COLLECTED ABSTRACTS

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The Chinese Reform Movement of the 1890's: A Symposium

Cheng Kuan-ying: The Comprador as Reformer: BY YEN-P'ING HAO. Pages 15–22.

Cheng Kuan-ying was an outstanding institutional reformer in late nineteenth century China. His reform programs included the proposal for a parliamentary system, the advocacy of mercantile nationalism, the emphasis on the dynamic role of commerce and industry, the rationalization of the new merchants' status, and the challenge of some of China's traditional values. His intellectual outlook reflected the views of the newly emerged merchants in the treaty ports and was greatly influenced by his comprador background. (A comprador was a Chinese manager in a foreign business firm in China.) This background limited his importance as a reformer, yet he probably exerted a greater influence than we have usually realized.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Changes in the Late Nineteenth Centry. BY HAO CHANG. Pages 23–34.

The point of departure for the development of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's early thought was the resurgence of the confucian ideal of practical statesmanship (*ching-shih*) in late Ch'ing thought. The resurgence of the ideal of *ching-shih* signified mainly the reassertion of the controlling Confucian ideal of socio-moral activism in opposition to the general tendency toward socio-moral indifferentism which had developed among Confucian scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Out of this reassertion of Confucian socio-moral activism grew two tendencies in late Ch'ing thought, which differed from each other in the interpretation of their shared guiding ideal of Confucian statesmanship. Some scholars stressed the primacy of moral cultivation in their attempts to realize that ideal. Other scholars who took administrative and managerial expertise as conditions indispensable for realizing Confucian statemanship. Both tendencies, through the crucial mediation of K'ang Yu-wei, merged to form the point of departure for Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's thought. But by the time the values and ideas in these tendencies were incorporated by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, they had been subtly and profoundly transformed by the cultural impact of the West. This profound transformation can be seen in both Liang's political values and personality ideal. The significance of these transformation is that the Confucian idea of *ching-shih* was drained of its authoritativeness and the age-old intellectual tradition

which drew its vitality from this controlling Confucian value thereby came to a close.

The Hunanese Elite and the Reform Movement, 1895–1898. BY CHARLTON M. LEWIS. Pages 35–42.

From 1895 to 1898, a group of conservative literati dominated the reform movement in China's Hunan province. They joined government officials to establish new industries, newspapers and schools, consistent with orthodox Confucian teachings. In the spring of 1898 this moderate movement was challenged by a radical group of literati-reformers who were disciples of K'ang Yu-wei. In response to the national crisis created by foreign demands for concessions in China, this radical group propagated K'ang's extreme interpretations of Confucian tradition. At study societies and in newspapers, they encouraged such unorthodox ideas as "popular sovereignty" and "equality," and they urged radical institutional changes. Conservatives were shocked by this extreme turn in the reform movement. They declared that no foreign danger could justify distortion of traditional values or revision of the social order. They condemned K'ang's ideas as heretical and expelled the radicals from the province. They used their political and economic power to uphold an outworn orthodoxy, and moved toward a more repressive pattern of social control.

The Reform Movement, Nationalism, and China's Foreign Policy. BY JOHN SCHRECKER. Pages 43–54.

This article suggests an interpretation of the foreign policy of the Chinese reformers between 1895 and 1898. Unlike the "mainstream" of Ch'ing policy in the preceding decades, the reformers laid great emphasis on the concept of sovereignty, and aimed at full equality between China and the powers and the abolition of extraterritoriality and other foreign privileges. This approach, which must be identified as nationalistic, differed also from the cultural xenophobia of the militant conservatives of the *Ch'ing-i* school. From a page count of the *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao*, the author has shown that the use of the term "sovereignty" rose sharply after 1898. The reformer's concept of foreign policy thus had a crucial impact on Ch'ing policy during the ensuing decade.

Contemporary Marathi Fiction: Obscenity or Realism? BY MAHADEO L. APTE. Pages 55–66.

In contemporary Marathi literature, the issue of obscenity has become controversial as a result of many new novels and short stories written by young writers.

After presenting a background of twentieth century Marathi literature, the pros and cons of the issue are discussed emphasizing that the so called 'obscene' works of literature should be judged only on criteria internal to literature, namely to what extent obscene descriptions, style, symbolisms, language etc. are essential for the total unified effect of the work. *Vasunaka* and *Cakra,* the two most controversial novels in this debate are then evaluated to illustrate the argument.

Traditionalism and Colonialism: Changing Urban Roles in Asia. By RHOADS MURPHEY. Pages 67–84.

Most traditional Asian cities were located inland and performed primarily administrative and cultural functions. The port cities founded and/or dominated by Westerners after the sixteenth century on the oceanic fringes of Asia reversed this pattern. Their functions were primarily economic, and they were peripheral rather than central. Many of them were newly founded by Europeans on previously neglected sites. By the end of the colonial period, the urban size hierarchy in every Asian country was dominated by these former colonial or semi-colonial ports; they were also the chief centers of ferment and change, ideological, institutional, and economic. Their growth resulted from the spatial concentration of trade flows, production centers, and transport lines, despite the physical problems inherent in the sites of most of them. The impact these cities made on their hinterlands differed from country to country, as a reflection of differing national contexts. There is an especially sharp contrast between the experience in China and that in the rest of Asia. But all these cities were beachheads of an exogenous system which transformed traditional Asia.

