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A Journey of Research in Asia

Crossing between Old and New Nations

The past several decades have witnessed a growing communications gap on the nature of nationalism between Western scholars and those in the new nation-states in Asia. Within academic circles in the West, the critique of nationalism is well established. Among scholars from the more recently independent states of Asia, one finds greater identification with the nation. I will try to explain this gap by exploring the changing relationship between nationalism and globalization in different parts of the world, before outlining an approach that aims to bridge this gap.

Forum >
General

By Prasenjit Duara

For radical intellectuals in the newly independent countries, the nation – even when its performance disappointed – was the unquestioned vehicle for decolonization as well as the horizon for our goals and expectations: the building of an egalitarian socialist society, national development, the reconstruction of national culture and the dissemination of scientific and secular consciousness. By contrast, Western critique of the nation has a long history. Contemporary criticism, again mainly from the West, draws attention to the nation's many failures: state socialism has led to inefficiency and coercion; national development to ecological imbalance and disaster; national culture to chauvinism and exclusion of outsiders and minorities; secularism has become the lightning rod for the discontent of resurgent religious groups. Far from the solution, nationalism is now seen as part of the problem. Can the nation still be the goal of our endeavours? Is it still fruitful to see the amelioration of the conditions of the poorest through national lenses?

In the new nation-states, the attitude of intellectuals towards nationalism and the nation-state is more complex than in the West. Foreign criticism of the national project is often perceived as grossly one-sided and irresponsible, ignoring both the nation's intractable problems and its genuine achievements. As both insider and outsider, I have levelled the critique and experienced the pain of not having the prob-

lems and achievements of the new nations recognized. Inhabiting both sides of this border has not brought me special insights and may have compounded my dilemmas. But my position has spurred me to probe these dilemmas further.

Globalization and the accompanying shift towards the globalization paradigm have tended to undercut the moral weight of nationalism and national models. The shift to the globalization paradigm does not mean, in my view, a shift towards the positive evaluation of globalization, although that may be the dominant tendency. I understand it to mean that the societies of the world have been globalizing for quite some time and that nations and localities have been just as significantly shaped by global developments in society, economics, culture, and ideology as by their individual histories.

Nations and global competitiveness

Debate now rages on when globalization began. My own view on this question is that it depends upon which indices are considered. In my recent writings I argue that the early twentieth century represented an important stage of 'cognitive globalization' when societies the world over re-fashioned themselves as nation-states.

In this view, nations are not ancient continuities. While the shaping influence of historical factors is undeniable, the institutional and cognitive re-casting of societies as homo-

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Editorial

A recent photo in the papers shows a man with a bag on his head, his arms behind his back. The Iraqi is kneeling on the grass amongst scattered shoes and carpets. His hands are invisible but there's little doubt they are tied behind his back. The caption informs us American soldiers are looking for terrorists plotting attacks on coalition forces. What ought to be deduced from this photo and what does it suggest, rightly or wrongly, about American involvement in Iraq?

The photo captivates and shocks, but this alone does not make it good journalism. If not journalism practice itself, surely science must raise the demands of truth and representation. Unfortunately the demands of journalism often conflict with the scientific demands of truth and objectivity. When journalism, itself increasingly influential, misrepresents, it is the responsibility of science and of the humanities in particular, to raise criticism and to counter stereotypes, misconceptions, and lies. Part of the relevance of Asian Studies lies in shouldering this responsibility. With this backdrop, the IIAS' tenth anniversary provided the occasion for five renowned alumni to reflect on their craft. While it is easy to criticize how Asia has been construed in opposition to the European self, modernity, rationalism, Christianity, and the West, alternative frameworks are harder to come by. The visions contained in the 'Imagining Asian Studies' theme are thus invitations to further reflection and debate. What frameworks, scale of analysis, and units of comparison are most fruitful when studying Southeast Asia? Is it possible to study this region or for example India as wholes, and if so, how? How can we relate to Asian topics in meaningful ways and what place ought Asian Studies have in the larger whole? What framework and concepts does studying Korean history demand, and what keys do multidisciplinary and long-term perspectives hold for understanding Vietnamese villages?

If criticizing popular misconceptions is a necessary task, this issue strides the path with conviction. It tackles cognitive dissonance regarding contemporary North Korea, which is shrouded in political and media mystification; the transnational nature of 'nationalist' struggles, and the roots of 'religious' violence. As always we appreciate your reactions. Enjoy reading. – MS



The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a postdoctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Its main objective is to encourage the study of Asia and to promote national and international cooperation in this field. The institute focuses on the humanities and social sciences and, where relevant, at the interface between these disciplines and sciences like medicine, economy, politics, technology, law, and environmental studies.

The IIAS endeavours to adopt a dynamic and versatile approach in its research programmes. Research fellows at post-PhD level are temporarily employed by or affiliated to the Institute, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme, or on an individual basis. In its aim to achieve and continue to build on a broad, high-quality level of knowledge of Asia, the Institute organizes seminars, workshops, and conferences, and publishes a newsletter with a circulation of over 21,500 copies. Additionally, the IIAS has established a database for Asian Studies, which contains information on researchers and research-related institutes worldwide.

The IIAS acts as an international mediator bringing various parties together and works as a clearing-house for knowledge and information. This entails activities such as providing information services, constructing international networks, and setting up international cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, the IIAS functions as a window on Europe for non-European scholars and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

The IIAS administers the daily secretariat of the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance: www.asia-alliance.org) as well as the Secretariat General of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS: www.icassecretariat.org). Regular updates on the Asia Alliance and ICAS activities can be found in the *IIAS Newsletter*. <

www.iias.nl

Director's Note of Appreciation

This year, the IIAS celebrates its tenth anniversary. Board, director, and staff of the institute would like to thank its many researchers, the hundreds of IIAS fellows, the innumerable participants in our workshops, seminars, congresses, and masterclasses, and all the individuals who have been engaged in our activities over the years. Through your enthusiasm, interest in cooperation, and trust, we have been able to make the IIAS into a true centre for Asian Studies. We envision a great future for Asia and Asian Studies – let's continue to work together!

Wim Stokhof, Director

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The *IIAS Newsletter* is published by the IIAS and is available free of charge. If you wish to subscribe to the newsletter, please return a completed subscription form to the IIAS secretariat. Subscription forms can be obtained from either the secretariat or the website. iias.subscribe@let.leidenuniv.nl www.iias.nl/iiasn/subscribe.html

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Jean Monnet Chair
Euro-Asia Centre
University of Limerick



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logous national units is a recent adaptation to survive and compete in a world of imperialism and capitalist competition. In contrast to empires and kingdoms – loosely integrated societies of the past – ‘imagined communities’ with an overarching loyalty to the nation-state were well suited to economic and territorial competition. The ideology of social Darwinism, which dominated much of the world from the late nineteenth century until the end of World War I, most starkly reflected this competitive world.

Over the course of the twentieth century, the brutality of this competition – which led to two World Wars – was moderated by anti-imperialist movements and by institutions such as the United Nations, which sought to establish global rules for conduct. But the basic form of the nation-state remained one designed for competitive advantage. Thus, both in terms of its origins and ultimate frame of reference, nationalism was closely bound to globalization. At a fundamental level, nationalism represented a form of globalization.

Territorial nationalism

How did the newly independent nations seek to achieve their goals of development, equality, and global justice? Most decolonizing nations, rejecting the model of racial or ethnic nationalism, adopted a model of equal citizenship rights for all within their territory. The territorial model of civic nationalism seemed well suited to the realization of the nation’s emancipatory goals, and provided a framework for building a nation out of a diverse society without privileging dominant groups.

Nationalism and capitalist globalization, moreover, functioned as strategies of mutual facilitation and containment. Nation-states sought to regulate flows of capital and resources not only to gain strategic advantage in global competition, but also to stem the erosion of social institutions and relationships, mainly caused by the free flow of capital. Nation-states have historically been wary of rapid transformations as they erode the jobs, statuses, relationships, loyalties, and authenticities that underpin state sovereignty. Although the territorial model did not generate rapid growth rates, it worked – at least for as long as the state acted as the principal agent for re-distribution and regulation – to moderate internal and external cutthroat competition.

Ethnic nationalism

Even in the best of times, it was unclear if the ideology of territorial nationalism was adequate to generate the loyalty and enthusiasm of the nation’s diverse groups, who ascribed to a variety of interests and visions of society. Because of these weaknesses, exclusive racial, religious, and linguistic nationalisms were never far from the surface, supplementing civic nationalism and providing, when necessary, more passionate forms of identification against Others. Nationalists of the blood and soil variety tend to overlook or deny their commonalities, resorting to immanent or purely internal conceptions of sovereignty based on the deep history of their people and the land: an authentic national community morally superior to outsiders and to traitors within. I call the power sustaining and sustained by this essentialization the ‘regime of authenticity’ (Duara 2003).

To be sure, the ‘regime of authenticity’ exists to a greater or lesser extent in all nations. Both ethnic-cultural and territorial-civic nationalisms require a doctrine of authenticity because nationalism is a form of identity politics where sovereignty is based upon the distinction between us and them. The territorial civic model flourished for a time because theories of immanence were balanced by the need to integrate domestic societies, and external pressures were more easily contained – in significant part due to the Cold War. Despite the potential for nationalism to be exclusivist and competitive, conditions for constructive nationalism prevailed during much of the post-war period.

It is unclear whether conditions that allow for constructive nationalism exist today. Engrossed as they are in economic globalization, most nation-states prioritize global competitiveness over balanced development. Not as such weakening nationalism, globalization is transforming it in unpleasant ways, intensifying ideologies of immanence and authenticity. The older nation-states are just as vulnerable to the pressures of globalization. While the current ‘jobless recovery’ in the US highlights the long-term flight of blue-collar jobs, concern is growing over the loss of white-collar, technical positions to places like India, China, and the Philippines.

All over the world, territorial nationalism is being re-drawn thus joining regions and communities capable of counter-acting actual and perceived threats with greater resources and collective action. Hence, we hear of Greater China and Hindu nationalism connecting national majorities with diasporic

communities to enhance global competitiveness. Such contemporary nationalism, shorn of the language of solidarity that characterized the movement for decolonization, in some ways resembles the social Darwinist rhetoric of a century ago. The faltering promise of territorial citizenship in multinational countries has an alienating effect on minorities and peripheral regions alike. In Southeast Asia, the rapid expansion of elite wealth has once again led to the targeting of Chinese ethnic minorities.

National populaces are confronted by anonymous markets that commercialize, erode or transform the belief in sacred myths of nationhood. The most immediate response to this threat is, ironically, greater attachment to myths of national authenticity, even as these myths are themselves commodified, consumed, and returned to the void. This kind of ratcheting effect represents a dead-end: a dangerous re-play of the anxiety and ambivalence the nation has displayed towards the forces of globalization, its counterpart since birth.

The only way out of this impasse is for scholars in old and new nation-states alike to recognize that, whatever else we may think of it, globalization has swept us into shared time-spaces. Inequalities will continue to exist between nations, but uneven development will cut across national boundaries. While globalization’s homogenizing dimension causes us to exaggerate our differences as nations, it also allows us to see that we inhabit the same problems and opportunities. In this lies the basis of dialogue.

Regional interdependence

While the existing relationship between globalization and nationalism seems incapable of generating new visions, emerging transnational linkages present new opportunities to think about development in spaces where nation-states have had little interest or access. They enable scholars and intellectuals to draw attention to those who have been left behind or peripheralized by national societies.

While transnational linkages are global, many of the dense points of interaction and interdependence are regional, pointing to new ways to think about development. To be sure, the one experience with regionalism we have had – Japanese imperialism’s doomed experiment with the Co-prosperity Sphere – can only serve as a negative model, a model where regionalism became the vehicle for nationalism. We have also seen how competing interests and visions make Asian regionalism a project for the long-term future. While an Asian regional formation is unlikely to look like the European Union, Asian scholars should look at Europe anew – without post-colonial anxiety – to learn from the EU and avoid its mistakes.

Allow me to indulge in my fantasy for Asia’s future. Nations, of course, are unlikely to disappear any time soon. Central to the formation of a region, however, is interdependence, an interdependence likely to be expressed in complex, multi-tiered, and multi-nodal apparatuses permitting cooperation, coordination, control, and autonomy. Interests are, and will remain, too varied to make the region anything like a nation, while the distribution of power is, and ought to be, unfavourable to the hegemony of any single country. At any rate, it should be an inclusive, functional formation rather than an exclusive power bloc. But perhaps it ought to have just enough power to deter the US, the hegemon that now dominates the world.

Despite some brave efforts, we scholars have been laggards. The forces of globalization have generated trans- and sub-national relationships that have sped ahead of the initiatives of nationally organized academic establishments. Business networks and states have sponsored organizations such as APEC, the East Asian Economic Council, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), each with its own vision for Asia. What role can scholars play that will allow us to regain our moral responsibility? What lies beyond national competitiveness and scholarly careerism? Let me suggest one example from the region where I was born and spent my early childhood: Assam.

Assam is part of the frontier zone between Southeast Asia, China and India, and used to be, a very long time ago, a vibrant region of flourishing commerce and Buddhism. It is now a disaster-stricken, exploited periphery, where a war of all against all reigns amidst the futile project of sorting out who’s who. Assam is of course important to me, but I also raise it because it’s the kind of place that Asianists ought to

Editors note >

This article is a shortened and revised version of the keynote speech, which the author delivered at the International Convention of Asian Scholars 3 (ICAS3). Reactions for the author can be sent to the editors at IIAS. The full text of this speech can be read at: www.iias.nl

Biography >

Professor Duara obtained a PhD at Harvard University in 1983 and won the American Historical Association’s Fairbank prize and Association for Asian Studies’ Levenson prize with his first book, *Culture, Power and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford 1988, 1991). This study treats some of the basic themes in connection to the social and cultural history of modern China, which feature among Duara’s evolving interests since the 1980s. He deals with the changing relationship between the state, elites, and popular culture from the late imperial period until the present and has, in recent years, scrutinized many of the problems regarding these issues through the lens of gender and sexuality.

A second area of Duara’s interest deals with nationalism, imperialism, and transnationalism. He has written two books with a comparative understanding of nationalism: *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (University of Chicago Press, 1995, 1996) and *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003). While the former work deals with nationalism and the emergence of modern historical consciousness (mainly) in China, the latter seeks to understand the changing relationship between imperialism and nationalism in twentieth-century East Asia through the study of Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet state in the Chinese northeast (1932-1945).



Courtesy of the author

Prasenjit Duara

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explore. Its incorporation as a periphery in the Indian nation-state has de-linked it from its historical connections, while its backward and troubled status ensures that celebratory notions of Asia will pass it by.

Yet there are people in places like Yunnan and Assam, in institutes such as the ADB and the Ford Foundation, and elsewhere who have begun re-thinking the region with an eye towards its revitalization, well beyond its present national confines. Today the old Stilwell Road is again in use, trans-Himalayan trade has re-opened, and there is talk of an Asian highway. As scholars of Asia, we can deploy our knowledge of the changing contours of regions and affiliations, of multiple links between centres and peripheries, of complex relations between culture and political economy; so that when the political formations are born, we too can shape them in just and meaningful ways, to restore the spirit of the anti-colonial movement that once brought Asians and others together. <

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Professor Prasenjit Duara is affiliated to the departments of History and East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. His principal research interest is modern Chinese history. He has also worked on nationalism, imperialism, decolonization, and problems of historiography and historical theory. iiasnews@let.leidenuniv.nl

Whither North Korea?

Forum >
Korea

North Korea is often no more than a blip on the radar screens of international news agencies. However, over the last two years it has attracted more media coverage, as a perfectly manageable crisis over North Korea has been teetering out of control. Usually referred to as the nuclear crisis, and dated back to October 2002, this crisis is far more fundamental and comprehensive than the gradually increasing nuclear bravado of the North, and can be traced back to the coming to power of the Bush administration.

By Koen De Ceuster

Out of a growing concern about and frustration with the confrontational policy of the US government towards North Korea, scholars from the US and around the world united in March 2003 in an 'Alliance of Scholars Concerned about Korea.' Convinced that political problems 'can only be solved through dialogue, cooperation and active pursuit of peace,' the association is dedicated to 'the promotion of mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Korea, both North and South.' By providing accurate, historically informed analyses, it seeks to help scholars, students, policy makers, and the general public to learn about Korea, and to contribute to the constructive and peaceful development of US-Korean relations.¹



George W. Bush on the Korean frontline. North Korean propaganda could not have better choreographed this White House Press Office picture: with the Stars and Stripes up front, and the South Korean flag ominously in the background. Who defends what?

In a similar though unrelated initiative, a panoply of speakers from different national and disciplinary backgrounds, but all motivated by the same concern, gathered late last June in the once divided city of Berlin to ponder the future of North Korea.²

At the end of the day, the participants left the Berlin symposium with the bewildering feeling that all issues touched upon – famine relief and the humanitarian crisis, economic reform, inter-Korean cooperation and reunification policies, and the nuclear crisis – were conditional on the willingness of the US government to engage North Korea. The key to unlock the gridlock in and over North Korea clearly lies in the White House. Coincidentally, this would have to be the same key that firmly locked the door to any meaningful détente when George W. Bush took over the American presidency in 2001.

A cold shower during Sunshine

Determined to prove himself the anti-Clinton in foreign policy, George W. Bush abruptly withdrew all contact

with North Korea and ordered a policy review, not unlike the review Bill Clinton had ordered back in 1998. This felt like a cold shower in Korea, following the rapid improvement of inter-Korean relations since the historic June 2000 summit between South Korean president Kim Dae Jung and the North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. That meeting proved to be the start of a thawing period on the Korean peninsula. The North Korean regime inched forward in its engagement with the outside world, while many allies of South Korea, in line with Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine policy, established diplomatic relations with the North. October 2000 proved a watershed in US-DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) relations with the visit of the first vice chairman of North Korea's National Defence Commission, Vice-Marshal Jo Myong-Rok, to Washington, followed later in that month by a return visit to Pyongyang by American Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Short of formal diplomatic recognition, this was the closest the US ever came to acknowledging the DPRK. The swift progress in solving outstanding nuclear and missile proliferation issues was such that even a state visit to Pyongyang by outgoing President Bill Clinton was on the drawing board. The institutional crisis over the American presidential elections, and their eventual outcome, decided differently. The moment the Bush administration took over in Washington, a new chill came over US-DPRK relations. All contacts were put on hold pending a review of the US government's North Korea policy. North Korean gestures of goodwill towards Washington: the prompt official condemnation of the WTC attacks of 11 September, its professed opposition to any form of terrorism, and the North's signing of two UN treaties against terrorism, all went unacknowledged.³ The visceral dislike for the likes of Kim Jong Il in the White House made the Bush administration up the ante all the time. Any North Korean concession only led to stiffer demands from Washington. Pyongyang's hopes for improved relations with the US were finally dashed on 29 January 2002 when George W. Bush, in his State of the Union address, singled out North Korea as belonging to 'an Axis of Evil', thereby earmarking the North as a potential target for a pre-emptive strike.

Bluff and rebuff

In October 2002, nearly two years after Madeleine Albright's visit to Pyongyang, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs James Kelly travelled to the North not so much to reopen a dialogue but to confront the North Koreans on their home turf with 'conclusive' evidence of Pyongyang's secret uranium enrichment programme. He brought the message that Washington would not talk to the North until it had totally and verifiably dismantled this secret programme. Through press leaks orchestrated from

Washington indications first trickled through that Pyongyang had in fact been rebuffed. From the various versions of events now in circulation, it is obvious that the American visit was hardly an attempt at diplomacy. Also clear is that the North Korean delegates did not anticipate such high-handedness. As a (typical) response, they bluffed their way out of it by confirming on the sidelines of the meeting that indeed they had this secret programme going, adding in the same breath that they were willing to negotiate about its dismantling.

As 2002 ended, the situation was getting out of control. What followed was a sequel to the 1992–94 crisis which had ended in the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework. Then as now, suspicions about the exact nature of North Korea's nuclear ambitions had led to a confrontation with the US which was only dispelled following the intervention of former American President Jimmy Carter. The agreement that was eventually brokered offered the North two less proliferation-prone 1,000 MW light water reactors in return for the internationally supervised mothballing of the Yongbyon nuclear complex. The Republican opposition in the American Congress cried appeasement and accession to nuclear blackmail, and tried to block its implementation. The Bush administration lost no time in using the disclosure of the uranium enrichment programme to once and for all derail the Agreed Framework. Despite the recognition of KEDO, the international consortium overseeing the implementation of the Agreed Framework, that the North had scrupulously lived up to the letter of the Agreement (though obviously not the spirit, given its secret uranium enrichment programme), the October disclosure offered the Bush administration the ammunition to blow the much maligned Agreed Framework irretrievably to pieces. Washington stopped the yearly delivery of 500,000 metric tons of heavy fuel under the Geneva Agreement, which in turn provoked the North into announcing it did not feel bound by the Agreement anymore. Pyongyang declared its immediate withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, expelled the two IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspectors from the country, broke the seals of the Yongbyon complex and, in April 2003, following another failed attempt at renewing proper dialogue with the US, proclaimed its intention to begin the reprocessing of 8,000 spent fuel rods.

Cognitive dissonance

This crisis could have been avoided, and the threat of nuclear proliferation could have been contained. The secret uranium enrichment programme that started this renewed nuclear crisis over North Korea was to all accounts up to four years away from maturation. What is more, the North has time and again indicated that it was willing to find a

negotiated solution with Washington.⁴ American mismanagement of this crisis, provoked by Washington in the first place, led to the restarting of the Yongbyon nuclear complex and the very real possibility that the North is (capable of) producing nuclear warheads.

However, this is not how this crisis is usually reported. Media follow Washington's lead; news about North Korea is often filed from Washington, where State or Defence Department briefings set the tone. North Korea hardly has a voice, and the voice it has is distorted through a haze of cognitive dissonance. Flustered by the bombastic rhetoric of the North, and unwilling to question the motives behind the US government's policy, no effort is made to understand the intentions of the North. Instead, the media seem to take the image of an immovable, monolithic North Korea frozen in time for granted. Strangely enough, contrary to the customary image of an erratic North Korea, Washington's motives have become hard to gauge. With ongoing squabbles between 'hawks' and 'doves' in the Defence and State Department, the US administration speaks with a split tongue.⁵ While publicly paying lip service to South Korea's Sunshine policy of engagement and rapprochement, administration officials in Washington come out in support of an induced collapse of the North Korean regime. Even with the Bush administration currently shifting towards a more accommodating position, it is hard to believe that this is any more than window dressing. The US participates in the Six Party Talks in Beijing with the sole purpose of having the North unconditionally acquiesce to all American demands. While ruling out a military invasion of the North, Washington has made no secret of the fact that its 'Proliferation Security Initiative' is clearly aimed at North Korea, and is second best to an economic blockade, which it cannot enforce. By maintaining this policy confusion, the American government can rest assured that the North will stick to its provocative posturing. Unable to fathom the true intentions of the American administration, the North has no intention to let its guard down. Iraq was a clear reminder that concessions and



Korean reads: 'In case a war of aggression erupts, we will crush the Yankee!'

This is standard North Korean bellicose posturing, interesting for its conditionality: war will come to the US, if the US brings war to Korea.

cooperation with this administration can be counterproductive.

With all attention focused on the ongoing international stand-off over North Korea's nuclear ambitions, the Korean people are once again threatened by a renewed deterioration of the food situation. Not so much donor fatigue, as a (renewed) politicization of food aid is menacing the stability that had been reached. The nuclear crisis is also overshadowing the real efforts the North Korean regime is making to implement economic reforms. At the Berlin symposium, the question was 'whither North Korea'; the answer may have to be found in Washington. <

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Notes >

- 1 See the mission statement of the ASCK, on: www.asck.org/statement.html
- 2 'Wohin Steuert Nordkorea? Soziale Verhältnisse, Entwicklungstendenzen und Perspektiven', an international symposium organized by the Korea-Verband e.V. (in Asienhaus, Bullmannau 11, 45327 Essen, Germany. www.korea-verband.de) on 25 June 2003 in the Centre Monbijou im Haus der Bank für Sozialwissenschaft, Berlin.
- 3 On 12 November 2001, the North Korean representative to the UN, Ri Hyong Chol, signed the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, and the 1979 international convention against hostage taking. Hwang Jang-jin, 'N.K. Signs U.N. Convention on Anti-Terrorism', *The Korea Herald*, 29 November 2001.
- 4 North Korea's voice is seldom heard (undistorted). In Berlin, a very balanced justification of North Korea's right to have a deterrent was read out. See 'Die Berechtigung der DVRK zum Besitz militärischer Abschreckungskraft' (The DPRK's justification for the possession of a military deterrent), a collective document prepared by the Institute for the Reunification of the Fatherland for presentation at the Berlin symposium and included (in German translation) in the (unpublished) symposium materials.
- 5 At the Berlin Symposium, Bruce Cumings spoke on 'North Korea, the Sequel,' addressing the Washington wrangle over some form of North Korea policy. In his upcoming book, *North Korea: The Hermit Kingdom*, New York and London: The New Press, (2003), he paints a tantalizing portrait of North Korea.



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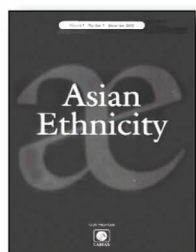
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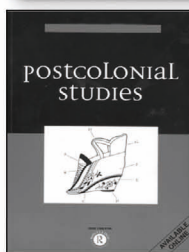
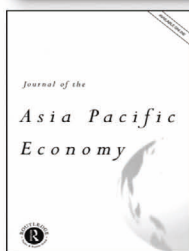
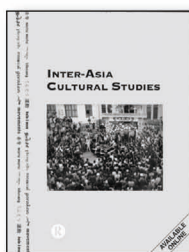
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Imagining Asian Studies

The Future of Asian Studies

Forum >
General

Predictions are rarely on the mark because we do not know the future. The best we can do is extrapolate from the past which is forever swallowing the future via the passing moments of the present. But sometimes we can take a direct peep, as when I was listening to INTEL chairman Andrew Grove who was asked by Charlie Rose: 'How long will our American pre-eminence in power and technology last?' Andrew protested that he was not a prophet and then declared: 'Ten years.' Charlie asked for reasons. Andrew began by quoting Paul Kennedy's book on the rise and fall of countries and civilizations: 'We are not different, we are now at our peak, our youngsters are no longer hungry or ambitious and almost all our graduate students in the basic sciences on which technology depends are Asians. Most of them will be teaching and working in India and China.'

By Frits Staal

Andy's prediction is relevant to the future of Asian Studies because power and technology depend on basic scientific knowledge, not only of mathematics and physics but of languages, civilizations, and values. Asians have long believed that studying such topics is part of Euro-American culture, which they supposed to be superior to Asian traditions in these respects. But history shows that most of these disciplines originated and flourished in Asia long before they reached Europe, not to mention the Americas. Is the ascent of Asia perhaps a simple return from what was a temporary detour?

At Berkeley, I have seen it coming: a steady increase in the number of Asian students. Almost all of them return home if only because American regulations make it impossible or unbearable for them to stay. In Europe, students in the basic disciplines have also become rare and there are few Asians to take their place. The Dutch Academy of Sciences has reported that mathematics is declining in the Netherlands even faster than elsewhere. While Asians are progressing, Euro-Americans are slowing down, which is tantamount to sliding back. It is inevitable that technologies, economies, and all that depends on them will follow.

Reversals and asymmetries

It has not always been like this. During the Renaissance, Europeans were eager to learn 'Arabick' in order to update their meagre understanding of mathematics and astronomy. The trend has since reversed: Asians began to absorb Euro-American knowledge and Euro-Americans ignore Asia in spite of Asian Studies. Asian-Americans are equally uninformed about Asia. My postal clerk, who is Indian, believed that Tokyo was in China. And ignorance is compounded by inconsistencies: Why is 'Oriental' prohibited when 'Western' is not? It is the reason I use the ugly and erroneous neologism 'Euro-American' instead of 'Western'.

Bernard Lewis disorients his readers when he writes: 'until a comparatively

recent date, there were no Occidentalists in the Orient.' Lewis fails to mention that there were scholars writing in Arabic, such as al-Biruni, who were Orientalists *avant la lettre*. Lewis restricts his Orient to the Middle East, as did Said. But the greatest Occidentalists of Asia were Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Khmer, Korean, Tibetan, and other Buddhist monks, who translated Sanskrit sources from the Indian subcontinent, which was situated to their west. In quality and quantity, these contributions are on a par with the translations from Greek and Latin, sometimes via Arabic, into the modern languages of Europe. The texts were similar insofar as they were not restricted to Buddhist matters but included astronomy, grammar, logic, medicine, and other scientific disciplines.

Clashes with modernities

Bernard Lewis' *What Went Wrong: The Clash between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* is strikingly relevant here. Modernity is a trendy concept, but the term modern is used in the customary manner: it refers to progress when the event has just occurred and is, therefore, a relative term. Prior to Islam, there was a clash between Christianity and modernity that thwarted scientific progress and is not quite over. Progress in astronomy, for example, stopped around 150 AD when the most advanced worldview in existence was that of Ptolemy. The Chinese continued to work, however and, a millennium later, were vastly ahead of Europeans.

Some setbacks – such as the Swedish resistance to the use of Indian numerals – are of short duration. Others are a more serious threat. In the nineties, the Hindutva government of India ordered 'Vedic mathematics' to be taught in all schools. It affects hundreds of millions of children, not counting future generations for we do not know how long it will last once the tradition of teaching modern mathematics has been destroyed. All Indians who can afford it now send their children to private schools. It restricts progress once again to the wealthy who are the least hungry or ambitious.

'Vedic mathematics' is neither Vedic nor mathematics. It is not Vedic because Vedic mathematics consisted of geometry, in many respects similar to the ancient Greek variety. In Europe, it lasted until Newton; in India, it was replaced by trigonometry and algebra about a millennium earlier. It is not mathematics as explains T. Jayaraman, a theoretical high-energy physicist working at the Institute of Mathematical Sciences of Chennai, by telling the story of a book that was written by the Shankaracharya of Puri, the pontiff of a Brahman sect who died in 1960, and was posthumously published in 1965. His Holiness claimed that his book, called *Vedic Mathematics*, was based upon an appendix of the Atharvaveda that no one had seen or heard of. The text consists of simple or fast ways of dividing, multiplying, and factorizing numbers and other tricks that appeal to children. The claims made on its behalf are astounding. Government officials declare: 'whatever is very ancient in India, that precisely is most modern for the world.' Some say that the introduction of 'Vedic mathematics' into the curriculum is a deliberate effort to keep people ignorant. It may keep a political party in power after which India's progress will come to a full stop and make it dependent on foreign imports, as it was during the colonial period.

Not so Asian values

'Vedic mathematics' is one of the mythologies that are sometimes referred to as 'Asian values' by politicians who have other motives up their sleeves. Malaysia's former prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, did much for his country in his younger years. He wrote together with Shintaro Ishihara, now governor of Tokyo, that Asians need not bow to Americans and that the future belongs to Asia – a thesis largely in tune with what I am presently writing. A few years ago, Mahathir declared homosexuality a decadent Western vice that contradicts 'Asian values.' It has enabled him to put his rival Anwar Ibrahim in jail on unsubstantiated charges, following anti-sodomy laws that were abolished long ago in Britain and only very recently in all the states of the USA. All Asian countries that have made homosexuality illegal either belonged to the British Commonwealth or instituted Islamic laws. In all these regions, homosexuality prospered in the past. Mahathir ignores these facts and does not seem to know that Chinese literati have referred to homosexuality as 'the cut sleeve' since the first



Cahill, J., Scholar Painters of Japan: the Nanga School, New York: Asia Society (1972), pp. 11 and 24.

Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, spirits soaring, but when he awoke he was Chuang Chou with all his wits about him. Is it Chuang Chou who dreams he is a butterfly, or a butterfly who dreams he is Chuang Chou? The Taoist 'Transformation of Things' inspired the millennial flourish of the life sciences in China. DNA lies at its root. Will the future take us further, as in *The Matrix* where Keanu Reeves as Neo wonders whether he is human or a computer creation?



Courtesy of <http://academic.reed.edu>

century BC, when a Han Emperor whose male lover was sleeping on his sleeve, cut it off in order not to wake him when he needed to get up himself. A Singapore lawyer, Philip Jeyaretnam, sums up the situation: during the last 150 years, Asia has abandoned, due to 'Western' influence (to which he might have added 'partly'), the burning of widows, foot binding, the caste system, slavery, and concubines; and adopted its most backward notions, hatred and fear of sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular.

Area studies

We need entomology, meteorology, semantics, and area studies; but we need more, and Obeyesekere explains how: 'Areal barriers can be broken only by comparative analysis and theoretical thinking.' The present difficulty is that most scientists use thematic and disciplinary distinctions that are based upon Euro-American categories. In India, *grama* may be the same as *village*, but *karma* and *jnana* are more adequate categories than *religion*, *philosophy*, or *ethics*. Areas, moreover, differ not only in character but also in size. Robert Cribb may be right that the idea of 'Southeast Asia' is running out of steam. The terms *South*, *Southeast*, and *East Asia* themselves have remained unintelligible to the world outside

The Parthenon in Athens stands for mathematical truth underlying the universe. Greek geometry is related to that of Vedic India and both were inspired by earlier Mesopotamian notions. A millennium later, Arab and other Asian algebras came streaming into Europe, and Galileo declared that mathematics was the language of the universe.

Asian Studies. They resulted from American post-Second World War politics, chiefly based upon a desire not to offend and thereby offending without discrimination. But we are scientists, diplomacy is not our business and reality should be our guide. Why not redress the balance and leave it to Asian scientists to evolve new terms and concepts?

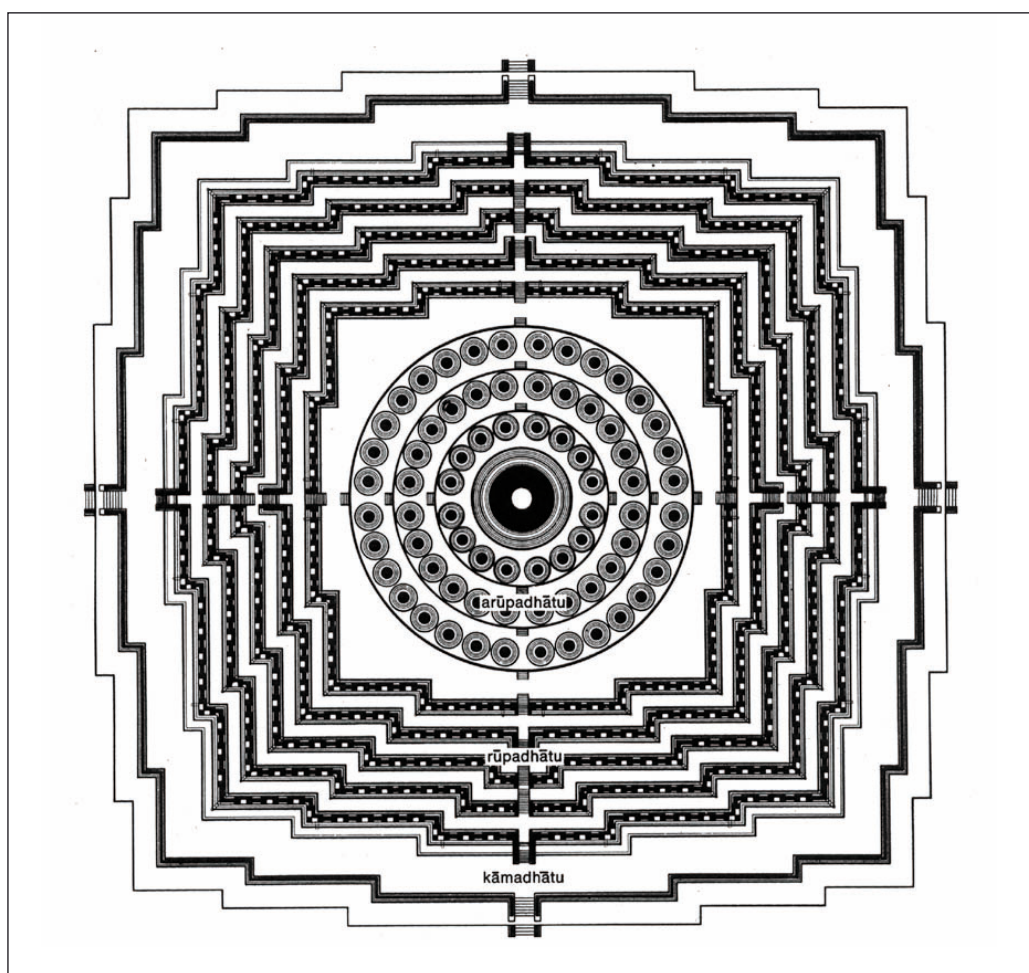
Asian Studies can help answer the question that is now before us: what went wrong with the Euro-American

tradition? Will the answer pave the way for a more even-handed presentation and evaluation of Asia, or will there only be a shift in the contests between nations? And why single out Asia? We may answer these questions after all claims of superiority on behalf of this or that territory or system of values have been abandoned, and humanity is contemplated within the context of the non-human universe of which it is a minute spark – if that.

Students of Asia may assist in doing

The higher terraces of Borobudur on central Java are circular. The lower galleries depict the life of the Buddha. Other episodes are similarly found all over the Buddhist world. A typical Mahayana story depicts the son of a merchant in search of enlightenment, identified in Chinese sources.

Many of these legends remain popular in plays and theatrical performances in Myanmar and Thailand. They teach respect for human rights and non-violence towards all living beings, as exemplified by Emperor Ashoka and put in context by Romila Thapar. Amartya Sen draws attention to another Asian value that is universal: Reason.



Marzuki, Yazir and Teet Heraty, Borobudur, Jakarta: Djambatan (fourth edition, 1989), back cover.

something more practical as well. Perhaps it is they who should initiate it. I believe that Asian and non-Asian scientists and scholars should cooperate closely to create reliable introductions, curricula, and websites that explain the main facts about the universe, life, human language, and the world's civilizations, societies, and values. They should be translated into numerous languages and made freely available to every citizen of the planet. ◀

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Professor Frits Staal is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy and of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley. He is currently teaching a course on the History of Buddhism at Leiden University and is an IIAS affiliated fellow. His interests include Sanskrit, logic, linguistics, ritual, and the history of science. See <http://philosophy.berkeley.edu/staal/jfstaal@socrates.berkeley.edu>

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The Poverty of Regionalism

Limits in the Study of Southeast Asia

Forum >
Southeast Asia

The idea of Southeast Asia as an academic field has a European pedigree stretching back to the early twentieth century. The term arose partly for convenience – it was useful to have a concise name for the region lying between India and China – and partly from a sense that there was some form of identity in this part of the world which transcended the cultural diversity of the region and the numerous international borders cutting across it. Since the term was coined, the borders of ‘Southeast Asia’ as a region have been remarkably flexible.

By Robert Cribb

Until the middle of the twentieth century, the term Southeast Asia referred most commonly to the mainland peninsula, now comprising Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Burma. The Indonesian archipelago was often considered part of the Pacific, rather than Asia. The short-lived and unlamented South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO, founded in 1954) even included Pakistan. Of course Pakistan’s eastern wing, now Bangladesh, bordered on Burma, but technically SEATO gave Southeast Asia a border with Afghanistan and Iran. The Philippines, for its part, was often barely considered Asian at all and was treated as a trans-Pacific extension of Latin and North America. Although the concept of Southeast Asia seems to have settled down today to refer to the region included within the ten countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, founded in 1967), the persistent uncertainty about the region’s ‘natural’ boundaries lingers on in newly independent East Timor’s hesitation between applying to join ASEAN and seeking membership of the South Pacific Forum.

