in the winter of 1929. She then managed to meet twice with the 13th Dalai Lama. Liu Manqing became a celebrity upon returning to Nanjing in 1930, and her account of the journey was published by the prestigious Commercial Press shortly after.

This paper examines Liu Manqing's legendary journey in the context of Chinese-Tibetan relations in the early 20th century, and it focuses on the specific ways in which she negotiated boundaries of gender and ethnicity through the writing of an autobiographic account. As a Tibetan-Chinese woman undertaking an official mission, Liu was very skillful in manipulating the ambiguity of her identity. She appeared in the travelogue as a Tibetan and refrained from exoticizing her homeland; she also stressed her official mission and related to her urban Chinese reader with terms that were familiar in the discourses of modernity.

There and Back Again: Master Fazun's Pilgrimage to Tibet and His Goals Upon His Return to China

Gray Tuttle, Harvard University

For the first time in the history of East Asia, Chinese

Buddhists went to Tibet to study Tibetan Buddhism early in the twentieth century. I will examine the network of contacts that allowed a Chinese Buddhist monk, Master Fazun, to gain entry into the Tibetan monastic world, first in Khams, then in central Tibet. Having attained his goal of acquiring Tibetan Buddhist teachings, by his own account, Master Fazun would have been content to pursue them for the duration of his life. However, his teachers—both Chinese and Tibetan—encouraged him to return to China to share what he had learned.

When he returned to China, the pressures to use his knowledge in the service of the Chinese state were largely irresistible. However, I will argue that Fazun maintained his original focus on Tibetan Buddhist teachings. When he was drawn into the politics of China's efforts at incorporating Tibet, he used his knowledge (gained from nine years of first-hand experience) to provide some of the most accurate information about Tibet available in China in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In addition, through his position as the director of a school for Tibetan Buddhism, he was able to bring many Tibetan teachers to China. In this way, he managed to extend his own learning while simultaneously fulfilling the goals of his teachers: to spread Tibetan Buddhism in China.

Tibet, Environmentalism, and the International Community

Ann Frechette, Hamilton College

This paper examines the use of discourses of global environmentalism by the Dalai Lama's exile administration to make claims to membership in the community of nations. It argues that the exile administration's expressions of concern for the global environment have two effects. They help maintain support for Tibetan independence among European and American non-governmental organizations; and they change the way in which Tibetan exiles define and discuss what it means to be Tibetan. The starting point for the paper is lesson one of a history textbook published in Tibetan by the exile administration for use in Tibetan settlement camp schools. Entitled "The Origins of Tibet and the Tibetans," the lesson uses Tibetan Buddhist historiography, evolutionary theory, and contemporary global environmentalism to teach what it means to be Tibetan to Tibetan exile school children. The paper goes on to examine other Tibetan- and English-language exile administration publications to demonstrate that the conflation of Tibet with global environmentalism is a coherent strategy to make claims to Tibet's membership in the community of nations. The paper then examines the effects of the exile administration's claims. It uses reports by international aid agencies to argue that the principal effect within the international community is to maintain financial support for the Tibetan exile's independence movement; and it uses statements made by Ti-

betan exiles in Nepal to argue that the principal effect within the Tibetan exile community is to change how Tibetan exiles define and discuss what it means to be Tibetan.

(This paper was part of a cancelled panel)

SESSION 41: DEFINING MODERN TIBETAN LITERATURE IN THE PRC: TRADITION, MODERNITY AND THE IDENTITY DEBATE

Organizer: Patricia Schiaffini, University of Pennsylvania

Chair: Pema Bhum, Himalayan and Inner Asian Resources

Discussant: Matthew Kapstein, University of Chicago

This panel examines the debates on modern Tibetan literature in the PRC from the early 1980s on, as Tibetan writers, under the inspiration of modern Chinese and Western literature, have produced new literary approaches and styles. Our four papers show that the borrowing of outside theories, styles, and language has provoked heated debate within the Tibetan literary circles and that these debates often go beyond purely artistic issues. Hartley focuses on the debates about traditional elements that appear in the modern literature written in Tibetan language and about the shift in Tibetan literary criticism from a concern with form to issues more directly related to content and readership. Maconi addresses the passionate debates over whether or not literature written by Tibetan authors in Chinese should be considered Tibetan literature. Upton analyzes the causes and implications of the paradox of a Tibetan poem whose original Chinese version became far more popular inside the Tibetan intellectual community than its Tibetan translation was. Schiaffini's paper deals with the appearance of a so-called "Tibetan Magical Realistic" style, which raised the question of how literature written in Chinese, using techniques borrowed from the West, could speak for "Tibet."

