

RE-THINKING AREA STUDIES

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Area Studies was one of the programs the University of the Philippines in Diliman wanted to establish in 1994. The intent was to coordinate the teaching of various academic programs in different colleges and departments which have something to do with specific countries and regions of the world. For many reasons, however, the project never got off the ground. Nonetheless, in my view, the need for an Area Studies program in UP remains relevant.

In advocating this idea, I do not wish to promote what the United States pursued during and immediately after World War II and at the height of the Cold War. The US Area Studies program was primarily a superpower agenda intended to provide intellectual and material support to the US policy of “containment” against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.¹ Indeed, the complicity of several prestigious American universities and research institutions in this effort, as well as its inimical effects on academic freedom, on the careers of individual scholars, and on the focus and direction of scholarly inquiry, are very well documented.²

In contrast, the University of the Philippines, if it ever establishes such a program, should seek precisely to re-define Area Studies from our own national perspective. Our studies of other countries should not be left to the vagaries of what is fashionable in academic circles in the West; neither should they be automatically drawn into the conceptual and ideological debates of other countries. Instead, Area Studies must be couched first and foremost on what we want to achieve as a nation. This, in turn, would entail an examination of what we believe to be our role in the community of nations, that is, whether we shall remain passive pawns of superpowers, or become active participants in shaping world affairs.

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Such a scholarly endeavor should not be seen as a form of spying.³ In any democratic society, the broad base of its citizens must be well informed about national and international affairs to enable them to make rational and intelligent decisions. Who else is in a better position to provide organized knowledge and training in this regard than the universities? As institutions charged to train scholars and undertake researches with full guarantees for academic freedom, the universities are best equipped to inform our citizens of their responsibility to make the right decisions for the general good of society.

In this context, Area Studies in UP may have the following objectives:

- (1) To train experts and other specialists who possess in-depth knowledge and understanding of the peoples, languages, cultures, history, social, economic and political institutions and processes, etc. of a country, region or area of specialization, and who will undertake sustained research on them, so that they will be consistently prepared to respond to issues and problems that may arise in our relations with these countries, regions or areas;
- (2) To promote better understanding and friendship with the people of the country, region or area of one's specialization in order to help create a congenial climate of opinion for our nation;
- (3) To enable us to have mutually beneficial economic, political, cultural and people-to-people relations with that country, region or area;

Having clarified these points, I shall now explore the nature and scope of Area Studies and how it could potentially contribute to our understanding of societies and peoples. Since I specialize in Asian Studies, most of my examples shall be drawn primarily from Asia. Nonetheless, this article shall hopefully help shed light on some of the issues and concerns which have been raised regarding the proposal to establish an Area Studies program in the University.

Defining the Field

Area Studies involves inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of a geographical as well as a cultural area. Units of study are conceived as those areas of the world which not only share geographical features,⁴ but more importantly, serve as the environment where peoples and cultures evolve, as well as their languages and literatures, their social institutions, arts, philosophies and religions.

Area Studies aims to provide a holistic understanding of a culture in a given area. It is an integrated study of the various aspects of a society and its culture in relation to a geographical unit, although that culture may eventually disperse beyond its original homeland and undergo drastic changes in time. An example is Islamic civilization. Beginning with the simple, essentially tribal and desert culture of the prophet Muhammad (7th c. A.D.), Islamic civilization later evolved into a highly sophisticated one by blending Islam and the Arabic language with the legacy of the more ancient civilizations of Egypt. Islamic civilization eventually gained greater force as it dispersed beyond the Arabian peninsula to Africa, Europe and the rest of Asia (13th c. A.D.).⁵

At this point, it should be stressed that culture is considered in the anthropological sense, as the total system of transmitted beliefs, values, attitudes, behavior patterns, social institutions, technology, etc., possessing an inner logic and internal structure, with each aspect linked up in particular ways to the whole system. However, Area Studies goes further than anthropology in that it considers the historical dimensions of a culture as indispensable to a fuller understanding of any culture area. It entails the study of both internal processes of growth and development as well as external forces as they impinge on that culture.