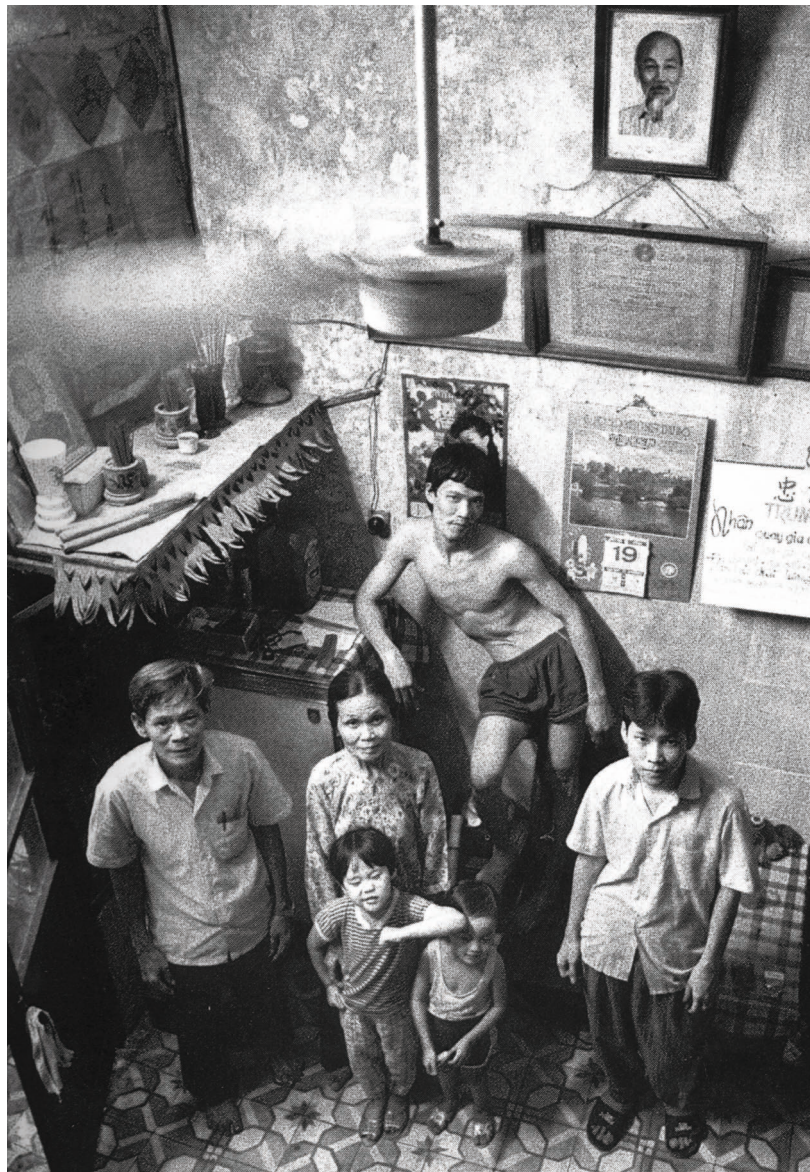
The case for treating Southeast Asia as a useful category rests on several grounds. First, scholarly research has highlighted important elements of culture which are widely shared across the region: elements of technology such as outrigger canoes and houses on stilts, as well as deep-seated features of the social structure such as a dyadic line of descent in which the female line is not dramatically less valued than the male. Second, there is a history of cultural, political, and economic interaction across the region, which has given it a true regional character. We find this interaction reflected in the distribution of ceremonial drums and trade ceramics, in patterns of invasion and trade, and even in matters such as language use. Third, many historians have identified a common general trajectory in the history of the region, a historical sequence based on the agricultural and trading ecologies of distinct coastal and riverine heartlands which led the peoples of the region through phases of state formation, Indictization, commercial prosperity, colonialism, democratic experiment, and authoritarian developmentalism. In addition, of course, Southeast Asia has now become a perceived identity for people in the region and has taken institutional form in the shape of ASEAN. ‘Southeast Asia’ exists, if only because tens of millions of people in the region see themselves as Southeast Asians, even if that identity may be less important to them than other markers of identity such as nationality.

The success of Southeast Asia as a concept is all the more striking when one considers the relative intellectual, emotional, and institutional failure of other regional concepts such as Maphilindo (Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia), the ‘Malay World’, Mainland Southeast Asia, and so on.

Nonetheless, we should not blind ourselves to important instrumentalist reasons for the strength of Southeast Asia as a concept. The first of these relates to the politics of academic importance. Southeast Asia as an academic field is a stage on which specialists on Brunei, Laos, Arakan, Panay, and even Indonesia can stand shoulder to shoulder, as it were (and sometimes head-to-head), with specialists on China, India, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and so on. Whatever our own narrow individual fields of research, we stand as Southeast Asianists for half a billion people, for some of the world’s most dynamic economies and for a truly impressive body of scholarship.

Even if our own individual fields of research are narrow, we draw academic strength and status from the importance of the region within which those fields are located. In the same way, it is hard not to believe that the new practice of referring to Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Comoro Islands as ‘Insular Southwest Asia’ does not have something to do with a desire to detach those regions from the apparently bleak prospects of Africa and to harness them to the glittering chariot of Asia.

The second reason for the strength of Southeast Asia as an academic field is political in a different way. For much of the post-Second World War period there has been a tension



The Portrait of Ho Chi Minh looks down on a Chinese family

Pan, Lynn. Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press (1999), p. 229

between approaches to Southeast Asia which focus on the states of the region as the most important (and, implicitly, as morally justified) historical agents, and approaches which seek to focus attention away from states and towards people. The avowed aim of these people-centred approaches has been to give voice to the voiceless, to women, to workers, to the poor, to sexual minorities, to isolated communities, and so on. Recognizing the existence of ‘Southeast Asia’ strengthens our awareness of the contingency of the current state boundaries in the region. In something like the same way – though to a lesser extent – in which the European Union created a political framework that allowed the resurgence of regionalism in Belgium, Spain, and Britain, the concept of Southeast Asia strengthens the position of those who argue that states provide only a framework – not the framework – for studying social phenomena.

A third reason why Southeast Asia exists as an academic field is heuristic. One of the most fruitful techniques that scholars use to generate new insights is redefining their areas of study to include new elements and exclude old ones. The more daring historians delight in flouting conventional periodization by cutting the ribbon of time in new and unexpected places, aware that different issues arise within different time scales. A history of Indonesia from 1930 to 1960 will not just differ in scale from a history covering, say, 1815 to 1998; it will deal with very different issues.



Chinese in Batavia. Is southern China part of Southeast Asia? Or is Southeast Asia part of southern China?

We achieve similar insights by slicing the geographical pie in different ways. In this respect, the institutionalization of Southeast Asia in the form of ASEAN has probably had the paradoxical effect of galvanizing scholars, in their usual, perversely counter-intuitive way, to search for alternative geographical frameworks. In recent years, important new insights have arisen from defining the Austronesian world, which stretches from Madagascar through maritime Southeast Asia to Polynesia, as a region of study. Something similar has been done by looking at the world of the Tai, which straddles the borders of Southeast Asia, China, and India. New historical research has suggested that the Java Sea, as a maritime region, be explored intellectually. In a paper presented at the 2003 International Convention of Asia Scholars in Singapore (ICAS3), Mario Rutten urged researchers to remember that Southeast Asia was east of South Asia rather than just south of East Asia, and to consider the important parallels and differences between the two regions. Other recent research has taken maritime Southeast Asia seriously as part of the Islamic world.

Perhaps the most ambitious revision of regional borders, however, has been the programme to annex southern China to Southeast Asia. This programme has not focused on the basically Southeast Asian ‘national minorities’ of the region but rather on the elements of mainstream Chinese culture in the South which have Southeast Asian origins, on coastal southern China’s long history of commercial integration with Southeast Asia, and on the observation that the four southern provinces – Guangzhou, Guangxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan – are individually comparable in population and economic strength to their Southeast Asian neighbours. From an academic-political point of view, this campaign is risky. In the past, the much larger and more self-assured field of China Studies has been fully prepared to see Southeast Asia as part of China’s world – as ‘peripheral areas’ in the memorable words of Reischauer, Fairbank, and Craig – and there is thus a danger that Southeast Asia’s academic identity will be undermined rather than expanded. Nonetheless, the proponents of this approach should be congratulated for their daring.

All the same, such experimentation with new borders suggests that the old ones have exhausted some of their analytical power. If this is the case, however, the way forward may not be to keep cutting the geographical cake in different ways but rather to range beyond the region in a new and aggressive comparativism. The strong awareness of diversity which is the Siamese twin of any conception of Southeast Asian identity has had the unfortunate effect of closing our eyes to comparisons further field. With such a rich variety of historical experience, social form, and cultural expression in Southeast Asia, it has seemed to many of us that there is no great advantage to be had from looking further afield, at least no further afield than South and East Asia.

Yet for historians in particular, there is much to be learnt from looking at Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America. And, more important, there are many ways in which the experience of Southeast Asia can illuminate the rest of the world. Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* argument on the origins of nationalism is one of the rather few examples of an insight developed from an understanding of Southeast Asian experience, but with global application. Similarly, important insights into the nature of genocide as a global phenomenon arise from examining the terrible history of mass killing in Cambodia and Indonesia.

Good comparative work is difficult. The cases to be compared have to be selected carefully and the researcher needs either to develop serious competence in another region, or to find a congenial collaborator with such competence. For those who follow the new path, however, the intellectual rewards will be enormous. ◀

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Writing Indian History from an Asian Perspective

Forum >
South Asia

Recent research has established the desirability, and indeed the necessity, of writing regional or national history in a somewhat wider perspective. Using this approach, the implications of the various interconnections across different geographical entities are duly recognized and assigned proper weights. This is likely to result in a more balanced and nuanced account of whatever one's immediate area of interest is.

By Om Prakash

Let me illustrate with examples from different periods of Indian history. The Mughal Empire was one of the largest centralized states of its time comparable only to Ming China. The wealth of Hind was proverbial in the relatively less fertile and sparsely settled lands of the medieval Islamic world to the west. The standard of achievement attained by the Mughal Indian economy in the early modern period can perhaps best be analysed in an overall Asian rather than a purely Indian perspective. For example, it is now widely recognized that India played a central role in the structure of Asian trade of this period. In part, this indeed was due to the midway location of the subcontinent between West Asia on the one hand and Southeast and East Asia on the other. But perhaps even more important was the subcontinent's capacity to put on the market a wide range of tradeable goods at highly competitive prices. The most important of these were textiles of various kinds. While these included high value varieties such as the legendary Dhaka muslins and the Gujarat silk embroideries, the main export for the Asian market was the coarse cotton varieties manufactured primarily on the Coromandel coast and in Gujarat. There was a large-scale demand for these varieties in the eastern markets of Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand, and Burma as well as in the markets of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa.

While it is impossible to determine precisely what proportion of total domestic demand for mass consumption textiles in these societies was met by Indian imports, the available evidence seems to suggest it was not altogether insignificant. India's capacity to manufacture these textiles in large quantities and to put them on the market on highly competitive terms, in a certain sense made it the 'industrial' hub of the larger region, consisting, in addition, of West Asia and Southeast Asia. If one seeks to assess the overall level of economic achievement attained by the economy of early modern India, it is much more meaningful to operate on the wider canvas of Asia or the Indian Ocean region as a whole; rather than simply at the level of the regional or national economy of India.

The rise of an early modern world economy, facilitated by the great discoveries of the closing decade of the fifteenth century also drew India increasingly into intercontinental trade between Europe and Asia. From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onward, Indian textiles and raw silk combined, emerged as the single largest among the imports that the European chartered monopoly trading companies brought from Asia to Europe.

This created a situation of near panic among the European producers of var-

ious kinds of textiles. In England, the manufacturers' opposition to the import of Indian textiles was sufficiently vocal to induce Parliamentary Acts prohibiting the import and use of Indian calicoes, being passed in 1700 and 1720. Holland also had a fairly well developed linen and silk-textile industry. As early as 1643, several manufacturers of silk textiles in Amsterdam had complained to the authorities that, as a result of the import of silk textiles from the East Indies, a number of their apprentices had been thrown out of work. Such perceived threats of a 'deindustrializing' Europe in response to the invasion by Indian textiles, however, makes one wonder as to which region, between North-Western Europe and South Asia in the early modern period, was the 'core' and which the 'periphery'.

This phase of Indian supremacy in the world market for textiles, however, came to an end in the nineteenth century mainly as a result of the Industrial Revolution first in Britain and later in the other countries of Europe. In the course of the century, India not only lost its textiles markets in Europe but itself became a major importer of cotton textiles manufactured in Lancashire and Manchester. This put significant pressure on the hand-spinning and handloom sectors in India, leading to the phenomenon of so called 'deindustrialization' of the Indian economy. Nationalist Indian historians of the period ascribed this phenomenon essentially to the non-interventionist policies of the colonial British state in India which failed to provide tariff protection to the Indian handloom sector.

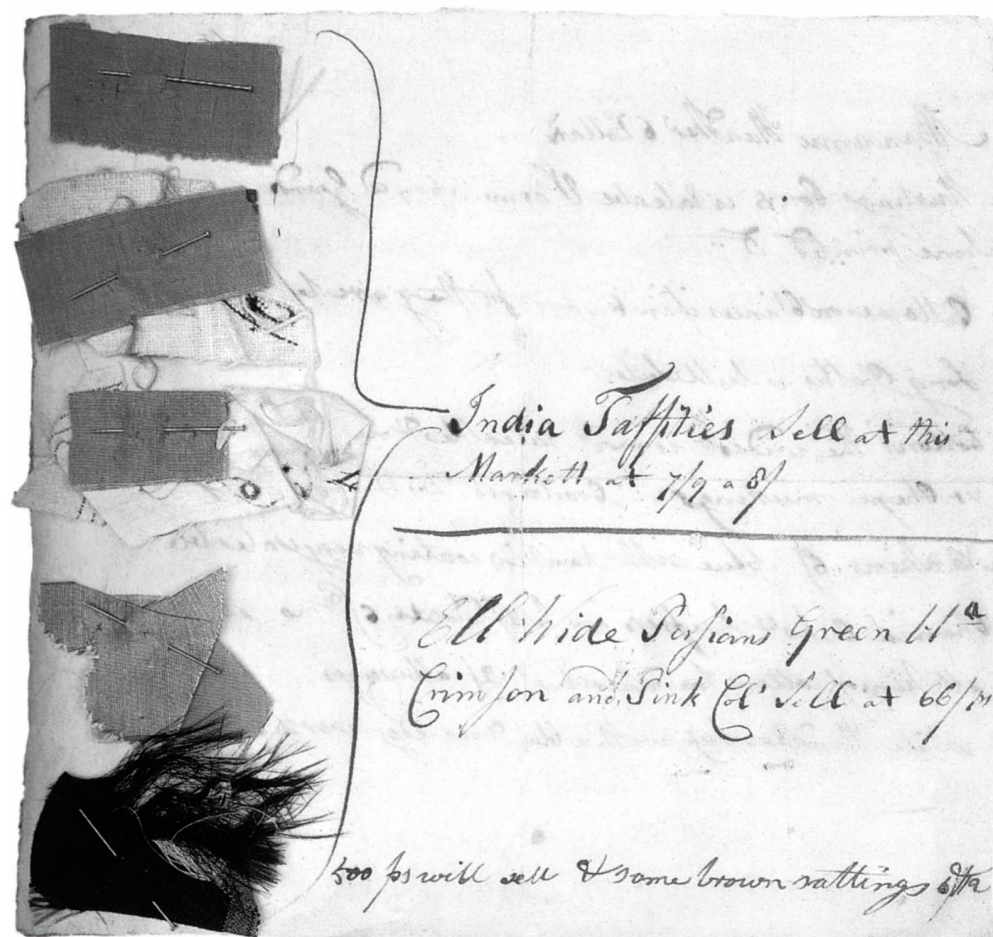
Colonial states and the agrarian sector

An examination of the workings of the colonial state in India during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries invites interesting and worthwhile comparisons with colonial states in other parts of Asia. One such state was the Dutch colonial state in Indonesia. One could perhaps argue that as opposed to the nightwatchman character of the British Indian state concerned primarily with law enforcement and the collection of revenue, the Dutch state in Indonesia adopted somewhat more interventionist policies. Here, I shall confine myself to a brief consideration of the agrarian sector in the two economies, for illustrative purposes.

By far the most important direct use that the colonial economies had for the metropolitan countries was the provision of agricultural raw materials as well as food for the latter. In a large number of cases, growing agricultural exports were supplied by taking recourse to the plantation system. The colonial governments played an important and sometimes decisive role in the rise and the smooth functioning of the system. This could be in the form of liberal land grants, the delegation of coer-

Silk samples (taffeta) attached to a letter, c. 1790. Peabody Essex Museum Library, Crowninshield Family Papers, John Crowninshield Business Papers.

Taken from Bean, Susan S.: *Yankee India, Salem: Peabody Essex Museum (2001)*, p. 77



cive authority to the management over labour supply, and so on. Historically, the cases of the West Indies, as well as of several Asian regions such as Malaya and Sri Lanka, would seem to conform to this pattern. But when one turns to the Dutch East Indies, an interesting variant of the usual plantation system comes to light. This is the well-known cultivation system introduced by Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch in the 1830s.

With the view to encourage the production of crops such as sugar for purposes of export to the Netherlands, the system introduced by Van den Bosch represented in an important way government's direct entrepreneurial role. More importantly, it operated on the basis of accommodation, and indeed integration, of the existing organization of traditional peasant agriculture. The land-rent obligations of those peasants who were integrated into the system were translated into an obligatory system by which specified amounts of the designated export crops were to be produced and delivered at prices fixed by the government.

The cultivation system has been evaluated in widely differing ways. According to its critics, the impositions and abuses associated with the system came home to roost in the mid- and the late 1840s when a series of catastrophic epidemics and crop failures brought famine and death to thousands of peasants in the north central Java littoral. The famines resulted from a combination of high taxation and overutilization of land and labour for forced cultivation. The system's admirers, however, draw attention to the marked increase in general prosperity in Java. In particular, they point to large increases in the

acreage brought under cultivation, a busy commercial life, and increases in population and rates of consumption, as evidence for their claims.

The case of nineteenth century India stands out in sharp contrast. The only major export crop for which a plantation system emerged in India was tea grown mostly in Assam. Tea, however, was an entirely new product designed almost exclusively for the export market and did not in the least involve traditional peasant agriculture. A much more interesting case was that of raw cotton grown overwhelmingly in western India primarily for domestic consumption. The interruption of American supplies of cotton to Lancashire and Manchester following the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860, created an enormous export market for the Indian cotton. The manner in which the Indian peasant responded to this sudden increase in the international demand for cotton is a great tribute to the market responsiveness and general resilience of the traditional peasant agriculture in the subcontinent.

The significance of developments such as the ones described above is perhaps best appreciated in a comparative Asian context rather than in a purely national or regional one. Indeed, in the context of Indian history writing, an important point that emerges from even a cursory look at the work done on Indian history over the past several decades is the intellectual isolation that characterizes a very large part of this work. This isolation results essentially from the fact that while working on a particular theme in respect of a particular region over a defined period, the researcher almost always confines his attention

exclusively to the 'relevant' literature, in respect of the theme, the region and the period. The overall limitation of this kind of research, useful as it is in its own right, is that it does not draw attention to the big picture and the broad context. In the process, it misses out on a lot of very interesting and instructive outcomes that might have emerged had it been carried out on a somewhat wider plane. ◀

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Where From, Who For? Modern Korean Historical Studies

Forum >
Korea

The twentieth century has been a time of massive, far-reaching change on a global scale: a century of transitions from dynastic realms to nation-states, from agricultural to secondary industries, from elite to mass education, media, and politics. It has been a time of rapid and momentous advances in knowledge and technology, but also a century of crises and extremes, of the disruption of traditions, of widespread social dislocation and increasingly large gaps of understanding between generations. Around the globe, whole populations have been cut off from their pasts by seismic shifts in the crusts of their civilizations. At such critical times, people, and in particular the educated among them, reflect on history in order to gain self-understanding and retrieve some sense of stability and confidence in the present.

By Ken Wells

Korea is certainly no exception. The past one hundred and fifty years is a story of crisis after crisis, from internal rebellions to foreign domination, to the division into two states, North and South, and their present economic woes. The small Korean peninsula has experienced in concentrated form almost every feature of this century of change: colonialism and post-colonial dilemmas, the force of nationalism, the ideological antagonisms of the Cold War, rapid urbanization and the probing impact of global economics and culture. In terms of the speed and depth of transformation, and in the density of its recent history, few countries rival Korea. Not surprisingly, the Korean people have become masters at handling crises and wresting from them achievements that surprise the world. They have risen high above numerous challenges to produce a fascinating and vibrant culture, from which there is much to learn and still more to expect.

Nevertheless, by force of the sheer number, depth, and rapidity of the changes, Koreans today are more cut off from their country's pre-twentieth-century past than from the values, mindsets, and material cultures of their contemporaries, even those whose histories followed quite different paths at least up until the mid-twentieth century. Naturally they have developed a keen interest in history. For Korean historians inside Korea, this interest has produced something of a Golden Age: seldom have their learning, opinions, and courses been the object of such widespread, popular demand.

Constructing the nation

To produce a history of a nation, it is required that one postulates a heritage, a coherent line of continuity. This readiness to find an unbroken historical dynamic for the nation is something of a paradox, for the present system of nation-states, and of international relations based on state sovereignty, is a late and miniscule portion of human history. But because people take the order of nation-states for granted, they seldom recognize that a profound name-change entailing a wholesale re-ordering of social, economic, and political relations has occurred. Citizens of nation-states now play and dance to different tunes than did the subjects of former realms. But to give the score of contemporary times legitimacy and security amidst rapid change, there is a need to trace it backwards, to find a lineage in which the present is foreshadowed.

This discovery, or invention, of a national historical dynamic is particularly important for Korea. By the same token, the natural centre of historical research on modern Korea is the Korean peninsula, and the topics and foci selected by historians of modern Korea abroad have largely reflected those pursued inside Korea, where the dominant themes have been the rise of nationalism during the Japanese colonial period from 1905 to 1945 and the ideologically charged conflict over national legitimacy resulting from the national division of 1948. Over the past fifteen years, however, a growing recognition has emerged among historians in Korea, but perhaps more so outside Korea, that a preoccupation with these themes has kept attention away from precisely those momentous changes in so many realms of life that are the substance of Korea's modern story.

But in going beyond the nationalist paradigm of modern Korean history, if we may so characterize the historiographical task of the last decade and a half, those of us who work outside Korea in particular, have to confront our own starting points and to consider seriously whom we are writing for. These points arise in relation to external factors and the general context within which academics now work, and to internal debates among historians on how we propagate our viewpoints.

The general context of our work as academics outside Korea has changed over the last two decades. Although inter-

est in Korean history as such has not grown abroad as it has inside Korea, there has been a revitalization of interest in Korean Humanities disciplines. One reason for this was the realization among funding agencies such as the Korea Foundation and Korea Research Foundation that, in addition to language studies, it was important to ensure that knowledge of Korean history, culture, and society was provided to students in a systematic way. This has led to the appointment of Korean Humanities scholars in universities around the world, from Scandinavia to New Zealand.

Beyond the US

External support for Korean Studies is not without its problems, insofar as it derives from agendas not necessarily in tune with why academics engage in the serious study of Korea. Though limited funding and paucity of other research support make historians of modern Korea vulnerable to the pressures of outside agendas, the record of scholarship in journals and monographs of the last decade and more indicates a consistent adherence to central academic motives and objectives. The success with which the distinction between external and academic logics has been observed is a very encouraging element in modern Korean Historical Studies.

When it comes to examining our starting points and the question of whom we are interpreting Korean history for, there is, as one would expect, less clarity and greater diversity. On one critical point consensus is gathering, namely the determination to 'thicken' accounts of Korean modern history to do justice to the multidimensional nature of the Korean people's experiences and the depth and breadth of the social and cultural changes that have occurred. A self-conscious move in this direction is reflected in the collection of chapters by scholars in different disciplines in the 1999 volume, *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson.

In this and a number of other recent writings, a greater concern is expressed to write Korean history that is not so strongly focused on debates over the foreign and domestic policies of the writers' own countries as has been the case hitherto. The move towards writing histories that recognize Korea as an active participant in the making of the modern world, without denying the obvious, common-sense realities of its position in the world, is a welcome advance.

Yet this move remains entangled in superpower operations at the academic/cultural level. Until the mid-1990s and up to this day, many works on modern Korean history, especially those authored in the USA, but also those in the two Koreas, reflect preoccupations with the Cold War and the rights and wrongs of US foreign policy, and to non-US scholars, seem to be addressed primarily to a US domestic audience.¹ For scholars working outside North America and the Korean peninsula, however, there is something liberating about not having to approach Korean history under the shadow of a superpower, of not feeling obliged to relate modern Korea to one's domestic or foreign politics, of not having to choose sides or be tempted into a patronizing defence of the honour, integrity or cultural value of the Korean people. It is thus not surprising that many of the pioneering works over the last two decades in literary-history, microhistory, and non-American diasporas, together with reinterpretations of the mid-nineteenth- to late twentieth-century transformations in the historical agency of culture, thought and religion, have emerged in Germany, France, the Netherlands, the UK, Australia, and Scandinavia.²

Beyond imperialism

Interest both in the turn away from monothematic, nationalist historical paradigms and in the benefits of considering Korean history within its own cultural spectrum appears to be gaining ground, and may contribute to better communication between scholars in different countries in the future. In his very recent book, *Korea Between Empires*, Andre

Schmid emphasises that the basic content of modern Korean nationalist discourse was formulated by intellectuals and others before the annexation by Japan in 1910, and that they were part of a world of ideas wider than narrowly defined indigenous Korean thought. He aims to correct an oversight of Benedict Anderson's by giving the content of their nationalist thought, alongside political developments, a historical agency, showing that there was not just one idea of the Korean but various views and visions of the nation. In her recent oral history, *Under the Black Umbrella: Voices from Colonial Korea*, Hildi Kang observes that recent scholarship has begun to move from an either/or approach, judging good and bad in relation to colonial rule, to a recognition of the complexity of the period.

In both cases we see earnest and successful attempts to reveal the many concurrent 'histories' running through the modern period. Schmid's book, a true achievement, warms the cockles of one's heart, and yet he might have engaged more with works outside North America, such as those by the contributors to the special issue of *Korean Studies* (2001: 2). In some of their earlier writings, his concerns, insights, and at times, even judgements had been given central importance.

Current developments in the world accentuate the importance of giving views from the 'periphery' more attention. While it is inconceivable to me that Korea not remain of supreme importance in the interpretation of its modern history, it is time to decentre historical investigation abroad. As it is, university departments are potent channels of cultural chauvinism however reluctant some may be to acknowledge the fact. Among the many benefits of studying modern Korea is its constant reminder of the historical consequences of imperialism in all its forms and the critical need to constantly re-examine our positions. ◀

Professor Ken Wells is director of the Centre for Korean Studies, Australian National University. His research focuses on Modern Korean History, particularly on the relation between religion, nationalism, and social change in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, including changes in intellectual culture and gender structures.

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- Schmid, Andre, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*, New York: Columbia University Press (2002), p. 3-7.
- Shin, Gi-Wook and Michael Robinson (eds), *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Asia Center (2000).

Notes >

- 1 I restrict myself in all cases to historical studies (including literary, religious, and political history) and regret that space does not permit consideration of historical studies on North Korea. An example of self-conscious writing for a US readership with frequent allusion to US domestic and foreign policies, is Cumings, Bruce, *Korea's place in the sun: A modern history*, New York: W.W. Norton (1997).
- 2 A convenient collection of works in this vein can be found in the Hawai'i journal, *Korean Studies*, vol. 2 (2001), in articles by Boudewijn Walraven, Kenneth Wells, Koen De Ceuster, Alain Delissen, and Kim Kichung. Space does not permit titles, but books, articles, and dissertations by the following authors, among others and in addition to those named above, reflect similar activity in modern historical studies outside the USA and Korea from the mid-1980s: Paik Sungjong, Carl Young, Janice Kim, Gregory Evon, Kim Hyunga, Pak Byung-kun, James Grayson, Keith Howard, Ruediger Frank, Geir Helgesen, John Jorgensen, Song Changzoo, Andrei Lankov, and Ruth Barraclough. Resistance to the nationalist paradigm had also emerged in the 1980s in works by modern historians in the USA, particularly those by Vipan Chandra, Michael Robinson, and Donald Clark.

Comprehensive Vietnamese Village Studies From Ten Years of Research in a Small Village



Both photos courtesy of the author

Forum > Southeast Asia

A remarkable demographic characteristic of Vietnamese economic development has been the relatively modest migration from rural to urban areas. While the share of agriculture in Vietnam's GDP decreased from 38 per cent in 1985 to 23 per cent in 1998, 70 per cent of the population lives in villages and 67 per cent of the labour force remains employed in agriculture. The study of villages is therefore crucial to understanding contemporary Vietnam. The comprehensive study of villages requires synthesizing the research results of an interdisciplinary team of scholars spanning the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

By Yumio SAKURAI

The concept of comprehensive Southeast Asian village studies, in terms of understanding village society and culture as resultants of the interactions between the cultural, historical, and natural environments, was pioneered in Japan by Kyoto University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies. In the early 1980s, Prof. Fukui Hayao of the Center mobilized experts from various fields to investigate the many factors behind village structure in a Thai hamlet, Don Daeng. Based on the enormous amount of data acquired, Fukui concluded that the most significant impetus behind village formation in Northeast Thailand was the migration of peasants in search of better ricefields, termed the *haa naa dii* migration.¹

In Nguyen Xa village, Vietnam, Prof. Terry Rambo led a team engaged in similar research, which took a human ecology perspective, aiming to understand the interactions between human social systems and their ecosystems.² Though these works of sociology and ecological science resulted in greater understanding of Thai and Vietnamese village formation, they would have further benefited from longer research periods and greater historical perspective in understanding the complex relations between contemporary village structure and the historically rooted cultural values of village inhabitants.

The Bach Coc project builds on the fruits of this earlier research. Since 1993, a Japanese village research group and the National University of Vietnam have cooperated on the comprehensive research of Bach Coc, which consists of five hamlets of the Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative (HTX) in Nam Dinh Province, Vietnam. Until 2002, 176 specialists from 17 Japanese universities: historians, sociologists, archaeologists, anthropologists, economists, geographers, agronomists, ecologists, geologists, and experts in architecture, irrigation, and gender studies, participated in the Bach Coc project under the historians' leadership.

The Bach Coc project

The Bach Coc project began on a largely experimental, trial and error basis without a clear and established theory or methodology. The project has yet to achieve a shared, comprehensive understanding of Bach Coc among team members, the explication of new theory and methodology for comprehensive village studies, and the publication of its final research results. Tentative results have been published

in 11 volumes of the discussion paper series *Thong Tin Bach Coc* (Bach Coc Information) between 1995 and 2001.

Research for the Bach Coc project took place in three stages. During the general survey stage beginning in 1993, teams surveyed the entire Red River Delta, and in subsequent years, other areas including the Mekong Delta for comparative purposes. This stage aimed to understand the geographic and historical position of Bach Coc within the Red River Delta. During the second phase of research between 1994 and 1998, teams conducted a detailed land survey, measuring the entire inhabited area of the Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative. The resulting maps familiarized researchers with villagers' use of space.³ During the third phase, from 1996 until the present, teams undertook specific research: excavation of old settlements, collection and analysis of stone inscriptions, collection of oral histories from villagers, agronomic research on rice and vegetable cropping, sociological research on Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative activity, and so on. For sure, some of the preliminary conclusions reached during this third stage, resulted from the multi-disciplinary nature of this research.

Bach Coc is situated in a transitional belt between natural levees and sand ridges, shaping three types of land usage: rice farming, vegetable cropping, and human settlement. The first fishing peoples settled in Bach Coc in the third century, while a small inter-regional river port developed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. After the port's decline, agricultural reclamation was begun by immigrants from the northern Red River Delta. Subsequently, Xa (commune) Bach Coc was established as an administrative unit in the early fifteenth century, fixing the proto-village residential area. As a result of population increase, small intra-village groups were formed in the seventeenth century, while village systems composed of meetings, officials, rites, and lineage groups were in place by the early nineteenth century.⁴

The *cong dien* (communal land) system developed in the eighteenth century to level villagers' land holdings and to equalize their burden of taxation remains central in village culture and society. Bach Coc's post-1955 social revolution in terms of land reform, the system of labour exchange, and the early policies of the Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative, can be seen as an extension of the *cong dien* idea to all villagers. The project terms the *cong dien* tradition domestic socialism and views the agricultural cooperative as an intermediate system between domestic socialism and state collectivism. The cooperative's role is not limited to food production; it provides funds for basic infrastructure such as village roads,

small bridges, and health centres. Based on traditional local society, the Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative cannot solely be regarded as an economic organization.

Depending on topography, two kinds of agriculture are pursued: the growing of rice in the back swamps is controlled mainly by the cooperative, which provides seeds, chemical fertilizers, and water at fixed cost. In gardens and private ponds, shadow agriculture, which entails the raising of pigs and the growing of cash crops such as vegetables and fruits, is well managed by the private sector.⁵ Household economies can be divided into two sectors: *kinh te de an* (economy for eating) and *kinh te lay tien* (economy for money). Based on the activities of the cooperative, the economy for eating (subsistence economy) relies on assistance from the cash semi-economy. The latter is composed of shadow agriculture and non-agricultural sectors including the private activities of migrant workers who support village food production and the modernization of villagers' lifestyles, through their family and lineage networks.⁶

Despite their independent research paths, most teams have arrived at a similar understanding of village socio-economic life and the role of the Coc Thanh Agricultural Cooperative. They emphasize two basic points, which result from the interaction between the natural environment and human activity and are likely to endure through periods of transition. First, the Cooperative, as the successor to traditional village organization, supports the *kinh te de an* sector that is based on the concept of domestic socialism. Second, private activity in the *kinh te lay tien* is possible on the base of the cooperative-supported *kinh te de an*. The two sectors can thus be said to form an interdependent dual economy. It deserves mention that the comprehensive study of Bach Coc is not completed and that our preliminary conclusions will yet be refined through successive research and discussion. Nonetheless, it is my belief that the above conclusion for one, could not have been reached without synthesizing research results from numerous disciplines. <

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Bach Coc village,
28 August 2003



Notes >

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- 2 Le Trong, Cuc and A. Terry Rambo (eds), *Too Many People, Too Little Land: the Human Ecology of a Wet Rice-Growing Village in the RRD of Vietnam*, Honolulu: East West Center (1993), p. xix.
- 3 The result was published as Bach Coc Map in 1997. *Thong Tin Bach Coc*, vol.7, pp.143-173.
- 4 Nishimura, Masanari, 'Archeological Study of the settlement formation in the Red River Plain: a Case of Bach Coc and the surrounding', LP; Yao, Takao, 'The inner quarrels in the eighteenth century in Bach Coc', LP; Shimao, Minoru, 'Reconstruction of *dong ho* (Vietnamese Lineage) in Bach Coc village, Nam Dinh province from the nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth century', LP
- 5 Abe, Kenichi, 'Shadow Agriculture, Non-Field Agricultural Activities in the Red River Delta', LP
- 6 Ogawa, Yuko, Oghino Ryo, 'Choice of Strategy - Labor force movement in a village after Doi Moi policy in the RRD', LP

List of abbreviations

- LP: Paper presented in IIAS workshop, Vietnamese peasants' Activity, 2002
- RRD: Red River Delta

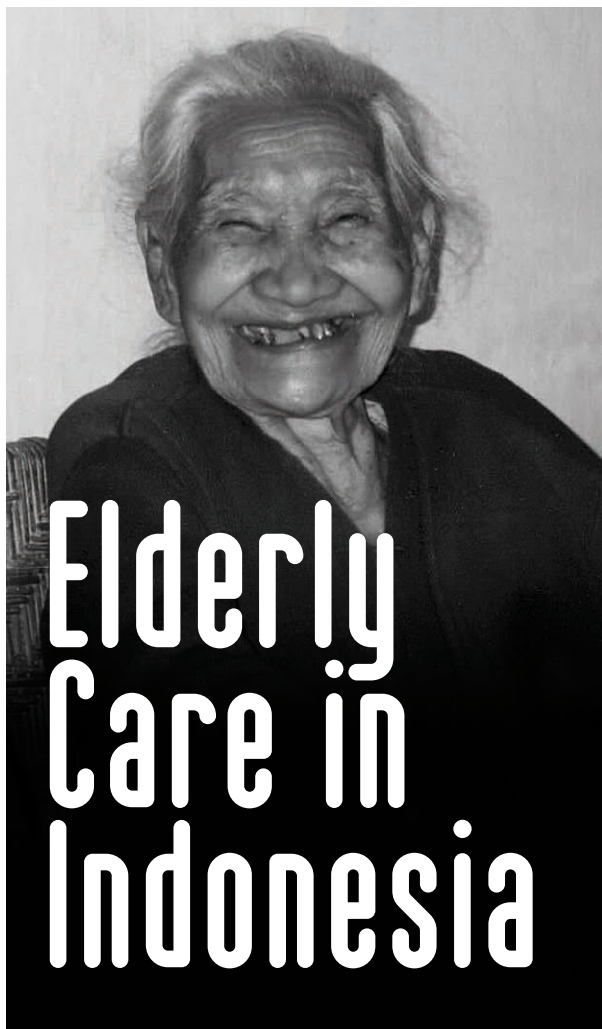


Photo by Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill

Understanding Elderly Vulnerability in Indonesia

Research >
Indonesia

Four of the ten fastest-growing elderly populations worldwide can be found in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia has perhaps the most striking profile of them all. As the strengths and weaknesses of current provisions for the elderly are the best guide to the future, a sound knowledge of existing arrangements and their limitations is a necessary baseline for any examination of the issue. Is current support adequate? What gaps are there? How may a good level of support be defined? What capacity is there in current family and community arrangements to encompass a three or fourfold increase in the elderly? What role can local and international organizations most effectively play? These and other searching questions need to be asked, and the need to delve into the workings of local support networks means that answers will depend on data that economic and social surveys alone cannot provide.

support. Once again, however, we need to look beyond the standard repertoire of measures and the assumptions that accompany them.

Firstly, anthropologists have called to attention the fact that the family system of the Javanese majority is predominantly nuclear and bilateral – a system in which children and the wider kindred have few if any fixed responsibilities to older people. Even in other major cultural groups in which kin solidarity embraces several lineally related families, not all elderly can count on extended family welfare provision. Among the matrilineal Minangkabau of Sumatra, for example, emigrant young men and women provide aggregate inflows of money and other support to their home communities, some of which is channelled through the mosque to assist the poor. Nonetheless, not all older members are so lucky as to have access to these benefits. The permanent departure of young women, in a society in which daughters are a critical source of family continuity and status, can completely undermine their parents' identity (Indrizal, at press).

Secondly, we should not succumb to the cosy assumption that where there are children, they can be counted on. Recent research drawing together studies on nuclear and joint family arrangements in Indonesia, South Asia, and Europe (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, at press), shows that while elderly parents have in the course of their lives borne the main responsibility for raising and educating children, these children have no strictly defined roles that enjoin them to reciprocate. Additionally, older people in Indonesia, as in Europe, commonly express a preference to live independently and also frequently continue in employment, even when the work may be physically demanding. As Marianti notes, many devote significant portions of whatever pension they may receive to supporting children and grandchildren, rather than the other way around. Understanding this apparent desire for self-reliance requires consideration of whether the uncertainty of children's behaviour and, once their ability to contribute materially to the family has diminished, the threat of marginalization, leaves the elderly little choice.

Thirdly, some of the elderly have no children, not only on account of biological factors, but due to events such as migration, divorce, remarriage, and conflict, that separate or alienate family members and result in *de facto* childlessness. Again, the situation in Indonesian villages conforms to recurring long-term demographic patterns observed in many parts of Europe, in which it has been common for one in five elderly women to be without chil-

dren. Elderly vulnerability in the absence of children, then, is neither a new issue, nor is it something that can be dismissed as concerning only a tiny minority. As Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill shows (on the next page), older people pursue a range of alternative support arrangements, from adoption to patronage and charity, in their attempts to provide themselves with a network of support.

On the positive side, some recent changes suggest that two demographic factors behind childlessness are on the wane. Previous levels of fertility, between four and five births per woman, were in fact relatively low by historical Asian and European standards. Equally, factors that tended to drive down fertility in the 1940s and 1950s, when many of today's elderly were in their prime childbearing years, are now much less potent. Medical intervention appears to have significantly reduced infertility due to pathological causes. The fall in divorce rates by one-third has reduced time out of wedlock and is attributed variously to the impact of education and Islamic institutions. Thus, whilst women on average are now having fewer children, the factors that prevented some 20 per cent from having any children at all are significantly lessened. This shift is encouraging in two respects. One is that it shows that specific health and educational interventions are likely to have positive long-term impacts on the elderly of the future. Second, currently high levels of childlessness amongst today's oldest generation indicate that, at least at a local level, there is likely to be considerable awareness of some specific causes and consequences of elderly vulnerability. In both of these respects the projected increase of elderly Indonesians over the next two decades may not constitute as radical a change as the percentages cited earlier suggest.