Changing Soviet Views on Mahatma Gandhi. By HEMEN RAY. Pages 85–106.

In Lenin's lifetime the Bolsheviks considered Gandhi as a progressive leader who had turned the Indian National Congress into a genuinely mass political movement agitating for independence of India. This view underwent a change after Lenin's death in 1924. Under Stalin the Bolsheviks and the Comintern adopted a harsh policy toward Gandhi claiming that he had ceased to be a progressive leader and his philosophy had become a "reactionary form of social life." Indian Communists were asked to unmask Gandhi's "reactionary" policy. This view of Gandhi and Gandhism prevailed until 1939 when Stalin advocated a united front between the Indian CP and the Indian National Congress. For awhile, Gandhi returned to the Soviet favor. Soon after second World War, the Soviet scholars resumed their criticism of Gandhi and his philosophy. They assailed him as a "demagogue" and a "principal traitor" in India's independence movement and his philosophy as an "avowed national ideology of the Indian capitalists and landowners." Even after his assassination in 1948 the Soviets continued to assail Gandhi. But in 1955 when the post-Stalin leaders de-

cided to flatter India, the Soviet scholars were forced to change their views. They now stressed Gandhi's historical role in India's independence movement and also emphasized his socialist ideas as a valuable instrument for Soviet Communism in India.

The Pursuit of the Urdu Ghazal. By RALPH RUSSELL. Pages 107–124.

This, the most popular form of classical Urdu poetry, presents great difficulties to the student in the West. The key to their solution lies in the realization that this is the characteristic poetry of a medieval society. Its essential theme is love—illicit, persecuted love. Its portrayal provides also the symbols in which a wide range of intense emotion finds expression. The "beloved" is often God, the Divine Beloved of His mystic devotees, but may represent any person or any ideal that commands the absolute devotion of the poet in the fact of bitter hostility. This wide range, and the fact that the lover's submission is a kind which in medieval society is normally accorded only to males, explains the conventional exclusive use of the masculine gender for the beloved. The striking variety of themes within a strict unity of form derives from the fact that the ghazal is composed for recitation to an audience that assembles to hear poets reciting in a single prescribed metre and rhyme scheme. The ghazal is of central importance in Urdu literature. To learn to appreciate it is to cultivate a fruitful approach to the literature as a whole.

A Review of the Wuhan Debacle: The Kuomintang-Communist Split of 1927. By TIEN-WEI WU. Pages 125–144.

With the death of Sun Yat-sen, the leadership of the KMT (Kuomintang) fell on Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang continued Sun's policy of allying the KMT with Soviet Russia and the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and launched the Northern Expedition in July 1926. As the revolution advanced, Chiang's power become shaken. Soon the KMT Left Wing and the CCP joined forces and seized power at the national revolutionary center—Wuhan. However, the Wuhan regime from the beginning was plagued by economic chaos and social upheaval.

After the conquest of Shanghai, Chiang found support from divergent groups there. On April 12, 1927, he staged a coup d'etat at Shanghai to purge the Communists and then established his national government at Nanking. Chiang's coup not only inspired open revolts among the Wuhan generals but also promoted dissention between the KMT left wing led by Wang Ching-wei and the CCP dominated by Borodin. The deteriorated KMT-CCP relations were made worse by Stalin's policy, particularly his June 1st telegram. Relying on its military strength in the army, the CCP leadership resorted to violent protests and even force against the KMT that hastened the breakdown of the KMT-CCP alliance in July 1927.

The 1915 Riots in Ceylon: A Symposium

Introduction. By ROBERT N. KEARNEY. Pages 219–222.

Few events have made a more profound impact on political developments in modern Ceylon than an outbreak of riots between Buddhists and Muslims in 1915 and the reaction of British colonial officials to the disorders. The Ceylonese view was that the authorities responded with unjustifiably harsh repression and executed or imprisoned persons who had no responsibility for the outbreak. To many ceylonese, the government's actions illustrated a basic failing of colonial rule and starkly demonstrated the need for self-government. The handling of the riots galvanized nationalist sentiment and led to the appearance of an organized national independence movement. Although few constitutional changes had occurred in the preceding eighty years, progress came rapidly after 1915, culminating in independence thirty-three years later. The three articles in this symposium constitute a major examination and reassessment of the 1915 riots and their causes and consequences.

Economic and Political Factors in the 1915 Riots. By KUMARI JAYAWARDENA. Pages 223–234.