For purposes of analysis, it is also necessary to distinguish "culture" from "civilization" or "Great Tradition." The development of a culture into a high level of sophistication in all aspects -- social, economic, political, philosophical, literary and artistic -- and its integration into a recognizable whole through time -- makes it a civilization or a Great Tradition.⁶ Unlike a culture which is confined to a relatively smaller spatial and temporal unit, a civilization is more encompassing, affecting entirely different groups of people under different circumstances and historical periods.⁷

A civilization or a Great Tradition has the capacity to absorb new elements while maintaining its basic cultural features. At the same time, it is broad enough to encompass almost all facets of life, such that it could be adjusted to fit the peculiarities of a specific culture at any given time. This is what makes a civilization of a Great Tradition a useful concept in Area Studies. It helps us identify the fundamental cultural features that make up the Great Tradition, as well as the general contours against which we can elaborate the specific changes, differences and distinctiveness of its sub-culture or variants.

The Judeo-Christian civilization illustrates how the concept of a Great Tradition can serve as basis for defining the units of study in Area Studies. Judeo-Christian civilization arose from the amalgamation of Judaism with the earlier religions of Pharoanic Egypt and Sumer at around 1,500 B.C., and later, with the heritage of the Greco-Roman civilization from the 4th century B.C. to the first 500 hundred years of the Christian era. The events occurred in the region now known as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. Propelled by the vigorous missionizing efforts of the Roman emperor Constantine, this civilization spread from West Asia (Middle East) to the Mediterranean and the European continent.

The basic philosophical-religious assumptions of the Judeo-Christian civilization (including accretions derived from Greek and Roman philosophies) are founded on the belief in one Supreme God, manifested in human form as Jesus Christ of Nazareth whose brief sojourn on earth (ca. the 1st century A.D.) shook the foundations of the ancient Hebrew institutions and challenged the imperial power of Rome in the Levant. It stresses the equality of all human beings before God, direct individual communication with the Divine, the assurance of salvation for all based on faith alone, belief in paradise, eternal life after physical death, and the injunction that all must live life on earth in accordance with God-given laws as embodied in the ten commandments. All these provide the bases for greater emphasis on individual conscience and freedom within the framework of universal law applicable equally to all.

One of the many legacies of this civilization is the Christian church. It began simply as a community of believers, but soon evolved into a hierarchical institution headed by the papacy. By the medieval period, the Pope acted not only as the guardian of the Christian community, but as the instrument for

propagating the faith to non-believers. Christianity expanded swiftly all over Europe and by the 10th century, no king could survive for long unless he acted in support of the Christian church. Christianity thus became the legitimizing spiritual cum social force that buttressed military and political power.

From this brief overview, we can thereby compare and contrast the different manifestations, variants and subcultures of Judeo-Christian civilization.⁸

Finally, in studying culture areas and civilizations, it is also important to understand the process, manner and timing by which the legacies of civilizations have been transmitted to other parts of the world. For instance, it is interesting to note that, of the four great civilizations in Asia, only the Judeo-Christian tradition was adopted in the West, while the other three have endured primarily in Asia.

Survival Strategies

Another convenient starting point in Area Studies is to analyze the survival strategies that groups of people employ in a given geographical area. This may be done first at the micro-level by examining smaller segments within a geographical unit, and then at the macro-level by comparing and relating the various groups or populations of the larger area over time. The micro-level analysis will deal with culture, while the macro-level analysis will deal with civilization. We must bear in mind that while it is generally assumed that culture evolves into civilization, it does not necessarily follow that all the aspects, segments or bearers of the culture will fit harmoniously to the whole.

Survival strategies are complex phenomena. More than just adaptations to the environment, they entail interactive mutual transformations of peoples and their habitats. In the process of transforming their physical environments, peoples change and are themselves transformed. Considering too that no part of the world today, including the Antarctica and the South Pole, has not been transformed or affected by human intrusion, and likewise, no group of people has lived in total isolation from the whirling changes of global events, it is necessary to study external factors, influences and forces which impinge on peoples in a given area.⁹

Micro-level approach

To illustrate the analysis of survival strategies at the micro-level, let us take the Bedouin in the Arabian peninsula and the Tuareg of the Maghrib (north Africa facing the Mediterranean) as examples. Up till World War II, they were desert nomads or semi-nomads whose main livelihood was animal husbandry supplemented by handicrafts, trading, soldiering and raiding. Forced to travel in search of pasture and water for their animals, they were dependent on or linked together with settled farming communities, which in turn supplied necessary foodstuffs particularly cereals, fruits and vegetables. They also relied on towns and cities for trade specially in manufactured goods and arms.

For centuries, the Bedouin and Tuareg played an important role in trade and commerce, serving as carriers of merchandise and as mercenaries for whoever would hire them to protect the trade routes. Fierce tribal loyalties, mobility, agility with weapons and a hardened desert existence which enabled them to withstand long deprivation, made them consummate mercenaries in the harshest environment. Whenever central or regional authorities weakened, which happened regularly, these nomadic tribes quickly became raiding bands.