Migration and the family

On the negative side, the factors that limit the capacity of children to assist elderly kin and encourage *de facto* childlessness may be increasing. As Van Eeuwijk notes, migration will be responsible for many more elderly people landing in less healthy urban environments. The young continue to dominate migration streams, but the incentive for the elderly to move increases, as many of the agricultural roles they fulfilled in the past are disappearing under the impact of agricultural commercialization. The increasing distances between family members tend to make enduring networks more difficult to build or maintain. Meanwhile, due to the continuing absence of norms which fix the responsibility for elderly care on particular children, the

distant homes, better education, and improved economic status that many children acquire will not accrue as benefits to their parents, but will instead lead to further alienation.

It thus becomes crucial to identify specific points of intervention that could assist local experience. For example, we know that the pensions some elderly receive are redistributed to needy kin; these elderly may not be much better off in material terms, but their capacity to fulfil respected social and familial roles is transformed. While rising numbers of the elderly poor are receiving modest pensions, the benefits of this need to be considered in light of people's social as well as economic well-being. It is in the area of advocacy for adequate yet affordable social protection for the elderly that national and international non-governmental organizations (e.g., Yayasan Emong Lansia, HelpAge International) as well as – mainly Islamic – religious organizations can, and sometimes already do, play an important role.

Improvements in the factors underlying elderly vulnerability raise the question of whether interventions could be addressed to other specific issues, such as self-sufficiency. Particularly important are health interventions that would ensure improvements in elderly mobility and the treatment of sight impairments.

In the absence of concerted public programmes to assist the elderly poor, it may well be that only Islamic and other religious institutions will have the moral authority and organizational capabilities to respond to the inevitable shortcomings of family-based welfare. ◀

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By Philip Kreager

United Nations (2002) data predict that the percentage of Indonesians over the age of 60 will rise from 7 to 8 per cent of the population today to 13 per cent in 2025. Comparable shifts in Europe took fifty years in the case of Britain and over a century in France. Not only is the speed of change remarkable, the scale of the Indonesian situation is mind-boggling. Due to a still rapidly growing national population, in absolute terms elderly numbers will increase by 300 to 400 per cent, while the approximately 16 million people over 60 already constitute the seventh largest elderly population in the world today.

Meanwhile, as the essays by Ruly Marianti and Peter van Eeuwijk show (on pages 14 and 15), government policy regarding health and welfare provision remains inadequate. Pensions, for example, reach scarcely more than 10 per cent of the workforce. Recent plans by the Indonesian government to introduce a 'universal' social insurance system in fact only aim at the minority of formal-sector workers; the most vulnerable will continue to be excluded. In short, the majority of older people will continue to depend on their family networks, community organizations, and ultimately themselves.

Community organizations

The contributions of family networks should not, of course, be underestimated. They remain fundamental in all societies but are subject to other constraints, such as adult children's need to educate their offspring, or restrictions imposed by class, status, distance, and other limitations. Where impoverishment is enforced by these constraints, community structures may step in. Amongst the majority of Indonesians, these structures are by tradition centred on the mosque, which now appears to be playing an increasingly active role. While Hindu and Christian organizations may be important, the sheer size of the Muslim population leaves the scope for religious influence at national and community

levels preponderantly with Islam. This influence can be more subtle than Western policy makers have generally recognized. It is worth remarking, in this respect, that the influence of more radical Islamic organizations in the Muslim world often stems largely from their activities in providing reliable social welfare to the end of fostering a shared sense of moral and political community (Kepel 2002). Issues of poverty and health raised by shifts in population age structure are thus not just about the elderly.

The unpreparedness and even perceived indifference of both the state and family networks towards the high and rising levels of poverty, insecurity, and frailty is becoming part of a wider experience in which people discover which institutions in society are really going to help and which are not. This is an issue of trust that potentially cuts very deep. It concerns not only the elderly, but all those who know them and who witness the inadequacy of traditional and state responses to vulnerability and the consequences thereof.

Family support

Returning for the moment to the standard figures for age-structural shifts, the broad demographics of population ageing in Indonesia appear to be reasonably typical. Life expectancy has risen rapidly to nearly 70 years for women and 65 for men, with further improvements expected. Moreover, as demographers emphasize, the main factor in population ageing is a fall in fertility. In the 1970s and 1980s women had four to five babies on average, but since then fertility levels have declined to an average of just over two (2.27) children per family. In absence of state provision, children in this age of ageing increasingly face the need to assist their longer-living parents and, even, their grandparents. Commentators are generally inclined to view the implications of such figures as less alarming than they would be in Europe, on the assumption that in Asia older people rely not just on children but on joint families and extended kin with responsibility to provide a substantial web of

'Oh, it's nothing, I've just cooked too much'

Patterns of Kin and Community Support

Research >
Indonesia

Despite the lack of formal welfare provisions, it is often assumed that the elderly in rural Indonesia are nonetheless protected by social networks. These networks extend beyond the nuclear family and household by encompassing wider kin and community members. Whether kin and community support are genuine and reliable supplements – even alternatives – to support from children is best examined where dependence on kin and community is greatest, that is, in the absence of support from children. Rural East Java provides an apt setting for such an investigation, as levels of elderly childlessness are high (25 per cent).

By Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill

My ethnographic and quantitative field research on elderly support networks was conducted in a village near Malang in 1999 and 2000. Contrary to expectation, kin support was not automatically forthcoming but had to be carefully negotiated. Moreover, kin support should not be seen as a distinct type of support, operating somewhere in the space between the family and the community. Rather, kin stand in one of three social relationships to an elderly person – relations of filiation, patronage, charity – which are also found among non-relatives. The quality and acceptability of assistance from kin depends on the relationship in which the arrangement is cast; this in turn is affected by the social and economic status of those involved, and their willingness and ability to invest materially and practically in relationships.

Anak angkat

Most societies have more or less institutionalized mechanisms through which adults without offspring gain parenting roles. Across Southeast Asia, adopting or acquiring an *anak angkat* (raised child) is common, though seldom recorded officially. Two-thirds of childless respondents had at one time taken on a child. Most people adopt close relatives because kin are least able to refuse the request for a child. Moreover, by entrusting a relative with their child, biological parents can maintain contact with their offspring. Herein lies the adoptive parents' greatest vulnerability, as the continued contact with the family of origin often leads to conflicting loyalties and the breakdown of the created filial link. Some elderly go to great lengths to protect their ties to *anak angkat* – by moving villages or providing generous inheritances. Nonetheless, almost half of all adoptions fail, with the child ultimately feeling no particular obligation towards its adoptive parents. Even where a child's loyalty is not in question, support in the desired manner may not be forthcoming (see also Keasberry 2002:238ff). Children, be they adopted or one's own, are considered at best unreliable sources of old-age assistance: they may move away, be unsuccessful, or have other priorities. This means that most elderly, with or without children, are potentially dependent on kin and community support.

A better outcome is achieved by wealthy individuals of high social standing who 'adopt' younger relatives – typically a grandchild – late in life, when the former are in need of support. Such cases are essentially contractual care arrangements



An elderly childless woman with her adopted son (a great-nephew) and the son's child.



An elderly woman in her small shop, which she opened in her seventies.

A sign advertising a doctor who treats childless couples: 'Medical treatment by Mr Arnaz for husbands and wives who don't have offspring. Opening hours Friday to Monday, 9 am to 8 pm.'

involving a relative who would not otherwise be expected to help. Mutual obligations are made explicit – material wealth in exchange for old-age care – but the elderly person avoids losing face by couching the relationship in the idiom of filiation (*anak angkat*).

Patron-client relations

Most elderly in rural Java, irrespective of whether they have children, are concerned with maintaining independence in old age (Schröder-Butterfill 2002). For the majority (80 per cent) of elderly without pensions, land, or savings, the ability to preserve economic autonomy is premised on continued access to work. This is not trivial, as competition for work is



high and most unskilled occupations require physical strength or capital (cf. Breman and Wiradi 2002). Hence poor elderly people's access to income often rests on long-established labour relations with wealthy individuals (or patrons) prepared to continue employing them when they are no longer optimally productive.¹ As an avenue to old-age security, patronage – from a member of kin or the local community – can provide not only employment but also support after 'retirement'. Thus it is not uncommon for an elderly domestic servant to stay on in the household of her boss and receive material and practical assistance until she dies. By emphasising mutually beneficial exchanges, kin and neighbours of differing social and economic status can interact without upsetting Javanese sensitivities regarding hierarchy (*sungkan*) and without invoking overt connotations of charity. For example, one poor childless elderly respondent was employed by a rich nephew to work a plot of land; in addition to receiving

a wage he was encouraged to keep most of the produce. The support did not take the form of a 'pure gift', but of payment in exchange for services, even if these were largely symbolic. The elderly man could thereby retain moral and material autonomy which would vanish were he simply handed money or food.

Charity

Community charity is often invoked as a safety net of last resort for the elderly who are no longer independent and who lack support from a child, adopted or their own. The institution of *zakat* is one instance of charity: rich villagers donate rice and money which is then redistributed by the mosque. Other forms of charity include occasional gifts of food, money, or inexpensive medicine by neighbours or distant kin. For example, women will often take a plate of food to a poorer neighbour, playing it down with a comment like, 'oh, it's nothing – I've just cooked too much'. Food is also distributed as part of ritual celebrations (*slametan*), and although such gifts are not understood as charity, they can be important sources of indirect support. For example, 91 per cent of poor households stated that they only consumed meat as part of a *slametan* meal.

Zakat, occasional gifts, and ritual exchanges alleviate material need but are insufficient to guarantee a living for those without independent income. For the elderly poor who have failed to create and maintain close links with children, grandchildren, or patrons, the provision of food and shelter by a diffuse network of neighbours and kin may become the main source of livelihood. This form of unidirectional charity is motivated by pity and condescension and entails dramatic loss of status, autonomy, and social participation of the recipient. Moreover, charitable support is premised on the recipient not falling seriously ill, as physical care and expensive medicine are generally not forthcoming (see also Marianti, in press). Once incapacitated, elderly who rely on charity quickly die.

As we have seen, Javanese villagers are typically part of social networks involving family, kin, and community. Yet the extent to which these networks entail reliable forms of old-age support depends on individual success in creating special, personalized bonds with specific network members. By adopting a relative, people come closest to fashioning the unique parent-child bond from which assistance in old age may most readily be expected. Provision by a rich patron is an acceptable alternative to filial support. Patron-client relations, despite being hierarchical, are often viewed positively, because they are rooted in reciprocal exchanges and thus avoid outright dependence. Least reliable and most socially damaging is support from a diffuse network of kin and neighbours, where notions of personalized obligation and mutual respect are lacking. <

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Notes >

- 1 Patronage is construed broadly here to include any hierarchical, dyadic relationship involving reciprocal obligations that are not merely economic but entail mutual social and 'political' responsibilities, like loyalty.

‘You can bite it, but it’s tough!’ Pensions for Widows in Indonesia

Research >
Indonesia

For most Indonesians in times of hardship, there is no alternative to seeking assistance from family or neighbours. A fortunate few are entitled to formal social protection: civil servants, military men, industrial workers and their dependants – approximately six million employees or 11.5 per cent of the Indonesian labour force (Esmara and Tjiptoherijanto 1986:56). Despite their small number these beneficiaries should not be overlooked when examining old-age security: their situation throws into sharp relief what the majority of Indonesians are excluded from, namely, direct access to state resources. Entitlement to social insurance shapes the importance of other sources of support, as pension incomes enable recipients to solve financial problems without depending too heavily on other sources of income and people.



These pensioner women belong to a pensioners' organization (PWRI) and meet once a month.

By Ruly Marianti

This article, which focuses on pensioned widows, results from research on support for widows in urban Java (Marianti 2002). The dynamic interactions between recipients and providers of support are central to this research. The study involved qualitative and quantitative fieldwork between 1997 and 1999 in Malang, an East Javanese city with a population of 800,000. Malang gains its income chiefly from manufacturing and retail, but the city is also home to several universities and army barracks. Among the research population of 111 widows almost one-third are pensioners: a relatively high proportion that reflects the urban setting of the research. Most pensioner widows are entitled to their pensions because they were married to civil servants or army members; only two were themselves part of the state apparatus.

The Indonesian pension system

No universal system of social protection exists in Indonesia. Those covered by pensions fall under one of three schemes: (1) A voluntary employer-sponsored pension programme, mainly found in public enterprises. (2) A mandatory social security programme (JAMSOSTEK, Jaminan Sosial Tenaga Kerja) providing pensions as well as insurance against illness and disability. Meant to cover all employees in the formal sector working for businesses with over ten employees or a monthly payroll of over one million rupiah (over EUR 100), it is, in theory, enforced by the Ministry of Manpower (Ramesh 2000:537). (3) The state-run pension programme for members of the civil service, armed forces, and the police consisting of three benefits: the actual pension ensuring a stream of post-retirement annuities, a lump-sum paid upon retirement, and post-retirement health care (Leechor 1996:24). Nevertheless, these pension schemes have undeniable weaknesses, such as low returns on investments and high administrative costs, which could endanger the state's ability to meet future pension obligations. Moreover, none of these programmes can be categorized as 'mandatory public pension plans', which are normally financed by a payroll tax on a pay-as-you-go basis (ibid:3).

Given the bureaucratic processes involved, many widows acknowledge the impossibility of applying for pensions without assistance from, for example, sons, sons-in-law, or members of pensioner organizations. The procedure normally takes two to three months. Aside from personal or practical difficulties, such as illiteracy, physical restrictions on mobility, or unfamiliarity with bureaucracy, the applicants are usually not confronted with serious problems. The widows' rights to their husbands' pensions are protected by law and generally respected by the parties involved.

The economic importance of pensions

Compared to non-pensioners, pensioners are generally better off. Although not a large sum of money – in the region of Rp. 300,000 to 500,000 (EUR 30 to 50) for widows – the pension is a stable source of income that allows beneficiaries a measure of economic independence. Using indicators like ownership of luxury goods (e.g. radios, televisions, refrigerators), my study shows that pensioners often enjoy greater purchasing power. The impact of pensions on widows' economic positions is also reflected by the fact that fewer pensioners still work (38 per cent versus 53 per cent for non-pensioners).

Like Indonesian widows generally, pensioner widows represent a heterogeneous group cutting across socio-economic strata. Consequently, they use their pensions in different ways. Some divert a significant part of their pension to support their families (see also Schröder-Butterfill 2003). One widow said that she had to provide an interest-free loan to her son whenever he needed additional working capital.

Turning now to the degree of dependence on pensions, two categories may be distinguished: pensioners who depend on their pensions as their main source of income (87 per cent) and pensioners who have other sources and consider their pension to be additional income (13 per cent). In reality, gradations of dependence can be discerned, largely determined by two factors: the widow's life stage and health condition. Pensioners who depend entirely on their pension are often



older and have health problems. Most are acutely aware that their pension income is limited and that their purchasing power is threatened by inflation. Nonetheless, it is usually not their first coping strategy to try and generate other income. After all, one of the most serious obstacles faced by elderly widows is their physical inability to work. Instead they are forced to change consumption patterns to make ends meet. Pensioners who run businesses (e.g. shops or lodging houses) can afford to consider their pension as income to be spent on gifts, to be lent out, or simply as *buat tambah-tambah* (additional money). A few individuals in this group could theoretically lose their pension without experiencing serious financial decline.

Widows still burdened with young children or grandchildren find it difficult to manage on the limited pension for recurring costs, especially school fees. However, other advantages associated with a pension – such as the right to apply for credit at the Pensioner's Bank – may enhance their children's chances of gaining a better education. Most of the pensioners' children have finished at least secondary school; some are even university graduates. A key factor is their parents' stable income: first their father's salary (or pension) and later their mother's widow's pension.

In an uncertain economic climate, the main advantage of a pension clearly lies in the monthly receipt of a reliable income. This is something for which pensioner widows are rightly envied by their non-pensioner peers. Although pensioners and non-pensioners expressed similar ideas about economic problems, their evaluation of insecurity differs. When asked about hardships caused by uncertain or fluctuating income, 41 per cent of non-pensioners but only 16 per cent of pensioners acknowledge regularly confronting such problems. The two groups also differ in their perception of their current financial condition, especially when asked to make comparisons with their situation before widowhood.

Without a doubt, a pension can guarantee a certain amount of stability and independence for pensioners and their families. The extent to which pensions can provide real protection from economic problems or facilitate improvements in economic conditions depends on the actual problems faced by beneficiaries. The greatest beneficiaries are widows with the fewest economic responsibilities: those who do not need to provide economic support to relatives, who do not rent a house or have debts, and who do not suffer from serious illness. Nonetheless, all widows agreed that regardless of the amount of money involved, it was better to be entitled to a pension than not. In their words, pensions represented an income which could be *dicokot-cokot alot*: 'you can bite it, but it's tough'. <

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Growing Old in the City

Research >
Indonesia

Indonesia is the fastest-ageing society in Asia. While in Western Europe and North America substantial demographic transformations took place over 100 years, in Indonesia these processes have occurred within just 25 years. The health status of a growing number of Indonesian urban elderly is increasingly being affected by rapid changes of lifestyle and adverse environmental conditions in cities. They perceive chronic illnesses as processes leading to immobility, uncertainty, and helplessness. As HelpAge International (2002: 7) sharply concludes: 'For older people in the developing world, personal health consistently ranks alongside material security as a priority concern.' Our case study shows how the urban elderly are experiencing their chronic illness in times when limited means of social and economic security are becoming gradually more unreliable and insufficient.



Monthly medical check-up for elderly citizens: patiently waiting for blood pressure reading in a health district centre (Tomohon, Minahasa, North Sulawesi, Indonesia).

ther physical and mental complications, ranging from dementia to progressive health deterioration and physical handicap (e.g. diabetes, hypertension). Finally, illnesses classed as 'worrying' are those that show indistinct causes, unclear effects, and an uncertain illness course (e.g. heart problems, lung complaints). In a second round, these categories were then used as guiding questions in the subsequent structured interview where the interviewee assessed the quality of his or her chronic illness and stated the reason for the assessment. Three-quarters of the elderly consider their chronic illnesses as disturbing, but only 50 per cent consider them 'threatening' and 'worrying'. As one elderly man with eye problems put it: 'I feel disturbed when I try to read the newspaper or a book; everything looks blurred. Also when I am walking in the street, I don't feel very safe any more. As a consequence it is difficult for me as head of neighbourhood to fulfil my duties. But at least I am still able to see enough, and therefore why should I feel afraid? After all, these are only the eyes that are shaky ... so, I don't worry about it!'

Urban elderly and the meaning of chronic illness

Interdisciplinary research involving medical anthropology and public health was carried out over a period of three years in three cities in North Sulawesi, namely, Manado, Tahuna, and Tomohon. The locations reflect different degrees of ethnic and religious heterogeneity and varying stages of urbanism. The lower age limit for inclusion in the study was 60 years. This corresponds with the official definition by the Indonesian Department of Health of *orang lansia* (an acronym for *orang lanjut usia*, 'people of advanced age').

Biomedical check-ups revealed that the 'burden of disease' of the urban elderly has actually turned into a 'double burden of disease'. They suffer from both non-communicable (e.g. hypertension, rheumatism, diabetes) and communicable diseases (e.g. acute respiratory infections, malaria, tuberculosis). The most frequently self-reported complaints were rheumatism, eye complaints, diabetes, hypertension, and stomach troubles. Furthermore, respondents complained that physicians disregarded the adverse effects of impaired vision and mobility and of hearing and dental problems on their quality of life.

By means of a first round of semi-structured interviews, in which elderly respondents made general and unspecified statements on their experience and meaning of chronic illnesses, we constructed three comprehensive categories of illness perception. Firstly, there are so-called 'disturbing' illnesses that hinder daily household tasks and most social and economic activities (e.g. rheumatism, eye complaints, asthma). Then there are illnesses perceived as 'threatening' which are related to fur-

Health-related afflictions of the elderly in urban life

Urban life in North Sulawesi bears many health hazards for elderly people. They ascribe the following qualities of affliction to their illness perceptions: a disturbing illness may gradually lead to immobility and inactivity, a threatening illness to insecurity, suffering, and disability, and a worrying illness to uncertainty and helplessness. However, 'urban values' such as mobility, physical activity and ability, mental sharpness, and a degree of individual autonomy are essential requirements to make it in harsh city life. When the above-mentioned 'urban virtues' can no longer be maintained due to health disturbances, elderly people feel that their lives are greatly impaired – and only then do they consider themselves as 'old'. Along with the lack of reliable socio-economic support systems, the bodily and mental afflictions finally lead to a set of wide-ranging hardships that include dependency, poverty, loneliness, and social exclusion. In the minds of elderly respondents the ageing process and illness causality are closely connected. Eighty per cent consider their

current health disturbances to be the result of their advanced age. Rheumatism, eye complaints, and diabetes are clearly attributed to getting older. The afflicted elderly give two main explanations for this connection. On the one hand, their body is 'limp', 'weak', and 'not resistant any longer' and therefore vulnerable towards health hazards that do not harm a young and strong body. A 79-year-old rheumatic widow offers this explanation: 'You know, my old body is weak, my bones are weak, my muscles are weak, my joints are weak – because of this I have rheumatism! I am a very old person, that's why I am suffering from rheumatism.' On the other hand, 20 per cent consider their chronic ill-health to be caused by detrimental behaviour (e.g. smoking, drinking alcohol) and harmful activities and conditions in earlier stages of their life (such as hard physical work and famine). These bad habits and events result in health disturbances that appear in old age and lead to chronic illnesses.

Urban elderly persons' access to biomedical health services and professional health care including long-term care is limited due to monetary and psychological costs, transport difficulties, and lack of information. Public district health centres, prescription-only drugs sold freely in kiosks, and traditional herbal medicines are their most common therapeutic choice. The urban elderly hope for an increasing commitment on the part of biomedicine to

their persistent chronic illnesses. Their expectations clearly contradict current medical anthropology discourses on ongoing medicalization. <

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By Peter van Eeuwijk

Growing numbers of Indonesians are reaching old age. While one would hope that this should lead to an extended lifespan in a healthy state, many elderly are in fact exposed to diseases associated with the ageing process, and their vulnerability increases in line with their age. Important epidemiological transformations in Southeast Asia mean that the health profile is gradually shifting from communicable and acute diseases to non-communicable chronic and progressive ailments, injuries, and mental illnesses.

Urbanization is also progressing rapidly in Southeast Asia. In only two decades, 65 per cent of Southeast Asians are expected to be city dwellers. Urban growth and population ageing are strongly correlated: by 2015 about 50 per cent of the elderly in developing countries will live in urban areas (World Health Organization 1998). This socio-spatial transformation goes hand in hand with rapid lifestyle changes. Most urban elderly face environmental deterioration, declining social and economic support, poverty, and a hostile physical environment. In sum, these changes and conditions have a negative effect on the health of the urban elderly, generally resulting in a low quality of life.

Graeme Hugo (2000: 318) points out that the well-being of elderly Indonesians today is framed by three essential conditions. Firstly, traditional support systems no longer guarantee security for the elderly. Secondly, the Indonesian government does not provide substitute support for the elderly. Finally, the elderly's own resources are insufficient to compensate for inadequacies in familial and state support. This 'triangle of uncertainty' turns into a 'worst case scenario' when the elderly person gets ill or is in need of long-term care. In fact, many elderly Indonesians are ailing: 75 per cent suffer from chronic diseases such as hypertension, arthritis, ulcers, and back pain (Koesoebjono and Sarwono 2003:392). In addition, many are ill with eye and ear impairments and dental problems. Yet, as Boedhi-Darmojo (2002) reveals, a great majority can neither find access to adequate health care nor afford it.



Elderly widow (with granddaughter and neighbour) who can't walk properly is guarding the kiosk of her daughter (Tomohon, Minahasa, North Sulawesi, Indonesia).

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A Post-Colonial Poet with a Quest for Identity

Interview with Malaysian Literary Laureate, Muhammad Haji Salleh

Research >
Southeast Asia

Muhammad Haji Salleh is a leading poet of Malaysia and one of the country's literary laureates. Writing both in Malay and English, Muhammad has devoted his life to the development of the Malaysian literary tradition. He has not only distinguished himself as a poet but also as a literary scholar.

By Md. Salleh Yaapar

As a post-colonial poet and a professor of literature, Muhammad is known for his passionate quest for identity. He first started writing poetry, in both English and Malay, when he was studying in Britain in the early sixties. Having established himself as a writer, he virtually stopped producing poems in English, and henceforth has exerted his creative energy mainly on writing poetry within the national literary tradition. As a scholar, he also devotes his time to the difficult search for Malay poetics.

With the colonial heritage as a springboard, Muhammad embarks on a homeward journey in quest for identity and roots. In fact, this quest is the hallmark of his poems as reflected especially in the outstanding collections of *Sajak-sajak Pendatang* (Poems of the Outsider, 1973), *The Travel Journals of Si Tenggang II* (1979), *Time and Its People* (1978), *Sajak-sajak dari Sejarah Melayu* (Poems from the Malay Annals, 1981), and *Rowing Down Two Rivers* (2000). To the poet, it is necessary for one within a transitional society to be as open and

international as possible. But, in being open it is important not to abandon one's tradition and lose one's identity. The ideal is to strike a balance. Muhammad's poems reveal that negotiating such a balance in defining oneself and one's roots could be a difficult and painful process.

Muhammad was in Leiden from 1993 to 1995 as the first holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies. Last May he returned to present a paper at the International Seminar on Malay Literature jointly organized by the IIAS and the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), Malaysia. During the opening ceremony, Muhammad read a selection of his poems.

In between my chores as seminar convenor, I had an opportunity to interview him at the Faculty Club while he was sipping coffee among friends and catching up with old times.

MSY:

1. The poem 'the circle of the road of return' seems to reflect your fond memories of the campus and your many colleagues, some of whom are here today. Could you describe some of the significant

observations you made and the experiences of your stay and the impact these had on you?

MHS:

I came to Leiden as an academic and as a poet, and was lucky in being able to perform both functions. I transcribed the *Sulalat al-Salatin* (Malay Annals), worked on the translations of my poems, and wrote quite a few papers. My fondest memories were both working in the KITLV and university libraries; two of the best libraries in my field. Dutch scholarship in Malay-Indonesian Studies was also dynamic. Interest in new theories was subsequently reflected in their studies and writings on the archipelago. In Leiden I was more theory-conscious, and became more aware of the mode of Malay-Indonesian thought on literature. My book *Puitika Sastera Melayu* (Malay Literary Poetics) partly grew from this consciousness.

MSY:

2. Now, about your poetry. From my reading, the theme of the quest for identity, of defining oneself, seems to be central to your poems both in Malay and in

English. To me, this quest is interesting, but rather problematic. It is difficult to express, and many readers have difficulties in understanding you.

MHS:

Having lived in many countries in Europe and Asia, these countries, their languages and literary cultures, have seeped into my natural desire to get the best out of them. At the same time, having been a foreigner for such a long time, I always had to define myself both as Malaysian as well as a citizen of a bigger world. One does not appreciate one's uniqueness when one lives in the home country. But, when one lives somewhere else, one searches hard for one's identity, difference, as well as possible contribution to the world. It is interesting that I learnt more of Malaysian worldviews and ideas on literature in Europe and other parts of Asia. So to begin with, it was not a simple life that I led, and the person grown on these different earths was equally complex, or even confused.

When I was the Director of the Institute of Malay World and Civilization [Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Malaysia] my whole life was directed towards defining the Malay – searching out his epistemology, his sense of beauty and poetics. This search was also embarked on by the other part of me, the poet. My favourite works in Malay-Indonesian literature are the proverbs, the pantuns, and *Sulalat al-Salatin*.¹ Thus, I searched out my roots among their pages and words. As you know, I have written a whole volume of poems based on the chapters of *Sulalat al-Salatin*, reworking and reinterpreting passages, characters, and situations. I have also appropriated the metaphor and legend of the prodigal son, Si Tenggang, not only for my own predicament, but, I think, also for those who must face both the new and the old in order to be a modern person. I think my life contains too many settings and scenes, too many countries as backgrounds and starting points, which may present some difficulties to some readers.

MSY:

3. I am still fascinated with *The Travel Journals of Si Tenggang II*. As you may remember, I wrote about it twelve years ago. In this collection, you invoke the image of Si Tenggang. According to legend, having left his poor and ugly parents years ago, the lost son returned to his native village at the command of a ship, and with a beautiful wife, too. Rejecting his parents, he was cursed by his mother, and together with the ship, he was turned into a stone. You consider yourself the second Si Tenggang. In the lead poem – 'si tenggang's homecoming' – you declare yourself a stranger who is freed from the soil. However, compared to the original Si Tenggang, yours is not a total assertion. To me, the poem reveals some inner conflict.

MHS:

The Tenggang we are dealing with is not the first generation, but the fictional son. This son is partly a traveller like his father. But, he was not a merchant, rather a student, one interested in cultures, in identities, in similarities and differences, and fortunately also in con-

tributing to his homeland. He came back as a person with a broader horizon, no longer fully Malaysian, in the traditional sense. In a way, all of us are Si Tenggang II, for we have come away from the village and have learnt other ways, and are not returning home whole. It is this dilemma of trying to get the best out of the two worlds, and at the same time to remain sane, that is the difficult part he has to negotiate.

Yes, Si Tenggang II is partly me too, as I wrote the poem on my return from the US. In that country, I had to define myself as a Malaysian. On my return I had to define myself again – the new Malaysian who was proud of his roots, but proud too that he has been part of a bigger world. Yes, this poem reflects also, as you say, the inner conflict, or perhaps the difficult mix that is me, the new Malaysian. It may be seen as a poem written in self-defence and self-definition.

MSY:

4. This search for one's roots and the need to define oneself, why are these so important? Has it to do with the colonial experience, or the post-colonial situation, and the fact that Malaysian society is undergoing a rapid change?

MHS:

I think you have put your finger on two of the most important points. Firstly, as a colonized people, we were a conquered people. Our land and ways were looked down upon as inferior. Our language was replaced. Our traditional works were not taught in school, and our civilization put on ice.

It is also quite ironic that I was awakened to feelings of anti-colonialism in Western countries. In these countries, you find a greater freedom to think and act compared to what was granted to us when we were under them. While in Malaysia I was taught that the greatest literature was English, but in England itself, I discovered some other literatures were equally great.

While I was a student in Singapore, my poems were fighting ones, in trying to define the Malayan and the Singaporeans, vis-à-vis the British. It is a shame that before we could even define ourselves this great tsunami of globalization almost swept us all away. What little gain we made we are going to lose in the next generation. Sadly, we have become mere crass, consumers par excellence, more insensitive than the westerners. We have even marginalized our own language and culture to make way for English and popular culture.

MSY:

5. Am I right then in referring to you as a post-colonial poet, one who is intensely engaged in a dialogue with his colonial heritage, and negotiating, so to speak, between the periphery and the centre?

MHS:

Yes, I have always been interested in theories and have written about post-colonialism in Malaysian literature and have come to realize that I was and am quite involved in deconstructing the colonialism within myself, my past. Having reacted quite strongly against the stifling British educational policy, I stopped writing poetry in the English

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language as a political statement of my total return to the language that was marginalized and humiliated by the British. The British educational system prescribed that Malay could only be used for the primary school level. So I was disconnected from the language, my intellectual language was English, and it stayed there for a long time until I taught myself to write in modern Malay, for more than 40 years. A choice of a mother tongue over a colonial language is a traumatic choice for people like me who went to school in that language.

Many of my poems return to the fifteenth-century Melaka, the contemporary traditional village, the market, which still keep the character of the Malaysians. These are post-colonial poems – the poet who has been colo-

england in the spring

I

the arctic winds howl through the crotch of march
wildly sweeping the night's litter.
newspapers with faded truths
plastic containers unmanaged by civilization
let the city's dust and sin
settle over the streets' gravel and ancient drains.
time has lost its sun.

i come to north london
passing by cold chaotic indian sundry shops
that sit precariously on the edge of finchley,
a bright japanese mini-market
is made up by the advertisement's moods.

the wind that chases
among the dark lanes
scratches the city's self,
turns our eyes that we may see ourselves,
we who always examine with disillusionment.

II

in the dim lanes
i meet a stranger from a continent
built by the sun,
history and need
brought him here,
making him a sceptical british
the shops and the bright saris
are reminders of a past century,
a history and times edges
blending sand and currents,
flow and move like the oceans,
dashing limestone cliffs and river mud,
chaining jamaicans to boats
bestowing dreams on hong kong coffee shop owners,
or a quiet exile for ugandan cloth merchants.
time's ditch rushes in between.

now on the lanes of the municipal houses,
a caribbean boy falls in love with a punk girl,
a welsh is hugging a punjabi women.
all make love in cockney.

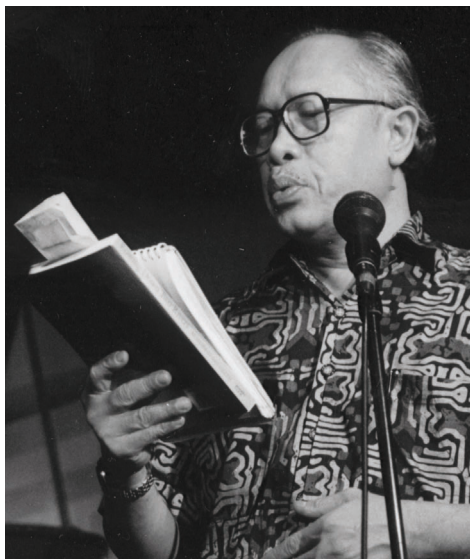
greek children queue up
for the oily chinese fried rice.
in the restaurant the father steals meat
from his shrinking souvlaki.
northern Indian tandoori perfumes a whole street,
merging into the odour of fish 'n' chips.
promptly he curses the smell of spices.

the grey eyes of the english stare
upon the fog and history's break-point,
they have learnt to be angry or accepting
that history must be paid with history,
sins collected
in a hundred island and states,
must be expiated in the centre of london,
in the dirty mills of birmingham
or the news-stands of oxford.

Biography >

Professor Muhammad Haji Salleh (b.1942) studied at the universities of Singapore, of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, and of Michigan in Ann Arbor, obtaining a PhD in 1973. He has taught at various universities in Malaysia as well as in Michigan, North Carolina, Leiden, Hamburg, and Kyoto, and was a Senior Fulbright Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley. He was Director of the Institute of Malay World and Civilization, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. At present, he is Professor of Literature at the Universiti Sains Malaysia. As a poet, critic, translator, editor, and professor of literature, he has published more than 35 books in both Malay and English, including 12 volumes of poems, while also being for more than 25 years the Chief Editor of *Tenggara: Journal of Southeast Asian Literature*.

Salleh has received many national prizes for his poetry and criticism/theory, and was named Literary Laureate of Malaysia in 1991. Among his international awards are ASEAN Literary Award 1977, SEA Write Award 1997, and MASTERA (Southeast Asia Literary Council) Award 2001.
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Muhammad Haji Salleh, 2003

nized has come home, and found himself there. Some of my poems even deal directly with England as in 'england in the spring' contained in *Rowing Down Two Rivers*.

I think I have another side of the post-colonial. As a student of literature, I worked out projects to retrieve the important achievements of my people – I collected and am still collecting pantuns throughout the archipelago, sought out traditional concepts in life and literature, transcribed some old and rare texts. These I think, humbly, are also acts of post-colonialism.

MSY:

6. *You are also known for your dedication to the culture of the Malay world. In fact, there are people who think that your frame of reference is purely Malay, not Malaysian.*²

MHS:

As I mentioned earlier, the involvement in Malaysian culture was both a journey of return to my Malaysian roots, and a desire to work in fields that I notice are of great importance but yet not worked on – theory of Malay literature, the pantuns, the great books etc. But, I want to be known as a Malaysian writer rather than just Malay, because though my references are mostly to the Malays, who have been the subject of my study for over 40 years, I also deal with the other ethnic Malaysian groups. Certainly, I plan to write more for

Malaysians as a whole, represent them more, express their unique worlds.

MSY:

7. *Finally, your Rowing Down Two Rivers seems to reflect your identity as a Malaysian poet with a global outlook, and one who has been enriched by both tradition and modernity. Any comments?*

MHS:

This is a selection from my poetic output since 1973. Perhaps reading through these poems one can feel the horizon of the poet. I tend to go in and out of tradition and am inspired by the new language and tone of international writing, of which I feel I am a part. But, the music of old Malay sings within me, influences the sounds I string on paper. I have a feeling that my English is lighter in its emotional content, and grittier in its sounds, but of course less so than the English poet. <

Prof. Md. Salleh Yaapar is the current holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies of the IIAS. Prior to this, he was Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research and Development), Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. His area of specialization is Malay and Comparative Literature. His publications include *Mysticism and Poetry: A Hermeneutical Reading of the Poems of Amir Hamzah and Ziarah Ke Timur (Pilgrimage to the Orient)*.
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Notes >

- 1 Pantun is a Malay verse form with a rhyme scheme of abab, with the first couplet foreshadowing the meaning contained in the second couplet. There are varieties of pantun, including the six-line pantun and the linked pantun, but the common form is the independent quatrain. The linked pantun has given rise to the Western pantoum, first created by nineteenth-century French poets. Although it has its origins in the Malay pantun, it is a separate genre with separate definition and characteristics.
- 2 Malays form the dominant ethnic group of Malaysia. The term Malaysians, however, designates citizens of Malaysia, thus: Malays, people of Chinese and Indian descents, and others.

Editors' note >

The full version of the above excerpt of the interview can be found on:
www.iias.nl

si tenggang's homecoming

I

the physical journey that i traverse
is a journey of the soul,
transport of the self from a fatherland
to a country collected by sight and mind,
the knowledge that sweats from it
is a stranger's knowledge,
from one who has learnt to see, think
and choose between
the changing realities.

II

it's true i have growled at my mother and grandmother
but only after having told of my predicament
that they have never brought to reason.
the wife that i begun to love in my loneliness,
in the country that alienated me
they took to their predecisions
i have not entirely returned, i know,
having been changed by time and place,
coarsened by problems
estranged by absence.

III

but look,
i have brought myself home,
seasoned by confidence,
broadened by land and languages,
i am no longer afraid of the oceans
or the differences between people,
not easily fooled
by words or ideas.

the journey was a loyal teacher
who was never tardy
in explaining cultures or variousness
look, i am just like you,
still malay,
sensitive to what i believe is good,
and more ready to understand
than my brothers.
the contents of these boats are yours too
because i have returned.

IV

travels made me
a seeker who does not take
what is given without sincerity
or that which demands payments from beliefs.
the years at sea and coastal states
have taught me to choose,
to accept only those tested by comparison,
or that which matches the words of my ancestors,
which returns me to my village
and its perfection.

V

i've learnt
the ways of the rude
to hold reality in a new logic,
debate with hard and loud facts.
but i too am humble, respecting,
man and life.

VI

i am not a new man,
not very different
from you;
the people and cities
of coastal ports
taught me not to brood
over a foreign world,
suffer difficulties
or fear possibilities.

i am you,
freed from the village,
its soils and ways,
independent, because
i have found myself.

India: Caste Stronger than Religion?

Research >
South Asia

Hindu-Muslim tension continues to structure the public arena in India, as the riots in Gujarat brought to the surface a year ago. But at least in the Hindi belt, the repertoire of caste appears to be just as powerful. While communal conflict remains salient, the crystallization of caste identities has redefined the political cleavages of North India. The emergence of caste-based politics has blurred religious divisions, evident in the recent success of political parties that cater to lower-caste voters. Political campaigning for the state elections in four provinces of the Hindi belt this year, vividly illustrates this competition between the two political identities: the religious and the caste-based.

By Christophe Jaffrelot

The politics of identity in India, especially in the Hindi belt, are dominated by ethno-religious conflict. Since 1984, the symbol of these tensions has been Ayodhya. In the sixteenth century, the Moghuls built a mosque in this Uttar Pradesh town, which Hindus regard as the birthplace of the god Ram, and named the structure Babri Masjid, after the first Moghul emperor Babur. Hindu nationalists put claims on the site in order to 'rebuild' a temple dedicated to Ram. This demand became the focus of every election campaign from the late 1980s to the middle of the 1990s, even after militants destroyed the mosque in 1992. This ethno-religious mobilization has exacerbated conflict between Hindus and Muslims.

Hindus vs. Muslims

Clashes were already commonplace during the colonial period. Ever since Muslims organized a movement in defence of the Caliphate in the 1920s, the Hindu majority has felt threatened from within by the presence of a pan-Islamic fifth column. Hindu nationalism builds and feeds on this largely irrational perception of vulnerability, which gained further ground in the 1980s and 1990s, when nourished by the Congress government's leniency towards instances of Islamic mobilization. The Shah Bano affair, conversions of some Untouchables to Islam, and even before that the spectre of the Iranian Revolution, rekindled feelings of vulnerability among sections of the Hindu community, emotions that the Hindu nationalist movement skilfully exploited. The ideology of Hindu nationalism, which equates national identity with Hindu culture, demands that religious minorities, Christians as well as Muslims, show public allegiance to the 'Hindian' identity – for instance



A symbol of caste conflict in India: in Tamil Nadu, the statues of Ambedkar, the first Pan Indian Untouchable leader, are 'caged' to protect them from vandalism.

by paying respect to Ram as a national hero – and that they keep their own religious observances private.