The 1915 Buddhist-Muslim riots in Ceylon are often attributed to religious animosity, but economic and political factors significantly influenced the environment in which the riots occurred and help to explain the drastic government reaction to the disorders. The Muslims involved, recent arrivals from India called Coast Moors, were primarily traders and moneylenders. Resentment against price increases and alleged profiteering developed among the Sinhalese Buddhists. Before 1915, communal tensions had grown, with many Sinhalese-language newspapers denouncing the Coast Moors for exploitation of the Ceylonese. A Buddhist temperence movement had become a channel for articulating nationalist sentiments and was viewed with suspicion by the colonial regime. Labor unrest and trade unionism had appeared in Colombo prior to the riots. There, the 1915 disorders were led by the most militant urban workers, particularly railway workers, and reflected working-class grievances over rising living costs and unemployment. Fear of German intrigue during the war, the spread of nationalism and terrorism from India, and urban working-class unrest led colonial officials to interpret the riots as a threat to British rule. The officials were divided on the severity of action required, but those favoring the most drastic measures prevailed.

The Action Phase of the 1915 Riots. By CHARLES S. BLACKTON. Pages 235–254.

In 1915, riots broke out in the British colony of Ceylon, the climax of a controversy between Sinhalese Buddhists and a new element among the commercial "Moors" (Muslims). A court ruling disappointing to the Buddhists, combined with economic complaints against Moors in this centenary of British conquest, led to a communal clash in Kandy during *Wesak* (Buddha's birthday) in May 1915. During the following two weeks, the riots spread to Colombo and along the west coast, greed increasingly matching creed as a prime motive.

The colonial government reacted slowly, allowing disorder to spread, and then changed to a policy of heavy repression of a presumed anti-British uprising at a time the Empire was fighting for survival.

Three months of martial law ensued, more deaths caused by police and military action than had occurred during the actual riots. Prominent citizens were arrested without cause. Shoot-on-sight orders were issued, and over 8000 were arrested and imprisoned. This colonial maladministration reflected the gap between officialdom and the colonial peoples. Little evidence of a general plot against government came to light. Since, however, headmen, monks and traders had planned anti-Moor action, especially in coastal areas, the question of conspiracy remains unsettled.

The 1915 Riots in Ceylon seriously undermined Ceylonese confidence in British justice, led to peaceful mass protests and a mission to London, and stimulated the maturation of nationalism, with independence as its objective.

The Post Riots Campaign for Justice. By P. T. M. FERNANDO. Pages 255–266.

Following the 1915 riots in Ceylon, a campaign for redress of grievances resulting from the colonial government's actions in suppressing the riots brought to prominence a new group of Western-educated, middle-class Ceylonese political leaders and led to the growth of the Ceylonese independence movement. The principal demand of the campaign, carried on in Ceylon and Britain, was for an inquiry by a Royal Commission into the government's handling of the riots. The agitation took the form of memorials, deputations, and lobbying intended to bring pressure on the Colonial Office to sanction an investigation. The campaign secured the support of many individuals and organizations in Britain and obtained the release of prisoners held for riot offenses and the exoneration of some prominent Ceylonese. However, the Colonial Office resisted the demand for an inquiry, which was strongly opposed by the colonial administration in Ceylon. Although unsuccessful in their immediate purpose, the Ceylonese spokesmen in the campaign gained experience in agitation and leadership and a zeal for political action. The nationalist movement of Ceylon, which had been dilettante, became focused and purposeful.

The Hindu Renaissance and its Apologetic Patterns. By AGEHANANDA BHARATI. Pages 267–288.

An anthropological and linguistic analysis of the idiom of modern Hindu religious specialists and their followers, an audience which embraces all English

speaking Indians and a large segment of the urban populations of India. The highly eclectic, quasi-secular and neo-Hindu ideology inaugurated by such charismatics as Vivekananda, other "Swamis" and interiorized by Indian nationalists, expresses itself in a highly stereotyped coded parlance, informed by Victorian English as well as by diffuse elements which could be described as a Hindu Protestant Ethic. Both systematic and conscious obfuscation of scriptural categories as well as complex but predictable patterns of dissimulation extending over virtually all types of cultural and social discourse—the caste-system, "superstitions," the "scientific" base of Hinduism, political talk, etc., are adduced and investigated as paradigms of contemporary Indian parlance, which is not the grass-roots idiom, but which is gathering momentum as the forensic instrument of India's leadership and of Indian administrators, educators, and the Indian intellectuals.

Revolution or Just Another Bloody Cycle? Swatow and the 1911 Revolution. By EDWARD FRIEDMAN. Pages 289–308.

The 1911 Revolution in China is usually considered a failure. Changing the perspective of judgement from the national level to the local level permits a reassessment. Enough information is available from Chinese memoirs, contemporary newspapers, and foreign consular reports to make the new judgement somewhat secure if attention is focused on one particular location—Swatow.

The old administration was overthrown by ex-peasants led by deracinated rural intellectuals. They took power in the name of modern merchants. These merchants easily pushed the young radicals out because the ideology of the radical prevented them from using force against the wealth and status of the merchants. Rural disorder of the ex-peasants and republican election victorier for the radicals forced the urban merchants to rely on foreign election victories for the radicals forced the urban merchants to rely on foreign wealth and rural power to maintain law and order needed for trade and to maintain their own urban power base. Armed peasants and the young radicals were suppressed or bought off. Power fell to rural warlords and other political allies in urban enclaves. Only a rejoining of radical intellectuals and ex-peasants could offer China a revolution instead of just another bloody cycle.