The consolidation or break up of these fissiparous, warrior tribes have been recurring themes in the political formations in the Arabian peninsula, Iraq, Iran, the Maghrib and surrounding areas. Their conversion to Islam and submission to succeeding Caliphates affected not only peace and order in the desert areas, but also spelled profound social and cultural transformations. By the end of the 7th century, diverse populations, including the desert nomads, have been absorbed into one Islamic civilization.¹⁰

Still, even in contemporary times when motorized vehicles have replaced the camel and governments strive to settle the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups into permanent villages, the legacy of nomadic life underlay the Islamic *ummah* (community) in West Asia. These semi-nomadic groups pose a constant threat to the body politic of the new nation states in West Asia. They create inner tensions within the Islamic *ummah* even though they subscribe to the major tenets of Islam. These tensions have been dramatically demonstrated in repeated uprisings by the Kurds¹¹ and their distant cousins, the Mujahedeens of Afghanistan, whose desire to secede from the central

government have been motivated by inter-ethnic conflicts which played into the hands of superpower manipulation.

Macro-level approach

Let us now consider the area of East Asia which is composed of China, Korea and Japan, in order to illustrate how we can formulate broad conceptualizations of East Asian or Sinic civilization. Geographically, East Asia is characterized by seemingly impenetrable internal barriers with almost unrelieved diversity of peoples and cultures.¹² Despite these diversities, the region is seen as belonging to one civilization whose configuration was already being delineated by the time of Qin Shih Huang-ti (Chin Shih Huang-ti) at the end of the B.C. era.

By at least 1500 B.C., peoples in this area have been interacting by land and sea so that by 300 A.D., inhabitants of the Yellow River and Yangtze Valleys, as well as Koreans and Japanese, have begun to share a recognizable pattern of socio-cultural development, albeit with clear local characteristics. Indeed most scholars believe that Chinese influences in language, literature, philosophy, principles of government and political institutions greatly contributed to the formation of Korean and Japanese cultures within a Sinic or East Asian civilization.

What are some of the major cultural features and recurring themes characteristic of this civilization? The most obvious is the Chinese system of writing and literature, together with the modes of thinking and conceptions about the universe. So important is the writing system that it is imbued with an almost sacred, magical character. Calligraphy is therefore one of the highest forms of art and means of expression in East Asian or Sinic civilization. Another important feature is the value placed on the writing of history. Indeed, the judgment of history is believed to exercise a moral force in Chinese society.

Likewise, the syncretic philosophical system known as Neo-Confucianism is shared within the region. Formally established in the Sung Period (10th-11th c. A.D.), Neo-Confucianism was transmitted and adopted in varying forms in Korea, Japan and Vietnam. Neo-Confucians synthesized Confucian values with Taoist, Buddhist, and other belief systems which evolved in China.

From Taoism, they drew the idea of intimate love, harmonious relations with nature and natural processes, and the continuous evolution and transformation of all of creation where humans are a small part. From Buddhism, they derived the concepts of tolerance, compassion and mercy towards all creatures including one's enemies; equanimity in the face of violence and suffering; and salvation from all suffering through one's personal spiritual quest.¹³

The social foundation of Neo-Confucianism is a hierarchical social and political system based on Confucian teachings. Hierarchy runs as a continuous thread from the imperial government down to the individual household. Although all social relations are asymmetrical, that is, between superordinate and subordinate, Neo-Confucianism stresses benevolence, mercy and generosity of the superior towards his or her inferiors, who are expected in turn to be obedient, loyal and forbearing. Leaders and superiors are expected to be exemplars of morality, ethical behavior and wisdom.

The emperor is considered as leader and protector of the nation from all kinds of threats from the environment. The litmus test of good government is when society runs smoothly, whereby the leader is believed to possess "the mandate of heaven." Failure in government, whether it results in the destruction of crops and infrastructure or the outbreak of violence, is seen as a failure of leadership. When conditions become oppressive, people can rebel and resort to violent means to replace the tyrannical leader who has lost the mandate of heaven.¹⁴ Indeed, for much of Chinese history, dynastic changes were achieved through violent means. However, there were also long periods of peace, usually lasting 150 to 200 years, which allowed for social mobility through individual effort and exertion.