The resurgence of Hindu nationalism was also due to a wave of communal riots which polarized the electorate. With Hindus voting en masse for Hindu nationalist, their self-appointed 'defenders', the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP – Indian People's Party) moved from two seats out of 544 in the People's Assembly in 1984 to 178 seats in 1998. In that year the BJP formed the governing coalition and its leader, A.B. Vajpayee, became Prime Minister. Most of the parties in the coalition, however, did not share the BJP's Hindu nationalist agenda. The coalition contract thus barred the government from challenging the status quo in Ayodhya from the official side.

Following a string of electoral defeats from 1998 to 2002, which ousted the BJP from leadership in all of the main states it had controlled, this policy was increasingly disputed within the party. In Gujarat, BJP Chief Minister Narendra Modi used defeat at the polls to campaign for the party's return to its erstwhile militant stance. When the state experienced unprecedented

Hindu-Muslim riots in early 2002, these turned into anti-Muslim pogroms through the administration's acquiescence and even active participation. Two thousand Muslims were killed during instances of violence that were reminiscent of the ethnic cleansing of Partition half a century before. The ensuing mobilization of the Hindu electorate resulted in a landslide victory for the BJP in December 2002 and the resurgence of militant Hindu identity. Hostility to Islam henceforth fed on the anti-Jihadist discourse prevalent in the world after 11 September 2001.

The political assertion of caste

The political culture of caste has grown in tandem with the spread of Hindu nationalism. These two trajectories are less parallel than dialectical, as they reinforce one another. During the colonial period, and under Nehru's government after 1947, the emancipation of the lower castes was promoted through a system of positive discrimination that the British had devised. The Untouchables benefited from quotas in the assemblies, the civil service, and in education, which spawned a new elite, designated by a novel term. In place of administrative euphemisms such as 'Scheduled Castes' and Gandhi's condescending label 'Harijan', the Untouchables chose for themselves a name, for its shock value, expressing their militant social identity: 'Dalit' (the oppressed).

Independent India's first government also took interest in those categorized just above the Untouchables. Nehru, already in his first speech before the Constituent Assembly, named them the 'Other Backward Classes' (OBC), implying groups 'other' than the 'Scheduled Castes.' In 1953, the first Backward Classes Commission was appointed and assigned the task to identify these groups and to suggest measures that would improve their condition. Its report concluded that the one common denominator behind indicators of social backwardness was: membership of a lower caste. The Other Backward Classes were, in other words, merely a collection of castes. The government rejected the analysis, arguing that an official recognition of caste in this manner would only perpetuate an archaic social institution that was bound to disappear with the modernization of society.

The second Backward Classes Commission was appointed in 1978, owing to Congress' first electoral defeat. A lower-caste leader, B.P. Mandal, became its president. His report again retained caste as the relevant criterion for positive discrimination. It identified 3,743 castes that made up India's Other Backward Classes which, according to him, accounted for 52 per cent of the population. The report recommended reserving for them 27 per cent of civil service posts to promote their social and economic development.

Only after Congress had been ousted for the second time, the new Prime Minister V.P. Singh decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report in 1990. In reaction, the upper castes, especially students, launched violent protests against the sudden diminution of their job opportunities and the outright challenge to the socio-political order they dominated. V.P. Singh's decision and subsequent developments sparked a counter-mobilization, in which the OBC for the first time joined forces to defend their quotas against upper-caste agitation.

In this context of social polarization, the Dalits, previously reluctant to bear the brunt of the backlash against positive discrimination, made an alliance with the OBC. New political parties emerged and formed alliances, such as the Samajwadi Janata Party (Socialist People's Party), claiming to represent the interests of all lower castes, and the Bahujan Samaj Party, whose leader, Kanshi Ram, is a Dalit. All these new political groups fielded scores of lower-caste candidates, in acknowledgement of the fact that the OBC – constituting the relative majority all over India – voted for their own candidates rather than upper-caste notables. As a result, the proportion of OBC elected representatives in northern India climbed from 11 per cent in 1984 to 25 per cent in 1996; that of upper-caste elected officials dropped from 47 to 35 per cent. It was during these years that lower-caste parties seized power in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh; two states where they still reign today.

The involvement of the BJP in the Ayodhya affair is in large part explained by the rising power of the lower castes. The BJP perceived the crystallization of a caste-based movement as a threat to an undivided Hindu community and sought to avert this threat by dissolving this identity within a broader movement stamped with the seal of Hinduism. While the party aimed at attracting lower-caste voters by co-opting lower-caste leaders, its success was rather limited and it continues to appeal disproportionately to upper-caste voters. Interestingly, the BJP stood up to protect the upper castes against low-caste mobilizations while the low-caste parties were gaining momentum. Co-opted lower-caste leaders can deliver smaller numbers of supporters, but, as was evident in the 2001 break away of Kalyan Singh, an OBC leader from Uttar Pradesh, the BJP cannot fully rely on the mechanisms of co-option.

The key election issue: reservations or Ayodhya?

The conflict between these two political identities – the caste-based and Hindu nationalist – will dominate the election year that begins this fall. In December 2003 four states of the Indian Union: Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, and Delhi, will go to the polls. Less than twelve months later the country will hold its fourteenth

general election. In this contest, a shift in the Congress Party towards the repertoire of caste will be a new variable. Congress, which already governs over half the states, is far from exclusively championing the cause of the lower castes. While its Chief Minister in Madhya Pradesh, Digvijay Singh, is campaigning for the OBC quota in the state's civil service to be increased from 14 to 27 per cent, the Chief Minister in Rajasthan, Ashok Gehlot, is promising a quota in the state's administration for the poor from the upper castes. The Congress has introduced the theme of caste – any caste – into its discourse to counter the appeal of Hindutva.

The BJP is in a fix. Extremist components of the Hindu nationalist movement, including the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), pressure the party to return to its strategy of ethno-religious mobilization. In Rajasthan and in Madhya Pradesh, the two most important states going to the poll, VHP leaders have, once again, identified Muslim shrines built atop Hindu temples; state governments, however, have prevented their campaigning.¹ Consequently, the VHP resuscitated the Ayodhya issue following a report by the Archaeological Survey of India, which stated new excavations to prove the prior existence of a Hindu temple at Babri Masjid. Nevertheless, the BJP's central leadership, including Prime Minister Vajpayee, remain reluctant to re-launch the Ayodhya affair for fear of alienating its coalition partners. In September, these partners refused to pass a parliamentary bill on the banning of cow slaughter, yet another Hindu nationalist rally cause. Not only has it been impossible for the BJP to return to its strategy of ethno-religious mobilization, the party has had to accept Congress initiatives such as debate on reservations for the upper castes.

Caste issues may blur Hindutva sentiment, unless BJP propaganda against the Jihadist threat can successfully be instrumentalized. In August, when four bomb attacks killed 52 innocents in Bombay, Vice-Prime Minister L.K. Advani immediately accused Pakistan-based Islamist groups. Many Hindus follow Advani's reading, even though the police found the guilty men to be Indian Muslims anxious to avenge the Gujarat pogrom. In 1999, the BJP thanked its victory in the general elections to the resurgence of patriotic feelings during the Kargil war. It may yet repeat this achievement if it successfully projects itself as the protector of Hindus in a war-like situation against Jihadists and fifth columnists. <

Dr Christophe Jaffrelot is director of the Centre for International Studies and Research and teaches South Asian politics at Sciences-Po, both in Paris. His most recent book was published this year: *India's Silent Revolution. The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India (2003)*.
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Note >

1 In Rajasthan, the VHP concocted that the Muslim shrine of Ajmer is built on a Hindu temple; in Madhya Pradesh it identified a similar site in Dhar district. In response, government took measures to prevent VHP leaders (such as Praveen Togadia, whose discourse spreads venom wherever he goes) from campaigning in their states by Chief Ministers Gehlot and Singh.

Cultures of Confinement

Research >
China

While the history of the prison has become increasingly fashionable in the wake of Michel Foucault's work, most research has tended to focus on Europe and the United States. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that prison reform should be viewed as a global phenomenon, as the penitentiary project was embraced by social and political elites around the world from Rio de Janeiro to Tokyo. As ideas on confinement moved across borders, they were adjusted to specific local conditions: inculturation, rather than acculturation, characterized a penal regime that was inflected in a multiplicity of ways by different modernizing elites. Captured in the overarching rationale based on the idea of humane punishment, the prison was multivalent, capable of being adopted in a variety of mutually incompatible environments, ranging from the *bagne*, in Vietnam, to the cellular prison in China or the concentration camps in South Africa.



Making matchboxes in a Beijing prison

Both photos from Collection Frank Dikötter

By Frank Dikötter

In colonial contexts, prisons were part of the 'civilizing mission', as existing penal practices, which were often based on physical punishment, were viewed as 'barbaric' and 'uncivilized'. However, the transfer of penal discourse and penitentiary institutions was not a one-way process: diversity rather than uniformity characterized the use of the custodial sentence in a variety of colonial contexts, as prisons both changed and adapted to existing notions of crime and punishment. Confinement, in short, acquired specific cultural meanings and social dimensions which long outlived the colonial context. Rather than assigning a passive role to Asia and Africa, historians should point at the acts of resistance or appropriation which actively transformed the penitentiary project. A comparative approach to the history of the prison highlights the extent to which common knowledge was appropriated and transformed by very distinct local styles of expression, dependent on the political, economic, social, and cultural variables of particular institutions and social groups. In China, the abolition of physical punishment and the adoption of the custodial sentence in the early twentieth century is generally interpreted as

the result of a colonial encounter which forced the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) to adopt a modern judicial system in order to obtain the abrogation of extraterritoriality: China had to show foreign powers that it could treat its prisoners 'humanely'. A prehistory of the prison, however, reveals a more complex story.

Confucian confinement

Discontent with the existing legal order based on banishment and physical punishment was already openly expressed in the eighteenth century. Statecraft officials such as Chen Hongmou emphasized the rehabilitation of criminals, proposing that repentance be encouraged while the physical discomforts of punishment like the *cangue* should be reduced. When the first Qing envoys to Europe visited Pentonville Prison in the 1860s, they were full of admiration: confinement appeared to be a viable alternative to banishment, as prisons, it seemed, could more effectively induce repentance (*huiguo*) and self-renewal (*zixin*). Some reformers like Wang Tao even viewed foreign institutions as the modern embodiment of lost Confucian values, writing that 'the excellence of the prison system is what China has never had since the Golden Age.' The prison was widely perceived by reformers as a modern

tool capable of implementing traditional values: the idea of reformation and repentance in confinement – abandoned in Britain and the United States by the end of the nineteenth century – was at the heart of the prison reform movement in twentieth-century China. The Pentonville model was widely adopted across China, except in the International Settlement of Shanghai and in colonial Hong Kong, where faith in the rehabilitative potential of the panopticon was on the decline.

In republican China the prison was a new tool used to pursue a more traditional vision of an ordered and cohesive social body governed by the rule of virtue. Based on a Mencian view of human nature as inherently good, the notion of *ganhua* further sustained the belief that even criminals could achieve individual self-improvement through proper institutional guidance. *Gan* means to feel, to sense, to move or touch a person emotionally by spiritual efforts, 'to work miracles through religious practice' in religion, while *hua* indicates a meaningful transfiguration forwards, 'to change something or someone for the better', a process of moral transformation. Anticipating repentance and moral reformation, the protean term *ganhua* was the core value of penal philosophy in modern China.

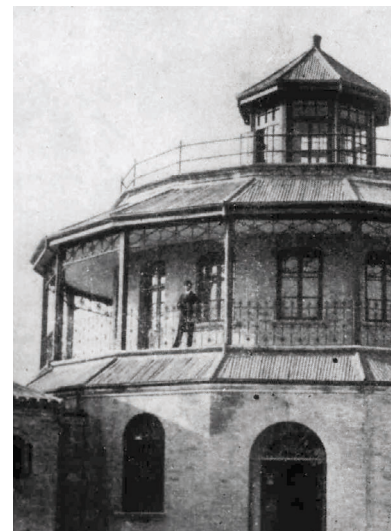
A new penal system: Beijing No.1 Prison

As the ruling elite under the Qing Dynasty started to promote the adoption of European models of government after the disaster of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the compilation of new legal codes as well as reform of the judicial system became a priority. Traditional penalties such as dismemberment of the body, beheading of the corpse, the public display of heads, and tattooing were abolished within a few years, while beating with the bamboo was gradually replaced by fines. With the introduction of a new Criminal Code in 1908, punishments were further limited to the death penalty, imprisonment, or fines. This profound transformation of the regime of punishment entailed an overhaul of the existing detention system: not only should prisons be reformed in line with modern penal principles current in Europe, but their number had to be drastically extended in order to accommodate a rising tide of inmates, as the custodial sentence became the most common form of punishment. The movement for prison reform that appeared at the end of the Qing Dynasty gathered momentum after the fall of the empire in 1911: Beijing No.1 Prison, one of the first model prisons built in China to the highest international standards, opened its doors in 1912. Based on Pentonville Prison, Beijing's model institution was built on a double fan-shaped plan with cellblocks radiating from two central points; warders were then able to see five dif-

ferent rows of cells. Reformation and vocational training were all-important, and workshops were placed across the ends of the cell buildings. Prisoners were graded according to conduct and work: good conduct could lead to extra privileges or even to conditional release. In an emphasis on *ganhua*, religious and moral lectures were given to all the prisoners, either in the prison lecture room or during the noon rest in the workshops. Whereas, in England, lectures were given in chapels, the lecture theatre in the No.1 Prison resembled a public lecture hall, with portraits of the five great teachers on the wall behind the lecturer's platform. These were Confucius, Laozi, Mohammed, Jesus, and John Howard (1726-1790), the English prison reformer.

National regeneration through prison reform

Dozens of similar penal institutions followed, as county magistrates, city mayors, provincial governors, and central governments, with varying degrees of success, actively pursued an extensive programme of prison reform. By the 1930s, over 25,000 prisoners were detained on any one day in China's modern prisons, not counting deten-



Watchtower in the model prison of Beijing

tion houses and county gaols (this was comparable to the prison population of a large European country like France or England). Most modern prisons were found in provincial capitals and large cities, but important regional differences also existed, as a number of poor and isolated provinces in the hinterland did not have a single modern prison while some of the richer provinces along the coast built up relatively sophisticated penal systems. In every case, however, local officials firmly embraced the penitentiary project. Not only could extraterritoriality be reclaimed by the elimination of traditional county gaols – represented as backward, 'uncivilized' and inhumane – but moral parity with the most 'advanced' nations around the globe could be achieved by their replacement with modern, 'scientific' institutions of confinement in which criminal elements would be transformed into dis-

ciplined subjects. Modernizing elites viewed the reformation of criminals as a constitutive part of a project of national regeneration in which social cohesion, economic development, and state power could only be obtained by moulding obedient subjects. While financial and institutional constraints impeded the actual implementation of prison reform, many local authorities nonetheless strove to adhere to agreed prison rules, often using local human and financial resources when insufficient funds were provided by the Ministry of Justice. Prison reform, moreover, was deeply enmeshed with existing cultural values, economic systems, institutional frameworks, political configurations, and competing individual aspirations. Conceived as a benevolent project which upheld the promise of repentance, it was inevitably transformed by these different factors, leading to accommodations and compromises that strayed away from the initial vision of rehabilitative incarceration. As elsewhere, benevolent intentions were subverted by practical constraints as the custodial sentence started to engender as many problems as it had been designed to solve. As Emile Durkheim observed long ago, the core problem of the prison as a form of discipline resides in the lack of inclination of the majority of prisoners to participate in the process of 'reformation': in other institutional situations such as the school or the factory, the individual must to some extent share the goals of the disciplinary process for discipline to be effective.¹ By robbing the prisoner of a sense of self-respect, which is so central to self-discipline, the prison did not produce 'disciplined subjects' but, rather, hardened recidivists. <

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Information >

While the prison in China has recently been the subject of a large monograph, research on the history of confinement in other parts of Asia and Africa has been patchy. A new research initiative, led by Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown (Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studies) will seek to redress the balance. The projected volume will consist of two parts: the first will present the history of the prison in a variety of regional contexts, while the second will address further issues which are transregional in character, such as convict labour and the colonial prison. The collaborative volume on the global history of confinement in Asia and Africa, expected to be published in 2007, will be the first to attempt a major comparative statement on the global spread of the prison.

Notes >

¹ Garland, David, *Punishment and Modern Society: A study in social theory*, Oxford: Clarendon (1990), pp.171-2.

The Swami and the Sister

Research >
South Asia

Hindu ascetic tradition, much like its Christian counterpart, glorifies world weariness (*vairagya*) which, for all intents and purposes, stands for renunciation of woman and wealth: *kamini-kanchana*, to quote Sri Ramakrishna. However, between *kamini* and *kanchana*, the former is characterized as the root of evil, at the same time that the man is identified with the ultimate good, salvation (*mukti*). Such a gendered attitude to spiritual life condemns female sexuality and represses natural masculinity. The male Hindu ascetic thus cultivates female paranoia, deeming it the *summum bonum*, thereby rejecting his manhood. Therefore, a yogi is to achieve his ultimate goal (i.e. realization of the divine or epiphany) by the process of his systematic castration. The drama of the struggle to accomplish self-annihilation in order to realize the self, reached a tragic denouement in the life of Swami Vivekananda (Narendranath Datta) after he had come in contact with Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita), a popular young *sannyasi* (female ascetic), in the West.

By Narasingha Sil

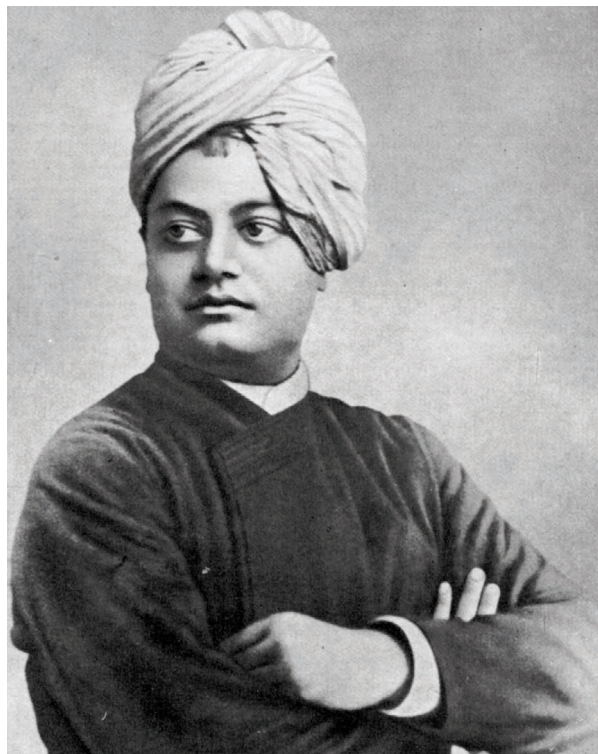
The relationship between Nivedita and Vivekananda has been virtually canonized in the hagiographic literature, written to glorify the Anglo-Irish disciple of a world conquering missionary and visionary of colonial Calcutta. Consequently, generations of Indians, as well as enlightened foreigners, have become familiar with the image of a Western woman shaped by a princely Hindu apostle for the great task of social and spiritual regeneration of renaissance India. However, a sober, critical reading of the sources reveals a different side to these two fascinating personalities: their triumphs and tragedies make them truly human, and bring them down from artificial, Olympian heights to be closer to us.

Margaret Elizabeth Noble's (1867-1911) life as a school-teacher was moulded by her twin religious and romantic heritage. On the one hand, her father was a minister and she went to a Congregationalist school, on the other, her grandfather had been an Irish revolutionary. According to her brother Richmond, she was also a highly sentimental and romantic woman easily drawn to men of intellectual disposition. Prior to meeting Vivekananda in London, she had harboured no ideal of a socio-spiritual mission in life. No doubt she was acquainted with Christian literature, had read Matthew Arnold's poetic biography of the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, and acquired a smattering of Hindu religious philosophy. She presumably made these readings in preparation for her visit to the Hindu monk who had created such a sensation in London high society, thanks in part to the most effective public relations work of his English host, Edward T. Sturdy.

Noble had experienced two failed romances. Her first lover and fiancé succumbed to tuberculosis before marriage. A second lover jilted her for another woman. When she first met her future guru in October 1895, she was immediately charmed by the attractive, exotically dressed young man muttering 'Shiva Shiva' in a rich baritone voice. Thus she easily overcame her disappointment with his sermons, which she had initially considered unoriginal, and continued to cultivate his company.

Vivekananda, too, must have been struck by the personality of this energetic young woman of immense charisma and charm. Indeed, Margaret was almost a female counterpart of the handsome, eloquent, and beautifully attired young monk from a far-off land. On numerous occasions, during conversation, Vivekananda made numerous claims and innuendos, encouraging Noble to think of him as a heroic figure. It was the Swami who first suggested Margaret work for the social betterment of India, promising her all the necessary help. She was so overwhelmed by this invitation and, at the same time, by his solicitude, that she offered herself to him unhesitatingly and unconditionally. Though the monk turned down her frank and sincere overture, insisting upon his celibate status as a renunciant, she still went to Calcutta, only to be disappointed again, as her mentor had scheduled no programme for her. Margaret whiled away her time for nearly a year visiting people, listening to Swamiji's sermons and conversations, and travelling to the northern mountains. 'What am I doing for so long? Why doesn't the Swami speak to me about work?' Margaret wrote to Sara Bull, Vivekananda's Norwegian-American devotee. The acme of her disappointment was reached during her sojourn to the shrine of Amarnath in Kashmir with her guru in the summer of 1898.

The Amarnath episode is shrouded in mystery and mystification. Indian scholar-devotees and the hagiographers of the Ramakrishna Order wholeheartedly agree that this was a pilgrimage of momentous consequences for Margaret's ascent to further spiritual heights. However, a close reading of sources such as her own account, as well as her letters to her friend in England, Nell Hammond, and to her American friend, Josephine MacLeod, reveals a more personal and human story. It appears that Swamiji wished to spend the sultry summer months in the coolness of the hills so as to



Swami Vivekananda
(1863-1902)

allow his newly arrived Western devotees some respite from Calcutta's heat and humidity. One of the principal reasons for visiting the Himalayas was his desire to impart a secret spiritual lesson to his 'daughter' (Margaret) in a lonely place. He, however, never gave her any of the divine arcana while claiming that he had a vision of the Lord Shiva and had received the boon of voluntary death (*ichchamrityu*) from the great god. The original manuscript of Margaret's diary contains her frustration, her outrage, and her demand that her guru treat her with respect, be it as a woman or as a disciple. Her disappointment was aggravated a few months later when Vivekananda initiated her as a *brahmacharini* (female monastic initiate), which she deemed lower in status than the *sannyasini* she had wished to become.

However, Nivedita (Margaret's new monastic name) never actually believed in the career of a renunciant. She loved good clothes and the company of the Calcutta elites, and had a strong opinion about womanhood and the role of a wife. She was even quite candid about the 'union of sexes'. Most probably she had decided to leave home permanently for the sake of working with Vivekananda in India, and was given to understand that her responsibilities would lie in social work and women's education. Yet she was discouraged by her aus-



Sister Nivedita
(1867-1911)

tere and meagre abode and her work teaching English to a handful of poor children in her ramshackle school in north Calcutta, for which the Swami provided virtually nothing but his approval, at best, and, at worst, benignly neglected. Eventually she despaired of her educational project and admitted to her guru that her 'school was a waste of time'.

Even when she accompanied the Swami to the West in the summer of 1899 for collecting funds for her school, Nivedita met with abject failure. Thus, between 1899 and 1901, she decided on her future course of action in India. She would no longer waste her time and energy trying to teach English to children but pay attention to adult India, more particularly to adult males, to make them 'manly'. Meanwhile, she had overcome her 'womanism' and, following Swamiji's death in July 1902, severed her connection with the Ramakrishna Order, and plunged headlong into nationalist politics.

Her fascination with intellectuals had always been acute. In 1899-1900, while in the West, Nivedita was temporarily attracted to the famous sociologist Patrick Geddes. She was also quite fond of the brilliant Bengali scientist Jagadishchandra Bose, whom she regarded as her 'bairn' ('child' in Scottish), though her letters referring to Bose are full of erotic rhetoric. She had elicited Rabindranath Tagore's attention, was even offered a portion of his residence for her school, and was the poet's guest in his houseboat at Shilaidaha in eastern Bengal. Though she admired Tagore for his learning and culture, she found he was not 'manly' enough for her ideals. During the last months of Vivekananda's life, she remained, in her own words, under the 'thrall' of the visiting Japanese art critic Kakuzo Okakura, who reportedly propositioned her, though without success.

A cultivated and idealistic individual, Nivedita had an abiding love for the Hindus, primarily because of her admiration for Vivekananda. She would have been most happy and fulfilled had she been able to remain his lifelong companion. However, when she tried to become closer to her guru, he rebuffed her. The Swami, on the other hand, remained trapped in his self-made image of an ultramundane renouncer (*lokattara sannyasi*), suspended helplessly between the Scylla of unrealized manhood and the Charybdis of idealized manliness. This situation was further aggravated by his multiple illnesses and physical pain and discomfort. The upshot of this psychosomatic condition was his enigmatic ambivalence in his dealings with his Western disciple. He would be contemptuous of marriage and personal love, yet confess to her that the relationship between husband and wife is more meaningful than that between mother and child; that he would have married, at least for the sake of his mother's happiness, but he was past marriageable age, and that he wanted the freedom which was achieved by breaking all laws. He even told her that he particularly enjoyed reading Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. At times he would project his self-image of a sacrificed hero, some sort of a crucified god, or a pained Prometheus, intended by the Divine Mother to be the sacrifice for the welfare of mankind. At the same time, he was so possessive of Nivedita that he disapproved of her paying attention to men such as Tagore, Geddes, Okakura, or Bose.

Both the Swami and the Sister were tormented by the explosion of spontaneous eros, resulting from a natural attraction between two young adults, and both failed to overcome this normal human emotion. They thus remained prisoners of their chosen vocation. As a result, the *vira sannyasi* was reduced to the state of a helpless child of Kali, the Divine Mother, while the Sister became increasingly aware of her failing femininity. She came to realize that her femininity was being replaced by manliness, as she confided to Josephine. Her odyssey in India was thus truly tragic, much like her guru's troubled and diseased short life of immense possibilities. <

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This article is based on my *Prophet Disarmed: Vivekananda and Nivedita*. Working Paper No. 2, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute (1997), which contains all the primary and secondary sources in Bengali and English.

The Invention of India in Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy*

Research >
South Asia

With his representation of India in the 1950s, Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* (1993) has appropriated the nineteenth-century realist tradition in novel writing to his own ends. The Nehruvian idea of India as a 'unity within diversity' and a secular approach to religion features prominently in this novel. Its vast descriptive horizon is contained within a deceptively styleless language, naturalizing what is in fact a carefully constructed 'imagined community'.

By Neelam Srivastava

A Suitable Boy provides a synchronic look at post-Independence Indian life of the 1950s, in many ways a *tranche de vie*. It aspires to provide an idea of India through a realistic approach that has an almost photographic quality. Seth's narrative technique has invited comparisons with novelists such as R.K. Narayan, George Eliot, and Leo Tolstoy, because his novel displays a rare belief in the possibility of representational 'authenticity', which it seeks to achieve through an impressively detailed and documented reconstruction of Indian society around the time of the first general elections. Amidst the anti-realist tendencies of postmodern fiction, Seth's novel is striking for its reappropriation of the realist mode, which is characterized by an omniscient narrator, linear chronology, and psychologically coherent characters, all immersed in a 'universe of ordered significance'.

My reading examines the novel as a secular narrative of the Indian nation, which draws much on Jawaharlal Nehru's nationalist text, *The Discovery of India*. In emphasizing India's multiculturalism and traditions of tolerance towards other religions, Nehru identified secularism as the only approach which would guarantee the development of a truly integrated nation. This did not mean 'absence of religion, but putting religion on a different plane from that of normal political and social life. Any other approach in India would mean the breaking up of India' (Gopal 1980: 331).

The fifties were a very important moment in the consolidation of modern Indian identity, when 'disobedience, resistance and revolt were carefully dismantled and oppositional energies were consciously diffused as the nationalist struggle was closed off and the nation-state began to establish its dominance' (Tharu and Lalita 1993: 44). Many of the myths and conceptions of the nation that still survive today were established and circulated in Nehru's India. In *A Suitable Boy* a cultural interpretation of 1950s nationhood, i.e. the idea of a 'strong' India, based in part on liberal progressivism, is strongly endorsed.

This is even more so because Seth's secularism is articulated within the boundaries of the nation-state. Compared to Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), which questions the viability of the very concept of nation, Seth is already working within an accepted idea of the nation, and is concerned with more specific issues of making it work, such as communal harmony and economic improvement. In the 1950s, as a concomitant effect of the Nehru administration's economic development policies, the body of the state absorbed the nation. The Indian

state assumed full responsibility for the marginalized groups that had not been prime beneficiaries of the transition from colonialism to independence. Certain cultural products, such as Indian nationalist novels, 'endorsed and extended these transformations as they set up a nation-space' (Tharu and Lalita 1993: 60).

Seth has a similarly statist and secularist approach to the idea of nationhood. He writes about nation-building from the point of view of India's rising middle class, informed by a secularizing Nehruvian ideology. Focusing on four upper-class Indian families, three Hindu, one Muslim, the author makes no attempt to hide the essentially bourgeois viewpoint of the narrative, which is contained in part within a progressive teleology of the nation. Many events in the book can be seen as symbolic moments in the nation-forming process, characterized by gradual, rather than violent, social change. The land reform acts implemented by the Congress Party during the 1950s are evoked in the novel by the fictional Zamindari Abolition Act, which aims to abolish feudal land-holdings in the invented state of Purva Pradesh. It is portrayed as the cause of one of the most important social and economic transformations of post-Independence India. In the narrative it symbolizes the passage from feudalism to the rise of the middle class, traditionally seen as a crucial moment of transition in the development of a modern industrialized state.

A Suitable Boy as a national narrative

'The more leisurely stretches in realistic fiction also convey the immersion of meaning in time. The well-trained reader of novels knows when to look and listen with special care; certain meanings which inform the entire narrative are dramatized more starkly, or expressed more explicitly in the privileged moments of traditional fiction' (Bersani 1978: 52). In *A Suitable Boy*, this 'immersion of meaning in time' also results from, or contributes to, the construction of the Indian nation as an undisputed framework. This provides a solid ideological and ethical basis for



A Hindu priest about to light the wedding pyre

the development of the novel: the main narrative events, the dialogues, the thoughts of the characters, and the direct authorial interventions. There are some privileged moments where Seth's construction of his discourse emerges more explicitly, as in his direct comments on Nehru's political achievements.

Seth's naturalized representation of the nation goes hand in hand with his endorsement of Nehruvian ideology. In *A Suitable Boy*, the nation is an all-inclusive concept that moves from the individual, to the locality, to the regional state, and arrives to embrace the entire nation. Seth invents a state, Purva Pradesh, whose regional, specifically North Indian dimension is stretched to make it representative of India in its totality. At the beginning of the novel, Lata Mehra, one of the central characters of the novel, is daydreaming during her sister's wedding, musing on the small pyre in the middle of the ceremony:

...this little fire was indeed the centre of the universe. For here it burned, in the middle of this fragrant garden, itself in the heart of Pasand Bagh, the pleasantest locality of Brahmpur, which was the capital of the state of Purva Pradesh, which lay in the centre of the Gangetic plains, which was itself the heartland of India... and so on through the galaxies to the outer limits of perception and knowledge (Seth 1993: 16).

The author constructs an organic idea of India through the microcosm of Brahmpur, the capital of Purva Pradesh, in the tradition of R.K. Narayan's invented South Indian town, Malgudi. Seth claims to have based Brahmpur on a mixture of Delhi, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Patna, and Ayodhya. The move to create typical, rather than specific, North Indian localities recalls the process of nation-forming itself, where it is seen as an idealization and selection of historical events and religious and linguistic traditions, made in order to construct an organic ideology which can claim a national representativeness.

A Suitable Boy appears to encompass a staggering variety of experience: it

seems to be 'saying everything about India', while in fact its vast descriptive horizon is not infinite, and is shaped by the discourse of the narrator. Realist description is characterized by the interweaving of the aesthetic and referential purposes. The aesthetic purpose has a containing function, in that it directs the description towards the production of a meaning. On the other hand, the assumed reality of the referent prevents the description to turn into fantasizing. This fact becomes very apparent in the crowd scenes in *A Suitable Boy*. As in many Indian-English novels, these scenes communicate a sense of India's multiple realities contained by a unifying national consciousness, which is represented by the omniscient narrator and often filtered through the consciousness of individual characters. As Maan Kapoor takes a *flâneur*-like stroll through the old part of the city of Brahmpur, this is what he sees:

'Crows cawed, small boys in rags rushed around on errands (one balancing six small dirty glasses of tea on a cheap tin tray as he weaved through the crowd), monkeys chattered in and bounded about a great shivering-leaved pipal tree and tried to raid unwary customers as they left the well-guarded fruit stand, women shuffled along in anonymous burqas or bright saris, with or without their menfolk, a few students from the university lounging around a chaat-stand shouted at each other from a foot away either out of habit or in order to be heard, mangy dogs snapped and were kicked, skeletal cats mewed and were stoned, and flies settled everywhere...' (Seth 1993: 97).

The naturalness of Seth's portrayal of India in descriptions such as this one is a great achievement. It's almost as if the purpose of the walk were to familiarize the reader with the town, which is the main setting of the plot. Such familiarization is a recurrent authorial strategy and is characterized by an informative yet affective tone, calculated to make the reader 'feel at home' in every setting. The description of the crowd carries an immediacy that makes us 'enter' the scene in some way, as if we were present at it, thus imbuing it with an impressionistic quality. This technique resembles that of nineteenth-century realist fiction such as Balzac's, where the stylistic unity of the description is not established rationally but 'presented as a striking and immediately apprehended state of things, purely suggestively, without any proof' (Auerbach 1953: 471).

Nehru employs a similar naturalizing technique when describing the diversity of the Indian crowds. There is the sense, in both Seth's and Nehru's texts, that the nation is waiting to get out, 'come into its own'. India is assumed to be an undivided subject whose apparent 'diversity' stops at the surface. It is the narrator/protagonist of the text who effects a 'discovery' of an undivided India through his description.

The novel's Nehruvian perspective



Guests and relatives at an Indian wedding

must be seen in context. Published in 1993, when the Hindu right wing steadily appropriated Indian national identity, *A Suitable Boy* can be read as a response to the aggressive communalization of politics in the 1990s, by recuperating a Nehruvian vision of the relationship between religion and society. The novel was immensely successful in India, and its translations in Hindi and Bengali met with great critical acclaim, showing that it could be 'translated back' into the vernacular languages which are represented in the novel. *A Suitable Boy* thus remains an influential secular and realist narrative of India, whose linguistic creativity and intense engagement with recent history has effectively contributed to its canonical status in the post-colonial literary context. <

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Islamic Youth Movements in Indonesia

Research >
Southeast Asia

Often in the past, Islam has been seen as external to Indonesian, especially Javanese, culture. Later on, radical and militant Muslims were portrayed as puppets created by the intelligence agency, BAKIN, while moderate and 'civil' Islam were branded as natural to Indonesia. Hence, until recently, most studies on Islam in Indonesia have focused on these 'moderates'. Nowadays, however, radical Islamic movements in Indonesia are also keenly observed. Some of these movements use violence; some do not. Unconventional as it may be, this article argues that the common radical/moderate dichotomy is not an appropriate way to understand Islam in Indonesia. By focusing on two youth movements, namely the Islamic Left and the Justice and Welfare Party, I hope to shed light on this new perspective.

Thousands of students have received LKiS training as social activists and have since formed a multitude of NGOs in large and small cities, which aim to tackle various social problems.

Mainstream Islamism on campus

Although they are ideologically opposite, Islamists have a similar history. The Action Unit Indonesian Muslim Students (KAMMI) and the Justice Party (reorganized as the Justice and Welfare Party in April 2003), both founded in 1998, have their origin in the *dakwah* (propagation) movements on campus (*dakwah kampus*). The *dakwah kampus* originated in the early 1970s at the Salman mosque of the Bandung Institute of Technology, but did not spread substantially until the crackdown on the political student movement that had resisted Suharto's re-election in 1978. This time, Islamism provided the alternative activity to political movement. Without a doubt, their religious cause was first encouraged by the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and, later, by intensifying propagation from the Middle East and, especially, from Saudi Arabia, seeking to counter the Shia influence. Indonesia thus became involved both in a global Islamic surge and in contests between various international Islamic groups.

The *dakwah kampus* at the Salman mosque imitated the training programme of the Egyptian Islam Brotherhood (Ikhwan Muslimin): hundreds of cadres were trained and subsequently started similar movements at other campuses. Meanwhile, student activists translated foreign, mainly Arabic books into Indonesian, thereby making the ideas and skills of *dakwah* available to the public. Books from the Pustaka, a publication office owned by the Salman mosque, covered a diverse range of titles. As well as Sayyid Qutb of the Islam Brotherhood, Pakistani neo-modernist Fazlur Rahman and Iranian Ali Shariati featured amongst the translators. They were not always monolithic: French-educated Ali Shariati was one of the ideologues of the Iranian Revolution.

The mainstream of *dakwah kampus* endorses such modern values as democracy, civil society, human rights, and equality of women, yet understands these differently from modernists in the West. Thus the *dakwah kampus* should be distinguished from modernists represented by the Islamic social and educational organization Muhammadiyah and by the Masyumi Party. At *dakwah kampus* meetings, women and men are separated but treated equally: women must use a different entrance, but are not required to sit behind the men. In general, women are encouraged to participate in political activities, and there are actually far more female activists in the Justice and Welfare Party than in other parties. Disproving Western feminist concepts, these Islamists in fact subscribe to concepts of sexual equality. For example, and thus belying common Western perception, the movement for women to wear a veil was initiated by female students as part of their demand for religious freedom on campus.

Within the Islamic Left, by contrast, some argue against the veil, referring at once to Islamic legal sources and Arab feminists. Hence the LKiS published a book by the Moroccan sociologist Fatima Mernissi, who asserts that ulama manipulate the concept of wearing veils to maintain male privileges.

The Justice Party tends to be regarded as more moderate and democratic than other parties in the political domain, simply because their demonstrations, though 'radically' criticizing the American position towards Muslims, are always carried out very peacefully. Above all, however, the Justice Party propagates an Islamist political ideology that attempts to re-establish Islamic civilization and to place Islam at the centre of the political order. The manifesto of the Justice Party says: 'Allah who has supreme power wished human beings to play a role as representatives of God or the caliph. It depends on how far human beings are responsible to function (as caliph) consistently. The universal value of democracy is people's interpretation of the responsibility (of caliph).' Such an understanding of democracy is not far removed from that of so-called 'militants' or 'fundamentalists', who may deem the Justice Party to be 'radical' enough in terms of political thought, but too moderate in its methods. Not only, therefore, should we carefully examine the interaction between thoughts and actions of specific 'moderate' groups, we also need to draw the complete map of social and political movements in order to understand so-called militants. ◀



Ken Miichi

By Ken Miichi

In order to understand the various developments in Islam in Indonesia, we need to consider the post-1970s activities of Islamic students. The nature of Islamic life in Indonesia now is different compared to the 1950s, due to the emergence of activism in the 1970s and 1980s which sharply changed the map of Islamic movements. As these changes took place very quietly, however, they have by and large escaped the academic eye. This article compares the mainstream of Islamist student movements that made up the Justice and Welfare Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), and the counter-Islamism movement, known as 'Islamic Left'.

Origin of the Islamic Left

Urban youths' interest in organizing social and religious activities sprang from the failure of political movements. After students' anti-Japanese demonstrations turned to riot in 1974 (the Malari incident), the government blamed the former Indonesian Socialist Party and the Masyumi Party, which is composed of Islamic modernists, and arrested 770 people. As the government's grip on political activities tightened during the 1970s various NGOs, such as the LBH (Legal Aid Association) and the LP3ES (the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information), were founded by former-students-turned-political-activists. Although many Islamic modernists were involved in these NGOs, their outlook was not religious: the LP3ES, in particular, was heir to both the Indonesian Socialist Party and the Masyumi Party, which were banned in 1960. At the time, socialism rather than Islamism was the way for social reform and transformation, and it was the LP3ES who introduced the latest leftist thinking, such as the dependent theory and theology of liberation, through the publication of books and its journal *Prisma*. It also conducted a training programme to lead community development, thus attracting young intellectuals from various backgrounds.