These four papers, products of extensive research including interviews with Tibetan writers, critics, publishers and scholars in the PRC, highlight issues that have yet to be studied in the West: the debates among Tibetan intellectuals over whether the borrowing of foreign literary styles or Chinese language in the creation of a modern Tibetan literature jeopardizes traditional Tibetan culture or, on the contrary, allows Tibetan writers more freedom to express their concerns and even the possibility, as one of our panelists suggests, of "taking up the master's tools to dismantle the master's house."

Ventures in Clearing the Mirror of Tibetan Literary Theory (1980–2000)

Lauran R. Hartley, Indiana University

A commonly heard lament these days among Tibetan intellectuals in the PRC regards the lack of modern literary

theory and criticism. Scholars unanimously agree that it pales in comparison to the large volume of Tibetan poems and short stories published since the early 1980s. Not surprisingly, a growing number of American and European Tibetologists have begun to look at current developments in Tibetan literature. However, little research has been done on theoretical trends.

It is my aim in this paper to provide an overview of debates that have occurred since the early 1980s regarding the role of traditional elements in contemporary literature and the paths and models prescribed for its development. In particular, I am interested in what can be identified as a general shift in literary criticism from a concern with form to issues more directly related with content and readership. As a heuristic device, I will contrast writings by the same critics over this period, as well as the approaches taken in related studies by scholars of different generations. I will also draw on interviews with Tibetan writers and literary scholars conducted during my year of fieldwork in Amdo and Lhasa from 1999–2000.

This study will offer insight on the literary encounters of critics and writers as they negotiate new positions in the wake of several centuries predominated by the theories of Sakya Pandita and Snyan-ngag me-long. In conclusion, I will discuss the significance of these exchanges for understanding how and why "tradition versus modernity" discussions are reaching a critical point in contemporary Tibetan society.

Tibetan Authors, Chinese Texts: "Post-Liberation" Literature in the Diglossic Context of China's Tibet: The Language Debate

Lara Maconi, Langues'O Inalco

When the Chinese PLA marched into Lhasa in 1950, led by 'Ba'-ba Phun-tshogs dByang-rgyal, epoch-making historical, political, social, and cultural changes were to radically affect the Tibetan traditional settlement in a way Tibet had hardly experienced before.

Regarding literature, previously unheard of Socialist theories spread in the Land of Snow. The new literary policy was to completely upset the Tibetan traditional literary outlooks both at the level of content as well as of language. Socialist Realism and Revolutionary Romanticism became the established guidelines for literary content. As for language, literary composition in Tibetan was not abandoned, even after the official interdiction during the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, in the 1950s, new generations of Tibetans educated in Chinese started to write in the Chinese language. Thus, in Tibet, since the 1950s, a Tibetan language literature and a sinophone literature written by Tibetans have developed in parallel. Within these two, we find expression of some "continuity" with tradition, cohabiting with the expression of a major "disjunction."

Faced with this new diglossic context, the crucial question early raised by Tibetan intellectuals is: Should the literature written by Tibetan authors in Chinese be considered as a part of Tibetan literature? And, by extension: Is a language a mere channel of communication? Or, is it the very core of the expression of a national culture? Does the main use of a language lie in its sheer capacity to connect with the greatest number of people? Or, is it that only native languages; although spoken by a small number of people, can thoroughly express important specific aspects of a national culture?

Markedly disparate viewpoints in the different Tibetan intellectual milieu have hindered any satisfying definition of "Tibetan literature" in Tibet so far.

In this paper, on the basis of interviews with Tibetan writers and publishers carried out during fieldwork, as well as from a body of critical articles and literary works, I will clarify the various positions taken in this debate by the different generations of intellectuals, at the official and unofficial levels, according to different literary views. I will show that the language debate in Tibet, far from being a purely speculative activity of intellectuals, is the expression of an effective reality concerning literary composition, book and magazine publications and readership.

Today Tibet is a diglossic society where the "imported" language (Chinese) controls the official means of communication, and where the discussion of questions of language is never a neutral matter for the Tibetan writer.

The "Condor" Flies Over Tibet: The Emergence of a "Tibetan" Magical Realism and Its Significance in Debates about Identity and Nation

Patricia Schiaffini, University of Pennsylvania

The end of the Cultural Revolution witnessed a major translation effort of foreign literary works into Chinese, which made possible the arrival of Latin American Magical Realism to the Tibetan Autonomous Region. In the late 1970s a small group of writers in Lhasa, led by the Sino-Tibetan writer Tashi Dawa, enthusiastically embraced this literary style and produced "magical realistic" short stories in Chinese which had traditional Tibetan culture and way of life as their background.