Though Chinese society is hierarchical, upward mobility could be achieved through the acquisition of wealth, seizure of power by force, talent and good luck. In this light, a significant institution is the Chinese imperial examination system which allows anyone to attain a high government position as long one passes the rigorous test. Such institution has important philosophical and social implications. It attaches great value on individual merit and effort, promotes respect for education and learning, and assures continuity and stability of service in the government bureaucracy, whose members are chosen on the basis of meritorious performance.

Corollary to this is the obligation to revere one's ancestors and elders which is attended by elaborate rituals and ceremonies. The Chinese emperor as head of the entire social hierarchy is considered the paramount ancestor and father of the nation. Ancestor worship requires the faithful performance of mutual obligations for the well-being of the older and younger generations. Hence, individual behavior must always consider the welfare of the family and clan. Hard work, industry, patience and humility are the qualities inculcated in each individual who must seek to live harmoniously within one's family, society and nation.

As seen from the preceding discussion, Area Studies examines the interrelations of the various socio-cultural and economic factors to explain developments and processes in a given society or a culture area. It tries to plot the basic features which have endured over time and space, and the patterns of change and development in a given area. This, however, does not preclude the application of social science theories on any society or area of study. Indeed, Area Studies provides fertile ground for testing social science theories.

Area Studies also provides a coherent, general framework for conceptualizing a culture area which can serve as a basis for comparison, contrast, and for more detailed analysis of individual parts in order to make tentative generalizations or formulate broader concepts. Thus, Area Studies would give more substance to such sweeping categorizations of countries as "advanced industrialized," "newly industrialized," or "underdeveloped," based, for example, on the degree of elaboration of social institutions accompanied by advancement in economic and technological organization.

Towards a Holistic View of Societies

What are the uses of Area Studies which departments and disciplines cannot easily provide? We have already alluded to the advantages of a holistic and integrated approach to a culture area, country, region or civilization. By utilizing different disciplinary methods and various perspectives on an area, Area Studies enables us to gain more insights about a country and its people, thus helping expand our cultural horizons.

Let us take Japan as an example. Economists tend to view Japan as an advanced industrialized country and our largest trading partner from whom we buy a host of manufactured goods. But if we consider its geopolitical location in the easternmost fringes of the Pacific close to China, Korea and Russian Siberia, we see the vulnerable side of Japan. Its vulnerability becomes more apparent when we consider how much Japan is beholden to the United States for its post-war reconstruction and protection. Granted that Japan's advanced industrialized position today stems from the dogged industry, resolve and purposiveness of its people, these internal conditions, by themselves, do not explain the phenomenal rise of Japan as one of the world's strongest economies.¹⁵ Equally important is that Japan benefited from US science and technology.

During the post-World War II period, the United States supported Japan, together with the anti-communist and pro-US Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea, as economic and political rivals of China and the USSR. Japan in particular was made the US surrogate in Asia. Although China and the USSR suffered tremendous devastation during the war, they received neither aid nor reparations from the US and its allies. Being socialist countries, they were, in fact, the object of economic and technological blockade. In contrast, Japan benefited from US scientific and technological advances, beginning with the post-WW II period, through the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the Gulf war in 1990. Japan's dramatic surge as one of the world's industrialized and commercial giants was therefore due to the combination of US Cold War policy and the strategy of profiting from industrial production geared for war and peace.

Japan is dependent on OPEC countries for more than 70 percent of fossil fuels, and to the rest of the world for the strategic raw materials needed by its industries, the bulk of which must pass through Southeast Asian seas. It is America's protective umbrella which has kept conservative political parties in power over Japan for 50 years, and will remain so in the foreseeable future. Moreover, though it enjoys unprecedented trade advantage vis-a-vis the US and almost all of Southeast Asia, Japan is seeking to extricate itself from US political and military hegemony. Apparently, its goal is to create a new, more independent role for itself within the Asian community of nations in view of trade disputes with the US. This explains, to a large extent, why Japan is

undertaking concerted cultural, educational and economic assistance efforts in Southeast Asia and the Philippines.

Sub-regions can also be defined not only in terms of geographical proximity, but by close social, cultural and most significantly, economic and commercial integration. Early examples include the mercantilist economic tie-ups which were imposed by western imperialist powers from the late 17th to the 20th centuries. Here, local economies of subjugated nations like the Philippines were tied up and subordinated to the interests of the so-called “mother country,” the United States. From the time the US conquered our country in 1900 up to the 1960s (and some would say even to the present), the Philippine economy has been closely intertwined with that of the US.