Among those joining this leftist intellectual network were

Students in prayer during a student movement rally, in 1998, symbolizing the return of Islam into the political arena.

prominent figures from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) such as Abdurrahman Wahid and Masdar F. Mas'udi. Notwithstanding that the NU was the biggest Islamic organization, only a few of its members were active as urban intellectuals, the reason being that NU leaders used to be educated at traditional Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and, therefore, did not qualify as urban intellectuals. This changed in the late 1970s, when National Islamic Institutes (IAIN) opened their doors to those educated at *pesantren*, and when the number of students at IAIN increased significantly, from 23,748 in 1979 to 81,579 in 1989.

This youngest generation of NU cadres with an IAIN education inherited the leftist intellectual network and formed the Islamic Left, working with non-religious and leftist social-political movements. They read anything from Marx to Gramsci to Foucault yet, in respect of Islamic discussion, often refer to Western-educated Muslim intellectuals such as Hasan Hanafi and Mohammed Arkoun: indeed, the term Islamic Left itself is derived from Hasan Hanafi's writing. Today's Islamic Left is critical of religious authority (whether exerted by certain individuals, by using the written word, or by using historical examples) and, especially, of the 'one and only' and 'pure and glorious' Islam. Rather, it tries to revive plural Islamic traditions, by linking with contemporary Islamic Studies in Europe. In its strive for a religiously pluralist nation it opposes the so-called Islamists, the 'rightist' group in the Indonesian political context.

At the beginning of the 1990s, some Yogyakarta IAIN students established the Institute for Islamic and Social Studies (LKiS), with the aim of spreading a 'transformative and tolerant' Islamic discourse. The 'i' of the LKiS, which denotes Islam, is quite intentionally written in lower case, to underscore that the LKiS is squarely against the type of Islamism that emphasizes superiority over other existing social systems. By contrast, the Islamic Left does not deny indigenous traditions and customs, which are often branded as un-Islamic or pre-Islamic, and thus it attracts grass-rooted, spiritual, and mystic 'islams' as well as ex-Communists in rural areas.

Young Japanese Researchers on Southeast Asia - Series

Ken Miichi is the fourth contributor to a series that aims to present current research of young Japanese scholars on Southeast Asia. Original Japanese research on Southeast Asia has a long tradition, is abundant and sometimes takes different routes from European or American research on the region. Moreover, many Japanese scholars publish in Japanese or in Southeast Asian languages and consequently the interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese scholars remains being somewhat limited. By means of this series we draw attention for the original research of young Japanese scholars with research interests in Southeast Asian affairs. In case you would like to introduce your own research on Southeast Asia, please contact the editors of the *IIAS Newsletter*. - Dr Rogier Busser

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Liberalism, Communism, Islam

Transnational Motors of 'Nationalist' Struggles in Southeast Asia

Research >
South Asia

In my reading and teaching on Southeast Asia over the past several years, I have come to believe that existing scholarship has underestimated the role of crucial transnational forces – most notably nineteenth-century Liberalism, twentieth-century Communism, and 'modernist' Islam – in favour of more narrowly national, and nationalist, narratives. Therefore, in the course of two years of research and writing, I shall be working to elaborate and substantiate a revisionist account of what scholars have described as nationalist struggles in Southeast Asia, one which shows how the driving forces behind these struggles were profoundly transnational in nature.

By John Sidel

The intellectual backdrop to this project is, of course, the influential account of nationalism provided by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, which draws on Southeast Asian history and has powerfully shaped its subsequent historiography. Anderson's arguments about the role of colonial administrative boundaries, bureaucratic and educational pilgrimages, and languages of state in generating modern national consciousness indeed tell us much about the once seemingly arbitrary, but strikingly enduring, boundaries of national identity in Southeast Asia. These arguments allow us to trace and explain much of the variation in the trajectories and forms of nationalism in the region.

Yet Anderson's and other scholars' subsequent writings suggest alternative accounts, in which the boundaries of national identity and sovereignty are understood as externally imposed limits and domesticating constraints on other, profoundly transnational impulses and aspirations, rather than as the engines or goals of nationalist struggle. These accounts show that so-called 'nationalist struggles' – as they are usually glossed – are driven by transnational networks, movements, and horizons. Arising out of Southeast Asians' encounters with capitalist modernity and their exposure to and incorporation within international ideological currents and institutional networks, these currents and networks extended beyond the boundaries of the colony and even of the colonial metropolises. As such, they provided an especially subversive vantage point from which Southeast Asians could understand, and challenge, colonial rule. Thus, rather than nationalists undertaking nationalist struggles, the proponents of Liberalism, Communism, and Islam actually constituted the driving force of anti-colonial revolutions. With national independence and the inevitable crystallization of 'official nationalism' the most subversive and mobilizing impulses of these movements, networks, and horizons were domesticated. Their roles in independence struggles have been retrospectively downplayed and attributed to that of 'popular nationalism'. Yet, some of these transnational forces live on, most notably those associated with Islamic learning, worship, and associational activity.

It is essential to trace these transnational threads towards and beyond the achievement of national independence through rigorous comparative analysis of the diverging forms and outcomes of anti-colonial struggles in Southeast Asia. The first thread relates to the inherently transnational force of capitalism, specifically with regard to the diverging

fates of the immigrant 'Chinese' (and 'Arab' and 'Indian') merchant communities. As commercial and financial intermediaries they played crucial roles in colonial Southeast Asia and have dominated its business classes since independence. The second and most original thread entails the three most important transnational ideologies, networks, and horizons which captivated the hearts and minds of Southeast Asians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – Liberalism, Communism, and Islam – in the lived experiences and activities of both the urban intelligentsia(s) and broader mass publics. The third thread concerns colonial and post-colonial responses of state authorities, as they worked with varying success, and with diverse (and often unintended) consequences, to create boundaries of various kinds to contain and domesticate these transnational forces. Combined with the broader context of international conflicts, most notably World War II, these threads combine to weave a tapestry of modern Southeast Asian history and politics that refutes existing scholarly literature, which has long stressed the peculiarities of individual countries and the processes of 'localization'.

Liberalism and Freemasonry

In this context, for example, the Revolution in the Spanish colonial Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century might be understood not as Asia's first nationalist revolution, but as a product of the rising tide of Liberalism in the archipelago. The opening of Philippine ports in the mid-nineteenth century, after all, brought the ascendant class of assimilated Chinese *mestizo* merchants, moneylenders, and landowners into direct contact with British and other non-Spanish traders, raising fears of Liberal, Protestant, and Freemason influence among the conservative administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchies in the colony. Meanwhile, the experiences of the privileged children of this class who ventured beyond the Philippine Archipelago were highly formative. Not only did they find Spain in the throes of conflict between Liberals and the entrenched forces of Church and Crown; elsewhere in Europe they discovered republicanism and post-Enlightenment thought far 'ahead' of backward Spain. Socializing in London, painting in Paris, and corresponding with academics in Berlin, these highly cosmopolitan, polyglot *ilustrados* aspired for Liberal reforms in Spain and the Philippines, curbing the power of Church and Crown.

This exposure to ideas and associational forms beyond the Philippines and beyond Spain inspired not only the narrowly elitist Propaganda Movement but also the more plebeian (and distinctly Freemason-like) Katipunan. Yet the lim-

its of these transnational horizons soon became apparent, both in the tensions within the Revolution itself, and in the aftermath of US occupation and colonization of the archipelago at the turn of the century. With the United States as its colonial master and as the ascendant global hegemon, and with colonial democracy and Filipinization entrenching the Chinese *mestizo* elite in the seats of state power, European cosmopolitanism and Liberalism ceased to provide a subversive vantage point from beyond the metropole or a horizon for struggle in the colony. Hence the striking weakness of 'nationalist' movements in the American colonial Philippines in the twentieth century.

From Republicanism to Communism

In the starkly contrasting case of the Vietnamese Revolution much that has long been attributed to extraordinary patriotic fervour can likewise be recast in terms of Vietnam's unparalleled exposure to and immersion within transnational currents and international conflicts. After all, China was not only the origin of an immigrant merchant minority but a huge, dynamic neighbour whose historical influences on Vietnamese culture and its own internal transformations exposed intellectuals to sources of inspiration and forces of change far beyond colonial control. Schooled in Chinese language and literature and steeped in the Confucian classics, Vietnamese intellectuals were unique in Southeast Asia in their unmediated access to the enormous intellectual and political energy and ferment in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (and to Chinese logistical support and military hardware after 1949). This abiding access to China combined with other networks, experiences, and visions across national boundaries, making Vietnam a particularly hospitable site for revolutionary mobilization in the mid-twentieth-century. For by the end of World War I, more than 100,000 Vietnamese soldiers had served in Europe, and many more sojourners came to France in the following two decades, where they found a political atmosphere in which socialist and communist parties enjoyed far greater influence and freedom than their counterparts in other colonial metropolises. From participating in the founding of the French Communist Party in Paris in 1920, it was a short leap for Ho Chi Minh to begin working for the Comintern in Moscow, resurfacing in southern China and eventually in northern Vietnam with a set of experiences, ideals, organizational tools, and, it might be added, opportunities, which were very different from those available to José Rizal and his compatriots half a century earlier in the

Philippines. Far beyond any other colony in Southeast Asia, Vietnamese intellectuals were exposed and attracted to powerful transnational currents emanating both from China and from Europe, even as the proximity of China, the networks of Vietnamese migrants in neighbouring Laos, Cambodia, and, beyond French Indochina, independent Siam, and the unique circumstances of a Vichy French-Japanese condominium in 1941-45 offered additional room for revolutionary manoeuvre.

Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme

If we take Indonesia as a final example, yet another point of transnational influence comes into view. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the ferment in China culminating in the Revolution of 1911 inspired and emboldened the small 'Chinese' mercantile minority in the Dutch East Indies, spurring innovations in associational activity and demands for greater freedoms in the colony. These trends, in turn, stimulated a 'native' reaction, most notably the founding of the Sarekat Islam in 1912, first as a mutual aid society for batik traders in Java, and by the end of the decade as a vehicle for broader popular radical mobilization.

Within the Sarekat Islam, two ideological strains merged, intermingled, and competed for supremacy, each with its own source of origins and inspiration far from the Indonesian Archipelago. On the one hand, the currents of Islamic reformism emanating from the Middle East had begun to wash up on the shores of Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi, carried by Arab immigrants from the Hadramaut, returning pilgrims from the Hajj, and scholars returning from Al-Azhar in Cairo and other major centres of Islamic learning. Thus the early decades of the twentieth century saw considerable expansion and innovation in the realm of Islamic schooling in the Dutch East Indies, with the founding of modernist *madrasah* and the formation of modernist organizations like Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam, and Al-Irsyad, drawing hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Muslims into new circuitries of education, experience, association, and consciousness. On the other hand, the sources of inspiration and organization which had carried Ho Chi Minh and his comrades from Paris to Moscow to southern China to the villages of Tonkin and Annam exerted similar drawing power in the Indies. Comintern emissaries and local Communist organizers began to enjoy increasing success organizing workers on the expanding railroads and plantations.

While various Dutch policies, not least the repression which followed hard on the heels of the failed rebellions of 1926-27, kept these two 'hidden forces' in check until the Japanese invasion and occupation in 1942-45, their

attractive energies remained powerful for years to come. Indeed, the nationalist cause championed by Sukarno rallied Indonesians around his slogan of NASAKOM – *Nasionalisme, Agama* (Religion), *Komunisme* – and, under circumstances decisively different from those facing Vietnamese revolutionaries, both Communist and Islamic networks resurfaced in the Revolusi of 1945-49 that followed the Japanese interlude. Even as nationalist leaders like Soekarno engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the Dutch, popular resistance persisted, especially where the ideals and organizations associated with transnational Communism and Islam enjoyed greatest strength.

Thus the first 50 years of independence have been dominated by tension between the residues of these two very different transnational currents of mobilization and by the domesticating impulses and imperatives of successive national state leaders. Today, the alleged members of the shadowy Jemaah Islamiyah network emerged out of Islamic schools affiliated with conservative modernist groups – Al-Irsyad and Persatuan Islam – founded in the 1910s and 1920s. With the demise of global Communism and the triumph of global Liberalism, the school networks, pilgrimages, and intellectual circuitries associated with Islam in Indonesia, Malaysia, the southern Philippines, and Thailand constitute the one remaining potentially counter-hegemonic transnational force in the region.

A revisionist account of the formative struggles of modern Southeast Asian history contests the existing scholarly literature, which has tended to focus on individual nationalist narratives and to stress processes of cultural translation, indigenization, and localization. The guiding influences of Liberalism, Communism, and Islam in the modes of expression and forms of political association and activity of the urban intelligentsia, who occupy centre stage in most accounts of 'nationalist movements' in Southeast Asia, must be demonstrated rather than merely asserted. In the trajectories of movement recruitment and mass mobilization, moreover, this new history 'from above' must be connected to existing histories 'from below'. Finally, the complex pattern of variation in the forms, outcomes, and aftermaths, of those struggles primarily understood as nationalist, must be made compellingly clear, by using various points of comparison within and beyond the region.

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At the invitation of Oskar Verkaaik (IIAS), John Sidel presented a lecture at the University of Amsterdam on the broad outlines of his two-year research project on 8 May 2003.

Time, Space and Music in the Kathmandu Valley

Research >
South Asia

South Asian classical music, like Western classical music, has become progressively detached from associations with time and space, especially in the era of global dissemination. In the Newar town of Bhaktapur in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal, however, music and dance are integrated with the ritual and agricultural calendar, social organization, urban geography, and Hindu-Buddhist concepts of sacred time and space. Performance also provides opportunities for religious devotion, expressive fulfilment, and entertainment for its participants and onlookers, in a culture where alternative diversions such as television were unknown until recently.

By Richard Widdess

Musical performance in Bhaktapur seems designed to reinforce a sense of individual location within social and divine orders. Devotional *dāphā* songs, for example, are sung by groups of men, mostly drawn from the farmer caste, based at particular temples and resident in the neighbourhood (*tvah*) in which the temple stands. The group celebrates its identity with regular feasts, organizes recruitment and training, and offers social support to its members. *Dāphā* songs, sung during auspicious seasons, festivals, and full-moon nights, bear the signatures of local kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and are in praise of various deities, most of whose shrines are located outside the *tvah* (in some cases outside Bhaktapur): singing them constitutes, *inter alia*, a 'virtual pilgrimage'.

In performance, the song is divided between two sub-groups, who repeat each line many times, at slow and fast speeds, in complex patterns of alternation. During this musical expansion of the song, temporal location is established by metrical patterns played on small cymbals (*tāh*) of penetrating tone. Playing this instrument is an important responsibility, often performed or directed by the lead singer.

The structure of time and space

Time and space are both viewed as cyclic in Bhaktapur; in each domain, cycles can overlap. Mundane time is cyclic in the annual rotation of the seasons, the monthly sequence of lunar phases, and the diurnal alternation of night and day; musical forms, repertoires and instruments are linked to these cycles. Cosmic time is again cyclical, with both the individual and the universe undergoing repeated processes of destruction and re-creation. The cosmic order is celebrated by means of festivals in which music plays an important part. The Buddhist festival of Gūlā, for example, celebrates the coming end of the present universe. The sound of animal-horn trumpets (*neku*), played exclusively at this festival is believed to call the spirits of the departed back to this world for their next cycle of reincarnation (Greene 2002).

Space can also be articulated in cyclic fashion. People worship temples and shrines, where physically possible, by walking clockwise around them (*pradakṣiṇa*), while the route from one to the next may be part of a larger *pradakṣiṇa*, for example around the neighbourhood. A *pradakṣiṇa* of the whole town, following a traditional processional route, is an important feature of major festivals, and an occasion for much music-making and dance, giving locally-based music groups an opportunity to pay musical homage directly to deities in other parts of the town. At the New Year festival of Biskāh in March 2003, for example, I accompanied a *dāphā* group on a clockwise musical circuit of Bhaktapur, during which songs were sung at 42 different shrines.

Musical time, articulated through metre and form, is also complexly cyclic. Most compositions comprise a number of sections, within each of which a single metrical cycle will be repeated many times. Successive sections may be of the same or different metre, and the piece as a whole may constitute a larger cycle, where the first section returns periodically or at the end. The ringing sounds of the *tāh* help performance groups to negotiate changes of metre and tempo in the more complex pieces.

Musical structure, function and meaning

The Gājātrā, or Cow Festival, is an example of a calendrical festival in which music-making has an important function and which takes place on the processional route round Bhaktapur

It is held at full moon in August each year to commemorate all those who have died in the city during the previous 12 months. Each bereaved family decorates a tall bamboo structure intended to represent a sacred cow, indicated by straw horns and a painted cow's face. A portrait of the dead person is attached to this 'cow', which is then carried in pro-



The *dāphā* group of Lākūlāchē *tvah* perform with drum (*lālākḥ*) and cymbals (*tāh*). Bhaktapur, March 2003.

cession for one complete round of the city, a process taking three to four hours. The 'cow' can be preceded by two lines of dancers, usually children or young men, accompanied by drums and cymbals, who perform a stick-dance, called *Sāpāru Pyākḥā* or *Ghēṭāgīsī*. The purpose of this dance is to cheer up the bereaved, for on this day the gates of heaven stand unlocked, and their deceased relative's soul will enter with the help of a cow. To add to the amusement, some dancers wear face-paint or fancy dress, and one sees men dressed as women, demons (*khyāh*), Hindu gods and goddesses, or even Father Christmas taking part in the procession.

The dance and burlesque evidently help to accomplish the necessary psychological reconciliation between personal feelings of loss and acceptance of cosmic reality. This reconciliation is mediated through music. The music of the stick-dance comprises two sections, which I shall call A and B. The A section has an eight-beat rhythm, and the dancers clash their sticks on the seventh beat. The whole section can be repeated as many times as required, and there are a number of variations which can be played on the accompanying drums. The B section has a six-beat rhythm, with sticks clashing more frequently, on beats three and six. This rhythm can again be repeated as many times as desired. In addition to these two sections of dance, a musical invocation, called *dyah-*



A participant in the Sāpāru stick-dance, wearing traditional dress. Bhaktapur, August 1999.

lhaygu, 'invoking the god', is played at the beginning of the dance, at the end, and at intervals during the course of the procession. There is no dance accompanying this piece, which has no regular metre, and features free-rhythm drum rolls.

These three distinct musical sections, in binary, ternary, and irregular metre respectively, can be related to urban geography. The binary-metre section A is a walking rhythm, during which the dancers progress slowly through the narrow streets. When they come to an open space where a crowd is watching, they switch to the ternary-metre section B, which allows them to make more vigorous dance movements, showing off their skill and stamina. Similarly, when the dancing group approaches an important temple or other shrine, the leading drummer changes from the A section to the B section a few metres ahead of the temple so that the dancers can entertain the god with vigorous movements. As the procession passes the shrine he changes to the *dyah-lhaygu*, so that the drummers, walking behind the dancers, can make their own salutation.

The formal and metrical structure of this music thus relates to the space in which it is performed, but it also reveals deeper meanings. The rhythm of section A is identical to that of a children's song that everyone in Bhaktapur knows. The first line asks: 'What shall we do with the straw cow? Let's put it in the *gwākḥā* (a small niche in the wall of a room).' The second line answers: 'It's too big for the niche. Let's throw it into the river.' This song articulates the underlying issue of the Gājātrā festival: do we hang on to the souls of our departed loved ones, or do we entrust them to the river of *samsāra*, the eternal cycle of reincarnation? The answer is of course the latter, and at the end of the day the straw cows are indeed thrown into the river. Although this song is not normally sung while dancing, it is explicitly evoked by the rhythm of the music.

Section B of the music represents a compression of the eight-beat music of section A into six beats (and further compression occurs in the *dyah-lhaygu*). The compression of longer into shorter time-spans, of the same or different metre, is a feature of Newar music, which Gert-Matthias Wegner has compared with the multiple roofs of a Newar pagoda-style temple, becoming smaller as they ascend (Wegner 1986). While this analogy may be fortuitous, a possible link between temple architecture and music is the *maṇḍala*, a type of cosmic map in which the universe is represented as a symmetrical arrangement of concentric areas of differing geometries, contracting towards the centre, with the presiding deity of the *maṇḍala* occupying the central, smallest space. This recurrent motif in Newar culture 'applies equally to the universe as a whole, to the country Nepal, to each city, to each temple and shrine, and, tantrically, to the worshipper's own body. The realization of one's own identity with these larger designs is the attainment of salvation' (Gellner 1992:190 f.). Wegner, an ethnomusicologist who has lived for many years in Bhaktapur, writes: 'To be part of the whole *maṇḍala* is really what matters here, what gives people their deep-rooted sense of security and happiness.' (pers. com.) Thus music and dance connect individuals not only with each other as a community, but also with cultural constructions of sacred space and time, within which each person can find their place. <

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Notes on the Opaque Seduction of (Canto)pop: Sonic Imaginations

Research >
China

Western journalists and academics routinely ignore Cantopop. Hence two events that profoundly shocked Chinese audiences worldwide, the death of Leslie Cheung and Anita Mui's illness, passed unnoticed in the West. Whereas Western scholars are fond of the rebellious sounds of Beijing rock, pop sounds from Hong Kong and Taiwan are trivialized and reduced to 'sickly sweet songs' (Dutton 1998: 239). With this bias against the sounds and images of pop, one ignores a rich and complex domain of cultural inquiry. Inspired by Oscar Wilde's adage that 'we should treat all the trivial things of life seriously, and all the serious things of life with sincere and studied triviality,' the time is ripe to move from the 'serious, rebellious' sounds of rock towards the 'trivial, superficial', and less missionary, sounds of Chinese pop.

By Jeroen de Kloet

If one should expect Chinese pop to reveal aspects of Chineseness, rather the contrary is true: apart from the language, 'things Chinese' are strikingly absent. In Chinese pop, the rest merges with the West, making it difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line between the two. Its sounds strike most as fleeting; no discernable youth culture surrounds it.

What then makes Chinese pop an important domain for academic inquiry? First, it has the power to link Chinese worldwide – to create an imagined sonic community beyond borders, to foster a form of transcultural citizenship, to provide diasporic Chinese and Chinese in Greater China a shared sense of place. Second, pop creates large audiences, enabling its fans to position themselves in contemporary Chinese society: studying pop's role in the everyday lives of its fans provides insights into the belongings of Chinese youth in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas. Finally, focusing on pop may help combat a bias in popular music studies – a bias towards genres such as punk and hip hop that seem more spectacular, more pregnant with meaning, but appeal to smaller audiences.

I would like to map out, briefly, possible trajectories for studying the opaque sounds of Hong Kong Cantopop and Taiwan Mandapop, with a particular focus on their roles in creating shared senses of place in a world increasingly in flux. In using the adjective opaque, I aim to grasp the paradoxical struggle the analysis of pop entails: how to define its parameters while acknowledging the sheer impossibility of unpacking the genre. The opaque, after all, is intrinsically unspeakable. In order to simultaneously do justice to its opacity and



Jennifer Tang

Audience at a concert by Leon Lai, a popular singer from Hong Kong.

throw light on how it produces a sense of place, I propose studying pop along three trajectories. First, by analysing the transnational opacity of pop: it is neither here nor there but everywhere. Second, by mapping out its intertextual opacity: pop stars are intertextual chameleons slipping between musical, stage and TV identities, as noted by Lawrence Witzleben (1999) on pop diva Anita Mui. And finally, by exploring the camp multi-vocal opacity of pop, constantly destabilizing the boundaries of gender and sexuality, of real and fake, seriousness and playfulness, performer and audience.

Transnational opacity

Chinese filled the stadium when Cantopop star Leon Lai performed in the Netherlands a few years ago (at midnight, so restaurant owners and workers could attend the show). Studies on multicultural societies often ignore the power of popular culture to create imagined transnational communities, let alone its political implications. Pop music is one of the domains (the other that comes to mind is Hong Kong cinema) through which diasporic Chinese create an identity outside the parameters set by the local culture. Pop stars from Hong Kong and Taiwan are global icons, linking the Chinese diaspora across time and space, producing new forms of transnational cultural citizenship.

If the cliché goes that music has no boundaries, I argue the contrary: the popularity of Cantopop stars is confined by definite 'ethnic' boundaries while many of their Western contemporaries defy these. Cantopop is used by the Chinese diaspora as a tactic of distinction, to contest the dominance of Western pop icons, to claim their own cultural space beyond the surveying eyes of Western contemporaries. In Chinatowns worldwide, Chinese buy the latest CDs, talk about releases with family and friends and secure popular cultural capital out of reach to non-Chinese around them. This is both empowering and alienating. The invisibility of Chinese pop – the opacity of this global pop music fan culture – makes it all the more pervasive as it refuses to be contained under the scrutinizing eyes of Western contemporaries, journalists, and academics.

Intertextual opacity

As they play different roles, pop stars are more media personalities than musicians. Intertextuality is, as Derrida (1974) wrote, intrinsic to any text: 'nothing is extratextual'. Yet, the intensity with which intertextuality proliferates differs profoundly. The intertextuality of pop, both Chinese and Western, is more intense than that of rock. Pop star Leon Lai, for example, is a star in a complex intertextual universe: sexy pop star dancing on a videoclip; dangerous gangster on the silver screen; sharp salesman advertising Orange's new mobile

phone; Unicef ambassador helping the Brazilian poor. It may well be this intertextual chameleon that explains why pop travels so well globally: pop generates more mediated spaces and allows for multiple identifications among divergent diasporic audiences. While some audiences will relate to the bad girl image of Anita Mui, others will adore her glamorous lifestyle. Yet others will relate to her as an actress.

The intertextual dimension intersects with a discourse of inauthenticity. Pop, be it Chinese or Western, not only refuses to disguise the importance of packaging, control, and artificiality – as rock does in order to produce the authentic artist – it celebrates it. As composer, lyricist, artist, record company, and producer are intimately involved in the production of a pop song, the author – a crucial actor in the construction of authenticity – is impossible to define, present in his or her absence. In pop, authenticity is just another style: 'the only possible claim to authenticity is derived from the knowledge and admission of your inauthenticity' (Grossberg 1993: 206). The praxis of inauthenticity aspires to a different art of living where we not so much try to find, but lose, ourselves, true to the Foucaultian ideal of escaping from the identities society moulds for us.

Multivocal opacity

Given the disappearance of the author in pop, it becomes possible to speak pop in different voices. Pop stars change overnight, mirroring metropolitan lives lived in constant flux. In Anthony Wong's song 'Ave Maria' this change is celebrated:

'I want to be high every day
And change by night and day
Like, Maria, reincarnated
Pregnant by night and day.'

Pop's multivocality comes into its own through the karaoke phenomenon, where each and every singer appropriates the songs with his or her own voice. Through karaoke, the boundary between performer and audience becomes blurred. A K-song (*k-ge*) refers to a pop song particularly suited to karaoke, in sentiment and vocal range.

Pop performances are spectacular displays of the multivocal pop aesthetics. Gone is the importance of 'real' live music – what counts is pleasure: the better the pop star entertains the audience, the better he or she is. Multivocality thus entails a deliberate and exaggerated artificiality, which resonates with the aesthetic strategy that Susan Sontag has labelled camp. 'The essence of Camp is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration.' (Sontag 1966: 275) The spectacular multimedia performances in which the star changes outfit and hair time and again should be seen in this light. Pop allows stars as well as audiences to speak in different voices, voices that remain ambiguous and opaque, that resist fixation in clear-cut meanings.

Chinese pop is neither here nor there, but everywhere; the pop star is an intertextual chameleon; and by speaking in many voices, subverts the notion of being true to a coherent self. Chinese pop is no different from Western pop and it is precisely this refusal to be contained by nationality that may explain why pop globalizes so well while remaining invisible to the eyes and ears of academics and journalists. <

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Bali's Last Resort: Writing Ethnography of Balinese Adat

The End of Ethnography?

Research >
Southeast Asia

'Ethnography', writing about the others, has until recently been a genre which is supposed to throw light on anthropological investigations. Ever since its 'post-colonial turn', however, anthropology has become quite different from what went before, as we have now realized that we cannot assume other cultures are absolutely different and detached from those of the anthropologists themselves. As anthropology has been condemned for having exoticized other cultures as commodities for Western consumption, it follows that ethnography, in a conventional sense, is simply impossible. What is meant by the ethnography of Balinese *adat* (custom), however, is not writing about the Balinese traditional way of life, but about how Balinese people interpret their way of life in terms of its historical background.

By Kiyoshi Nakamura

After being in power for many years, President Suharto was finally forced to step down in May 1998. His so-called 'New Order' regime forcibly promoted a programme of development aimed at achieving both economic prosperity and national stability. In the pursuit of realizing these aims, his authoritarian regime too often oppressed local people by ignoring their interests and suppressing their voice, so as to standardize various cultural traditions and bring about arbitrary uniformity in the name of the 'state' and its 'prosperity'. Even though this was done against the local people's will, Suharto's regime was generally permitted to get away with it because of the economic growth, which, it was claimed, was the direct result of his development programme. (The fruits, however, were on the whole enjoyed by his family and cronies). This modernist discourse of development was supplemented with that of traditional values, celebrating family and paternalism. Ideological support for the regime lay in the claim that the interests of the state should precede the rights and interests of the individual citizen, using the metaphor of 'a family', with Suharto as its patriarch and the citizens of Indonesia as its children.

It therefore became very difficult for local societies to justify their desire to resist the 'New Order' regime's development programmes and cultural policies, which aimed for uniformity and standardization at various levels. Under these circumstances, Balinese people responded to the pressures and interventions from the authoritative centre by drawing upon their traditional culture. In Indonesian political discourses, ethnic culture could be preserved as long as it served national interests and developments.

Given the generally accepted assumption that Balinese culture is an amalgam of Hinduism and indigenous customs, we can say that the concepts of tradition have governed the discourse around modern Balinese society within the context of the relation between local societies and the Indonesian state. In Indonesian language, *adat* refers to a somewhat vague, broad concept around tradition and customary practices indigenous to local societies. Incidentally, it seems ironic that an allochthonous word like *adat* has always been used to represent the supposedly autochthonous and traditional cultures of Bali.

Challenges for adat

The requirement to have faith in the only God is stated in the first article of Indonesia's Five National Principles, Pancasila, which the New Order regime exalted as the sole foundation (*asas tunggal*), and which dominated the political discourse. Not only has it been officially sanctioned, it is also imposed on every Indonesian citizen, thus making it obligatory to be a follower of one of the religions approved by the government. Thus, religion is firmly positioned within the state governing apparatus.

Religion in Bali was in a precarious position directly after the Reformasi and Balinese Hindu intellectuals had to strive for official recognition of Balinese Hinduism. In order to convince the Ministry of Religion of the fact that Balinese religion deserved recognition in the new Republic, they had to present the official name of the religion, its holy book, its rituals, and its philosophy to the Ministry. Having established the Hindu organization Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (The Indonesian Council of Hinduism: PHDI), and using it as their principal agency, Balinese Hindu intellectuals have been making various attempts to 'rationalize' Balinese Hinduism. To take a recent example, the 1991 PHDI congress decided that every Indonesian Hindu should perform a worship called *trisandhya* (a three-times-a-day worship). It should be noted that the very fact that such a decision was made, suggests that this three-times-a-day prayer had rarely (or even never) been carried out before. I myself have never seen the Balinese villagers perform it.

The classification of rituals into five categories, called *panca*



Various books and magazines on Hinduism and Balinese local tradition are sold at a local market place, Gianyar (Bali) on 4 August 2002.

yadnya, seems to be another of the intellectuals' efforts at 'rationalizing' religion. Various authors have inculcated the public with their own version of *panca yadnya*. On the other hand, some rituals are rarely, if ever, mentioned under the rubric of *agama* (religion) as Balinese Hindu intellectuals dismiss certain rituals as *adat*. During my fieldwork, I noticed that there are two distinct types of rituals in villages in the Western Karangasem region. Private rituals that only concern individuals or families include celebrating the anniversaries of family or 'clan' temples and the ceremonies of the life cycle such as marriages, funerals, and other rites of passage. Village or communal rituals comprise the rituals in the village temple (including both temple festivals and agrarian rites) and rites for the purification of the village territory. The private rituals are characterized as more or less pan-Balinese and sanctioned by authorities such as the PDHI, governmental agencies, and leading Balinese intellectuals. The communal or village rituals, by contrast, vary from village to village and are idiosyncratic to each community. If anything, they are part of Balinese traditional culture, or traditional (and heathen) practices, *adat*. Although Balinese intellectuals do acknowledge *adat*, they do not consider tradition to be part of their religion. Consequently, the village rituals are excluded from the Bali-Hindu orthodoxy.

Religious rituals must be conformed to modern religion while other customs and practices are enclosed in *adat*. This has had serious consequences, although it is quite understandable considering the Balinese struggle to obtain the official recognition of their religion. Its official recognition has in effect made Balinese Hinduism more a part of state apparatus than a belief. Whereas the Balinese understood their culture as an integral unity of Hinduism (*agama*) and customary practice (*adat*) and used it as a means to counter the Indonesian state, Bali Hindu religion (*agama*) has been on the government bandwagon against Balinese tradition (*adat*).

Adat was not so compatible with the modern state apparatus as religion was and, under the New Order, local tradition seemed to be in a precarious position. Studies in the 1970s argued that *adat*-based communities had become increasingly dependent on the Indonesian state agencies. Unlike other provinces in Indonesia, Bali had retained its traditional communities alongside administrative units. Though an administrative unit had no official relation with a customary village or with an irrigation society, in practice they were closely related because the customary village obtained financial aid from the organization for village development. This organization was established under the guidance of the Department of Internal Affairs and was headed by the administrative village head. Likewise, it was predicted that a traditional chief would become increasingly dependent on the

administrative chief, and that his function as chief would be attenuated.

Subjected to administrative authorities on a national scale, and excluded from religious affairs by the Balinese Hindu intellectuals, Balinese *adat* seemed to be in an awkward position. However, due to the fact that 'the cultural traditions of Bali [had been] the major asset for the tourist promotion of the island' (Picard 1990: 37-74) since the beginning of the development of tourism in Bali under colonial rule, Balinese culture or tradition could occupy a special position even under the repressive New Order regime. Traditional culture became a commodity that could be offered to the tourism market, which would eventually contribute to the success of the development plan. Rituals dismissed by the authorities as heathen practices are indeed quite often supported by the traditional land tenure system, which is also a part of *adat*: the image of Balinese culture has undergone commoditization to bring revenue to the state. Thanks to Bali's international fame as a tourist resort, Balinese people could attempt to weave a discourse of resistance against authoritative regime and its ideology by appropriating *adat* as a last resort.

The 'appropriation' of adat

There is no such thing as a timeless essence of a culture though there are those who claim to have it: indeed, every ethnic identity tends to draw on the assumption that some such essence exists. The 'appropriation' of traditional culture such as *adat* is neither confined to the Balinese, nor limited to a certain period such as the Suharto or colonial era, but rather, so I believe, ubiquitous and general rule. It should be noted, however, that the particular history of Balinese society made it more prominent there than in other societies in Indonesia. The Dutch Indologists found 'real' Bali in the village communities which, they assumed, retained indigenous pre-Hindu elements, and held Hindu court culture to be a remnant of ancient (pre-Islamic) Javanese culture. Then and now, Balinese society is represented as living in a timeless tradition, which should be commoditized, whether in the interest of tourism or scientific investigation. Despite its marginalization by religion and government institutions, Balinese *adat* as a myth constructed under Dutch colonial rule has continued to flourish even under the pressure of the Indonesian state. Under the ongoing influence of decentralization towards regional autonomy, contemporary Balinese, increasingly acknowledge the great importance that *adat* has for them and appropriate it progressively more.

The proliferation of mass media attention for Balinese culture and *adat*-related issues also reflects this process. Regional media has a greater opportunity to promote local identity, because it bears closely on the needs of the local people. Ever since the closing years of the New Order regime, during which the 'Open Policy' allowed more media freedom, and after its collapse, various local media have emerged all over the Republic. Notably, the newly emerged Balinese magazines and tabloids concentrate on Balinese culture and, in particular, on Balinese Hindu religion and *adat*. The ethnography of *adat* should be written in such a way that it sheds light upon such situations as those that existed under the colonial rule or the New Order regime, and those in the post-New Order era, not in a way that tries to depict an essence of Balinese culture in timelessness. Realist ethnography of conventional anthropology might be destined to die (Clifford 1988), but the description of a particular setting, in which tradition is reconstructed, is still needed. <

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The Making of a Myth

The Amazing Life and Death of the Sixth Dalai Lama

Research >
Central Asia



Considering that he died in 1706 and was reborn two years later, it is hard to imagine how the inhabitants of Alashan greeted Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho, the sixth Dalai Lama, upon his arrival there in 1716. What we do know is that the son of the man responsible for welcoming him to Alashan, Dar-rgyas Nomunqan had no doubts about the Lama's identity or narration.¹ Based on this narration, Dar-rgyas Nomunqan wrote what he purports to be Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho's secret biography.²

By Simon Wickham-Smith

Whether or not the Lama's narrated claims were true, the relationship between the text and the life it describes is telling of the culture, ideas, and circumstances of the time. We have, in any case, precious little to confirm the facts of Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho's existence: his official dates (1683-1706) and a temple guide – of which he may have been the author. Nor is it by any means certain that the poems attributed to him are in fact his. What we do have is a series of possibilities that occasionally morph into probabilities, a set of 'myths' which, when framed in a certain way, take on the appearance of reality.

Our understanding of the life and work of the sixth Dalai Lama boils down to the following. Born in mTsho-na on 1 March 1683, his birth was accompanied by the kind of miraculous events that traditionally accompany the rebirth of a lama. As the death of the 'great' fifth Dalai Lama in 1682 had been hushed up, his recognition as the sixth Dalai Lama in 1685 was kept secret. It was only in 1695, when he was twelve, that his true identity was confirmed to him.³

That Tsangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho was formally recognised at twelve and enthroned at fourteen made his position extraordinary, even for a reincarnate lama, as they were generally recognised and enthroned at a very young age. In Tibet in the late seventeenth century, fourteen was, if not the age of majority, at least young adulthood.

His regent, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, had been chief minister for the fifth Dalai Lama and was arguably the greatest all-rounder produced by the Tibetan monastic system. Having held the country in his grasp since the death of the fifth Dalai Lama, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho was fiercely reluctant to give up power. Again and again, as he moved towards majority, the sixth Dalai Lama requested, and was denied, the temporal power that rightfully accompanied his spiritual role.

This denial probably had as much to do with the Dalai Lama's own waywardness as with the regent's reluctance to hand over the reins. Despite being an outstanding scholar of subjects both sacred and profane, Tsangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho preferred writing poetry, practising archery and carousing in the red-light district of Shol behind the recently completed Potala to formal study.⁴ Nonetheless, the regent Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho emerges in the Lama's narrative as an extremely over-protective father-figure.

By the time Tsangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho left Lhasa for Beijing and set up camp on the edge Kokonor in November 1706, his regent had been murdered.⁵ The sixth Dalai Lama was by this time much loved by his people. They tried, unsuccessfully, to dissuade him to journey to Beijing, correctly perceiving the Chinese-backed plot to entrap him.



Clay statue of Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho at his mother's house in Ber-mkhar, Arunchal Pradesh

Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho was held in high esteem for the beautiful and literary (love) songs that he composed from an early age, his relaxed style, and mistrust of authority. Over the past three centuries the sixth Dalai Lama has emerged as a Tibetan folk-hero, his poems passed down through the generations.

'Death' at Kokonor

In the context of myth making, it is the second part of Dar-rgyas Nomunqan's text which interests me most. It recounts the Lama's education and goes on to detail the events leading up to his 'death' at Kokonor on 14 November 1706. The Lama recounts how he arrived and camped at the lake with his entourage, where he received a letter from the Chinese Emperor Kangxi threatening his attendants with death upon their arrival in Beijing.⁶ To free his companions from their responsibility, the Lama decided to disappear – thus allowing them to believe, or at least pretend, that he had died.

What follows seems to be a classic example of a transformative narrative. Immediately on leaving his entourage, the Lama gets caught in a dust storm and encounters a young girl, dressed as a nomad, who leads him to safety. From this point until he arrives in Amdo ten years later, the Lama passes through a number of vignettes, meeting humans (including one with no head), yetis, zombies, *dakinis*, the *yi-dam* Mahakala and his consort and, finally, the gNas-chung oracle who, entranced, recognises him and breaks the spell of secrecy.

