

Conference Paper

Asian Intellectuals for Cultural Resistance: Departures and Disruptions

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Abstract

In the past, the emergence of viable intellectual groups had been stunted by the grip of colonial imperialism, apart from the long years of feudal tutelage that made the society subservient to its ruling ideology. Today, the challenges are far more complex. Calling for intellectuals to take up cultural resistance can be just a utopianistic fervour, unless we first unravel the obstacles that prevent intellectuals from making a substantive presence in society. In this paper, four main areas will be discussed, namely: (a) the relegation of intellectuals in this era of technoscientific and soundbites euphoria, (b) the domains in which intellectuals should take up the task of cultural resistance, such as addressing intellectual captivity, culturalism, ethno-religious exclusivism and neoliberalism, (c) the timidity in our context of forging an Asian intellectual solidarity and comradeship, and (d) the need to forge autonomous and humanistic sociological thinking amongst Asian cultural and intellectual circles. At present, the struggle for cultural resistance is marked by departures and disruptions. Thus, it warrants the creative and critical approaches with foremost commitment in imagining the possibility of cultural resistance as a start.

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1. Introduction

Only those who choose to serve humanity rather than to get caught up in the scramble for all the immediate rewards of finance and status can know the pleasures and lasting rewards of such a pursuit.

Alfred McClung Lee

Asian intellectuals are imperative front for cultural resistance against all forms of dehumanisation, authoritarianism, ideological distortions and economic domination. Intellectuals generally are not just the guardian of knowledge and the scientific spirit, but equally important as the beacon of conscience, empathy and the voice for justice and equality. "Intellectuals" according to Pramoedya Ananta Toer, "are not just a part of the nation. They are its conscience. They not only bear the treasury of learning and knowledge, the sum total of our experience as a nation," and that "the tradition of revolutionary daring must also be a decisive factor in our intellectual life" [1]. Intellectuals in any society are generally the producer, definer and transmitter of

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knowledge, ethical judgement, scientific clarity, aesthetical finesse, spiritual reflection as well as infusing the universal humanistic spirit, ethic and hope. Indeed there is no space in an intellectual vocation for any kind of abstention in delivering and upholding the moral duty to speak out against the forces of oppression in our society. All developing societies need in the words of S. H. Alatas, "an effectively functioning groups of intellectuals capable of rational thought and the will to work for progress [2]".

The emergence of viable intellectual groups had been stunted by the grip of colonial imperialism, apart from the long years of feudal tutelage that made the society subservient to its ruling ideology. The role of intellectuals in developing society has been much deliberated, though today the discourse on intellectuals is seen as dated issues which require no more attention. In this paper I am not addressing the sociological make up and dynamics of Asian intellectuals [3]. Instead of writing on what intellectuals should do and accomplish a list of important things, let us begin with what we have imagined about our intellectuals in our society, and by extension in our surrounding region. Here it suffices to highlight Edward Said's definition of intellectual as "an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to as well as for a public...raising embarrassing questions, confronting orthodoxy and dogma (rather than producing them), being someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d'être* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug [4]".

The calling for intellectuals to engage in the cultural resistance can be just a utopianistic fervour, unless we first unravel the obstacles that prevent the intellectuals from making a substantive presence in society. It is important that we first recognise the formidable challenges of Asian intellectual making a credible and substantive presence in their own society [5]. In this paper, I would like to deliberate in four main areas:

1. The relegation of intellectuals in this era of technoscientific and soundbites euphoria which in turn have serious consequence to the fate of the nation and society;
2. Highlighting the domains in which intellectuals should take up the task of cultural resistance, namely in the area of: (i) intellectual captivity; (ii) culturalism ; (iii) neoliberalism and (iv) ethno-religious exclusivism;
3. Critically examining the timidity in our context of forging a regional Asian solidarity and comradeship in our intellectual interest as we are still subjected to academic imperialism imposed by our former colonial masters;
4. The imperative need to forge autonomous and humanistic sociological thinking amongst Asian cultural and intellectual circles, as part of the cultural resistance we need to adopt and address accordingly.