Control and Administrative Mechanisms in the North Korean Countryside. By CHONG-SIK LEE and NAM-SIK KIM. Pages 309–326.

North Korea is one of the most efficient totalitarian regimes existing in the world today. Especially after 1958 Premier Kim Il-song intensified the drive to heighten the cult of personality and to consolidate the control and administrative mechanisms in order to ensure the maintenance and operation of an efficient and effective power structure.

Between 1953 and 1958 the socioeconomic environment in North Korea underwent a radical change. Ad-

justments in the structure and function of local administrative and control mechanisms reflected these economic changes. The prefecture (the *kun,* or county) became the most important administrative unit. Through collectivization of farms and accompanying administrative reorganization, the *ri* (the precinct) was transformed from a purely administrative unit to a production unit. The functions traditionally performed by the People's Committees at the prefectural level were dispersed among different agencies, and the party structure at the prefectural level was expanded and given new powers. These measures were carried out between 1953 and 1964 for the purpose of increasing efficiency and efficacy in local administration. They were also designed to insure party control over the entire society. At the end of the reform period, the supremacy of the party was structurally guaranteed. The improvement in control, administration, and production, however, does not necessarily result from structural changes alone, and the problem of controlling and manipulating human beings still remains as an important problem.

Further Light on the Expansion of Russia in East Asia: 1792–1860. By R. QUESTED. Pages 327–346.

The article discusses recently published material on the subject of the author's book on Sino-Russian relations entitled *The Expansion of Russia in East Asia 1857–60* (with an introductory chapter on 1792–1856). The two Chinese document collections *Szu-kuo hsin-tang* and *Chou-pan i-wu shih-mo,* edited by Kuo Ting-i, contain a number of hitherto unpublished Chinese government papers. One document in the Szu-kuo hsin-tang confirms that Putiatin defied Russian government orders when he negotiated for the Amur at Tientsin. Others throw light on the activities of the anti-Russian clique of princes and dignitaries, who influenced Ch'ing policy in these years, on Perovskii's mission to China and on the mutual present giving after the conclusion of the Sino-Russian treaties. The Soviet document collection *Vneshnaia politika Rossii v XIX i nachale XX veka* gives new facts about the Golovkin mission to China in 1805, but excludes all mention of the Amur. The extracts from K. A. Skachkov's Peking diary published in Moscow also exclude foreign affairs. Finally, the author's researches into the private papers of the 8th Earl of Elgin are described. They appear to confirm Ignatiev's claim that Elgin was ignorant of his negotiations with the Chinese in Peking in autumn 1860.

Bureaucratic Development and the Structure of Decision-making in Japan: 1868–1925. By BERNARD S. SILBERMAN. Pages 347–362.

One of the major problems facing modern Japanese historians is that of providing adequate explanations for the nature and timing of changes in the decision-making structure after 1868. The domination of the decision-making process and structure by the civil bureaucracy indicates that bureaucratic development was a major factor in determining such changes.

The civil bureaucracy underwent two dramatic changes in the period after 1868. The first occurred in

the years 1868–78 and resulted in the integration, centralization and specialization of the bureaucratic structure. This was confirmed by an analysis of all increases and decreases in operations at the prefectural level—the level at which integration had been critical. The second major change occurred between 1884–1889 as the result of a series of reforms aimed at rationalizing the bureaucratic role. Analysis of the backgrounds and careers of a 25% random sample of all prefectural governors between 1868–1945 clearly indicates that by 1900 the norms of the bureaucratic role had changed drastically. From a role based on extra-bureaucratic norms—participation in the Restoration, possession of some Western knowledge and membership in the traditional elite—the "new" bureaucratic role was characterized by predominantly "legal-rational" norms. These changes had a number of consequences for the decision-making structure: 1) the centralization, integration and specialization of the bureaucracy placed decision-making in the hands of a small number of bureaucratic leaders thus laying the foundation for the oligarchic (genro) structure which now emerged. Decision-making roles were thus allocated on the same extra-bureaucratic criteria as upper civil service roles; 2) rationalization of the bureaucratic role undermined and finally eliminated the genro structure through elimination of the norms for selecting genro members. The resulting vacuum was filled by contention and conflict between the bureaucracy and the political parties both claiming legitimacy in the selection and allocation of decision-making roles. The result was a system of allocating decision-making roles which was informal, ambiguous and highly particularistic. The result was the instability of decision-making which characterized the post-1925 period. The hypothesis that bureaucratic development was a major factor in determining change in the decision-making structure thus appears to be confirmed.

Problems in Contemporary Asian Archeology. By JUDITH M. TREISTMAN. Pages 363–372.

Archeology in Asia during the past twenty years has taken great strides. The three main areas of new research have been in paleoanthropology, investigation of post-pleistocene neolithic sites, and ethnology. The population of Asia is now known to have been distributed over the entire mainland and Indonesia during the Paleolithic period which embraced the first million years of human evolution. There is growing evidence for the existence of many centers of plant domestication in Asia, each of which appears to have developed out of an indigenous "mesolithic" period of collecting and gathering. Recent research in linguistics and ethnology point the way to unravelling the separate histories of Asia's many cultures.