The narrative of these years contains characteristic elements. First, the story is framed by initiatory events: the dust storm is a chaotic situation marking a transition from one reality to another. The oracular trance at gNas-chung likewise symbolizes the linking of different realities. Both the girl and the Oracle are guides between the two realities – the one leading him into, the other out of, his secret identity.

Second, the mixture of events which are clearly of our world (children with smallpox, his friendship with Lo-brgya) – with dreams (the trampling of sacred texts on Gridhraku-

ta), religious figures (Mahakala and his consort, Vajrayoginis and other *dakinis*), otherworldly beings (sprinting yetis and dancing zombies), and with a headless man, who, in his humanity, seems to exist outside all contexts, even culturally conditioned ones – exemplifies how this section of the text exists outside quotidian reality and creates its own internal logic.

Finally, Dar-rgyas Nomunqan's commentary at the close of each section reminds us that this is the story of a holy man, a Dalai Lama, and needs to be thus understood to provide inspiration to fellow practitioners. As with all *nam-thar* (complete liberation), the secret biography is meant to be applied to our own lives, a text from which we can draw conclusions about the path which is Buddhist practice.

A man, his life and the text

Eighteenth-century Tibet and the contemporary Western world have very different standards of fact and fiction. In his otherwise excellent work on the secret biography, Michael Aris refuses to look beyond his liberal humanism to engage in the discourse as presented by Dar-rgyas Nomunqan. This is a pity. Far from being the cock-and-bull story that Aris claims it to be, it is a narrative of extraordinary mythic power. The creation of Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho rests as much on the secret biography as on the 60 or so poems commonly ascribed to him. To regard the sixth Dalai Lama merely as a historical figure makes one oblivious to what he has come to mean in Tibetan cultural and religious perceptions. Many have believed – known – that the story is the true narrative of the sixth Dalai Lama's life, as told by him to Dar-rgyas Nomunqan.

Like any reincarnate lama, Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho in death, on a *thang-ka*, transcends time and space – he resides in his *mandala* in a different way than his physical body once did. We can see Dar-rgyas Nomunqan's text as a kind of oral *thang-ka*, accessible to us on a number of levels, in a number of different dimensions, just as his songs (*mgu-glu*) can be seen as sung *thang-kas*.

Acknowledging this context has allowed me in my research to approach Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho's secret biography in various ways. I have suggested a number of levels on which the more fantastical sections might be understood. To read the remainder of the story from both contextualized and decontextualized viewpoints may likewise prove instructive, to better understanding the mythology and mythmaking surrounding Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho. Not only would such a project render due appreciation to Dargyas Nomunqan and his text, it may allow us to see Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho – whomever he might be – as equally individual and exemplar. <

Simon Wickham-Smith is reading and translating texts surrounding Tsangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho, the sixth Dalai Lama. His work can be accessed at: www.qamutiik.net/~6d/index.html. A longer version of this article is available at: www.qamutiik.net/IATS.pdf simon@qamutiik.net



Thang-ka showing Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho in the teaching mudra

Notes >

- 1 Dar-rgyas Nomunqan is the name commonly used to identify Ngag-dbang lHun-grub Dar-rgyas.
- 2 Only the 1981 editions of the Tibetan Peoples Publishing House, Lhasa, and the Peoples Publishing House, Beijing, use the term 'secret biography'. The original title uses the standard word for biography, *nam-par thar-pa*. Nonetheless, 'secret biography' is used in reference to this particular text and fits my purposes here.
- 3 Aris, Michael, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*, London: Kegan Paul International (1989).
- 4 We cannot say whether his distaste for formal religious study found expression in his spiritual practice. Some have suggested – they may have special insight or be apologists for a louche playboy – that his drinking and womanizing were outward manifestations of Tantric practice. Indeed, one of his most famous poems seems to come from this tradition. It ends: 'If you drink...with pure intent / You'll never experience the lower states' (my translation).
- 5 This murder was committed at the order of one of the wives of Lhazang Qan, the new Mongolian ruler who attained the throne by murdering the previous occupant, his brother.
- 6 There is some uncertainty as to why Kangxi behaved in this way, but it is likely that Lhazang Qan had unilaterally invited the Dalai Lama to Beijing, which seemed to have put the Emperor's nose somewhat out of joint.

In Service of Growth

Legal Regimes, FDI and Taiwan's Economic Development

Research >
China

Can laws and policies surrounding Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) sustain economic growth? Through an examination of the evolution and operation of Taiwan's FDI legal regime, I would like to suggest that the essence of Taiwan's success lies in its specific combination of liberalization and regulation. Well-considered policies can act as 'doorkeepers' to economic development and if the government maintains a legal regime consistent with public interest-oriented economic policy, it can promote Taiwan's development without risking its economic sovereignty.

By HO Ming-Yu

Taiwan in the 1960s turned to FDI to replace hitherto substantial aid from the United States. The government sought to combine FDI with the availability of cheap labour to achieve industrialization; import substitution, the promotion of exports and investment in labour-intensive industries became the objectives of Taiwan's economic policy. (Kuo, Ranis, and Fei 1981:73-74). In order to attract FDI to targeted industries, regulations were enacted to provide privileges and benefits – cheap credit and rebates on imported components and raw materials – to government approved initiatives. The strategy produced impressive results: instances of FDI to Taiwan shot up, pushing its value from USD 15 million in 1960 to USD 139 million in 1970.

In the 1970s the government adopted the Secondary Import and Export Substitution Policy. Retaining the economy's export orientation, it targeted for future growth capital, skilled labour,

and technology-intensive manufacturing industries (Ranis and Schive 1985:93). The approach called for sloughing off industries that were deemed internationally uncompetitive, such as low-end textiles, electronics, and footwear, while increasing local and foreign investment in strategic industries, e.g. microelectronics and capital equipment (Gold 1988: 186-197). Results of the new policy included the construction of a high-technology industrial park and a new tier of import-substitution industries.

To promote FDI, the government simplified investment procedures. Through the 1970s the Statute for Encouragement of Investment (SEI) was revised nine times. Both the Statute for Investment by Foreign Nationals (SIFN) and Statute for Investment by Overseas Chinese (SIOC) were revised in 1979. Between 1970 and 1980 FDI increased by 700 per cent while FDI-funded enterprises accounted for 22 per cent of exports.

Taiwan's economic structure became

problematic in the early 1980s. On the one hand, Taiwan faced competition from developing countries as rising domestic labour costs made exports less competitive on overseas markets. On the other hand, Taiwan still lacked sufficient capital and technology to develop capital and technology-intensive industries. From 1981, when oil prices stabilized and then declined, Taiwan's trade surpluses became increasingly and persistently large. This put upward pressure on the exchange rate and adversely affected domestic money supply while protectionist sentiment abroad forced Taiwan to open its markets (Lau, 1990: 184).

Faced with these dilemmas, the government redrafted its development strategy. Its 1984 policy of liberalization, internationalization, and institutionalization aimed to upgrade industry, adjust the country's economic structure, and build Taiwan into a science-and-technology island as well as a Asia-Pacific Regional Operations Centre (Yü 1995:257; Chiang 1995:170).

Incentives to attract investment in high technology industries were introduced alongside the establishment of more science parks. As the latter hosted both domestic and foreign companies, this initiative was geared not only to attract FDI, but also to broaden the industrial base and upgrade domestic skills. Legal reforms of FDI regulations in the 1980s reflected government policy of fostering as many capital and technology-intensive investment projects as possible. The SEI enacted in 1960 was amended in 1984 and 1987. The 1980s also witnessed five revisions of the SIFN and four revisions of the SIOC.

Negative listing

In May 1988 the government announced its 'Negative Listing Policy' for FDI applications. Under the previous 'Positive Listing' industries open to foreign shareholding were exceptions to the rule. Over time the government broadened the range of permissible industries: with the 'Negative List' of 1989, all industries except those listed were deemed open to FDI. Total FDI inflows reached their peak of USD 2.418 billion in 1989, almost six times the figure for 1980.

Liberalization of FDI policy meanwhile continued apace. The Negative List was revised in 1990 and 1996, considerably reducing the number of industries restricted to investment by foreign nationals and overseas Chinese. In 1991, the Statute for Encouragement of Investment (SEI), which had targeted specific industries, was replaced by the Statute for Upgrading Industries (SUI), designed to encourage domestic and foreign investment across industries. Similarly, the statutes for investment by foreign nationals and overseas Chinese, SIFN and SIOC, were revised in 1997 to remove obstacles to and improve conditions for investors. Total FDI in the 1990s nearly tripled the figures for the previous decade.

The growth of high-tech industries is now the focus of economic development policy in Taiwan. As manufacture-oriented industries gradually transform into innovation-oriented ones, it is hoped that Taiwan's acquired advantage in high-tech manufacturing, along with its strategic geographical location, will continue to attract FDI into the 2000s. Taiwan's entry into the WTO in 2002 and opening of the domestic market have created further opportunities for FDI. The Negative List, reformed once more in 2003 to meet WTO rules, contains only 10 prohibited industries and 25 restricted industries for investment by foreign nationals and 8 and 22 such industries respectively for overseas Chinese. Most industries in the prohibited and restricted categories comply with the WTO's national treatment principles: giving others the same treatment as one's own nationals. Preferential tax measures – including credits for investment in R&D and five-year exemptions

or shareholder investment credits for companies in important emerging industries – were extended until 2009.

Given Taiwan's strong position in high-tech, its entry into the WTO and pro-FDI legal reforms, one would have expected FDI flows to further increase. This was not to be: FDI to Taiwan dropped from USD 7.608 billion in 2000 to USD 3.272 billion in 2002. In part, this was due to the effect of global recession on investor confidence; the rise of China as an economic power also played a part.

Taiwan's future prospects are threatened by developing nations following closely on its heels. China – with its abundant labour force, market size, land costs and tax incentives – is catching up fast and attracting ample FDI. More recently, China has begun developing its high-technology industries, necessitating within Taiwan further upgrading and innovation. (Li 2002). Public and private inputs into R&D remain insufficient; Taiwan today does not exercise solid control over critical technologies. Having gone through labour-intensive, capital-intensive, and then technology-intensive phases, industry in Taiwan has to become knowledge-intensive. Failure to create higher added value will ensure loss of FDI to China and a slowdown of economic growth. The question of how to achieve these ambitious goals lies open to further research. ◀

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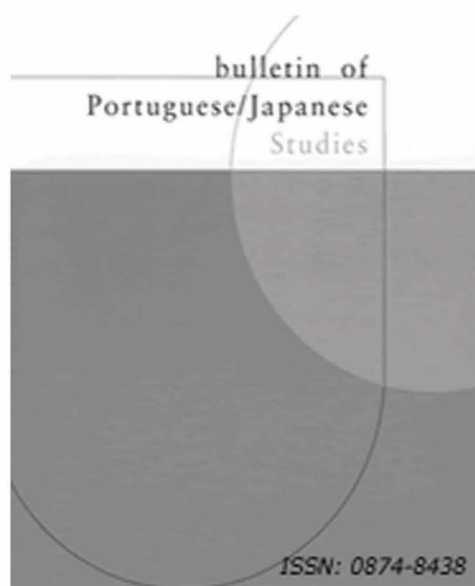
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The statistical data used, is based on *Taiwan Statistic Data Book*, Council for Economic Planning and Development (2002).

New Perspectives in Word-Prosodic Typology

The study of word prosody is in flux. The typology determined by the word-prosodic systems of the world's dominant languages is being challenged by an increasing number of exceptional languages. This research project focuses on one of these exceptional types: a hybrid word-prosodic system featuring contrastive lexical stress in addition to distinctive tone. The results will enrich our understanding of the form languages can take.

Research >
General

By Bert Remijsen

In the study of speech, it is useful to make a distinction between segmental and prosodic features. The vowels and consonants that make up utterances constitute the segmental part of speech. Prosody, on the other hand, comprises the properties of speech that are unpredictable on the basis of the sequence of vowels and consonants. The prosodic properties are fundamental frequency (f_0 , the acoustic correlate of perceived pitch), duration, intensity (the acoustic correlate of perceived loudness) and, to some extent, vowel quality. These prosodic parameters serve a wide range of functions in speech communication: flagging word boundaries, encoding pragmatic differences, such as statement versus question, expressing emotion, and so forth.

At the word, or lexical, level, prosodic properties encode lexical tone, lexical stress, and lexical pitch accent, briefly explained as follows. The function of lexical tone is to distinguish words from one another, and it does so by means of f_0 . The Papuan language Iau, for example, has a tone system with eight lexically contrastive (or phonemic) f_0 -patterns. In this language, the syllable /be/ means 'fire' when f_0 is low

level, 'snake' when it is high and rising, and 'path' when it is low and rising, etc. Apart from lexical tone, there is lexical accent. In languages with this word-prosodic feature, one syllable per word is made prominent by (some combination of) the above-mentioned prosodic properties. This is the accented syllable, which stands out from the other (unaccented) syllables in the word. The location of the accent in the word can be unpredictable, in which case the accent can be used to distinguish words. This is the case in English, where we find minimal pairs such as /'pervert/ (noun) vs. /pɜr'vert/ (verb). More often than not, however, the location of accent is predictable, e.g. fixed on the first syllable, like in Czech. A speaker of Czech can infer word boundaries from the lexical accents.

Within the category of lexical accent, it is useful to make a further distinction between lexical pitch accent and lexical stress. A language features lexical pitch accent when the lexical accent is made prominent by means of a single, specific f_0 -pattern. This is the case in Japanese, where the syllable that carries the lexical pitch accent is marked by a fall in f_0 . Lexical stress, on the other hand, is lexical accent encoded by prosodic parameters other than f_0 . A case in point is English, where the first syllable in /'pervert/ stands out from the second syllable in that word by the fact that it has a longer duration, a less schwa-like vowel, and higher intensity. Depending on its position in an utterance, the stressed syllable may also feature an f_0 -pattern, but if it does, this f_0 -pattern is a matter of utterance-level prosody (intonation), often with a pragmatic function. In general, in languages that feature lexical stress the stressed syllable can be marked by intonational f_0 -patterns.

The above brief overview of word-prosodic features follows the typology reflected in landmark studies such as Trubetzkoy's *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (1939) and in Beckman (1986). However, there are languages with word-prosodic systems that do not match any of these types exclusively. And while some of these atypical configurations have been known for decades, others have been discovered only in recent years. From the clear-cut distinctions of the above-mentioned typology, new data are leading to a considerably less restricted word-prosodic typology.

The best known of these 'atypical' configurations straddles the fence between lexical tone and lexical pitch accent. That is, a considerable number of languages have lexical tone contrasts that are restricted to a single syllable in the word. In such languages, the syllable to which the tonal contrast is limited stands out from among the other syllables in the word, just as is the case with lexical accent. For example, the Austronesian language Ma'ya features a three-member tonal contrast that is limited to the final syllable of content words (Remijsen 2002). Such systems show that there is a continuum between lexical tone and lexical pitch accent: lexical tone contrasts can be less or more restricted to certain syllables within the word.

Secondly, there appear to be languages that feature none of the three above-mentioned word-prosodic features. French, Indonesian, and possibly Tamil fall in this category. These languages have no lexical stress, lexical pitch accent, or lexical tone. In Indonesian, for example, there is no regular encoding of lexical prominence. And whereas intonational pitch-accent is aligned with lexically accented syllables in languages that feature lexical stress, their association is more random in languages like Indonesian (Goedemans and Van Zanten, publication pending).

Thirdly, recent research suggests that there are lexical stress languages in which stressed syllables do not carry intonational pitch accents. Both for the Niger-Congo language Wolof (Rialland and Robert 2001) and for the Papuan language Kuot (Lindstrom 2002), it has been reported that emphasis is not marked by intonational accents on stressed syllables, and that the intonational contours are not anchored to lexically prominent syllables in any way. No detailed phonetic analyses have yet been carried out to determine whether the encoding of stress in these languages is the same as in 'traditional' stress systems such as English, where stressed syllables do tend to carry intonational pitch-accent.

Finally, there are to be hybrid word-prosodic systems, which combine lexical stress with lexical tone or lexical pitch accent. In most of these, stress is fixed, but at least two of these hybrid systems feature contrastive stress. One of these is the above-mentioned Ma'ya language: Ma'ya features lexically contrastive stress in addition to the three-toneme tone system. Examples of minimal pairs for lexical tone and lexical stress in Ma'ya are listed in tables 1 and 2, respectively. It has been demonstrated (Remijsen 2002) that in Ma'ya stress and tone each have their own acoustic encoding: as expected, the tonal contrast is encoded by f_0 . Additionally, stress is encoded by duration and vowel quality. The other hybrid word-prosodic system with contrastive lexical stress is the Creole language Papiamentu, whose prosodic system has not yet been subjected to a detailed phonetic analysis.

There is a striking similarity between Ma'ya and Papiamentu: both have developed in a contact situation where members of different language families share linguistic features. Ma'ya lies on the geographic boundary between the Austronesian language family and the Papuan languages of New Guinea; Papiamentu is the result of contact between West-African languages and Indo-European languages. In both cases, one (group of) source language(s) involved in the contact situation has contributed the lexical stress feature, and another has given rise to the tonal contrast. In other words, the limited data available suggest that hybrid word-prosodic systems with contrastive stress cannot develop through spontaneous language-internal development, but only through contact between languages with stress and languages with a tonal feature.

Hybrid word-prosodic systems with lexical stress are interesting because they show to what extent languages can exploit prosody: without evidence that such systems exist, one could assume that lexical stress, lexical pitch accent, and lexical tone are mutually exclusive. The main focus of this project is to determine exactly how Ma'ya and Papiamentu use prosody. For example, is it possible for such languages to encode intonational contrasts, in addition to the two word-prosodic contrasts they feature? Also, research will also be carried out on other atypical word-prosodic systems (e.g. the Papuan language Kuot), in cooperation with descriptive linguists.

In conclusion, the discovery of more and more 'atypical' patterns in recent years constitutes a challenge to word-prosodic typology: we will need to move beyond classifying such systems as atypical and arrive at a new synthesis of what kinds of word-prosodic systems are possible in languages of the world. To arrive at that stage, however, we need detailed phonetic studies on the word-prosodic systems of less-studied languages. Obviously, the typology outlined above reflects the world's dominant languages, and that is its limitation. But now that a laptop and a microphone can constitute an adequate speech lab, there is no reason to exclude such analyses from fieldwork research on minority languages, which is where the surprises will be found. In short, it is impossible to know what word-prosodic typology will be like twenty years from now, but it will be a very different picture from the one outlined above. <

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Table 1: Minimal set examples of lexical tone in Ma'ya. Lexical tone is transcribed numerically after the vowel with which the tone is associated. The range from 1 to 4 represents the tonal range of the speaker from low to high. I.e., ³ is a high tone, ¹² a rising tone, and ²¹ a falling tone.

High	Falling	Rising
'sa ³	'sa ²¹	'sa ¹²
'to climb'	'one'	'to sweep'
'na ³	'na ²¹	'na ¹²
'sugar palm'	'belly-3sg.'	'sky'

Table 2: Minimal pair examples of lexical stress in Ma'ya. Stress is marked by a ' preceding the stressed syllable.

Penultimate stress	Final stress
'tala ³	ta'la ³
'banana'	'k.o. plant'
'mana ³	ma'na ³
'light (of weight)'	'grease'

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Politics By Other Means

The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India

Review >
South Asia

Paul Brass' latest book *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* is an extraordinary work that sums up almost 40 years of research on politics, religious identities, and violence in northern India. Focusing on the politics of Hindu-Muslim relations in one city in Uttar Pradesh – Aligarh – over the entire post-Independence era, Brass argues that riots are permanent features of Indian politics, produced and staged by 'institutionalized riot systems'. Condemning and bemoaning riots and casualties have become part of India's modern political culture, as much as the riots themselves.

By Thomas Blom Hansen

Brass' introductory chapter takes aim at what he sees as the unsatisfactory and, ultimately, mystifying explanations that have been advanced in explaining riots. 'Naturalizing' accounts portray riots as inevitable eruptions of anger between communities divided by deep and incommensurable differences. Others view riots as pathologies of Indian political life, resulting from the cynical manipulation of religious passions by criminal business people and ill-intentioned politicians focused on short-term electoral gains. These explanations, Brass argues, not only obscure the processes at work; they are complicit in the very regime of interpretation that perpetuates riots. Portraying them as either 'justified' or as short lived 'aberrations', these explanations fail to recognize the integral, normalized roles riots play in political competition and communal organization in large parts of India.

With its prosperous Hindu bania (trader) communities and substantial Muslim artisan population, Aligarh is a typical north Indian city. At the same time the presence of India's premier Muslim institution, Aligarh Muslim University, the deep and enduring communal polarization, and the early alliances between Muslims and untouchables make the city special. Unlike Ashutosh Varshney in his recent work (Varshney 2002), Brass rejects the official classification of certain cities as 'riot-prone'. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* emerges as a welcome rejoinder to Varshney's influential and overly schematic analysis where communal riots result from the absence of civic ties across communities. In explaining specific riots, Brass' obviously finds analytical distinctions between 'politics', 'civil society', and 'the state' less plausible than the detailed stories of individual careers and socio-political networks in the city's neighbourhoods.

Riots are best understood as the results of actions by identifiable specialists and networks of specialists in 'riot-production': the systematic rehearsal, staging and interpretation of collective violence as spontaneous acts of self-defence or retaliation against unjust and murderous threats from the other community. Understood in this way, riots can more effectively be policed and prevented. How does Brass reach this sensible conclusion? How does his conception of riots as complex localized productions compare to other explanations of riots in South Asia?

The evidence presented in the book is comprehensive and represents, thus

far, the most systematic exploration of 'riot production' in India (and possibly anywhere).

Brass presents the context and development of a sequence of riots in Aligarh since 1925 and explores the changing roles of Aligarh Muslim University, national political campaigns, local rivalries over space and livelihoods, and policing strategies. He presents data on the changing spatial and demographic features of Aligarh, testing the popular thesis of Hindu-Muslim economic competition as the source of rioting. In subsequent sections Brass analyses the nature of political competition and local electoral arithmetic with cogency and precision, while the role of the police and the media are treated in separate chapters.

The sheer volume and complexity of this unique longitudinal study comprising interviews, official reports, statistical evidence, and biographies of key figures prevents strong conclusions. Brass reminds us that riots do not happen in most places most of the time, not even in times of generalized *tanav* (tension) between communities. His material convincingly demonstrates that over the decades, riots have repeatedly occurred in only four or five specific localities in Aligarh. These localities are all characterized by the presence of seasoned riot specialists, men whose activities span business, politics, and cultural-religious organizations, men who are willing and able to translate rumours and general discourses into local mobilization.

Riots as routine politics

Does Brass' explanation of the persistence of riots in India stand up to scrutiny? The book is the work of a mature mind and does not discount the broader cultural and psychological explanations of how the history of Hindu-Muslim enmity has, over time, produced a rich archive of mythical knowledge of 'the other' which defies logic and reasoned argument. Brass is more interested in when, where and how, and by whom, this archive is activated and transformed into arguments for action and violence. His insistence on 'demystification' is refreshing and this book once again shows the immense value of sustained and localized field research.

The most suggestive conclusion to emerge from this book is that riots are integral and routinized aspects of India's modern political culture, and that condemning and bemoaning riots and their casualties have become as much a part of this political culture as the riots themselves. Recent studies of lower-caste movements and other forms of political mobilization in India

suggest that activists are groomed to regard politics as a permanent state of warfare. Violence no longer represents the breakdown of political communication, but lies, rather, at the heart of contemporary Indian political practice.

For all its merits, the book leaves a range of questions unanswered. We hear a great deal about the 'riot systems' constructed over decades by various Hindu nationalist figures in Aligarh. The riot systems on the other side, among Muslims, appear less documented – almost non-existent – despite stories of links between Muslim criminals and academics at Aligarh Muslim University. Is this due to the difficulties involved in gathering information from marginalized communities? Or is it because their networks are differently organized? Or absent? Or is the whole idea of symmetry, of equally apportioning blame and culpability to Hindus and Muslims a myth; a part of an interpretative regime that absolves Hindu nationalists of their prime responsibility for what are, increasingly, anti-Muslim pogroms?

Another question left open is why riots occur in localities without established 'riot systems'. Brass' answer would undoubtedly be that 'new' riots signify initial and necessary steps by local operators in organizing more permanent 'systems' that will ensure both their influence over a constituency and the political effectiveness of future riots. Yet, this seems to come close to a tautology. Can one, for instance, assume that a riot always represents more of the same logic? The evidence on the effects of the Babri Masjid controversy in Aligarh indicates that the national scale and systematic nature of Hindu nationalist campaigns in recent years constantly transform new areas into loci of communal conflict and violence and thus can be said to reduce the significance of local factors.

The arithmetic of hatred

Although Brass has qualified his earlier, more hard-headed 'instrumentalist' position on how and why ethnic-communal identities are created and maintained, assumptions of underlying political rationalities reverberate through the book. Riots are ultimately rational mechanisms organized and orchestrated in order to consolidate political constituencies and to reproduce paranoia and mistrust. The problem with this 'on/off' theory of riot production is that it assumes that behind-the-scenes key operators keep their eyes on the larger, supra-local picture. Brass' own evidence, however, provides several examples of how this was not always the case. His interviews with key figures also make it plain that

they are deeply immersed in what he brands irrational and 'fantastical' ideas about the threat posed to the Hindu majority in India. In this sense riots are political actions, i.e. tentative, chaotic, and complex occurrences, immersed in dominant social and political ideological formations and unpredictable in their effects. We cannot extrapolate causes from effects, but we can, Brass reminds us, always be sure that riots are intentional and organized with objectives in mind.

The postscript on the pogroms in Gujarat in 2002 provides additional support for Brass' thesis of riot systems being systemic features of India's political culture. Aligarh has experienced almost a decade without violence: during this time political alignments have shifted and the Muslim population has grown in strength, while the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP – Indian People's Party) in Uttar Pradesh remains paralysed. As a consequence, a non-communal candidate was elected by both Muslim and Hindu voters in 2002. Simultaneously, in the neighbouring state of Gujarat, the 'riots systems' painstakingly constructed by the Hindu nationalist movement organized a gruesome pogrom against Muslims, in complicity with the police and parts of the government. While the riot systems

were dormant in Aligarh, they flourished in Gujarat because the BJP and aligned forces seized the opportunity to use public violence to consolidate 'Hindu sentiments' and their political constituency.

If Brass is right, the same can happen again in Aligarh when the combination of national political discourse, electoral arithmetic and local grievances make it possible and expedient for the seasoned riot specialists of that city to resume their deadly game. <

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Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity

Review >
Japan

The last decade in Japanese Studies has been marked by a deep interest in Japanese minorities, namely the Ainu, Koreans, Okinawans, and burakumin.¹ Scholars have embarked on a mission to deconstruct the myth of the unique and homogenous Japanese nation. The book *Japan and Okinawa*, which deals with Okinawan identity, is an excellent contribution to this deconstruction.

By Stanislaw Meyer

Okinawa, known in the past as the Kingdom of Ryukyu, was incorporated into the Japanese state by force in 1879. Although Japan succeeded in assimilating its southernmost province, it never treated it as an integral part of so-called 'Japan proper'. Notwithstanding the terrible sacrifice that Okinawa was forced to make during the Second World War, it would later be abandoned and ceded to the USA. Even today, thirty years after reverting to Japan, Okinawa is still disproportionately burdened with the presence of American military forces.

Japan and Okinawa is divided in two parts, 'Structure' and 'Subjectivity', consisting of fourteen essays covering various aspects of modern Okinawa. Part one discusses the political and economic structure that holds Okinawa hostage, and the ways in which Okinawans are trying to loosen its constraints. The province's main problem, we learn from the essay by Gavan McCormack, is its heavy dependence upon economic development, designed, sponsored, and controlled by the Japanese state. This makes Okinawa rely mainly on tourism, revenues from mil-

itary bases, and public construction works. Since the government is not willing to give up the military bases (see the chapters by Gabe Masaaki and Ōta Masahide), and the bases obscure the development of Okinawa, economic growth can only be sustained through the promotion of public construction works and tourism, both of which have almost reached their limits in terms of opportunities. The Okinawans are trying to break this vicious circle by promoting an idea of a free-trade zone, which would help Okinawa emerge as a self-sustaining microregion in Asia. This plan, however, meets with little support in Tokyo, as the government fears the prospect of 'one state, two systems' as well as a liberalization of the market (see the chapter by Glenn D. Hook). Still, as Ōta Masahide informs us, the 'Okinawa problem' is not only a matter of the government's lack of good will. It is also a matter of omnipotent Japanese bureaucracy which does not want to give up its power and which obstructs the government's efforts to decentralize the state.

Part two, 'Subjectivity', gives us several different insights into Okinawan identity. The variety of subjects discussed corroborates the idea this iden-

tity is highly complex and ambiguous. Richard Siddle examines the revival of Okinawan ethnicity and demonstrates how the Okinawan people are trying to gain worldwide recognition by drawing upon the notion of 'indigenous people'. Miyume Tanji, on the other hand, examines voices of Okinawan women and environmentalists who seek international support for their struggle against, respectively, military violence and the 'construction state'. These two essays demonstrate that Okinawa negotiates and articulates identity not only in reference to Japan proper. Yet, Japan still seems to be the leitmotif in the Okinawan narrative. Julia Yonetani discusses the controversy over attempts to politicize memories of the Okinawa Battle, and in her chapter we learn how sensitive the issue of 'being Japanese' is in Okinawa.

This book deserves special credit because it breaks with certain conventional approaches towards the study of Okinawa. It proposes we stop looking at the province as a mere victim of Japanese and American imperialism and colonization, an image we have tended to take for granted thanks to sympathetic studies by, for example, Kerr (1958) or Christy (1997). Okinawa,

we learn, is not a passive subject in a history of subjugation, owing her 'Okinawanness' only to unilateral designation on the part of the powers to which she was subjugated. The book demonstrates that the political and economic structure imposed upon Okinawa is double-faced: on the one hand it constrains the right to self-determination, but on the other it provides opportunities and space within which Okinawans can realize and articulate their identity. As Glenn Hook and Richard Siddle emphasize in their introduction, Okinawans, in spite of being 'subjected', do have the power to negotiate, challenge, and even subvert the structural constraints. To what extent they can turn their disadvantageous position into benefits depends on how they negotiate their political principles, history, identity, culture, and environment.

Politics and recent history predominate in the book and it is to be regretted that culture has been covered only rather superficially in two essays. Also, there is

little reference to the pre-war years and the history of Ryukyu. Still, the contemporary relevance of the examined topics and the innovative approach place this work among the most important works in Okinawan Studies. It is an excellent book that should be recommended to all interested in contemporary Japan. <

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Notes >

- 1 Descendants of the 'untouchable' outcasts, severely discriminated in Japanese society.

Dodonæus in Japan

Review >
Japan

Rembertus Dodonæus, the Latin name of Rembert Dodoens (1517-1585), was a famous herbalist, born in Mechelen, in what is now Belgium, and at the time, the Spanish Netherlands. What is remarkable about him as a scientist is that his work had a significant impact in Japan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dodonæus' herbal, which influenced botanical developments in Japan, was first published as *Crujideboeck* in 1554 and was reprinted as *Cruydt-boeck* in 1618 and 1644. In the introduction to *Dodonæus in Japan*, Vande Walle defines its purpose as 'the study of the science of translation and the translation of science...it endeavours to trace how the Western herbal tradition, notably the herbal by Dodonæus, was received into the intellectual discourse of Tokugawa Japan, and to demonstrate how it contributed to the articulation of modern episteme, the scientific mind' (p.23).

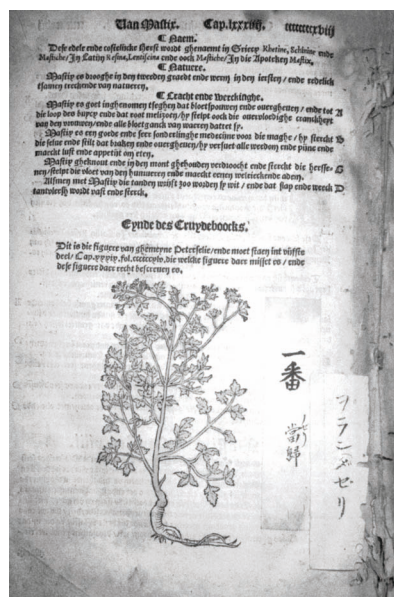
By Margarita Winkel

The essays in the book, divided into four parts each consisting of four essays, take Dodonæus' herbal as the point of departure for explorations into a wide range of topics concerning the introduction, translation, and impact of European science in Early Modern, or Tokugawa, Japan (1600-1868). The first part of the book situates Dodonæus in the European context through an assessment of his contribution to modern science. The other three parts discuss the translation and indigenization of Dodonæus' herbal in the wider context of the development of the modern scientific mind in Japan. It is these parts that concern us here.

The essays in part two, 'Translation and the Articulation of the Modern Episteme in Japan', discuss translation as part of a creative process of adoption and adaptation into a new environment, a process that inevitably requires a creative reinterpretation of the original. Michael Schiltz, in his essay on the essential meaning of translation, problematizes the relation between translation and notions of society and territorial boundaries. Vande Walle traces the history of the translation of European scientific concepts in Japan and China, which begun with Jesuit translations in the seventeenth century, against a back-

ground of existing linguistic traditions in these countries. In an essay on the artistic impact of the Western linear perspective in Japan, Shigemi Inaga follows the transformation of this European linear perspective and reveals how this painting principle was not passively adopted, but was reinterpreted to fit into existing Japanese artistic traditions. Kazuhiko Kasaya views the translation of Dodonæus' book from a political perspective. He places it against the background of the official shogunal policies promoting the local production of medicinal herbs.

The essays of part three, 'Japanese Renditions of Dodonæus', trace the effects of these translations further into the actual adoption and impact of these works in Japan. Kiyoshi Matsuda outlines the history of the impact of the aforementioned *Cruydt-boeck* in Japan from its first possible use in a Japanese herbal in 1709 to its complete translation in 1823. Shirahata traces the significance of this book in the transition of a medicinal interest in herbs to a more fully-fledged botanical attitude in Japan. As a consequence, botanical gardens came to be established as centres for horticultural experiments. Timon Screech describes the considerable visual impact of the lavishly and ingeniously illustrated herbals and other Western botanical, zoological, and med-



Page from the first Dutch edition of Dodoens' *Crujideboeck* (1554), reproduced from the personal copy of Yamamoto Bōyō, presently in the possession of Yamamoto Dokushoshitsu, Kyoto.

ical books that Japan imported. Haga Tōru focuses on the legacy of a remarkable and controversial pioneer in Japanese herbology, Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779), who attempted to unsettle traditional China-oriented herbology in Japan by drawing attention to European works, in particular to Dodonæus' book *Yōzaburō*.

The essays of the fourth and final part of the book, 'The Rangaku Con-

text', develop the theme of the introduction of European science into Japan. Two essays focus on the close relation between herbology and medical science. Harmen Beukers discusses the role of Deshima surgeons in introducing Western medical science and *materia medica* into Japan, and Frederik Cryns presents the Japanese translation and adaptation of the mechanical concept of the human body, developed by the Dutch medical teacher Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), as an exercise in the translation of concepts. The other two essays in this part extend the scope of this book to the role played by non-Dutch European science and scientists. Although foreign science practices were known as 'Dutch Studies' (*rangaku*) because they were introduced through the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the VOC employed many who came from elsewhere in Europe. Moreover many of the 'Dutch' books brought to Japan were translations from other European languages, notably French, German, and English. Taking the work of the French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510-1590) as an example, Gabor Lukacs' essay gives an overview of the important influence of French science in Tokugawa Japan. In her essay on a prominent non-Dutch VOC employee, the Swedish botanist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828),

Catharina Blomberg discusses Thunberg's observations on Japan during his stay in 1775-1776.

This book is a good example of fruitful Japanese-European academic cooperation. Five of the authors are from Japan, the others from Europe. All have contributed well-informed essays drawing on their specific expertise in relation to this topic. The only thing one might have wished for would be a conclusion evaluating and synthesizing the new insights presented in this book. The book itself is well designed, uniform in style, and is conveniently presented. More than one hundred illustrations give a good insight into the depictions of herbs and other scientific illustrations in European scientific books, as well as their transformed, Japanese appearance. They are a joy to the eye, but also an absolute necessity in understanding the significant visual impact of scientific illustrations at that time. The Japanese characters for names and terms appear in the margin, adjacent to the text. The book is meticulously edited, for which the editors and their assistant deserve all credit. <

- Vande Walle, W.F. and Kazuhiko Kasaya (eds), *Dodonæus in Japan. Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies and Leuven University Press (2001), pp. 383, ISBN 905867179-8

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Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs in Late Imperial China

Review >
China

The study of the late imperial Chinese state and its relationship with the society it governed has been a field of great dynamism in the last couple of decades. Hence developed a more sophisticated understanding of the actual operations of institutions, and of the ways in which individuals pursued careers and social groups sought to maximize their interests in contention with each other and with the powers of the state itself. While some of this scholarship has taken earlier dynasties as its focal point, it has been the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) which has been most thoroughly investigated and which has come to yield perhaps the most subtle analysis.

By Kenneth Hammond

The present volume, a collection of eleven essays on various aspects of late imperial administration and social intervention, brings together many of the authors of major works which have already greatly expanded our knowledge and interpretive comprehension of the period, as well as new work from scholars exploring the vast reservoir of Chinese local history. It is an exceptionally strong anthology, with a clear focus on the practical workings of the Qing state in its management of daily affairs across the empire. The title reflects the book's concerns: from the lofty realm of dragons, representing the emperors, to the quotidian activities of officials in the bureaucracy; either fierce, superior tigers or subordinate dogs.

The book is functionally organized into four parts. The first is the editors' introduction, which provides an overview of the individual chapters and draws out the themes and analyses which run through the volume. Chapters 2-6 are studies of the development of particular institutions during the Qing. Robert Antony deals with sub-county bureaucracy in Guangdong; Philip Yeun-sang Leung studies the 'expectant official' system in the period after the Taiping Rebellion; Richard



Three members of the Grand Council sitting outside a pavillion, most likely in a garden in Beijing.

Lufrano traces the development of the use of merchant petitions by urban commercial groups; Zhang Zhongmin looks at informal government in Shanghai; and R. Keith Schoppa discusses water management in a micro-region of Zhejiang. To cite only one example from among these, Lufrano's paper highlights the contribution this collection makes to a more subtle and nuanced understanding of late imperi-

al relations between state and society. In exploring the use of petitions from merchant groups to influence local government officials, he argues that we need to see these activities as part of a nexus of interest negotiations incorporating local commercial groups, government officials at the *yamen* level (local government office), and the overarching perspective of the imperial state. Rather than a simple clash of gov-

ernment intervention and merchant resistance, Lufrano reveals a certain convergence of interests which allowed the Qing to promote economic development and support local administration at the same time.

Chapters 7-11 are case studies of situations which called for particular responses from state administrators, and how those were handled. Nancy Park presents two corruption cases from the Qianlong era; Jane Kate Leonard revisits her analysis of the Daoguang era grain transport crisis, focusing here on the final phase of this crisis in 1826; Joseph Tsi-hei Lee explores the roles of Christian communities in dealing with collective violence in Guangdong; David Atwill looks at ethnic violence in Yunnan; and Dorothy Borei addresses ethnic conflict and land policy in Xinjiang. The final chapter is a comparative study by Zheng Shiping which traces the lingering influence of Qing administrative practice on local governance in post-1949 China.

Two major themes emerge from these papers. The first is that, while the Qing imperial state was willing and able to adapt to local conditions and to changing circumstances, it did not do so by making radical breaks with established practice or existing institutional systems. Qing officials drew on the wealth of precedent and experience which was available to them from previous administrative experience and from local informants. At the same time, in recognition of the structural limitations of the imperial bureaucracy, there was an increasing tendency to turn to extra-bureaucratic agents in the resolution of problems. In some

instances these were traditional local elites or participants in the examination culture who had not found places in the official hierarchy. In others they were newer manifestations of economic developments such as merchants' associations, which both facilitated the articulation of commercial interests and extended the reach of the state into the expanding economy. In other words, if a single term were needed to characterize the Qing state as revealed in these papers it would be 'flexible'. In conjunction with works such as William Rowe's study of Chen Hongmou as an exemplary administrator, or Bradley Reed's work on county clerks in the Qing, the papers in *Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs* do a great deal to strengthen our understanding of, and appreciation for, the sophistication and modernity of government in the late imperial age. <

- Antony, Robert J. and Jane Kate Leonard (eds), *Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs: Qing Crisis Management and the Boundaries of State Power in Late Imperial China*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press (2002), pp.xiii + 333, ISBN 1-885445-14-8

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The Burdens of Economic Growth

Prior to World War II already, Japan was the first non-Western country to become successfully industrialized. From the 1970s onwards, Japan again transformed its backward position, which resulted from the War, into one of world leadership in terms of its economy, its wealth, and its position at the forefront of technology and science, but not, or much less so, of its political institutions or culture. During the 1970s and 1980s, there was widespread belief that Japan's economic model was far superior to both the European Rhineland model and the free market ideology and practices of the United States and Great Britain. Only in the 1990s, when Japan's growth faltered, was this assumed superiority called into question.