2. Departures and Disruptions

The struggle for cultural resistance is marked by departures and disruptions. By the term *departures*, I shall refer to its two senses of meaning. First, it may refer to aberration and misplaced sense of mission, while the other, in the sense of affirming and identifying the point of departure, that is taking up the task or having commitment and approach in such a task. The disruptions are not so much the failure of the intellectuals as a group, but the very institutional failure to encourage them; the treatment of the power establishment against all forms of dissent and nonconformity; the propensity of the ruling elite to domesticate and co-opt the intellectuals in the periphery; as well the marginalisation of any serious thinking in the era of neoliberal corporate globalisation. Wrong or erroneous departures will have dire effects on the society and its intellectual life [6].

Lack of cultural imagination means the failure of devising substantive response, which may result in not only our passivity before a hegemonic force but also the inability to devise a common strategy in fostering solidarity and sharing resources amongst us. In the words of Nawal El Saadawi, a prominent Egyptian feminist, “It is important for us to identify the new victims and the new victimizers in the neo-colonial era—for we do not live in a postcolonial era as the postmodernists claim. We must struggle together both locally and globally. The local struggle must be combined with global or international struggle and solidarity. We must fight on all fronts [7]”. Underdeveloped historical consciousness and the sense of common destiny have resulted in this intellectual disconnectedness. Divorced from history, we could not even trace our nation’s own intellectual predecessors inasmuch as the culture to appreciate of “things local/region” is very much underdeveloped.

Embarking on the cultural approach in nurturing democracy, justice and equality, inasmuch as resisting authoritarianism and injustices has been attempted by various progressive groups. In Indonesia, the cultural approach adopted by the nations’ two largest Muslim organisations, Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, are fundamental in nurturing democratic ethos while mitigating religious extremism. The cultural approach strengthens the people’s reception to democratic outlook, citizens’ civility and engaging in open intellectual and social dialogues, infusing collectivity, respect of human rights, and the guarantee for the welfare of the people [8].

By coming together, Asian intellectuals not only could see the possibilities and the efficacy of the cultural approach, but also to critically assess our point of departures (namely the theoretical framework that we have been using) and those areas that they have departed from the mission and responsibilities that are entrusted upon them. Put simply, there is a need to evaluate the critical voices amongst Asian intellectuals who have criticised or lamented on their own compatriots [9].

Our point of departure should therefore be based on our common problems and challenges as developing Asian/Third World countries, rather than easily linking and associating our problems (and seeking its solution) from the exogenous (Western) model and perspectives [10], thus mitigating the preponderance to intellectual dependency and Eurocentrism [11].

3. Against the Mummified Idea of Culture

Before going into the discussion proper, it is crucial to emphasise the meaning of culture as used in this paper. We cannot allow the very meaning of culture to be mummified for some kind of ethno or nationalistic sentiments. Such a tendency cannot be simply seen as naïve as its ideological tendency is quite obvious to be detected, as Henry Giroux reminds: “Culture is viewed as an artifact to be taken out of the historical warehouse of dominant tradition and uncritically transmitted to students. Within this perspective, there is little, if any, understanding of culture as a set of activities lived and developed within asymmetrical relations of power as competing forms of knowledge and practices that speak of a variety of voices and traditions [12]”.

In many Asian contexts, culture is perceived to belong to the sphere of past “tradition” or even simply equated to “heritage” that is often harnessed as ethnic/national identity. This cultural thought and aspiration can be said to be one of a *culture of national integration* with strong nationalistic emphasis, especially aligned to the ruling establishment. Inasmuch as the cultural domain gains patronage from the latter, it becomes a cultural artifice that is more emblematic than a living one. As such, culture is seen in an ahistorical, essentialistic and monolithic manner. In other words, culture becomes a preservation of a fixed identity, and to be transmitted accordingly to the younger generation since there is an “authentic” culture that is to be modelled after. It is to be safeguarded and cherished.

It is in this sense that the meaning and scope of culture as deliberated by Amílcar Cabral is useful. “Culture, as the fruit of history, reflects at all times the material and spiritual reality of the society, of man-the-individual and man-the-social-being, faced with conflicts which set them against nature and the imperatives of life in common. It follows from this that any culture contains essential and secondary elements, strengths and weaknesses, virtues, defects, positive and negative aspects, factors for progress and stagnation or for regression. It follows likewise that culture—a creation of the society and a synthesis of the checks and balances society devises to resolve the conflicts that characterize it at each stage of history—is a social reality independent of men’s will, the colour of their skin or the shape of their eyes [13]”. He adds: “Culture, like history, is necessarily an expanding and developing phenomenon. Even more important, we must bear in mind that the fundamental

characteristic of culture is its close, dependent and reciprocal connexion with the economic and social reality of the environment, with the level of productive forces and the mode of production of the society which created it." Most importantly, culture is an invaluable element in resisting regressive and foreign domination since "culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated [14]".