In a culturally effervescent period when Chinese intellectuals were trying to analyze the deep cultural roots of the Maoist catastrophe, the refreshing mix of magic, authenticity and primitivism within these stories fascinated China's young cultural elite. In Chinese eyes Tashi Dawa became the most famous Tibetan writer, and his style a synonym for modern Tibetan literature. Tashi Dawa's popularity brought attention also to what other Tibetan writers were writing at the time, and encouraged young Tibetans to engage in literary creation. But the popularity also led to controversy. Tashi Dawa's Tibetan identity has been questioned; his "Tibetan

magical realistic" style has been criticized as an imitation of Western literary styles and as the perpetuation of stereotypical views of Tibet.

This paper, the result of two periods of fieldwork in Tibet in 1994 and 1999, explores the reasons behind the adoption of a "magical realistic" style by authors like Tashi Dawa, the possibilities for freer ways of expression it offered to young writers, and the fascination such writing caused among young Chinese and Tibetan readers. It also explores controversies about the Tibetan identity of these stories and writers as well as the deep problems of identity and nation that underlie the ardent literary debate.

Shuddering on the Dim and Winding Path or Falling into a Deep, Dark Gorge: Translating "Snow Mountain Tears"

Janet Upton, Trace Foundation

This paper aims to examine the politics, poetics and pragmatics of contemporary Tibetan literature through an ethnographically grounded comparative analysis of the Tibetan and Chinese incarnations of a single poem: Dpa' dar's "Snow Mountain Tears" (Chin. Xueshanlei, Tib. Gangs ri'i sryan chab). With the lifting of restrictions on cultural production in minority areas of the PRC, the mid- to late-1980s witnessed an explosion of literary production in Tibet. Free verse, with its liberating abandonment of the strict rules of traditional Tibetan poetics, became one of the most popular genres for reform-minded Tibetan authors. Yet even as they pushed the boundaries of literary and cultural expression, many of these authors faced a dilemma: having been educated in an era when the teaching of Tibetan in the classroom was discouraged, if not forbidden, Chinese—not Tibetan—was often the language they found more comfortable. As a result, many contemporary Tibetan authors write frequently or even exclusively in Chinese, even though their works are directed primarily at a Tibetan audience. And in some cases, even when bi-lingual versions of a work are available, the Chinese edition is preferred by the Tibetan audience.

Such is the case with "Snow Mountain Tears," a poem in free verse that has been wildly popular among young Tibetans in Amdo in the 1990s. Originally written and published in Chinese, it was later translated into Tibetan and published in the literary journal *Moonlight* (*Zla zer*). The Tibetan version is not well known, however. Instead, it is the Chinese version of the poem that circulates widely in the informal channels of literary distribution, where poems, song lyrics and short stories are inscribed from one notebook to another, passing through schools and work units in an extremely intimate form of transmission.

In this paper, I examine the two versions of "Snow Mountain Tears" from an ethnographic perspective, looking at the numerous cultural factors that can make a contemporary Ti-

betan poem more accessible and powerful in its Chinese incarnation. I consider such factors as: (1) the rule-breaking nature of free verse, which poses particular threats to Tibetan literary traditions and may therefore be less palatable to both authors and audiences; (2) the relative economy of Chinese poetic language, which does not necessarily translate easily or well into Tibetan poetry's more ornate forms; and (3) the risky appeal of "speaking truth to power," and the attractive possibility of taking up the master's tools to dismantle the master's house. In conclusion, I consider what the two incarnations of "Snow Mountain Tears" and their reception in the Tibetan literary community can tell us about the nature of literary production, transmission and reception in the Tibetan community in the PRC today.

SESSION 166: THE TIBET QUESTION: INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

Organizer: Barry Sautman, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Chair and Discussant: A. Tom Grunfeld, SUNY, Empire State College.

Keywords: Tibet Question, China, political science, anthropology, contemporary era.

While popular interest in the Tibet Question has increased geometrically in recent years, academic research into its international and internal dimensions has just begun to bear fruit. The main international issues have been human rights and the status of Tibet. Concern about civil and cultural rights in Tibet has animated statements by parliaments and activism by NGOs in many countries. One paper examines how the controversial new central focus on human rights in the Tibet movement interacts with the larger role of human rights in international affairs generally. The issue of Tibet's status involves not only the Chinese state and Tibetan exiles, but also scholars and journalists, who often address it from a Tibet-as-colony perspective. A second paper considers whether the main features of the ex-colonies of modern empires are found in the Tibet case and how adoption or rejection of the colonial perspective affects resolution of the Tibet Question.

An understanding of the internal dimension is enhanced by macro- and micro-level studies of Tibet's economy and society. A third paper looks at how the economy has developed in the half century of integration with China and how development issues fit into the discourse of Tibet. A fourth paper analyzes a large-scale household-level survey of the impact of two decades of reform on the lives of Tibet's rural majority. In doing so, it considers the way in which key sub-issues of the Tibet Question are shaped at the grass-roots level in Tibet itself. All of the papers will discuss the import of their findings for the settlement of the Tibet Question.