Review >
Japan

By Benno Galjart

The British sociologist Runciman has pointed out that, in a social science there are four different meanings of understanding something: to report what happened, more or less as a journalist does; to explain why something happened; to describe how what happened was experienced by the people concerned (that is, how it felt); and, finally, to evaluate whether what happened was a good thing or a bad thing. This book is a mixture. It concentrates on what happened but, in some instances, also explains why a particular event happened and, in others, describes what the participants felt. The book consists of seven chapters, arranged chronologically: Japan up to the end of World War II; the American occupation; the foundations of the economic miracle (1952-1962); the miracle itself (up to 1972); a discussion of the shock-absorber system (up to 1980); the dilemmas of power (1980-1992); and a final chapter on the end of the Japanese model (up to 2000). In each chapter occurrences and changes in the economy, the polity, the society, and the international relations of Japan are dealt with.

Development is a multidimensional phenomenon but, although a positive long-term correlation between dimensions clearly exists, in the short term progress in one dimension may well occur at the same time as stagnation or deterioration in another. Japan is to some extent an example of this contradiction between long term and short term. Bouissou explains that, prior to as well as after World War II,

Japan's phenomenal economic growth was directed by the state. In both pre- and post-war periods, the main goal was independence. Before that war, independence was seen as the tool which would enable Japan to be an imperial power like Great Britain. Since the late 1950s, independence as a national goal has been seen not in military but in economic terms: it means independence from foreign technology and foreign finance. This is not to be achieved through autarchy but, on the contrary, by exporting as much as possible while importing as little as possible. Growth, however, not only implies that production is increased but also, after a while, that value is added and wages increase. In turn this means that labour will eventually become too expensive for certain goods to be produced. Growth may in the end benefit most people in a society, but it also creates hardship because some industries or sectors go out of business, or because the push to produce cheaply causes environmental and health problems. Faltering businesses may temporarily be kept going by handing out subsidies, which becomes prohibitively expensive, or by restricting cheaper imports, which meets with international resistance and, eventually, sanctions. Japan did both, rather successfully, until the late 1980s. Belief in and optimism about the Japanese model, not only on the part of foreigners but, also, of the Japanese themselves, led to speculation in land and shares, a so-called bubble, which burst in 1989. Since then, the economy has stagnated.

There has been, and still is, debate about who rules Japan. Bouissou refers to the 'Iron Triangle', which consists of the

LDP (the party that has ruled Japan with only a minor interruption since the mid-1950s), the bureaucracy, and the large business groups (p. 247). This elite managed to stay in power and, in the process, created the economic miracle. What also helped was the doctrinal rigidity of the main opposition party, the socialists. The victims of growth had no political alternative.

Whereas the subtitle of the book, 'the burden of success', suggests some causal connection between the earlier economic successes and the stagnation of the nineties, other than that the latter followed upon the former, it is only in the introduction of each chapter that an attempt is made to establish a causal relation between economy, polity, and society. It is a rich book in the sense that it contains a staggering amount of facts; but, for that very reason, readers need to build a somewhat more simple causal chain for themselves. The same elite that created the miracle – more scandal-ridden now than ever, Bouissou seems to suggest – now stands in the way of a resumption of growth, because it does not want to sacrifice its power. <

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Reading East Asian Writing The Limits of Literary Theory

Review >
East Asia

Over the past two decades, scholarship on East Asian, and in particular on Chinese literature has been transformed by the application of Western critical theory. From being the exception, theoretically informed approaches have become increasingly prevalent. Although old-fashioned, plain-speaking humanistic criticism has far from disappeared, the work of scholars such as Rey Chow and Lydia H. Liu has had a significant impact on the field and on upcoming generations of researchers.

By Julia Lovell

The jury is still out on the implications of these developments, and on the applicability of critical theory to literatures and cultures so distant from those of the West. Is this Western cultural imperialism that imposes its own misunderstandings on East Asian literature? Does the application of Western theories to East Asian literature welcome 'marginal' literatures into the modern, Western global canon at the expense of 'local' critical approaches, thereby keeping non-Western literatures and critical practices culturally subordinate to the West? Not unimportantly, does 'theoryspeak' tend to produce frustratingly obfuscating analysis?

These, and other relevant questions, have been raised in various public forums since the early 1990s. *Reading East Asian Writing* is the latest contribution to this debate, drawing together thirteen scholars of Chinese and Japanese literature to consider the question: does Western literary theory work in East Asia?

The contributors vary widely in their approach to the issue. Some plunge straight in with practical applications of theory to specific works of literature; others concentrate on theoretical structures inherent within the organization and study of literature; again others consider the uses and pitfalls of critical theory. Rey Chow, the doyenne of theoretical analyses of modern Chinese literature, takes a direct approach, draw-

ing together a short story by the modern Chinese writer Lao She and texts by Walter Benjamin, in order to illuminate the complexities of Lao She's position as a patriotic, nation-loving author. Haruo Shirane, by contrast, uncovers the theoretical assumptions behind canon formation in Japanese literary history.

Later chapters grapple with the relevance of specific theoretical schools and thinkers to East Asian literature, such as Derrida, Kristeva and new historicism. Two essays are devoted to the application of the sociological ideas of Pierre Bourdieu to Chinese and Japanese literature. Michel Hockx finds that, in studying the 1920s and 1930s literary scene, Bourdieu's ideas about position-taking and strategies of accumu-

lating cultural capital shed helpful analytical light on the behaviour of the avant-garde literati of that time. Hockx also notes, however, that the usefulness of Bourdieu's theories is diminished on considering the strong impulse to collective, as opposed to individually distinctive, action within modern Chinese literature.

Stephen Dodd's essay offers a valuable personal view of the function of theory. Instead of regarding literary theory as a tool for the critic to achieve a quasi-scientific objectivity (one of the aims that fuelled its genesis in the twentieth century), Dodd asserts that 'everyone is involved in some kind of theoretical position'. While established literary theory can offer a stimulating smorgasbord of choices, it is crucial that the critic maintains a flexible self-awareness of the personal intellectual baggage he or she brings to a text.

Dodd's thoughtful perspective is representative of the balanced, non-polemical tone that unites these essays, whose authors never diverge from careful, rea-

soned argument. More ruminative than conclusive, this stimulating collection offers a wide-ranging discussion of questions to which there can be no definitive answers. <

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The Buddha's Moon Reflected on a Thousand Rivers

Review >
Korea

The illustrious ruler, King Sejong the Great (reigned 1418-1450 at the beginning of the Korean Yi Dynasty, 1392-1910) personally supervised various scientific projects in the fields of sinology, medicine, astronomy, and geography. However, modern Koreans remember him for having invented their national alphabet, now called *han'gŭl*. His son, Prince Suyang, used this brand-new alphabet to compose the 'Detailed Record of the Buddha's Life' (*Sŏkpo sangjŏl*), commissioned by his father in honour of the Prince's mother, the beloved Queen Sohŏn who had died in 1445. He submitted this first work of prose in the Korean language to his father in 1447. It was compiled from translations of Chinese Buddhist sutras, and King Sejong used it as source for his poetic version, the 'Song of the Moon Reflected on a Thousand Rivers' (*Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok*, 1449).

By Allard M. Olof

The song is composed of cantos of two verse lines, except the first canto which consists of one line only. It opens with lyrical verses, followed by tales of earlier lives of the Buddha and his career in our world, and the whole story is full of supernatural events. In 1459, when Prince Suyang ruled as King Sejo, he had the two works combined in a new edition, but in the course of time large parts of the works have gone missing, due to the low status of Buddhism in the Yi period, when neo-Confucianism was the state ideology.¹ Tantalizingly, the meaning of one section of the song (cantos 76-78) still remains obscure, as the prose part, *Sŏkpo sangjŏl*, which would probably explain it, has not yet been found. From the 1960s onwards, many volumes and parts of Buddhist books were recovered in Korea: in libraries, monasteries, including a dilapidated stupa, and private homes. Now, 550 years after its completion, the first volume of the Song of the Moon (volumes two and three are only partly recovered) has finally been translated, not in English, but in German. The translators, Werner Sasse, an established authority in Korean linguistics, and his colleague at Hamburg University, An Jung-Hee, laboured for five years to produce this rare translation of a Middle Korean literary work.

The layout of this translation is very attractive. Every canto is given in facsimile of the original, flanked by a version in modern print; the translation follows below, together with an explanation of the contents. As this translation is not just intended for a German-reading public interested in exotic literature but, foremost, as a textbook for students of classical Korean, the second part of the book explains grammatical forms and vocabulary. Sasse and An have produced a very readable translation, in a poem-like form, quite close in content to the original text. The Korean verses are composed of parallel phrases containing a certain number of syllables (between 5 and 12), which cannot easily be imitated in German. In the preface the translators humbly speak of their

The layout gives every canto in facsimile of the original, flanked by a version in modern print. The translation follows below, together with an explanation of the contents.

끼其 · 월一 · 백百 · 륙六 · 십十 · 월一

· 열 머 · 리 봉龍 · 울 : 내 · 니
: 종種 : 종種 : 보 · 비 · 비 · 와 天 : 동動
· 번 · 계 · 를
: 사물 · 이 : 늘 · 라더 · 니

금金 · 시詩 : 황鳥 | 나 · 니
그 봉龍 · 울 자 · 바 : 울 : 오 · 리 · 프 · 지
: 다 머 · 거번 · 리 · 니

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: 오 소편머
: 리시 쫓리피
: 쓰 동종
: 저중 # 뽕
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: 머 | 개내뽕
: 거나를니
: 무니사중
: 리그뽕
: 니 뽕이중삼
: : 뽕 # +
: 울라뽕
: 자다뽕
: 바나비

Nr. 161

Er brachte einen zehnköpfigen Drachen hervor,
und durch Edelsteinregen und Blitz und Donner
wurden die Menschen erschreckt.

Da kam ein Vogel mit goldenen Flügeln,
ergriff den Drachen, riß ihn in Stücke
und fraß ihn völlig auf

Dann brachte Raktaksa einen zehnköpfigen Drachen hervor, aber der
Vogel Garuda (Begleiter des Amoghasiddhi, des Buddha des Nordens)
erschien und fraß den Drachen.

Taken from the book under review.

clumsy (*ungemein holpriger*) style. Proper names that are not mentioned in the original text have been added for clarity, as fifteenth-century Koreans presumably understood the verses without the names. Sometimes the original Indic form is given; sometimes the meaning of the name is translated into German. For me personally, translating *Wangsaŏng* as

'*Königshausen*' renders the impression that the action had shifted to the borders of the Rhine. It is all a matter of taste which language one prefers, but I believe the Korean form does the original Korean more justice.

As mentioned earlier, the book is meant for students, and offers a lot of explanation. But not all is settled in the fields of background or grammar. The explanation of the magical fight between Sariputra and Raktasa (pp. 157-164) is very cleverly worked (notwithstanding that Amitabha is mistakenly branded Buddha of the East, see p. 160). The grammatical forms are extensively analysed, but it is a pity Sasse and An abstained from any explanation of the fascinating phenomenon of the 'side-dots' in Middle Korean texts that indicate 'pitch levels'. The authors do, however, mention the 'itches' a few times when they influence grammatical forms. The appearances of the -o/u- verbal infix in Middle Korean are, also, as colourful as they are troublesome. One function of -o/u- occurs in modifier forms when the modified noun can be seen as object of the modifying verb. The authors call this form 'Faktiv/Passiv' (p. 381), 'Volitiv' (p. 384), or declare it hard to explain (p.451); perhaps it would have been better to follow one uniform explanation of the form.

Professor Sasse has also been studying the structure of the Song of the Moon, which unfortunately is not treated in the book discussed here. I look forward to a publication on this aspect sometime in the future. In the meantime, the English-reading public will have to wait for an English translation of this old Korean version of the life of the Buddha. <

- Sasse, Werner, and Jung-Hee An, *Der Mond gespiegelt in tausend Flüssen. Das Leben des Buddha Gautama in Verse gesetzt im Jahre 1447 von König Sejong*, Seoul: Sohaksa Verlag (2002), pp. 469 + 18, ISBN 89-7191-212-X

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Note >

1 e.g. the 'Song of Dragons Rising to Heaven' (*Yongbiŏch'ŏn'ga*), 1447; translated twice in the 1970s, by J. Hoyt in 1971 (and 1979), and by Peter H. Lee in 1975.

The Ca Mau Shipwreck, 1723-1735

Review >
Southeast Asia

When Vietnamese fishermen discovered a historical shipwreck about 90 nautical miles south of Cap Ca Mau in southern Vietnam in 1998, they hauled up more than 30,000 artefacts and 2.4 tons of metal objects in their nets. Subsequently, a Vietnamese diving and excavation company, working in close collaboration with the Ca Mau Provincial Museum and other responsible agencies, began to salvage the ship. In 1998 and 1999 more than 130,000 artefacts were recovered from this 450m² site. Now, four years later, Nguyen Dinh Chien, chief curator at Vietnam's Museum of Vietnamese History and a leading specialist on ceramics, has published the results of this find in a lavishly illustrated book under the title *Tau Co Ca Mau (The Ca Mau shipwreck), 1723-1735*.

By John Kleinen

Sometime between 1723 and 1735, a Chinese junk sank off the coast of Vietnam's farthest point in the South China Sea. Its cargo consisted of chinaware, porcelains, blue and white ware, porcelains decorated in brown, white-glazed porcelains over-glazed with enamels, and various stoneware, all originating from different kilns in southern China. The best-known pieces are the porcelains from Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province, where ceramics have been produced since the fourteenth century; other notable pieces include those from the Dehua kiln complex in Hujian, and from Guangzhou in Guangdong. The variety of the chinaware and the different kilns indicate that this vessel was part of the large Asiatic porcelain trade that developed in the early fifteenth century and in which the Portuguese and the Dutch played an important role. The exact provenance of the Ca Mau wreck is still not clear, but the author believes that the ship was on its way to Batavia or another port in order to deliver wares for the European market. Similar shipwrecks,

such as the well-known Vung Tau (1690) and the one recently discovered off Binh Thuan, north of Saigon, belong to a regular trade route along the coast of Vietnam. Although the VOC was connected to the porcelain trade, private traders had already taken over the exports to the European and Dutch markets at this period. Apart from cataloguing a large amount of Chinese porcelain, the book includes a series of photographs of blue and white dishes, sometimes in sets of five, decorated with the well-known so-called 'Scheveningen' landscape (formerly known as the 'Deshima' décor), depicting a typical Dutch fishing village. In the background the sails of fishing boats are visible in between the roofs of houses, a church, and a fire beacon (executed in Chinese style). Chinese dishes with European motifs were made to order and are known as '*Chine de commande*'.¹

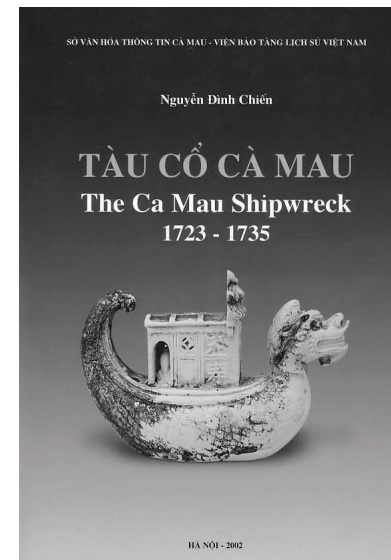
European motifs were, apparently, very popular. They appear not only on dishes, but also on cups, plates, and other kitchen- or tableware. A number of beer mugs, clearly made for a European market, also

make up part of the large collection.

This bilingual publication traces in detail the history of the recovery of the wreck and its cargo. The dating of the wreck is based on information gleaned from the hoard. Sources include Chinese porcelain inscriptions reading 'Made in Yongsheng Great Qing', and two coins bearing the inscriptions 'Kangxi issued', indicating that they were produced in the reign of the Qing emperor Kangxi (1662-1722), who united China during the seventeenth century. The author also makes clear that the ship was involved in trading Chinese ceramics and participated in the large inter-Asian trade between East and West. Vietnam was an important hub in the flourishing 'single ocean' trade (a term coined by the late historian O.W. Wolters), which stretched from the coasts of eastern Africa and western Asia to the immensely long coastal line of the Indian subcontinent and on to China. The Dutch linked up with the inter-Asian trade by trading Chinese and Vietnamese porcelain through the VOC-network or by ordering special objects through private traders. To get an insight into this trade, it proves use-

ful to compare cargos of porcelain artefacts that were intended for different clients, as these cargos hold important keys to the history of inner-Asian trade in which Vietnam's rulers of the southern domain, Dang Trong (the inner region), took part. Ultimately, the research on wrecks found off of the coast of Vietnam contributes to unravelling Vietnam's troubled internal history between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. <

- Dinh Chien, Nguyen, *Tau Co Ca Mau, The Ca Mau Shipwreck*, Hanoi: Museum of Vietnamese History and Ca Mau Provincial Museum (2003), 258 pp. (96 pages of text, 386 photographs, and 21 pages of ceramics designs), Vietnamese and English, no ISBN



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Notes >

1 For an excellent description of Dutch *Chine de commande*, see: Jörg, Christian J.A. 'Treasures of the Dutch Trade in Chinese Porcelain', *Oriental Art*, vol. XLVIII (no.5; 2002/03).

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Khams pa Histories: Visions of People, Place and Authority

Review >
Central Asia

Early histories of the Tibetan cultural world have concerned themselves with charting the development and idiosyncracies of a 'Tibetan nation', its complexly related political and religious institutions (Samuel 1993; Smith 1996), and with chronicling its demise through gradual Chinese encroachment (Goldstein 1991). One of the lessons drawn from these monumental histories of Tibet has been the sheer difficulty of pinning down the trans-regional influences that have come to shape Tibetan politics from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century. The Tibetan border regions of Khams and Amdo, caught between the competing influences of the central Tibetan politics and China, have developed their own, largely autonomous, political discourses. The relative autonomy of these regional locales poses a challenge to history's focus on the nation-state as a principal subject of inquiry, and calls for the elaboration of a Tibetan 'frontier history'.

By Audrey Prost

Khams pa Histories, along with the other regional investigations emerging from Tibetan Studies today, offers a more local and unique perspective on Tibetan border worlds. This collection of essays brilliantly demonstrates the political fluidity of Tibetan border worlds and the agency of local actors in negotiating both Tibetan and Chinese assimilationist projects.

Both Wim van Spengen and William Coleman investigate the causes of the ongoing political unrest in Khams at the turn of the twentieth century. Van Spengen examines the political backdrop to the 1906 siege at Sangpiling monastery in Khams' Chatring district, and the monastery's problematically liminal political position at the Sino-Tibetan border, as Chinese fears over British incursions in Central Tibet lead them to tighten control over the region. As local lamas and Chinese administrators vied for influence in the political vacuum created by the breakdown in local Tibetan administration, Chinese garrisons and Tibetans alike struggled for survival. The large number of people displaced by Chinese plundering was one of the causes for the growth of large-scale banditry in the region. Van Spengen argues that the siege of Sangpiling and endemic banditry are symptomatic of southern Khams' deeply unstable political climate, and a consequence of the frailty of its cultural-ecological frontier. William Coleman takes a somewhat different stance toward instability in the region in his discussion of the 1905 uprising at Batang. Coleman convincingly contends that a network of indigenous leaders, monasteries, Qing Empire representatives and merchants was responsible for maintaining a precarious regime of order in the region until the twentieth century. This fragile nexus was irrevocably lost after the Batang uprising, when Qing influence over the region overwhelmed both monastic authorities and indigenous leaders, inexorably drawing Khams into the Chinese nationalist project.

Peng Wengbin's fascinating contribution explores the intersection between Khamspa identity politics and China's nationalist project in the newly created province of Xikang in the 1930s. Peng offers an account of three incidents in which Xikang's composite identity was shaped and manipulated by both native Khamspas and the central Nationalist government, with the looming spectres of Tibetan and Chinese nation-building projects in the background. Fabienne Jagou discusses the political tactics deployed by Sun Yat-sen's Chinese Republican government in co-opting and controlling the sixth Panchen Lama through the granting of titles and their subsequent obligations. She argues that the sixth Panchen Lama was actively recruited to propagate Sun's values in the Tibetan border regions, but had little room to expand his own political acumen beyond China's prescribed agenda (for instance, in helping the impoverished provinces of Kham and Amdo or supporting Inner Mongolia against the Japanese incursion).

Carole McGranahan draws us into the tumultuous story of one of Khams' leading trading families, the Pangdatsangs, and the intricate identity politics at work behind the murder of its patriarch Pangda Nyigyal in 1920s Lhasa. The family penetrated the closed realm of Lhasa aristocracy by creating alliances with other powerful families and establishing themselves as patrons of the three monasteries (Sera, Drepung, Ganden). McGranahan's investigation of the circumstances that ended in Nyigyal's murder led her to interview descendants of the Pangdatsangs, in what is a testimony to the enduring evocative power of leading Khamspa figures in the contemporary Diaspora. Peter Schwiager proposes recapturing a sense of braggy history through its oral tradition as remembered by refugees in Nepal, focusing on the way in which the narrative's structure and use of language delineates the contours of communal identity. Tsering Thar dis-

cusses the life of the prestigious nineteenth-century Bon scholar Shar rdza Bkra shis rgyal mtshan and the importance of his hermitage and movement in the unification of Bon schools in Eastern Tibet. Thar argues that the Bon religion suffered less discrimination in Khams than in Central Tibet and Amdo, although its influence remained largely limited to the eastern regions.

Collectively, the essays in *Khams pa Histories* present an eclectic and rich contribution to Tibetan Studies. One must, however, not succumb to the temptation of fragmenting the field into Khams or Amdo area studies and retain a com-

mitment to writing frontier histories as a history of networks, rather than a history of small and unstable places swept away in the forces of greater powers, be they Tibetan or Chinese. Much still remains to be explored in the way of Tibetan frontier history, particularly in the pre-nineteenth century period, and one awaits with anticipation what upcoming histories of Amdo and Khams will bring to the debate on changing identities in Eastern Tibet. The collection also bears witness to the revival of anthropological investigation in Tibetan cultural areas, with oral and family histories complementing the more traditional focus on religious literature. Both trends have not only localized, but also expanded the field of Tibetan Studies in promising ways. ◀

- Epstein, Lawrence (ed.), *Khams pa Histories: Visions of People, Place and Authority*, Leiden: Brill (2002), no ISBN.

Audrey Prost MA is a doctoral candidate in social anthropology at University College London. Her thesis focuses on the changing practice of Tibetan medicine among the refugee communities of India and the impact of Diaspora lifestyles on conceptions of health and the body.
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A New Focus on the Caspian Region Turning the Periphery into the Centre

Review >
Central Asia

Mehdi Parvizi Amineh once again addresses one of his favourite themes, the control of hydrocarbon resources in Central Eurasia and the Caspian region. With 14.6 per cent of the world's proven oil resources and almost 50 per cent of its gas reserves, the Caspian region has become the focus of tough competition in which both state and non-state actors have a stake.

By Frédéric Grare

Amineh tries to analyse the phenomenon in relation to globalization. Globalization, he argues, is not only an economic process but involves a variety of 'transnational processes and domestic structures with countries engaging one another economically, politically and culturally'. Hence the need for a new theoretical framework, which he calls neo-geopolitics, that returns to a strong geographical focus in the analysis of complex realities. Neo-geopolitics distances itself from classical realism in its refusal to centre entirely on the state as the sole protagonist in international relations. On the contrary, it stipulates that the division of global space must also take into account transnational governmental and non-governmental institutions, religious groups, and organizations such as companies, armed forces, terrorist groups, and environmental organizations.

However, despite this supposedly new approach, the book does not really distance itself from a neo-realist perspective. State politics still constitute, and rightly so, the bulk of the analysis. The description of the impact of factors such as international corporations, the drug trade, or Islamic groups, does not question the primacy of the state and its quest for power as the driving force of regional relations. The Caspian states themselves, but also external parties such as Turkey, China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States, are undoubtedly constrained in their respective policies by multinational corporations, and the instability created by drug dealers or Islamic groups. They

remain, nevertheless, the ultimate decision-makers. Moreover, the degree of autonomy of such non-governmental forces is sometimes questionable.

Afghanistan is a particularly revealing example in this regard. Many (but definitely not all) Islamic groups had a large degree of autonomy but at the same time served as proxies for some of the external parties mentioned above. Already for quite some years, Afghanistan has been the location of regional and global conflicts conducted through its local warring factions.

The book's contention that its hydrocarbon resources make the Caspian region one of the most important areas of the post-Cold War era, also seems highly debatable. The Caspian type of energy resources (oil and gas) may be vital for advanced industrialized countries, but this alone does not make the region 'one of the most important geopolitical areas in the post Cold War era'. Other factors such as fear of terrorism, partly developed in this region in the power vacuum left by the disintegration of the Soviet empire, play at least as important a role in the present evolution of the region. Moreover, the quantity of resources is an important factor for the hydrocarbon business, but certainly not the only one. Accessibility, production costs, and consequently international hydrocarbon prices, are at least as important for investment decisions. Taking this aspect into consideration, the Middle East, not only possessing greater resources but with much more favourable conditions for exploitation, is still better placed in the global competition for energy and likely to remain strategically more important in the fore-

seeable future. As a consequence, Caspian hydrocarbon may well be an element of Russia-US relations in the region, but it remains secondary in the hierarchy of priorities which structure these relations.

This is not to say that Caspian hydrocarbon resources are unimportant. They remain the main and in some cases, only opportunity for the Caspian states in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. So far, however, they remain essentially a potential. Hydrocarbon production is yet to be developed and exported. The Caspian states are facing the challenge of using these resources to become more effectively part of the global system.

Mehdi Parvizi Amineh's book does nevertheless constitute a good synthesis of existing knowledge about the energy issue in the Caspian region. Throughout, it greatly helps to clarify some aspects of a complex situation and facilitate the understanding of an important stake in a part of the world which remains predominantly unknown to the public at large. ◀

- Amineh, Mehdi Parvizi, *Globalisation, Geopolitics and Energy Security in Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region*, The Hague: Clingendael International Energy Programme (2003), pp. 260, ISBN 90-5031-085-0

Dr Frédéric Grare, former director of the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH), New Delhi, is currently Counsellor for Cooperation and Culture at the French Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan. His research interests include Geopolitics of Energy, South Asia's international relations and political Islam.
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Fertility and Familial Power Relations Procreation in South India

Review >
South Asia

In recent years there has been a considerable decline in the average number of children born to women in Andhra Pradesh. The bottom line seems to be that women increasingly perceive children as consumers and not as producers. Challenging the pervasive notion of women as mere providers of nourishment and incubation to the seed that contains the potential of life (Dube 1986, Eliade and Sullivan 1987), Minna Säävälä's *Fertility and Familial Power Relations: Procreation in South India* charts an increase in feminine assertion, as opposed to compliance, in the domain of procreation.

By Nita Mathur

In the present day, women need to negotiate their fertility choices rigorously within family structures. As a result of this changed situation, familial, generational, and gender relations are subjected to significant transformations. In addressing this and related issues, Minna Säävälä brings together anthropological and demographical insights to develop a meaningful interpretation of women's personal narratives.

This study, based on fieldwork in the East Godavari district in coastal Andhra Pradesh, explores the place of child-bearing in the lives of rural women, and how the women aspire to lead a life of dignity with few children rather than struggle to provide for many. It aims to: (1) bring an interpretation of the socio-cultural changes in which fertility decline is embedded to the fore; (2)

establish an understanding of the processes related to declining fertility; (3) analyse, in terms of social, physical, symbolic, and power-related realms, the familial repercussions of the fact that women now give birth to far fewer children than their own mothers did; and (4) examine how the quest for a small family and the adoption of female sterilization as the most accepted contraceptive method have a bearing on gender relations and intergenerational relations. At another level, the work may be located in the larger framework of gender and culture. It examines the implications of low fertility at grass-roots level in terms of women's choices and the interplay of power and social control in families. To pursue this discussion it is imperative to identify the processes and framework within which women make and pursue fertility choices.

Given the fact that, in the traditional Indian situation, a woman's body and

its processes are largely under the control of men, the author cites interesting cases of women who opted for sterilization of their bodies, overthrowing their husbands' authority. This comes out succinctly in the case of a young woman who pressed her right to decide on the number of children she would rear, in spite of the forceful demands of her husband and mother-in-law. A sterilization scar is an assertion of the symbolic status of a mother/woman, challenging the authority of the mother-in-law as a post-procreative woman who wields considerable influence in familial affairs. Such self-assertion appears to have sparked off a wave of conservatism and oppression.

Fertility may be treated as a part of the larger cultural complex, consisting of beliefs, values, myths, rituals, and cultural practices. Against this backdrop, cultural interpretation of conception and birth, as well as indigenous

methods of birth control, assume considerable significance, and had Säävälä examined these she would have added a welcome dimension to the argument developed in the book. Nonetheless this is a fine piece of work with clear objectives, pursued by the author throughout the text, and opening up several interesting possibilities for further research. ◀

Säävälä, Minna, *Fertility and Familial Power Relations: Procreation in South India*, Copenhagen: NIAS (2001), pp. xvi + 239, ISBN 0-7007-1484-7

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Dr Nita Mathur is an anthropologist, and is currently working at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, India, where she is preparing a thesaurus of Santhal (a 'tribal' community in the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent) words for body, womb, and seed. Her research interests range from arts in lifestyles to emotions across cultures and indigenous vision. She has edited the book *Santhal Worldview*, and is the author of *Cultural Rhythms in Emotions, Narratives and Dance*. nitamathur25@yahoo.com

The House in Southeast Asia

Review >
Southeast Asia

Since Lévi-Strauss introduced his notion of *sociétés à maison*, much anthropological research on Southeast Asian social organization has focused on the house and its role in constituting relatedness. In addition, symbolic studies of architecture and the use of house space have revealed the changing significance of houses as gendered domains, expressions of cosmological order, and markers of ethnic identity. This collection of papers aspires to expand on such previous work, applying the concept of house to new areas in Southeast Asia, and considering transformations in the meaning of houses during times of social, economic, and political change. In doing so, what new analytical doors are opened to the Southeast Asian house?

By Catherine Allerton

The collection, edited by Stephen Sparkes and Signe Howell, is the result of a conference organized by the Nordic Association for Southeast Asian Studies. The twelve ethnographic papers cover a wide variety of topics and, in addition to considering more familiar examples from Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Malaysia, introduce material on the house in Thailand, the South Ryukyus, and among the Baba of Melaka. Previous collections on the house, most notably that edited by Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995), have focused on the applicability of Lévi-Strauss's idea of 'house societies' as a social type in a range of societies from native North America to medieval Europe and present-day Southeast Asia. With the exception of Howell's interesting comparison of Chewong and Lio houses, which points to some of the paradoxes of Lévi-Strauss's theory, the present collection adopts a broader and more eclectic approach to houses, their architecture, and inhabitants. However, whilst this broad focus allows for the inclusion of a range of examples, it is also the book's main failing. The chapters are simply presented as a general collection, with no thematic organization or division into parts. Moreover, this lack of theoretical and comparative focus is compounded by Stephen Sparkes' rather weak introduction, which fails to put forward any new theories regarding the ongoing significance of houses in Southeast Asian societies.

The best chapters of the book are undoubtedly those that succeed in describing the impact of social change on the house, or in expanding our understanding of houses beyond the ethnographic specificities of a particular situation. A key example of this is Ing-Britt Trankell's chapter on house and moral community among the Tai Yong of northern Thailand. Trankell analyses the provision of rice-meals as the central activity in the creation of house-based kinship showing how, contrary to European assumptions, the Yong house cannot be taken for granted as a fixed, material object. Rather, and as Carsten has shown for the Malays of Langkawi, houses (and kinship) are constituted by the everyday processes of social life. Contrasting with some of the other, strangely time-

less chapters in the collection, Trankell connects this house dynamic with the wider political and ethnic situation in Thailand. She argues that processes for adopting kin through the provision of rice-meals are increasingly applied to members of the Karen hill tribes, with Yong becoming patrons to Karen seeking a recognized (if low-ranking) position within mainstream Thai society.

The provision of rice-meals as a central activity in the creation of (house-based) kinship is also described in Monica Janowski's chapter on hierarchy within different levels of the Kelabit house. Her idea of 'rice-based kinship' shifts the analytical emphasis away from architecture to the daily practices constituting Kelabit social organization. In describing how urban Kelabit attempt to become 'big people' in contexts far removed from village long-houses, she argues that the competition between urban couples to feed and accommodate visitors in their town houses is the urban equivalent to competitive hospitality amongst rural hearth-groups.

In this collection, Roxana Waterson, an anthropologist who has written extensively on the Southeast Asian house and whose beautifully illustrated book (1990) remains a key introduction to house architecture and symbolism in the region, adds to her work on 'the living house' by considering its significance as a thing possessing 'vitality'. This rather nicely captures how Southeast Asian houses can be more than just material objects and implies that, like people, houses have their own life histories. If a house can be seen as vital and alive, it has a kind of subjectivity that is available for communication with others. Waterson's biographical approach to houses offers many interesting insights (such as revealing the connections between houses) and could very profitably be applied to both urban and rural houses in the region.

The elaborate and simple, fixed and moving, ancestral and temporary house structures of Southeast Asia remain a topic of almost infinite interest to ethnographers. However, its size, this collection opens only a few new analytical doors to the meaning and significance of houses. Thus, despite some intriguing ethnography, the comparative insights offered are of a rather patchy quality. ◀

Rethatching a 'round house' (*mbaru niang*) in southern Manggarai, Flores, Indonesia.



Photo by Catherine Allerton

- Sparkes, Stephen and Signe Howell (eds), *The House in Southeast Asia: A Changing Social, Economic and Political Domain*, London: RoutledgeCurzon (2003), pp. 271, ISBN 0-7007-1157-0

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- Carsten, Janet and Stephen Hugh-Jones (eds), *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1995).
- Waterson, Roxana, *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in Southeast Asia*, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore: Oxford University Press (1990).

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The Anatomy of Betrayal

Review >
Southeast Asia

Over 2,700 delegates at the Papuan Congress gathered in West Papua's capital of Jayapura in June 2000 to proclaim their independence from Indonesia and call for a major historiographical revision that would straighten the history of West Papua. Indonesian nationalist historians have depicted the incorporation of West Papua into their nation's fold as a transparent and uncontested process. Leaders of the 2000 Papuan Congress, many of whom have contested Indonesian rule since it began in the 1960s, were aware that their perspective had been written out of history. *The Anatomy of Betrayal* responds to Papuan nationalist calls for historical revision and argues that the transfer of West Papua from the Netherlands to Indonesia violated international agreements. John Salford's timely book examines whether the people of West Papua were ever given a genuine opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination.



By S. Eben Kirksey

On 15 August 1962, representatives of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia signed an accord at the United Nations headquarters in New York. According to Salford, this accord, which is known as the New York Agreement, 'explicitly acknowledged and guaranteed the right of self-determination for West Papua'. The Agreement obliged the UN, the Netherlands, and Indonesia to protect the political rights and freedoms of the Papuans and to hold a referendum in accordance with international practice. Salford argues, however, that Cold War politics and the interests of 'big power' meant that Papuan self-determination would never be considered a serious option.

While Salford outlines the gross anatomy of West Papua's betrayal, he does not explain how this treachery was orchestrated. Racist colonial discourse, for example, was one tool used by 'big power' for denying Papuans the right to self-determination. At the time of West Papua's transfer to Indonesia the international community depicted Papuans as cannibals, headhunters, and Stone-Age savages: as a people not fit to govern themselves.

The United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) administered West Papua from 1 October 1962 to 1 May 1963. According to the preamble of the UN Charter, one of the aims of this international body was 'to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained.' *The Anatomy of Betrayal* details how the UN ignored the obligations of the New York Agreement and violated its own mandate in West Papua, for example by banning Papuan nationalist marches during this

period. Additionally, Indonesian military troops began a campaign of violence against Papuan nationalists while UN administrators were still ostensibly in control of the territory.

Indonesian rule of West Papua began on 1 May 1963, before any act of self-determination had taken place. Military operations against Papuan nationalists intensified once Indonesian administration officially began. In 1969 the Act of Free Choice was conducted by Indonesian authorities, Salford argues, in order to give the false outward appearance that Papuans supported the transfer of authority to Indonesia. This was intended to fulfil the terms of the 1962 New York Agreement, stipulating that Indonesia, under UN supervision, would conduct an act of self-determination 'in accordance with international practice.' What contemporary Papuans call the Act of No Choice was actually a public 'consultation' with 1,022 carefully selected representatives, and Salford details the UN role in monitoring and endorsing this controversial consultation. Indeed, according to a senior UN official quoted by Salford, 'the vote was a complete sham'.

The Anatomy of Betrayal is an important reference work for historians of the Cold War, scholars of post-colonial Southeast Asia, and policy makers who seek to understand the roots of Papuan nationalism. Salford's documentation is thorough, and at times daunting. An Indonesian language translation of this study – eagerly awaited by Papuan intellectuals – is already in the works. Salford's exhaustive study of UN sources about the Indonesian acquisition of West Papua is one of the very first academic books about the post-colonial history of the territory. This book has broken significant ground and sets the stage for future research on related topics given the vast wealth of rich and varied source materials that remain unstudied. <

- Salford, John, *The United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua, 1962-1969: The Anatomy of Betrayal*, London: RoutledgeCurzon (2003), pp. 228, ISBN 0-7007-1751-X

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Kate Wilson
'Operation Free Irian' statue in Jakarta

Malaysia, the Making of a Nation

Review >
Southeast Asia

Ethnic pluralism has long been a Malaysian hallmark. Prior to independence from Britain in 1957, the polity was fashioned by the integration strategies of the colonial government and the distinctive roles of – and potential frictions between – the major ethnic groups. The complexities of the Malaysian case stem from the make-up of the population: Malay (58 per cent), Chinese (24 per cent), Indians (8 per cent), and others (10 per cent). Efforts to integrate these diverse groups in the interests of national unity have been, and remain, at the heart of the Malaysian enterprise of nation-building.

By Marie-Aimée Tourres

Malaysia, the Making of a Nation is the first in a five-volume series on nation-building histories in Asia. Defining nation-building as 'both economic progress and socio-political integration of a nation, i.e., prosperity and national unity', Cheah Boon Kheng conceptualizes Malaysian nation-building as an ongoing process with each successive Prime Minister adding a stone to the larger construction. From this perspective, the author, himself a Malaysian national, reviews the legacies, responses, and roles of four Prime Ministers towards the various ethnic groups since 1957.

The book is comprised of six chapters. The first two provide background to nation-building in Malaysia and Malay dominance within the process, indispensable to understanding the country's contemporary politics and

political economy. Given the salience of ethnicity in the early 1950s, it was hardly surprising that most of the effective parties formed to contest the first federal election for the legislative council in 1955 were ethnically based: Malay, Chinese, and Indian. That year, an informal 'historic bargain' or 'social contract' between the different parties was struck, establishing the political framework within which ethnic groups would henceforth operate. Laying the basis for sharing power, this contract also upheld the 'special position' and rights of the Malays – Bumiputra (son of the soil or indigenous people).

The following four chapters devote themselves to the Prime Ministers: Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Razak, Tun Hussein Onn, and Mahathir. According to Cheah Boon Kheng, 'every one of these Prime Ministers started off their political career as an exclusivist Malay nationalist, but ended up as an

inclusivist Malaysian nationalist'. Each Prime Minister was influenced, above all, by the extent of political support from his own party: United Malay National Organisation (UMNO). When, however, their positions were weak, Prime Ministers had to rely on the other parties in the Alliance: 'Tunku [Abdul Rahman] tried to be even-handed towards the Malays, Tun Hussein Onn continued this policy but Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir first adopted pro-Malay policies and then latterly reached out to the non-Malays, each time largely determined by his need for political support and for his own political survival'.

In view of the imminent changing of the guard in Malaysia, Cheah Boon Kheng's book presents a timely account of the constant contest between Malaysian ethno-nationalism and Malaysian nationalism in the making of the nation.