4. Intellectuals Resisting Relegation

Foremost intellectuals in society need to resist the very relegation of intellectuals themselves or the intellectual culture as found in their society. This relegation could take in several forms. It could be very well due to external factors inasmuch as the internal passivity amongst them. The manifestations of anti-intellectualism which is not uncommon, even in institutes of higher learning are real challenge to intellectual culture. In the era of soundbites, intellectuals have been relegated, to a point where some who have despaired and disillusioned, easily abdicated from the vocation that they entrusted to. The entertainment world alongside consumerism, with the hype of the social media and its infotainment tentacles, means the world of creative and popular entertainment and artistic reigns supreme. Popstars, be they singers and movie actors, plus sports figures and top models, become the entertainment staples for many. This is further entrenched by enormous advertising industry, where consumerism triumphs against the background of anti-intellectualism.

Alongside the hegemonic neoliberal economic order, the persistency of an authoritarian state further aggravates the intellectual life in a country, where the universities, which are supposedly the last hope for intellectual hope and enlightenment, have gone through the stage of involuted academicism. Indeed, the dictation of the market regime, with the mood of corporatization has affected many of our universities today. Academicism in the trumpeting of publish or perish means the greater propensity of the intellectual life from the needs and challenges of the society. The royal road of ranking is the submitting to the academic ethic as imposed by the academic cartels that primarily centred in the Euro-American metropolitan. Global academic prestige in ranking becomes supreme as compared to intellectual mission for and with the public, the national and even the region. If our academics/intellectuals are performative-oriented, no qualms of becoming celebrity and 'public intellectual', it means the critical position as knowledge-learning orientation will be greatly affected. Intellectuals in cultural resistance involve socio-cultural activism with an upstander position in social/national issues and global predicaments.

5. Intellectual Relegation in Literary Discourse

The creative literary realms and its academic discoursing are beset with real challenge. Popular “formatted” literary works are gaining interest, both by readers and writers alike. With good marketing and potentialities to be transformed into telemovies series (plus its hits songs) it puts such works in the good radar of readers and booksellers and reviewers. Here again the triumphing of popular literature—with themes of domestic love affairs, scandal, and violence—attracts readership, with colourful marketing strategy and planned reviewers. In such a milieu, good serious works are deemed as too complex and loaded with ideas.

In campus, the teaching of literature (especially English literature) is still very much in the grip of either literary formalism or in the fervour of theoretical mania where the mantra is ‘what theory to be used to read a text’ which becomes the theoretical fixing game rather reading literature as part of intellectual and aesthetical discovery via critical humanistic approach [15]. At present, we uttered often the need to have the postcolonial critical fervour. However our literary curriculum is still very much Euro-American. We have yet to seriously embark on teaching our own Asian literature through its English translation. Generally our students do not know each other’s literary figures, including our intellectual luminaries. Already in our education system, including the mass media, there is little or hardly any promotion to support literature studies. Even if there are, the teaching of literature in school is very much affected by positivist order where mechanistic and formalistic reading of literature has unfortunately killed the interest of pursuing literature at higher level [16].

The literary realm, including its discourse, is actually the best area of studies wherein we could introduce and appreciate our Asian intellectual/literary tradition, provided that we first address the most outstanding challenge in our educational practices and theoretical obsession. One case in point of such obsession is on the theory of postcolonialism which is criticised in the academia simply because “it’s not dangerous—it’s not threatening. In other words, it offers a new area for research and specialization,” which resonates the capitalist ideological milieu where regularly, not unlike in the consumer realm, we keep on taking up new theory which is purported to be different from the earlier ones [17]. Postcolonialism, noted E. San Juan, does not address substantively on class racism, or racial inequalities, ethnic exclusion. “If it addresses race or gender, it addresses it only in terms of textual analysis” he noted. Such theoretical framework which seriously lacks or avoids concepts like relations of production means that “it doesn’t have those concepts that will enable you to somehow articulate what’s going on, the experience of people, to generalize that, to sum it up, and to see where you can make changes [18]. San Juan’s biting criticism on postcolonialism is relevant in our diminutive intellectual resistance even though we often claim to appropriate the critical perspectives as offered by postcolonial theory. We shall quote him at length:

“... this theory has become almost part of the academic orthodoxy. In other words, it has been merged into the kind of establishment thinking that generally justifies the status quo. Postcolonial theory would be useful if it poses criticism of, for example, the North-South divide and the inequalities within the industrial metropolis and the dependent “Third World” countries. As long as it doesn’t consider the historical inequalities between these countries – the divide between the North and the South – I think postcolonial theory can only be a kind of academic exercise in textual analysis, which is mostly what Spivak and the others are doing anyway. So all claims about being the most subversive, revolutionary or radical theory on the part of postcolonialists are subject to that test- the test of whether they really question the existing domination of many formerly colonized, and still, to some extent, neocolonized countries by the transnational corporate powers. So that’s the bottom line about postcolonial theory. No doubt, there are some postcolonial theorists who would claim that they are very critical of corporate exploitation and domination of, let’s say, Mexican maquiladora workers. But as long as they don’t touch on those very fundamental realities of the majority of the people in the underdeveloped world, I think postcolonial theory would only serve to reinforce this very unjust global system [19].”

6. Affirming Cultural Resistance

By cultural resistance we mean the utilisation and mobilisation of the intellectual and cultural tradition of the people, alongside other resources, such as universal knowledge and educational instruments to nurture an emancipated public who recognised the primacy for democratic citizenship. Cultural resistance involves the intellectual response, be it in the artistic, literary, religious, and social realms. It is both creative and critical, plus transformative in its aim. Cultural resistance here should not refer to xenophobia or supremacist fervour. Parochialism has no place in cultural resistance.

Cultural resistance is actually an intellectual endeavour that could address the problems of society and the larger humanity (and its living environment), ensuring that its plight and sufferings become central in their discursive repertoire, especially in the public sphere. It is important to emphasise that cultural resistance should not mean a xenophobic reaction against foreign elements. It means a response against any form of dehumanisation, injustices, ethical aberration, imperialistic design, religio-ethno fascism, corruption and the like.

Cultural response is never apolitical nor is it obsessed with party politics [20]. The project of critical literacy is confronting the hegemony of authoritarian state power and neoliberal grip. In the words of Chomsky, “intellectuals are in a position to expose the lies of governments, to analyze actions according to their causes and motives and often hidden intentions.” It is their responsibility [21]. There are four areas which we could identify where the cultural resistance can take place.

First, in resisting intellectual captivity, our intellectual imagination, methods, and fervour are very much dictated by exogenous force, especially from the Euro-American centres, rather than from our own needs, our own point of departures. Second, resisting culturalism that is exerted by essentialistic paradigm that pontificate what should be the culture, may come from self-style orientalists or the ethno nationalists that feverishly claim for authenticity and supremacy. Third, resisting neoliberalism where corporate free economy becomes the hegemonic force that consolidates itself in the realms of economics, politics, education, aesthetics, and social production, and where the mantra of efficiency and productivity become ironically the source of inequalities and injustices. The last important resistance will be confronting and engaging the ethno-religious exclusivism in the age where politicised religious ideology has sanctified for violence and extremism. It is in this context that Asian intellectuals could no longer be silent nor pretending to be neutral.

7. Timidity/Insularity of Asian intellectuals

Critically examining the timidity in our context of forging a regional Asian solidarity and comradery in our intellectual interest as we are still subjected to academic imperialism imposed by our former colonial masters, we in Asian intellectual discourse have remained isolated from each other. We know more of the Euro-American tradition than our fellow Asian neighbours, so much so that in our enthusiasm of post-colonial debates, we still remain *colonialistically* enamoured, where our point of departure is invariably from the Euro-American intellectual corpus. Historically, there were moments that Asian intellectuals were in close contacts and equally concerned with each other's plight and destiny as colonised people [22]. Amongst leading Asian intellectuals, there are those who are conscious of the need to forge solidarity with their fellow counterparts in other Third World nations, while at the same time without succumbing to unnecessarily anti-West nor slavish to it. Pramodya speaking on Indonesian intellectuals:

"Indonesian intellectuals who ignore their relationship with the Third World and the historical nature of their relationship with the West, will not be completely intellectual or objective, because they will not consciously be in full possession of their own history and the totality of their own experience. ...Indonesian intellectuals must also prepare themselves to come to terms with their people's past, and learn to treat the West as being in no way superior to ourselves, but as the centuries-old exploiter of the resources of the Third World. Indonesian intellectuals, as men and women living within Indonesian culture, must act in an intellectually and morally courageous manner towards the West and demand all that is best and most useful from science and technology [23]."