Vietnamese Historical Sources for the Reign of Le Thanh-tong (1460–1497). By JOHN K. WHITMORE. Pages 373–394.

This article is an introduction to the type of materials available to the historian of pre-1800 Vietnam, particularly that material produced during the reign of Le Thanh-tong. The rule of this Emperor is significant for the bureaucratization of the government and a consequent growth in paperwork which occurred under him. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, many of the resulting documents were brought together to form major compilations on various topics. Following a brief description of the historical background and the manner in which this material came to be assembled, the article groups such materials, from both this period and later centuries, into the following categories: histories, geographies, personnel records, official records, *belles lettres,* and general collections. It then proceeds to enumerate the available material under each category and to analyze the uses to which this material may be put for the study of Vietnamese history. A note follows in the May 1970 issue of the *JAS* describing the major modern collections of these documents and giving the locations of each work mentioned in the article. Characters and Vietnamese romanization are given for each title, term, and name.

The Kiangsi Soviet Period—A Bibliographical Review. By TIEN-WEI WU. Pages 395–412.

The Kiangsi Soviet period, the second phase of the Chinese Communist movement, began with the establishment of the Chingkangshan base by Mao Tse-tung in late 1927 and ended in the "Long March" in October 1934. The study of this important period had long remained sketchy because of lack of materials. With the release of the *Ch'en Ch'eng Collection*—a collection of Communist documents, papers, and publications from the Kiangsi Soviet period—in 21 microfilm reels, a comprehensive study of this period is possible for the first time. The bulk of materials of the Collection falls in the years, 1930–1934. The Collection contains over 70 periodicals, six of which were published with regularity and duration. Scattered in several journals, we found 17 articles from the pen of Mao Tse-tung, which are not included in his *Selected Works* (Peking, 1965). The materials cover a variety of subjects from the Soviet congresses, the establishment of the Soviet economy, peasantry and labor, the intraparty struggle to the Red Army and its many campaigns against the Chinese Nationalists. Major works in all these areas are briefly introduced here.

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Chinese and Indian Agriculture: A Broad Comparison of Recent Policy and Performance. By PRANAB K. BARDHAN. Pages 515–538.

In both China and India agriculture is the key sector and yet detailed comparisons of agricultural development in the two economies are difficult to obtain. A

major problem is, of course, the availability and reliability of data. This paper puts together some of the information that is now available and assesses its reliability to draw some rough generalizations.

On the whole it seems that agricultural production in the two countries has grown at fairly similar rates. In terms of absolute level Chinese yield per hectare in most crops, of course, exceeds that of India by a significant margin, but this has been true for quite a long time in the past.

In provision of inputs like organic and inorganic fertilizers and irrigation water the Chinese performance has been much better than that of India. Both countries have devoted not a very low proportion of their total gross investment to the agricultural sector. But the effectiveness of this investment has been quite unsatisfactory on account of, among other things, technical deficiencies and faulty planning in both countries, and the excesses of over enthusiastic but unskilled party cadres in China and a very much restricted framework of village institutions and administrative setup in India. In land policy much of the period under consideration was taken up in China in bold experimentations—with the inevitable advances and retreats—in search of the optimum size of land management in a backward peasant economy, while in India in spite of copious land legislation some of the crucial land relations have remained basically unaltered. The Chinese policy of moving away from age-old small-scale family farming and of emphasizing joint management of land and labour has, on the one hand, significantly strained peasant incentives, but on the other hand rid Chinese agriculture of the burden of uneconomically small and fragmented holdings, tenurial insecurity and crop sharing which still afflict a substantial part of Indian agriculture. The problem of ensuring enough marketed surplus of foodgrains to feed the nonagricultural sector has, however, remained unsolved in both countries, in spite of all changes in institutions and production.

The Transformations of Messianic Revolt and the Founding of the Ming Dynasty. By JOHN W. DARDESS. Pages 539–558.

The late Yuan popular rebellions began in 1351 when two independent White Lotus Societies, in north and south China, both purveying a chiliastic Buddo-Manichean ideology, recruited to their cause a following of socially miscellaneous elements who called themselves Red Turbans, and provoked an empire-wide attack upon the landlords and the local officials. One key to the failure of the rebels to rise above the rioting phase lay in their inability to gain massive and sustained peasant support. The result was that the landlord gentry, leading peasant militia (*i-ping*), were able to contain and suppress these riots by 1353–54 in cooperation with the Yuan bureaucracy. However, when the Yuan Chancellor Toghto was for political reasons cashiered in January 1355, the dynasty lost control of the pacification process. In these circumstances, new leadership emerged from both of the original rebel organizations, and stepping into the control vacuum left by the Yuan, pressed an entirely new policy of cooperation with the

landlord gentry and their *i-ping*. The main leaders in this were Ch'en Yu-liang and the future Ming founder, Chu Yuan-chang. Chu's victory over Ch'en, his chief rival, is due largely to the tighter centralization of his embryonic imperial regime.