In contemporary times, the phenomenon of areas of economic integration variously called special economic zones, free trade zones or growth triangles have received worldwide attention. These new economic and industrial enclaves have replaced or are fast replacing Cold War alignments based on ideological and political orientation. In addition, there are hosts of sub-regional organizations and realignments based on geographical proximity such as the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Also, there are organizations formed by virtue of their common cultural and historical ties, organized mainly as a response to western pressures such as the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) or those whose members possess similar resources or produce the same commodities such as OPEC and the nuclear powers. Finally, international organizations such as the United Nations and its numerous agencies, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) should interest scholars more since these powerful institutions are not usually subjected to critical scrutiny.¹⁶

Area Studies therefore makes us see countries and issues in regional and global dimensions. It makes us knowledgeable about the philosophies, values and attitudes which undergird the economic and political policies of a country. Such knowledge provides us a better understanding of peoples, their interests and problems. It helps us deal more adequately with international problems so that we may work more systematically and effectively for our national interest, without creating, or at least minimizing, international tensions.

Training and Qualifications of Area Specialists

Besides thorough training in one or two disciplines, area specialists must have comprehensive knowledge of the geography, history, as well as socio-political and economic developments of the country or area of his or her specialization.

One of the most essential prerequisites is to have a grasp of the language of the country or area being studied. In addition, it is important to have at least a reading knowledge of the scholarly and other significant writings on the country or area, in whatever language they may be written. For example, to study the history of the Philippines, a reading knowledge of Spanish is important; that of Indonesia, Dutch; while French is needed to analyze the history of former Indochina states.

It is equally important to experience living in the area or country for long periods of time, with subsequent visits. Field experience, in other words, is indispensable to this endeavor. Area specialists should be constantly aware of their own perspectives as well as the theories and analytical methods they employ. Moreover, they should be able to understand the inner workings of the culture area, and if possible, empathize with the bearers of that culture. This way, area specialists can make informed analyses about developments in their country or area of concern, and ascertain what aspects of its past and present are most relevant to an issue at hand.

The success of an Area Studies program likewise depends on the nature and amount of institutional support given to it. Some of the most essential needs are adequate scholarships, support for language training and field research, competent staff, and above all, an excellent, well-equipped library and other research facilities. The collaboration of all scholars from different disciplines is likewise extremely necessary for a thoroughgoing program on Area Studies. Finally, if ever Area Studies will be implemented, our priority should be on Asia.

Conclusion

Because of the complex and the multi-faceted nature of societies, we need to seek out methods of analysis and interpretation offered by various

disciplines and examine issues from different perspectives. This requires breaking away from the rigid compartmentalization of the disciplines and theoretical assumptions. Moreover, we need to reexamine western-derived theories and avoid the predilection to assume that they are “international,” “universal” or “global”. Political, economic and other social science theories must be constantly tested against the actual people, events and surrounding circumstances being studied.

An Area Studies program which seeks to understand societies, and peoples, as well as their history, traditions, languages and literature, rather than their political and economic affairs alone, can help in this direction. By enabling one to gain an insight of other peoples and societies, Area Studies can develop one’s ability to compare different peoples and cultures. At the same time, it can provide the impetus for reexamining one’s own culture.

In turn, the insights gained from such effort can serve as an important corrective not only to various forms of chauvinism, prejudice and discrimination, but to the cynical manipulation of people whether for political, religious or pecuniary ends, as what occurred during the Cold War. The tragic consequences of manipulative area studies are still with us today, in the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan issue, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This ought to remind us that how we view the world, approach problems and define units of study, are not simply academic and theoretical issues toyed around within the safe confines of university classrooms and libraries. What we study, how we study, how we formulate questions, and how we go about solving them have direct repercussions on the lives of real people and real societies.