Interestingly, in the era of high-tech communication, our intellectuals seem to be less connected. Certainly in academic setting, there are regular contacts via conferences, but to say that we have a common intellectual outlook and concern would be difficult to ascertain, or it is in the state of much to be desired. Our intellectual staple has always been the Euro-American intellectual traditions. Amongst our own Asian intellectuals, there are less or hardly any cross references amongst us. We seem to be quite satisfied with having intellectual affinity with the West, without any qualms of not having any intellectual link with our fellow Asian counterparts. As noted by Edward Shils many decades ago, "Asian intellectual life continues to suffer from a many-faceted intellectual dependence on the old metropolitan centers" [24] to a point that they are gripped by a strong sense of dependency and psychological inferiority which in turn breeds a form of a regressive "return to culture" syndrome [25], which is akin to the culturalism that we mentioned above.

8. Intellectual Disconnectedness

This kind of intellectual disconnectedness is even apparent from not only the theoretical paradigm that we appropriated, but even on the issues that we raised. Interestingly we can easily come together because there is a political will to be under pan-Asian regional cooperation, with political diplomacy, cultural and sporting exchanges that have been made regularly. But one clear absence is our grounding on each other intellectual traditions.

We belong of course to the international community, but surely our sense of that community spirit comes from our immediate and regional neighbours. Ironically our intellectuals can easily be identified or feel affiliated with the intellectual circles of Euro-American, as compared to their affiliation with the fellow Asian counterparts. It is not uncommon that we embarked on academic pilgrimage to learning centres of Euro-America, than to spend sabbatical or research stint in our own Asian milieu.

9. Forging the Autonomous and Humanistic Sociological Thinking

To harness a collective Asian intellectual presence and contribution is imperative as it is timely. This normally can be forged in academic forums and seminars. But beyond such fora, we still remain largely disconnected. Here intellectuals in universities, without sounding too elitist, have the role to cultivate consistently a new generation of intelligentsias that are conscious of the plight and destiny of the people. Existing groups of intellectuals should play the role in checking the excesses of academicism which many universities today are subjected by the ideology of corporatism and globalisation. It is not uncommon today that academic intellectuals become mere symbolic functionaries

(they are often being appointed as a Council of Learned Men endorsed by the State). Academicism in the institutes of higher learning itself becomes a serious challenge for a dissenting and autonomous intellectual life [26].

There are many challenges that have impeded serious efforts to forge autonomous and humanistic sociological thinking in our social sciences, humanities, and educational pedagogy. Resisting academic imperialism must come with it an autonomous look in building our corpus of knowledge that suits our own context inasmuch as it has a universal applicability [27]. But Asian intellectuals coming together are not about forming exclusive club to arrogate our distinctiveness. It is about solidarity in facing our common plight as well reminding with each other of the need to be ourselves, without the need to ape and glorify the western model as the only path for civilisation success.

Hence, intellectual exchanges should not just become a mere institutional affinity nor a diplomatic symbolism, but real intellectual fraternities, sensitive to both the demands of particularity and universality. Coming together is not about turning into party of intellectuals or forming an exclusive club, but to remind each other of the importance of intellectual freedom and integrity and a sense of common purpose and destiny. In the words of Mochtar Lubis, a renowned Indonesian intellectual, we need "to gain the best of insights into the complexities, and to get a clear picture of the many ramifications of such a process of changes, the best possible intellectual climate is needed. Intellectual freedom should be stimulated and supported. Traditions of intellectual integrity should be strengthened and encouraged [28]."

10. Culture Circle as a Platform for Cultural Resistance

Intellectuals forging culture circle is therefore crucial cultural resistance to take place. We need culture circle for cultural resistance, where the former according to Paulo Freire are "spaces where teaching and learning took place in dialogic fashion...spaces for knowledge, for knowing, not for knowledge transference; places where knowledge was produced, not simply presented to or imposed on learner...spaces where new hypotheses for reading the world were created [29]." In other words, it is a *site* to nurture and experiment with critical consciousness and to imagine possible alternatives.