The Japanese Labor Movement, 1912–1919: Suzuki Bunji and the Yuaikai. By STEPHEN S. LARGE. Pages 559–580.

The Yuaikai (Friendly Society) was the only large, national labor organization in 1912–1919 Japan. Its founder, Suzuky Bunji, an intellectual and Christian humanist, believed that cooperation between labor and management was the key to developing the Yuaikai into a true labor union movement in a day when organized labor was held in suspicion. Accordingly, Suzuki organized the Yuaikai workers into potential unions and tried to persuade business and government to accept a moderate union movement. Suzuki's gradualist tactice resulted in expansion of the Yuaikai. By 1917, after two trips to the United States, Suzuki had become the symbol of Japanese organized labor at home and abroad. But Suzuki's moderate approach to reform was jolted by repression of the Yuaikai in 1917–1918 by business and government and his moderate leadership in the Yuaikai was challenged by militant workers who resented intellectual domination of their movement and by radical university graduates who sought to turn the Yuaikai into a revolutionary organization. These two groups conspired to turn the Yuaikai into the relatively militant Sodomei (General Federation) in 1919 and to reduce Suzuki's power in the movement but their revalry for power greatly undermined the capacity of the Sodomei to build further on the institutional foundations laid for organized labor by Suzuki Bunji.

Liang Shih-i and the Communications Clique. By STEPHEN R. MACKINNON. Pages 581–602.

Through an examination of the career of Liang Shih-i (1869–1933) and the "Communications" clique of railway and financial administrators, the intention is to illuminate the nonmilitary side of the late Ch'ing to early Republic transition. Although Liang and such associates as Yeh Kung-cho and Kuan Keng-lin dealt with modernization of communications and financial institutions, the patterns of their careers fit a more traditional mold. Liang held a *chin-shih* degree; the others also had scholarly gentry backgrounds. Unlike their well known contemporary, Sheng Hsuan-huai, they were not entrepreneurs as well as bureaucrats. Crucial to the rise of these men first to bureaucratic and then, during the Republican period, to political power were their ties to Yuan Shih-k'ai. Between 1906 and 1911, Yuan helped nurtured Liang and his clique to control of the Ministry of Posts and Communications (*Yu-ch'uan pu*); during and after the revolution of 1911–12 Yuan depended on them and their communications and financial network of influence for support of his presidency of the Republic. Thus Liang and the Communications Clique represented the non-

military side of Yuan Shih-k'ai's power during the late Ch'ing and early Republican periods.

The Beginnings of Civilization in South India. By CLARENCE MALONEY. Pages 603–616.

The diffusion of Indian Civilization and its "great tradition" to the extreme south of the peninsula occurred in the earliest stages by sea, not by land. Such characteristics of civilization as script and literacy, kingship and the state, and organized religions, developed at first in the earliest urban centers in Tamil Nadu, which were located on the coast opposite Ceylon. In the half millennium before Christ there was sea traffic between the coasts of Gujarat and Sind, and Ceylon, which laid the basis for the development of civilization in that island. Early civilization in southern Tamil Nadu developed parallel with this, and most of its intrusive features were analogous with those in the island, or were inspired by them. The earliest attractions of the far southern coasts were pearls and gems, which brought merchants, and ultimately, script, religions, and the Pandiyan dynastic traditon. Early civilizations characterized by the Colas and Keralas, as well as in the Andhra deltas, were inspired by sea traffic. Sources are early Tamil and Ceylon Brahmi inscriptions, Tamil Sangam literature, early Ceylon chronicles, etymologies, legends, and some archeology.

Adoption and Samurai Mobility in Tokugawa Japan. By RAY A. MOORE. Pages 617–632.

Historians have overstated the role of adoption as a channel of upward social mobility for poor but bright young samurai in Tokugawa Japan. An analysis of family histories and public service records of four *han* shows that adoption helped to preserve both samurai lineages and the political system of daimyo rule. It also created opportunities for younger sons to remain in the elite class under a system of primogeniture. Adoption in the middle and upper (*shi*) ranks of the class was normally between related families of roughly the same social status. Where status differences were involved, the adopted son usually represented a higher status than the adopting family. The few records available for lower ranks (*sotsu*) reveal some marriage and adoption with commoners, but none with the higher ranks of the samurai class. In sum, adoption clearly supported the system of hereditary status, but rarely provided opportunities for poor but bright samurai to get ahead in society.

Two Poems of Mao-Tse-tung in the Light of Chinese Literary Tradition. By C. N. TAY. Pages 633–656.

It has been said that poetry is the voice of the heart. In Mao Tse-tung's first poem *Changsha,* and *Swimming* written after his success, we have a picture of his aspiration and inspiration, his classical literary background, and the vicissitudes of his life and times.

A Note on the Location of Source Materials for Early Vietnamese History. By JOHN K. WHITMORE. Pages 657–662.