NOTES

1. Within this policy framework, the world was divided between the “free, democratic world” versus the “totalitarian, communist countries” led by the former Soviet Union. Under this rubric, the Philippines, for example, was placed within the Southeast Asia military theater of operation, a region which must be contained within the US “democratic” camp against any kind of encroachment by the USSR and the People’s Republic of China. Countries like India, Indonesia and Cambodia, which tried to pursue a non-aligned foreign policy independent of the US and the USSR, were not spared US criticism and attack. This had the unfortunate consequence of intensifying internal, local and regional conflicts.
2. See for instance Mark Selden, ed., “Asia, Asian Studies, and the National Security State: A Symposium,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January - March 1997).
3. The fast pace of information technology as well as the ease of travel and communication preclude secretive operations which were more prevalent during the Cold War. People who have access to computers and the Internet, for example, can readily check information and communicate with almost anyone around the globe. Openness of information systems affects the way advances in scientific, technological and business operations are generated and disseminated. A determined and talented hacker can break into the secret codes of the Pentagon and banking systems. Espionage, in fact, could be counterproductive in the sense that one could be fed the wrong information. The best way to learn about another country is to conduct honest to goodness scholarly research which is open to public scrutiny and evaluation by peers.
4. These include land forms, meteorological and other climatic regimes, biota, physical boundaries, etc. which are the primary subjects of the discipline of geography.
5. Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, New York, 1988.
6. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, University of Chicago Press, 1955 and *Peasant Society and Culture*, University of Chicago Press, 1956. Redfield developed concepts which regard the relationships among the tribe, village, town and city as indications of an ever increasing complexity in social structure and organization in spatial and temporal terms. For a more detailed discussion

of the concept of “Great Tradition” and its interaction with the “Little Tradition,” viewed from philosophical, historical and anthropological perspectives, and as a range of variants within the Indian civilization, see also: M. N. Srinivas, “Sanskritization and Westernization,” *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (August, 1956): 481-496; and *Journal of Asian Studies*, May 22, 1963: 481-496.

7. It should also be remembered that within each broad area of civilization, are individual, distinctive pockets of culture such as the semi-nomadic Kurds in Turkey, Iraq and Iran; the Altaic shamanistic Tungus on the border of Korea, China and Siberia, and the minuscule Tasaday hunting-gathering band in the interior upland of Cotabato, on the Philippine island of southwestern Mindanao. Their existence should remind us of the many exceptions to what is often considered a “national” or “regional” culture; they also show that not all peoples march in step towards the same developmental goals.
8. John Leddy Phelan’s book, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565 - 1700*, takes such an approach by looking at the evolution of Christianized institutions in Luzon and the Visayas from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Phelan’s study focuses on Spanish aims, the nature and modes of cultural transmission, the development of Hispanic institutions, and the governmental structure and administration, with emphasis on the church and the clergy.
9. For instance, in studying how Palestinian self-definition and self-consciousness as a “nation” emerged, it is important to examine not only their long historical domicile and experiences in the region of Palestine and areas now known as Jordan and Syria, but also their reaction to Zionism in the 1930s and the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.
10. Austin Kenet, *Bedouin Justice: Law and Custom among the Egyptian Bedouin*, F. Cass, London, 1968. See also P.M. Holt, Ann K. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, eds. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 2 vols., London, 1970.
11. The Kurds comprise a transhumance group, that is, their movements are vertical, up and down the rugged mountains of Turkey, Iraq and Iran.
12. Geographical divisions on the continent itself comprise deserts, high mountain ranges of the Pamirs, the Tien Shan, the Tibetan highlands in the north and northwest; the Amur river and rugged steppes in the northeast, the Himalayas in the southwest and Szechwan basin in the south. The Korean peninsula is

separated from China by the northeast uplands, and the sea separates Japan from the continent.

13. Arthur Wright and Mary Wright, eds, *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, Athenaeum Press, New York, 1965
14. H.G. Creel, *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*, Mentor Book, New American Library, New York, 1964.
15. There is a whole school of thought which tries to explain the Japanese “economic miracle” in terms of the uniqueness of Japanese culture. Dubbed as the “Chrysanthemum school,” adherents of this school claim that cultural features drawn from Confucian values predispose the Japanese to be industrious, to strive hard in order to avoid shame for one’s self and one’s group, and to derive a sense of pride in their work. This school also points to the Japanese socialization process as contributing immensely to the success of the Japanese way of doing business. Accordingly, from infancy to adulthood, the Japanese are moulded to be more disciplined and to be strong enough to forego individual preferences for the benefit of their family, corporation and country. In contrast, the American socialization process stresses individuality which often results in an anarchic and adversarial business and corporate management. See Ruth Benedict, *Chrysanthemum and the Sword, Patterns of Japanese Culture* New York, 1940; and John K. Fairbanks, Edwin O. Reischauer and Austin M. Craig, *East Asia, the Modern Transformation*, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1965.
16. Vivencio R. Jose, ed., *Mortgaging the Future: The World Bank and the IMF in the Philippines*, Foundation for Nationalist Studies, Quezon City, 1982. This work is a critical evaluation of the role of a global institution in a developing country like the Philippines.

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