Waging Human Rights: Issues and Efficacy for the Tibetan Cause

Amy Mountcastle, SUNY, Plattsburgh

Since the late 1980s, Tibetan exiles have gained a measure of interest in their cause from the West by engaging in the discourse of human rights. Invoking human rights issues has enabled Tibetans a level of participation in global politics that they might otherwise be barred from. This strategy has been met with criticism from China, from Western scholars and from within the exile community. Tibetan critics argue that the focus on human rights deflects attention from the real issue of independence, while some Western scholars suggest that it obfuscates substantive issues and disagreements between the exiles and China. China views it as a tactic for internationalizing an internal matter. Each position relegates human rights to a tangential status with respect to real politics. This paper questions this assumed status by situating the Tibet Question within the broader context of the role of human rights in a changing global political landscape. While the idea of human rights is contested and its role in international politics is fraught with contradictions and uncertainties, there is evidence, particularly in the last decade, that the human rights issue is gaining new momentum and currency in international affairs.

Is Tibet China's Colony?

Barry Sautman, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Since the internationalization of the Tibet Question began in the late 1980s, the notion that China has reduced Tibet to a colony has become a fixture of the expanding discourse of Tibet. The Tibetan exile administration and its supporters, scholars, and journalists often make use of this perspective to analyze the relationship between Tibet and the Tibetans on the one hand and China proper and the Han Chinese on the other. Although the idea is employed as a rhetorical device, it also has a dimension that impinges on efforts to settle the Tibet Question. International law clearly provides the right of self-determination only to colonized peoples; the Tibet-as-colony idea is linked to assertions of that right and, hence, to possible Tibet independence.

This essay first outlines the principal features of modern colonialism, as practiced in the European, Japanese, Manchu and other empires. It finds that the contours of colonialism have included the wholesale exclusion of colonized peoples from political participation, an ethnic hierarchy of rights that strongly disfavored the colonized, and economic exploitation that often amounted to "de-development" of the colony. Using statistical abstracts, interviews conducted in Tibet and Chinese and Western primary and secondary sources, the paper then examines contemporary Tibet's political economy and society in light of these criteria of colo-

nialism. It concludes that while Tibet is dependent on China proper and Tibetans face popular prejudice and discrimination, the designation of Tibet as China's colony is inapposite.

Economic Development in Tibet, 1950–2000

June Teufel Dreyer, University of Miami

Over the past half-century of Chinese Communist administration of Tibet, conflicting claims have come from party/government sources on the one hand and the exile community on the other. The latter point to massive improvements to the infrastructure, increases in livestock and agricultural products, and better manufacturing facilities resulting in rising standards of living for Tibetans. Exiles have argued that Chinese efforts have adversely impacted the environment, exploited the territory's resources, and chiefly benefited the army and Han settlers in the TAR. This paper will attempt to assess the validity of these competing claims using both Chinese official statistics and exile data the author has collected over the last three decades. A tentative hypothesis is that, although party/government claims of rising living standards are correct, the exiles' criticisms are valid as well. It is also likely that the development engendered by party/government policies has "colonialized"

Tibet's economy by making it dependent upon Han China for many goods and services.

The Post-Commune Era in Rural Tibet

Melvyn C. Goldstein, Case Western Reserve University

This paper analyzes the impact of China's economic, social, and political reforms in the post-1978 period at the local level, i.e., in the villages of rural agricultural Tibet (the Tibet Autonomous Region). The data presented in the paper are based on a three year field study involving 780 households comprising 13 villages located in 3 townships (xiang) in 3 different counties (xian). The data were collected by surveys, in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus group interviews, and unpublished village, township and county records. The research examined both social and economic changes in the sample sites as well demographic information from a separate study group comprising 1,700 women over the age of 18 living in the three townships. The paper will present findings regarding the impact of the post-1978 reforms with respect to agriculture, local government, economics, migrant labor, education, religion, and fertility/contraceptive use, as well as a series of unresolved structural problems that the reforms have produced.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

9th Himalayan Languages Symposium

December 9-12, 2003, hosted by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India

The Himalayan Languages Symposium is an annually convening, open scholarly forum for scholars of Himalayan languages. The Himalayan Languages Symposium serves as a podium for contributions on any language of the greater Himalayan region, whether Burushaski, Kusunda, a Tibeto-Burman language, an Indo-Aryan tongue or other language. Linguists as well as specialists from related disciplines like philology, history, anthropology, archaeology and prehistory are welcome to make their contributions to the study of Himalayan languages and Himalayan language communities.

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