In the February 1970 issue of the *Journal of Asian Studies* (pp. 373–394) there appeared an article entitled "Vietnamese Historical Sources (for the Reign of Le Thanh-tong, 1460–1497)." That article gave the background to these sources, described their different types (histories, geographies, personnel records, official records, *belles lettres,* and general collections), and discussed the uses to which they might be put in studying the early history of Vietnam. The sources were then listed in both characters and romanization. This note deals with the different collections of such materials throughout the world, primarily those in France, Vietnam, and Japan, and the manner in which these collections came to be formed. An appendix is attached listing alphabetically all the sources used in the earlier article, each source being followed by the names of the libraries holding it and the catalogue number for it in each library.

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The Association for Asian Studies: Nonpolitical but not Unconcerned. By WM. THEODORE DEBARY. Pages 751–760.

Please see above pages for the complete text of the Presidential Address.

Theravada Buddhist Sangha: Some General Observations on Historical and Political Factors in its Development. By HEINZ BECHERT. Pages 761–778.

The emergence of an historiographical tradition in Ceylon was caused by the importance of an unbroken succession of ordinations in the Sangha for the survival of Theravada Buddhism and by the emergence of the Sinhalese nation. One of the main factors of this nation-building process was the acceptance of Buddhism as the national religion. The survival of Buddhism depended on the state of the Sangha. History of Theravada Sangha is largely a history of efforts towards monastic reforms, and most reforms were implemented by the worldly power. The description of Asoka's religious politics in Sinhalese chronicles laid a basis for state-Sangha relations. Political thinking shows a dualism of ideological concepts based on religious values and of a tradition of practical political science. The impact of historical factors in the development of Sangha structures becomes visible from a comparison of these structures in the predominantly Bud-

dhist countries and in the Buddhist minority community in Bengal. In this context, recent changes in state-Sangha within society, and the interrelations of Buddhism and popular cults can be analyzed as a result of the interaction of ideological, historical and political factors.

The Right–Left Division of South Indian Society. BY BRENDA E. F. BECK. Pages 779–798.

What were the reasons for the development of a right–left division of South Indian castes? Why has this division become less of a focus of rivalry in modern times? This article uses observations collected in the Coimbatore region of Madras State between 1964 and 1966 to suggest that this earlier opposition expressed a fundamental economic principle: the distinction between castes who held direct or indirect rights in land and those who were primarily dependent on renumeration for specific professional services. This contrast was expressed symbolically by the use of the terms "right" and "left," and in day-to-day activity by the opposition of instrumental to ritualistic values in the evaluation of social status. Use of the terms right and left had gradually become outmoded, due to substantial changes in economic organization. The social correlates of this earlier opposition, however, have continued to endure in certain regions. It is hypothesized that this persistence of social contrasts is related to the absence of Brahmans as an important land-owning group in such areas.

The Formation of a Regionally Oriented Ruling Group in Bengal, 1700–1740. BY PHILIP B. CALKINS. Pages 799–806.

The decline of the central authority of the Mughal empire during the first half of the eighteenth century resulted not only in a change in the power relationship between the center and the provincial government of Bengal, but also in changes in the relationships between the leading military, administrative, and economic groups within Bengal. Shortly after 1700, Murshid Quli Khan, first as Diwan and later as Nawab of Bangal, began a series of revenue and administrative reforms. By increasing revenue collections, he was able to satisfy the demands of the central government for more money from Bengal, and at the same time to pay adequately his mansabdar followers within Bengal and Orissa. He also began to ehnahce his control by acquiring many of the most important official positions in the provincial government for himself and his relatives, and by retaining within Bengal a following of mansabdars who were loyal to himself.

Since many of the smaller and/or less efficient zamindars were unable to pay the increased revenue demand, they lost their zamindaris. Consequently, the pattern of many relatively small zamindaris was replaced by one of relatively few and much larger zamindaris. The result was that the more powerful zamindars tended to become more influential, and to act increasingly as partners in the Mughal provincial government.

A third element, the bankers, also became important within the ruling group of Bengal after 1700. The Jagat Seths became bankers for the provincial government, and also supplied loans to zamindars to cover their revenue payments.

Thus, by 1739, Bengal was ruled by a loosely organized coalition of military, landed, and monied interests, who provided a reasonably stable alternative to the centralized Mughal government of earlier days.

Rebels Between Rebellions—Secret Societies in the Novel, P'eng Kung An. BY JEROME CH'EN. Pages 807–822.

This is a study of the social and economic functions of Chinese secret societies between the age of rebellions, 1850–1878, and the Boxer Uprising. The rebellions and their ensuing peaceful reconstruction of Chinese society brought important changes to both the secret societies and Chinese society at large. These are analyzed in detail in this essay. By so doing, the essay attempts to throw some light on the mechanism and processes of the structural changes of Chinese secret societies. It also attempts to correct some methodological defects which seem to exist still in the study of Chinese secret societies. One of these is that historians tend to focus their attention only on rebellions while neglecting the activities of the rebel elements in peace time; another is the reluctance to make better use of popular literature as a reliable source of historical information. With emphasis on the social and economic functions of these societies in peace time, the essay also helps to dispel the belief that all Chinese secret societies came from one mother body—a monistic myth created by the nationalist revolutionaries of the 1900's.

Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan. BY WILBUR M. FRIDELL. Pages 823–833.

As one means of uniting the people behind the new regime, Japanese government authorities employed a series of ethics (shushin) textbooks in the schools during the Meiji period (1868–1912) and beyond. With the appearance of fully government-produced texts in 1903 and their first revision in 1910, ideological patterns were established which were influential down to the last revision of the series in 1941. The 1910 revision fused old and new socio-ideological patterns and values under the designation of "national morals," retrospectively known as the "family state" (kazoku kokka) ideology. This was comprised of (1) a German "state organism" theory of state sovereignty, as the intellectual superstructure; (2) Confucian-like familyism, as the ethical base; and (3) ancient Shinto imperial mythology as the religious sanction. Progression of thought in the textbooks placed crucial emphasis on the extension of loyalty from home and parents to nation and emperor through the absolute equation of filial piety and emperor-loyalty. The frontline soldier, however, found difficulty reconciling the call to die for the emperor with his filial obligation to live for his parents. This may be one reason why in successive revisions (especially 1941) the familial approach to

national loyalty was downgraded in favor of a direct national-imperial appeal.

Problems of Centralization in Republican China: The Case of Ch'en Ch'eng and the Kuomintang. BY DONALD G. GILLIN. Pages 835–849.

This is a study of the role played by Ch'en Ch'eng, who for almost thirty years was Chiang Kai-shek's most trusted and powerful lieutenant, in the relations between Chiang's "Central" government and the so-called *tsa-parh* or noncentral military forces. The study illustrates both the complexity and importance of Chiang's dealings with the *tsa-parh* and suggests that Ch'en had the responsibility of coopting them into Chiang's service. This was especially true with respect to militarists from Kwangtung and Kwangsi, who felt that their leadership of the Nationalist movement had been usurped by the Chekiang-Kiangsu group, led by Chiang Kai-shek. Ch'en also emerges as an advocate of fundamental social and economic reform, as well as an important proponent of resisting Japan and, therefore, the united front with the Communists, although, after 1945, he became chief-of-staff to Chiang Kai-shek and, in this capacity, directed Nationalist efforts to destroy the Communists. The article concludes by suggesting that Nationalist efforts to impose a "modern," meaning a unitary and organically centralized, state on what traditionally had been a politically fragmented society provoked unprecedented antagonism toward the central government on the part of the provinces and prevented Chiang Kai-shek from achieving even that degree of control enjoyed by China's emperors in the past.

Administrative Policy and Practice in Sarawak: Continuity and Change Under the Brookes. BY JON M. REINHARDT. Pages 851–862.

One hundred years of Brooke rule in Sarawak seem to present a stark contrast to the political and social foment in Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam. Cognizant of the ill effects of European domination in the archipelago, the Brookes established a paternalistic rule whose policies were designed to curtail European economic investment in the area and to protect the indigenous inhabitants from internal and external exploitation. However, despite the fact that Brooke rule was structured for maintaining traditional order, not development, the European interlude in north Bornean history may have been more of a deviation than is apparent. The suppression of "piracy" in the area and the political domination of the Brookes over most of the northeastern part of the island had several important results. First, the area trade patterns—if piracy

can be seen as a form of luxury trade—were altered to the ultimate economic advantage of the Chinese who came to dominate retail trade. Second, the natural northeastern expansion of the Iban people was halted to the chief benefit of the indigenous Malays who gained significant political advantage under the Brookes. Finally, an inevitable depersonalization of rule occurred as the administration of the state became increasingly complex. If, in a "modern" world, a rule of law, not economic development per se, is the essential ingredient for political stability, Brooke rule made a significant contribution to the political viability of northern Borneo by fostering a White, civilized way of settling disputes.

Thai Regional Elites and the Reform of King Chulalongkorn. BY MICHAEL VICKERY. Pages 863–881.

Beginning in 1892 Prince Damrong as minister of the interior in King Chulalongkorn's reformed government began a reorganization of provincial administration. At that time the country was divided into provinces of four different classes and vassal states. The latter were recognized as quasi-independent under their own hereditary ruling families, and many of the former, although in theory completely subordinate to the capital were in fact ruled by local elite families in which the governorship remained from one generation to the next. Over this structure Prince Damrong established the *monthon* as a supra-provincial unit headed by an appointed official from the central government bureaucracy, and within a few years was able to replace old-style hereditary governors with appointed officials changed at frequent intervals. The elite families of the different regions appear to have been affected in different ways. The old rulers of the vassal states kept their nominal positions until death. Many of the governing elite of the southern provinces maintained themselves in the national bureaucracy in positions of comparable rank. The greatest change was in the northeast where the governing elite families lost their old positions and were unable to integrate into the reformed bureaucracy.

The Computer—Linguistic Detective of Authorship. BY JOHN J. DREHER. Pages 883–887.

This is a brief descriptive and explanatory paper about the use of the computer in Asian linguistic studies. Schemes for the use of autocovariance and fast Fourier transforms are presented, with their application to the question of literary structure and author identification. These results suggest that changes in the scale of resolution of the analyses could furnish the basis for the description of the human information emitter.