This cultural circle however is not a special organization or body, but is a site where dialogue, criticality, empowerment, and sense of hope are infused. It is a site where dominant myths that deform us are problematised and alternative paradigm are suggested and evaluated. We need such a culture circle at the levels of our community, national, and even the larger regional context we live in. In sum, the culture circle "must permit the development of the intellectual capacities of the people [30]."

Speaking of cultural circles means at the same time speaking of dialogue, animator, education, and politics...the cultural circle...in which we discuss problems that in one

way or another concern the inhabitants of a certain region... It is a place (near a tree, in a small room of a house or a factory) where groups of persons meet to discuss their everyday life, and the problems connected to it, such as: their work, local or national events, their family life. This practical life is represented in codifications, and analysed in order to gain deeper...a cultural circle is a place where men and women have a right and an obligation to express freely what they think and how they live their daily reality, and where one cannot imagine the kind of repressive silence designed to keep the popular masses ignorant [31]."

In forging the sense of solidarity and criticality, intellectuals first cannot overly imagine that the people need them. Instead, the reverse could be more true, that is, the intellectuals need the people, as a source of commitment, clarity, and hope. In sum, Asian intellectuals making historical presence would mean affirming the ethical-political commitments for their society and humanity at large. Such a commitment goes beyond the choosing either East or Western paradigm. This historical presence is an antithesis to the intellectual isolationism which is as problematic and dangerous as intellectual sell out. Thus, intellectuals should be able to become the ethical voice against not only the authoritarian establishment (State and its associates), inasmuch as able to excise out the "academic excesses" deliberated from corporate universities.

Asian intellectuals can forge intellectual and cultural solidarities and cooperation if they can see the common concern of our societies as the common quest to build a better humanity. This strategy could not be one of narcissistic and exclusivist temper, but a vision and framework that encourage cooperation deeply committed to addressing the predicament of our time. Indeed, realising Asian intellectuals for cultural resistance is an enormous and formidable task, inasmuch that intellectual discourse, according Masao, "must acknowledge the idea of resistance and opposition [32]." This is indeed our vocation that we cannot abdicate, abandon or be ambivalent. By way of conclusion, best that we are reminded by Edward Said's apt reminder in his cogent essay, "Intellectuals in the Post-Colonial World":

"There is no way of dodging the fact that the present ideological conjuncture is deeply inhospitable to the alternative norms of intellectual work...There is also no escape from the pressing and urgent calls many of us respond to from embattled causes and turbulent fields of battle. Nevertheless, a resistant, perhaps ultimately subjective, component of oppositional energy resides in the intellectual vocation itself, and it is on this that one has to rely, particularly when collective energies seem mostly harnessed to movements for domination and coercion. And we should not be too optimistic about standing up to them [33]."

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- [5] 1969, As Chanchal Sarkar pessimistically wrote decades ago that he was convinced that, intellectuals in Asia are ineffective. They are very thin on the ground. As a class they would find it impossible to live even reasonably well of their gifts of mind. Their status is low, their influence on policy feeble. Theirs is not the voice of passionate protest and they themselves far from being the catalysts of modernization, Chanchal Sarkar, *Their isn't the Voice of Passionate Protest*, The Asia Magazine,.
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- [8] Rendra a renowned Indonesia poet calls for affirming the "cultural paradigm" He highlights 4 main areas that need attention. Firstly is the ability to appreciate objective facts. Second categorising these facts so that it could be identified and differentiated effectively. Third cultivating an academic discipline, yet at the same time able to avoid consumptive intellectuality. Lastly: "the wide opportunities to express and having opinions so that our students could feel his self as 'sovereign being' / having the rights as human being. The people's rights is linked to his rights as a human and as an individual." Rendra, *Rakyat belummerdeka: sebuahparadigmabudaya*. (Jakarta: PustakaFirdaus, 2000), pp. 37-9.
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more appreciated. Among the most Westernized intellectuals there has been a quickening of interest in the traditional artistic, architectural, and religious inheritance. Here and there are efforts to modernize by reformulation in the modern idiom and to discover points of continuity between the cultural inheritance and the aspirations toward modernity." *Ibid.*, p.380.

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