'The fact that all the four Prime Ministers have been Malays has led to an unwritten accepted norm that the Malaysian leadership of the nation is biased towards the Malay community. Malays have used this position as an argument to support their goal of Malay dominance vis-à-vis the other ethnic communities in the political, cultural and social fields. For almost two decades after the 1969 riots, it has been almost impossible to raise the idea of a non-Malay as Prime Minister'. Ultimately, Malay political primacy rests on the assumption that the Malays are united and that this unity and political strength will continuously reinforce Malay superiority and dominance.

Over the years, religion became an increasingly powerful binding force among the Malay majority. The search for some kind of personal identity as part of a group may partially account for this. By stressing that Malay means being a Muslim, government has turned Islam into a convenient tool in the service of Malay unity. Yet Islam can hardly be the driving force for nation-building: not all Malaysians are Muslims, and a more 'Islamic' State would alienate many citizens.

The author concludes his book by

raising the issue of religion in nation-building. 'Since 1999, religion has become another contentious element in the making of the Malaysian nation-state... As most Muslims in Malaysia are Malays, an Islamic state is actually another form of a "Malay nation".... It seems clear that under the present perspective taken by Malaysia, both ethnicity and religion would continue to compete for the attention of the multi-ethnic population'. One wishes Cheah Boon Kheng delved more deeply into the religious aspect of the Malay identity: the next Prime Minister will surely have to handle the question carefully. <

- Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia, The Making of a Nation*, Singapore: ISEAS (2002), pp. 264, ISBN 981-230-154-2

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The Chinese Minority in Southern Vietnam

Review >
Southeast Asia

So far, nearly all studies on Chinese minorities in Southeast Asia have been authored by social scientists, and have been based only to a small extent on historical primary sources. Given the fact that research on the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, in particular, has been hampered by prejudices dating back to the three Indochina Wars, one has to appreciate the approach taken by Thomas Engelbert, a specialist in Vietnamese ethnic policies (*Nationalitätenpolitik*). In this new publication he analyses the immigration of ethnic Chinese (Hoa) into Vietnam, and the policies of the various colonial and post-colonial regimes towards this minority, by systematically drawing on Vietnamese and French archival sources.¹

By Volker Grabowsky

Although Engelbert has concentrated on the period after the beginning of French colonial rule (1859), his lengthy chapter on the 'China policy' of pre-colonial Vietnam is particularly interesting as it provides us with a clearer understanding of the determinant factors of Vietnamese ethnic policies, shaped by geography and historical experiences.

Given the political and cultural dominance of imperial China over the Viet-

namese heartland in Tonkin, the ability of the Vietnamese people to integrate into and, in the longer run, also assimilate numerous Chinese immigrants, seems remarkable. The author explains this achievement by the attitude of almost all Vietnamese dynasties towards the 'People of the North', which in sum entailed: 'assimilation of the immigrants and separation of the aliens' (p. 33). The fact that China as the Middle Kingdom remained a model for Vietnam even after the latter had achieved full independence, by the late

tenth century, may have made it easier to implement this paradigm.

Notwithstanding renewed, albeit temporary subjugation of Vietnam by the Ming rulers (1407-1427), after the final Chinese withdrawal the Vietnamese crown allowed all Chinese who preferred to stay equal rights as Vietnamese citizens, provided that they adopted the country's customs. This also implied the encouragement of marriages with Vietnamese partners. 'The separation of the own [i.e. Vietnamese] population from foreigners

[who refused to integrate] while at the same time integrating and assimilating those who wanted to stay in Vietnamese society, were always official policies of the state' (p. 39).

The Vietnamese Lê dynasty used ethnic Chinese as well as Vietnamese to found settlements in the Cham territories of central Vietnam, which, in 1477 were incorporated into the Vietnamese realm. The recruitment of Chinese as settlers in former Cham and Khmer land seems to have been a characteristic feature of the Vietnamese Nam Tien ('Movement to the South'). Ethnic Chinese had played a pivotal role in the cultivation of the Mekong delta since the seventeenth century. Thus by the end of the eighteenth century a mixed Vietnamese-Chinese society had emerged in this sparsely populated region, transforming a landscape dominated by dense mangrove forests into fertile agricultural land. Cochin China was able to particularly support the region around the capital Hué and the provinces further north with rice (p. 100). Thus, even before the Chinese mass immigration to southern Vietnam in the period between 1880 and 1929, Chinese migrants made a significant contribution to the development of the Mekong delta (p. 132).

During the period of French colonial rule the Chinese in Cochin China maintained a high degree of autonomy through their congregations which relied on clan and speechgroup structures. When the conflict between the French administration and the Vietnamese anti-colonial movement escalated during the 1930s, the Hoa were wooed by both contending sides. The majority of the ethnic Chinese, however, tried to avoid a clear political commitment to either side. Drawing on French and Vietnamese archival material, Engelbert reconstructs the hitherto largely neglected role that Chinese nationalist and communist organizations played in Cochin China during this crucial period. The long-awaited 'Cochin China uprising', which started on 22-23 November 1940, provides one of the most fascinating accounts. The author shows how this uprising, launched jointly by Vietnamese and Chinese communist party organizations, turned to disaster with thousands of communists going to prison. It is interesting to note that in contrast to their Vietnamese comrades, the ethnic Chinese communists were able to save

'a major part of their secret structures' (p. 257).

The second part of the book deals primarily with the ethnic policies vis-à-vis the ethnic Chinese in the period following the end of World War II. In a convincing analysis of the impact of the political changes in China (Civil War, Communist Revolution) on the position of the Hoa in Vietnamese politics, economy and society, Engelbert refutes several ideologically motivated myths. For example, the first president of the Republic of Vietnam, Ngô Đình Diêm, failed due to his neglect of social issues, and because of his corruption and repressive policies regarding national and religious minorities, such as the Khmer Krom in the Mekong delta. Diêm's treatment of the Hoa was, however, relatively tolerant and 'one of the most pragmatic, flexible and, in the end, successful variants' (p. 555) of all political approaches towards religious and ethnic communities in the post-1954 period.

The political position of the economically influential Hoa in post-colonial Vietnam always reflected the relations of respective Vietnamese governments with their powerful neighbour in the north. Thus one is tempted to support the author's conclusion that 'the perceptions of the Hoa as a minority in Vietnam [...] and the resulting policy towards this ethnic minority [...] were better than the Vietnamese-Chinese relations in general' (p. 631). The substantial improvement of these relations since the late 1980s and the economic reforms, following the Chinese pattern, have thus had positive impacts on the resurgence of the Hoa in southern Vietnam. Though the anti-Chinese excesses in the years in the aftermath of the reunification of Vietnam (1976) had left their mark on those Chinese who remained in Vietnam, the conditions for a successful and gradual process of integration and assimilation of the Hoa exist today. The absence of Chinese mass immigration, like in the previous century, will prove to be a crucial factor in achieving the positive future that Engelbert predicts.

Engelbert's study of the historical relations between the Hoa and their Vietnamese environment is also an important contribution to the history of the 'Nanyang Chinese' in general.² The reviewer hopes that this work will attract scholarly interest, even beyond the German-speaking world, as it certainly deserves. ◀

- Engelbert, Thomas, *Die chinesische Minderheit im Süden Vietnams (Hoa) als Paradigma der kolonialen und nationalistischen Nationalitätenpolitik*, Frankfurt am Main (etc.): Peter Lang (2002), pp. 703, ISBN 3-631-38940-X (originally written as a postdoctoral thesis (*Habilitationsschrift*) at the Faculty of Philosophy, Humboldt-University of Berlin).

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Notes >

- 1 Hoa is most probably derived from the Chinese word, pronounced in Mandarin as *hua* (lit. 'beautiful', 'magnificent', 'with culture'). Ancient China was called *Hua Xia*, abbreviated to *Hua*. The traditional Tai Yuan (Northern Thai) designation of the Chinese, *Hò*, could also be derived from *Hua*. I am grateful to my colleague Dr Foon Ming Liew for elucidating the etymology of this ethnic term.
- 2 'Nan' means 'south', and 'yang' means 'ocean' or 'sea'. Thus 'Nanyang' can be rendered as 'Southern Ocean' or 'Southern Sea'. 'Nanyang Chinese' refers to the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, notably those in the insular part.



Subhash Chandra Bose offering his head to Bharat Mata (Mother India) in the presence of Krishna. Artists unknown, c. 1940s, collage created by a frame-maker, 70x50 cm. Background painted by a Nathdwara artist. All the figures except Krishna are cut out of a print titled Subhash Balidan; the image of Krishna is from a print. Private collection, Delhi. Bose strived for the independence of India but his movement did not have a religious connotation. Here, by adding the figure of Krishna in the collage, his movement is appropriated to Hindu nationalism.

Gripe water calendar, depicting Krishna in a pastoral landscape. Artist unknown, c. 1920s, print, 50x35 cm. Private collection, Delhi. Gripe water has been a popular medicine to ease stomach-ache among babies in India for over a century. Religious imagery on commercial calendars lent the medicine a divine touch.



Examining the Urban Body in South Asia

Asian Art >
South Asia

Independent curator and artist Peter Nagy explores five concurrent exhibitions and their diverse presentations of South Asian artists, whose work poses questions about the role of the urban environment in the development of international, local, and personal images of Indian postmodernity.

By Peter Nagy

An explosion of creativity from India is taking place in Berlin from mid-September to the end of November. 'body.city' is the umbrella title given to a four-part compendium of projects, hosted by the House of World Cultures. The institute itself focuses on contemporary cultural developments from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Though nationalistic theme packages of any kind can be problematic, the House of World Cultures has carefully negotiated its representation of India by inviting four esteemed scholars in the various disciplines to present substantial offerings on the subjects of contemporary visual arts, popular culture, film

and cinema, and the performing arts. This inclusive programme provides the Berlin audience with ample opportunity to properly evaluate the cultural achievements that have taken place in India in the last 25 years, framed as they are within the historical, political, and critical parameters that are necessary to avoid the token exoticism or fetishism which is often the pitfall of such presentations.

Identity and its relation to politics, economics, and the production of culture can then be encapsulated with the title 'body.city.' For much of the twentieth century, India's identity was still defined by the rural and agricultural norm, a paradigm that Gandhi and the independence movement successfully exploited. But since the 1960s, the economic and cultural initiatives of India have increasingly come from its cities and, with the burgeoning of a globalized service- and information-based economy, the cities of India have come to define its identity both to itself and the outside world. The demographics alone are startling: while the three megalopolis of Bombay, New Delhi, and Calcutta each encompass some 15 million people, relatively obscure (to the rest of the world) secondary and tertiary cities such as Patna, Pune, Ahmedabad, or Madurai now have populations of 2 to 3 million each. The individual body and its relationship to both a larger body politic and the living organism that is the city can be a useful set of parameters from which to explore the cultural production of India today.

Two very different exhibitions of visual arts take up centre stage at the House of World Cultures. Geeta Kapur, who has written extensively on contemporary art in India and curated the 'Bombay/Mumbai' section of the 'Century City' exhibition at the Tate Modern in 2001, presents 'subTerrain: artworks in the cityfold,' a survey of 41 works by 16 artists. Kapur's premise is to present works that articulate aspects of the interface between body, city, and polity. Her taste favours works that express self-consciousness about their relationship to both international vanguard art practice and the contemporary urban visual cultures of India. The majority of works on exhibit take the form of multi-media installations often encompassing video or projection devices (such as those by Nalini Malani, Vivan Sundaram, Navjot Altaf, Sheeba Chhachhi, Shilpa Gupta, Atul Dodiya, and Anant Joshi), yet, pure painting is still represented by the works of Bhupen Khakhar, Jitish Kallat, and Vasudha Thozhur, and unmanipulated photography by those of Raghu Rai. The works chosen by Kapur combine a strong, sometimes even aggressive, presence with a clear meaning, often taking inspiration directly from contemporary political and social situations in India.

Paired with 'subTerrain' is 'The Conquest of the World as Picture,' an encyclopaedic exhibition of popular culture and consumer ephemera from the last 150 years curated by Jyotindra Jain, former director of New Delhi's Crafts Museum and current Dean of the School of Art and Aesthetics at Jawaharlal Nehru University. A kaleidoscopic variety of material – from calendar art and religious iconographies to commercial and portrait photography, functional crafts, miniature paintings, film posters and stills, theatrical backdrops, tourist postcards, packaging labels, ceramic statuary, and 'folk art' from the



Baby Ganesha with his mother. Artist unknown, ceramic (probably made in Germany), 12x20 cm. Collection: J. and J. Jain, Delhi. The figure is modelled on painted clay figures commonly sold around the Kalighat temple in Calcutta.

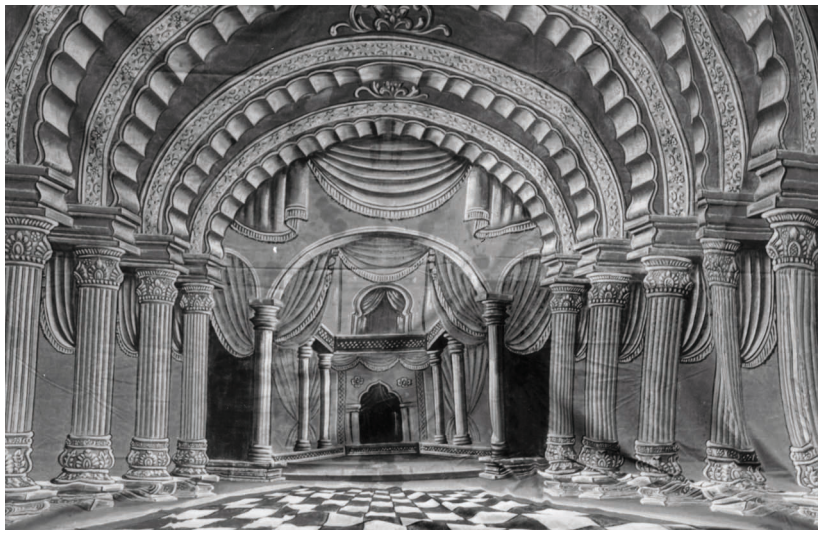


Vasantasena. Ravi Varma, early twentieth century, print, 50x35 cm. Printed at Ravi Varma F.A.L. Press, Bombay. Private collection, Delhi. Vasantasena is the heroine of Shudrakha's fourth-century Sanskrit play, *Mrichchhakatikam*. She is depicted here in the style of a photo-studio portrait.

Photos on this page Exhibition: "Indian Popular Culture: The Conquest of the World as Picture". Curated by Jyotindra Jain.

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Exhibition: 'Indian Popular Culture: The Conquest of the World as Picture' Curated by Jyotindra Jain.



Theatre backdrop. Dhipthy Arts, Guntur, painting on cloth, 600x330 cm. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was customary to use painted cloth backdrops for theatrical performances. Converging rows of trees, colonnaded halls, and corridors with colonial architecture, which reflected the interest in geometric perspective, were popular devices in such backdrops. The backdrop here comes from Surubhi, a 'traditional' theatre company based in Andhra Pradesh.



Copyright Dayanita Singh

'Nehru's Coat', Anand Bhavan, Allahabad 2000

Fried Jam,' performance artist Maya Rao teams up with musician Ashim Ghosh to present both political and autobiographical meditations in an informal, comedic, cabaret style. Most of the works in 'Actors at Work' display the same uninhibited experimentation with technology and formal hybridization operative in the visual arts presentations.

Finally, film historian and theorist Ravi Vasudevan takes on the multi-headed monster that is film in India, with his programme entitled 'Selves made Strange: violent and performative bodies in the cities of Indian cinema, 1974-2003.' Vasudevan's tastes are all-embracing, giving equal attention to the commercial Hindi-language cinema generated out of Bombay (Bollywood), regional cinemas in Bengali and Tamil, documentary film-making for social and political purpose, as well as diasporic storytelling. Directors included in the programme are Satyajit Ray, Yash Chopra, Kumar Shahani, Mani Rathnam, Mahesh Bhatt, Anand Patwardhan, and Ram Gopal Varma, amongst others. 'Selves made Strange' celebrates a certain dissipation of coherence that has taken place in Indian cinema since the 1970s, asserting the 'mutability of personality' as a possible emergent critical vocabulary. With Vasudevan's programme, 'body.city' achieves its cathartic melting point, identifying Indian culture as inherently and necessarily complex and contradictory.

Contemporaneous with 'body.city' but not officially allied to it is a comprehensive survey of work by the New Delhi based photographer Dayanita Singh at the Hamburger Bahnhof Museum. Having begun her career in photojournalism, Singh has pursued a variety of subjects of her own volition over the past ten years. This exhibition, entitled 'Privacy' and

comprised of 130 photographs, is drawn primarily from two bodies of her work, 'Family Portraits' and 'Empty Spaces,' each of which focuses on the domestic scenario within contemporary India, both with its inhabitants and without. Singh's portrait of India is intimate, patient, privileged, and refined, light years away from the garishly coloured visage of touristic India and the disaster-driven images that feed the international media. Her realistic portraiture provides the Berlin audience with an in-depth look at a single artist's accomplishment, which unfortunately, is not possible with the collective format of Kapur's show (and isn't this perhaps the strategic foil to nationalistic exhibition paradigms?). Parallel to 'Privacy' is 'Myself Mona Ahmed', Singh's body of work documenting the life of and her friendship with a transgender inhabitant of Delhi's old city. Exhibited separately at the Museum of Indian Art, 'Myself...' provides a poignant rendering of the life of an individual who is both marginalized by mainstream society and her own milieu, a portrait of the tremendous tolls taken in the creation of an independent identity. As the vast majority of Singh's images in both shows in Berlin have been shot in New Delhi, Calcutta, and Bombay, her corpus should make an appropriate addition to 'body.city' and its multiple arguments. <

Peter Nagy is an American artist and curator, frequently writing on the subject of contemporary art. Since 1992 he has been based in New Delhi where he runs Nature Morte, a gallery promoting a wide variety of art forms by both Indian artists and those coming to India to work.
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'Chopra Cousins', New Delhi 1999


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anthropomorphic burial jar, from Sarangani, Mindanao, courtesy Eusebio Z. Dizon, National Museum of the Philippines

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Asian Ceramics in the Netherlands



Willem van Mieris (1662-1747), 'Interior with apes', 1719, oil on canvas, 26.6 x 48 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Keramik, Leeuwarden: Prinsessehof Leeuwarden, Issue 2 (summer 2002).

Asian Art >
General

The Netherlands is oft considered a Mecca for scholars and devotees of several types of Asian ceramics. The abundance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Asian porcelain in the Netherlands today is the logical outcome of Dutch prominence in the large-scale porcelain trade between Asia and Europe. Considering this abundance it is important that Dutch institutions are encouraged to study their own collections, that they make these available to international scholars and add new information to this particular chapter of 'Asian ceramics': seventeenth- and eighteenth-century export porcelains.¹ Four Dutch museums with impressive collections of Asian ceramics (Prinsessehof Leeuwarden, Groninger Museum, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam) have recently started up a cooperation project to these ends.

By Jan van Campen

Upon its founding in 1602, the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East Indies Company, or VOC) established a direct shipping route to Asia, importing large amounts of Chinese porcelain to Holland. Crewmembers set up their own private trades, which caused an influx of porcelain in addition to the regular VOC imports. Although Spanish and Portuguese ships had been sailing to Asia for several decades before the Dutch began transporting porcelain to Europe and elsewhere, the Dutch imports seem to have had an immediate impact.

This direct sea route to Asia helps to explain the success of Chinese porcelain in Holland on the supply side. On the demand side, as wealth was fairly evenly distributed in the Netherlands, and amongst a relatively large part of the population, many were able to spend money on items of luxury such as porcelain. In addition, the members of the House of Orange, the princes and stadtholders who had only recently acquired their status as powerful state leaders, were looking for ways to express this new role. Deliberately choosing to portray themselves as princes of treasures of the East buying, amongst other things, large amounts of porcelain, their role was by no means insignificant. Their approach of showing off and impressing with overseas treasures is best conveyed by the lavishly decorated interior of Huis ten Bosch, the palace of the Dutch royal family in The Hague. Tribute bearers from all over the world presented their treasures, including Chinese porcelain, to stadtholder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647). His wife Amalia was the first to have real porcelain cabinets, separate rooms especially designed to display large quantities of porcelain. Naturally, the Dutch nobility and wealthy citizens followed the Princes of Orange in their conspicuous consumption, and collecting Chinese porcelains became a Dutch craze from the early seventeenth century onwards.

To get an impression of the sheer quantity and extent of porcelain imports to the Netherlands, one should turn to the northern Dutch provinces: Groningen and Friesland. It is still rather a puzzle why exactly these parts of the Netherlands are generously endowed with the largest collection of Asian porcelain in the country. As a consequence, and notwithstanding that the large, well-known museums in The Hague and Amsterdam can boast large porcelain collections, the smaller museums of Groningen and Leeuwarden (the respective capitals of Groningen and Friesland) have the largest collections of Asian porcelain in the Netherlands, comprising dishes, bowls, numerous cups and saucers, teapots, and vases, all in astonishing quantities. The quality of these porcelains, which are painted in blue-and-white designs, or in a polychrome palette with enamel colours, sometimes in addi-

tion to the blue underglaze, varies from reasonable to outstanding. This clearly contrasts with the collections in The Hague and Amsterdam, which, formed in the nineteenth and twentieth century with the aesthetic eye of the time, only present the very best pieces as isolated works of art, thus more or less depriving these of their historical context.

This changed manner of collecting can partly be explained by the changed appreciation of Asian porcelain from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. European factories began to produce genuine porcelain in 1709, and soon proved to be better equipped to meet the latest fashions and demands of wealthy customers. Moreover, things Chinese were generally no longer as much *en vogue* as they had been in the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century, and, by and large, came to be seen as objectionable frivolities. As early as 1719, Willem van Mieris commented on the craze for Chinese porcelain, in his satirical painting of an interior scene with an excessive amount of porcelain in which apes had replaced human beings. As apes are symbols of *luxuria*, and self-indulgence, this is an early critical note to an unrestrained porcelain mania.

Some observations in a famous early-nineteenth-century travel account may help to gain understanding of the abundance of porcelain in Groningen and Friesland, developing in this period.² In 1823 Jacob van Lennep and a friend walked through the Netherlands, and observed that rich farmers and citizens in the northern provinces had recently taken a remarkable fancy for luxury items. Tellingly, while explicitly mentioning porcelain when describing the interiors of inhabitants in these areas, Van Lennep makes no reference to porcelain in other parts of his travel account. In his eyes, as a member of the Amsterdam *haute volée*, porcelain displays were out of fashion, an indication of bad taste, and – in keeping with Van Mieris' painting a hundred years earlier – representative of moral degradation. Due to the fall in demand amongst the elites in the west of the country, Asian porcelain flooded the market at the end of the eighteenth century. The wealthier inhabitants of Groningen and Friesland were probably only all too happy to buy this beautiful porcelain, and we can see how a difference in taste produced a steady flow of porcelain from the more progressive and traditionally richer western parts of the Netherlands to the northern provinces.

Kraak ware for the Netherlands

Four Dutch museums with important collections of Asian ceramics (Prinsessehof Leeuwarden, Groninger Museum, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam) have recently started up a cooperation project, by which they combine knowledge and manpower in order to improve research on the collections. They will hold joint exhibitions

to attract a wider audience and publish large parts of the collections on the Internet, making them available to scholars and serious collectors. This project will not only provide a good insight into the import of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Asian ceramics as a whole, it will also shed light on later collecting attitudes. By working together, these museums will provide a comprehensive overview of the export porcelains intended for Holland and the Dutch East Indies, Asian ceramics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as ceramics collected in the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Their first joint exhibition of ceramics was devoted to *kraak* ware.³ Though much was re-exported directly in the seventeenth century and, perhaps, even more left the Netherlands at a later date in the hands of foreign collectors, there still is no other place with such a comparatively high density of *kraak* ware. *Kraak* porcelain is a type of Chinese export ceramic produced from c. 1560 to c. 1650 and was originally developed for the Portuguese and Spanish traders as a light ware, with standard forms which enabled them to store the objects economically in their ships. The thin body is often warped in the kiln and always painted in underglaze blue, while most saucers and dishes have a typical decoration with alternating broad and small panels in the rim. It is exactly this type of porcelain that the Dutch began to trade in the early seventeenth century. Dutch trade started in 1602 with the capture of a Portuguese ship, San Jago, loaded with porcelain, subsequently auctioned off with much success. Whereas the Portuguese had restricted their porcelain trade mainly to the Asian markets, the enormous success of this sale incited the Dutch VOC to aggressively pursue an active trade bringing Chinese porcelain to the Netherlands.

Five scholars were invited to lecture on a symposium that accompanied the exhibition. They focused on the impact of the sudden increase of Chinese porcelain in Europe, the *kraak* ware imports being the first opportunity for Europeans to easily acquire Chinese objects. China was already beloved of well-read Europeans in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century: not much was known about the Chinese empire, but they were familiar with rumours of a mythical, rich country where a wise man reigned as emperor over contented subjects. The arrival of relatively cheap *kraak* porcelain, decorated with Chinese plants, flowers, animals, landscapes, people, mythological animals, and other motifs, enabled Europeans to acquire samples and proof of the incredible riches and miracles of this exotic country.⁴

The museums are now working on the website publication of their complete collections of *kraak* porcelain.⁵ Rather than publishing a selection of the most attractive objects, with lengthy and extensive commentary, in a catalogue, we want to make as many *kraak* ware objects as possible accessible on the website for scholars and all those interested in Asian ceramics all over the world. The *kraak* ware collection of the four museums is expected to be available on the website in autumn 2003. Another cooperative exhibition, scheduled for this year, will consist of highlights from the four porcelain collections. Objects have been deliberately chosen to show as clearly as possible the various collecting accents and historical development of the collections. Hopefully, the exhibition programme and website will help to gain wider recognition for the importance of these Dutch collections of Asian porcelain. <

Jan van Campen is curator for Asian export art and ceramics in Museum Prinsessehof Leeuwarden and for the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

j.van.campen@rijksmuseum.nl

Notes >

- ¹ 'Ceramics' is a generic term for earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. Porcelain is much harder than stoneware and earthenware and requires high oven-temperatures.
- ² Lennep, Jacob van, *Nederland in den goeden ouden tijd*, M.E. Kluit (ed.), Utrecht: W. de Haan (1942).
- ³ *Kraak* ware is a type of porcelain exported, initially, by the Portuguese and, from 1602 onwards, especially by the Dutch. Its thinness, lightness, and standardized forms and decoration, made it cheap and easy to transport. The name *kraak* is derived from *caracca*, a Portuguese ship type of the time. The *kraak* ware that arrived in the Netherlands was booty from conquered Portuguese *caraccas*.
- ⁴ The results of the symposium have now been published in the periodical *Vormen uit Vuur; Mededelingenblad Nederlandse vereniging van vrienden van ceramiek en glas* (Issue 180/181, 2003/1-2).
- ⁵ www.aziatischekeramiek.nl

Australia

Art Gallery of New South Wales
Art Gallery Road, Domain
Sydney NSW 2000
T + 612-9225 1878
www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au

26 October 2003 – 4 January 2004

They Give Evidence
In this installation, Indonesian artist Dadang Christanto provides testimony to the inhumanity of this world and creates a monument to communal grief. The sixteen figures mutely carry the bodies of innocent men, women, and children who have been killed; victims of oppression and social injustice.

Austria

New Art Path on Karlsplatz
Kunsthalle Wien
Museumsplatz 1
A-1070 Vienna
T + 43-1-52189 1201
www.kunsthallewien.at

21 November 2002 – 21 November 2007

Introductions for Actions
To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Kunsthalle Wien, 30 Austrian and international artists (including Wong Hoy Cheong and Cai Guoqiang) have created an installation designed to encourage passersby in this public space to perform brief actions. Passersby encounter 'instructions for actions' that interrupt their daily routine and invite them to participate in a spontaneous encounter with art.

Belgium

Royal Museum of Art and History
Jubelpark 10
1000 Brussels
T + 32-2-741 7211
www.kmkg-mrah.be

Until 29 February 2004

Vietnam: Art and cultures from prehistoric times to the present day
Three hundred and fifty works of art and ethnographic objects from 13 Vietnamese museums and hundred items from the collections of eight European museums are united in this retrospective of Vietnam's rich past and present. Highlights include bronze drums from the Dongson culture and jewelry, bronzes and stone sculptures from the southern states of Champa and Fu Nan, reflecting Buddhist influences from India.

Until 5 January 2004

More Than Just Food - Ceramic Art Exhibition
Artists Yokky Wong, Jackie Leung, Emma Chan, Lau Wai-ki, Ho Tai-kwan, Ming Ma, Terence Lee, Chris Lo, Law Hon-wah, Caroline Cheng, Johnson Tsang, and Fiona Wong gather to transform the gallery into a banquet hall and examine the art of eating. From tantalizing menus designed for each month of the year to ingenious wares to display and serve food, this exhibition explores the connections between eating and creativity.

France

National Museum of Asian Art-Guimet
6 Place d'Iéna
75016 Paris
T + 33-1-5652 5300
www.musee guimet.fr

29 October 2003 – 29 February 2003

Confucius and the Dawn of Chinese Humanism
Through ritual bronzes, stela, ceramics, sculptures, and paintings on special loan from Shantung museums, and the contemporary viewpoint of artist and calligrapher Ye Xin, the exhibition offers a timely evocation of Confucius and his thinking, which laid the foundations of a particular way of being Chinese.

Palais de Tokyo

13 Avenue du Président Wilson
75116 Paris
T + 33-1-4723 5401
www.palaisdetokyo.com

Until 18 January 2004

Silence Sonore (Echoing Silence)
This is the first major show in Paris devoted exclusively to the Chinese artist Chen Zhen, who died prematurely in 2000. Chen's art reflects his continuous migration between different geographic and cultural territories and his concerns about the context of art production. The exhibition includes monumental pieces as well as series of the artist's drawings.

Germany

Museum für indische Kunst
Takustraße 40
14195 Berlin – Dahlem
T + 49-30-830 1361
www.smb.spk-berlin.de/mik/

18 September 2003 – 4 January 2004

The Sublime and the Ascetic
The exhibition of early sculptures from India includes stone sculptures predominantly from the city of Mathura, made of speckled reddish sandstone. These sculptures are characterized by their great variety of religious images. The objects on display come from the collections of several museums in India and are on show for the first time in Germany.



NKH, Japan

Head of a Buddha, Chaubara, first century AD, Mathura Museum

Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland GmbH

Museumsmeile Bonn
Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 4
53113 Bonn
T +49 -228 91710
www.kah-bonn.de

21 November 2003 – 15 February 2004

Treasures of the Sons of Heaven: The Imperial Collection from the National Palace Museum Taipei
This exhibition of approximately 400 objects reflects the diversity and creativity of Chinese artists from the Neolithic period to the advent of modernity. Through its focus on the relationship of human beings to nature and society, it also documents the intellectual and political developments of Chinese history, including shifts in imperial patronage and the development of the rich symbolic tradition of Chinese scholars. The selection covers a wide range of media: paintings, seals, porcelain, bronze, jade, prints, tapestries, embroideries, lacquer, cloisonné, and wood.

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst

Universitätsstraße 100
D-50674 Cologne
T +49-2-2194 0518-0
www.smb.spk-berlin.de/oak/

Until 29 February 2004

The Golden Thread: Textiles from China, Korea and Japan
A selection of textiles from the museum's collection of over 400 pieces provides an introduction to East Asian textile art. The exhibition examines the social dimension of these objects through their decorative motifs, their practical functions, and through an analysis of the diverse materials and techniques of weaving and dyeing. The variety of items includes mandarin robes, wedding gowns, kimonos, monks' habits, temple banners, and furnishings from palaces, temples, and private homes.

Indonesia

Cemeti Art House
Jl.Dl. Panjaitan 41
Yogyakarta 55143
T +62-2-7437 1015
www.cemetiarthouse.com

Until 31 December 2003

Exploring Vacuum II
This exhibition interrogates the role of the gallery/art institute while exploring the shifting role of the artist as both actor and player in the changing of societal values. It explores relationships between the individual and the collective, between the self and the social. The multidimensional exhibition space is full of interactive opportunities for experiencing art and collaborations between diverse artists and media such as performance art, animation, video, photography, dance, and theatre.

Japan

Fukuoka Asian Art Museum
Hakata Riverain
3-1 Shimokawabata-machi, Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi
T +81-9-2771 8600
faam@faam.city.fukuoka.jp
http://faam.city.fukuoka.jp

18 December 2003 – 7 March 2004

15 Tracks: Contemporary Southeast Asian Art
This exhibition was planned by the Sin-

gapore Art Museum (SAM) to show contemporary paintings, sculptures, installations, and video works by 15 young contemporary artists from the ten countries of ASEAN. It is a reconstructed version of 36 *Ideas from Asia: Contemporary Southeast Asian Art*, which was also organized by SAM and toured Europe in 2002-2003. In 15 *Tracks*, the artists observe both the contemporary and the traditional cultures of their own countries.

Until 13 January 2004

Art of Bangladesh
Although long suffering from the lingering war and natural catastrophes, and economic poverty, in the field of art, Bangladesh offers a rich variety: from modern and contemporary art to folk and popular art. The charm of art in Bangladesh is shown through contemporary art, rickshaws and kanthas (embroidery).

15 January – 23 March

Chinese Prints
The exhibition mainly shows Su Xinning's works, who symbolically expresses the vague sense of anxiety among contemporary people depicting the life in the steppes and urbanised society, along with around fifty other Chinese prints in superior techniques made during the time of the Cultural Revolution to 1990s.

5 February – 21 March

Crossing Visions II SELF - Contemporary Indian Video Art (tentative title)
The exhibition is the second of the *Crossing Visions* series. With Johan Pijnappel, a curator of World Wide Video Festival in the Netherlands and a researcher of Asian video art, as a guest curator, the exhibition presents a rare opportunity for the Japanese audience featuring a set of video works from India where paintings and solid works are the majority. Under the theme of 'SELF', works by some ten Indian artists are shown.

Tokyo National Museum

13-9 Ueno Park, Taito-ku
Tokyo, 110-8712
T + 81-3-3822 1111
www.tnm.jp

Until 14 December 2003

Ino Tadakata and Old Maps of Japan
The Tokyo National Museum holds a

large number of survey maps (Ino Maps) by the surveyor Ino Tadakata (1745-1818). This exhibition provides a rare opportunity to see all the related Ino Maps at a single venue. Both technological achievements and artistically beautiful works, these maps were transmitted from the Edo period *bakufu* government or from *daimyo* warlord families. Exhibiting Japanese and foreign maps together also illustrates the various visual articulations of Japan created by both Japanese and foreigners.

Until 14 December 2003

The Fusuma Paintings of Jukōin
This exhibition provides the rare opportunity to view all 46 *fusuma* (sliding screen) paintings from the Abbot's quarters at Jukōin, which are designated as national treasures and are rarely on public display. The paintings, by the artists Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590) and his father Kanō Shōei (1519-1592), are arranged in the same physical layout as at Jukōin. The exhibition also includes works relating to Sen no Rikyū and the tea ceremony, as well as *fusuma* paintings created for a subsidiary of Jukōin, located in Ito, Shizuoka, by a contemporary Nihonga painter, Senju Hiroshi.

Malaysia

NN Gallery
53A & 56 Jalan Sulaiman 1
Taman Ampang Hillir
6800 Ampang, Selangor Darul Ehsan
T +60-3-470 6588
www.nngallery.com.my

22 October – 22 December

Joint Photographic Exhibition by O. Don Eric Peris and Alex Moh
In this exhibition, O. Don Eric Peris documents Malaysia's past. He examines his subject in both black-and-white and uniquely hand-coloured photography. Alex Moh documents the cultural roots of Malaysia by traveling off the beaten track to capture how rural life adapts to modernity.

National Gallery of Art

Balai Seni Lukis Negara 2
Jalan Temerloh, Off Jalan Tun Razak
53200 Kuala Lumpur
T +60-3-4025 4990
http://artgallery.org.my

continued on page 44 >

6 October 2003 – January 2004

45@45
This exhibition of 45 major works selected by 45 highly respected individuals commemorates the 45th year of the establishment of the National Gallery of Art. Various styles, media, themes, and techniques represent the diversity of Malaysian art. Included are works by Mohd Dzulkifli Dahalan and child prodigy, Dzulkifli Buyong. Each work is interpreted by individuals in their respective art field.

New Zealand

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa

Tongarewa

Cable Street, Wellington
T +64-4-381 7000
www.tepapa.govt.nz/

Until late January 2004

From Woodblocks to Comics: the Japanese Impression
This exhibition brings together traditional Japanese *ukiyo-e* (floating world) woodblocks; prints and watercolours by European artists; and *manga* (Japanese comics) to illustrate two-hundred years of Japanese and European artists drawing on other cultures for inspiration – from traditional woodblocks to modern comics.

Until September 2004

Ainana: reflections through Indian weddings

This exhibition celebrates the diversity of New Zealand's Indian communities through the customs and rituals surrounding marriage, including the jewellery, costumes, food, religious objects, music, and colours that make the Indian wedding unique. The exhibition explores ways in which Indian people in New Zealand, both immigrants and locally born, identify themselves as Indian, and how they express and maintain their cultures in this country.

Russia

State Hermitage Museum

34 Dvortsovaya Naberezhnaya (Palace Embankment)
St Petersburg 190000
T +7-812-311 3465
www.hermitagemuseum.org

18 November 2003 – 18 January 2004

Video Art Festival
Featuring Shirin Neshat (after Pontormo)

Singapore

Sabun Cabane

Gallery-Salon
Tanglin Mall, Level 3, Unit 22
163 Tanglin Road, Singapore 247933
T + 65-6235 2910
www.galeriedauphin.com.sg

19 November – 31 December 2003

State of Mind

This exhibition was designed by Galerie Dauphin as a platform for four highly-talented new Filipino artists who have yet not been presented in the Asian art arena: Butch Payawal, Andres Barrioquinto, Deborah Del Pan, and Dedit Robillo Van Der Linden. It also introduces a renowned Old Master sculptor from the Philippines, Ben-Hur Villanueva.

Singapore Art Museum

71 Bras Basah Road
Singapore 189555
T + 65-6332 3222
www.nhb.gov.sg/SAM

Until 25 April 2004

Interrupt

An exhibition of interventions, interactivity and the internet, *Interrupt* presents a cross-section of artists' practices engaging in diverse technologies and media, and reflects on encounters with the digital in contemporary life. Includes artists Michael Tan and Leung Chi Wo.

Thailand

The Center of Art and Culture

Sanam Chandra Palace Campus
Muang District, Nakorn Pathom Province
T +66-2-880 7730
www.interprint.su.ac.th

Until 4 December 2003

International Print and Drawing Exhibition on the occasion of 60th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of Silpakorn University, Thailand

This exhibition offers Thai and foreign artists the opportunity to display their most recent works, while promoting artistic creativity and an international cultural exchange. Among the international artists receiving awards in this

exhibition are artists Takemi Azumaya, Tinnakorn Kasornsuwan, Sou Pui Kun, Hideki Kimura, and Jin-Won Chang.

United Kingdom

The Museum of East Asian Art

12 Bennett Street
Bath BA1 2QJ
T +44-1225-464 640
www.bath.co.uk/museumeastasianart

Until 11 January 2004

Death and Burial: The Chinese and the Afterlife

This exhibition examines Chinese beliefs and rituals surrounding death, burial, and the afterlife, primarily through an exploration of the development, diversity, and historical meanings of tomb objects from the Neolithic period through the Tang Dynasty. These *mingqi* (spirit goods) had various functions: to provide sustenance for the spirit (illustrated by various bronze and ceramic vessels); to provide servants, entertainers, and companions for the deceased (illustrated by tomb figurines of servants, dancers, singers, and officials); and to provide guardians (illustrated by wooden and ceramic tomb guardians). Representations of animals and architecture are also displayed to illuminate Chinese beliefs about immortality.

The Royal Scottish Museum

Chambers Street

Edinburgh, EH1 1JF
T +44-131-247 4219
www.nms.ac.uk/royal

Until April 2004

Mao: Arts for the Masses

This exhibition includes paintings and objects made in traditional media of porcelain, lacquer, and ivory, created between 1950 and 1976, as powerful illustrations of the political idealism of the Cultural Revolution in China.

The British Library

Pearson Gallery, 96 Euston Road
London NW1 2DB
T +44-20-7412 7595
www.bl.uk

Until 7 March 2004

Chinese Printmaking Today: Woodblock Printing in China 1980-2000

This exhibition covers the art of woodblock printing over the last 20 years in

China. The 200 prints on display include subjects drawn from earlier printmaking as well as newly developed categories of prints. The selection includes multi-block works printed with water-soluble and oil-based inks, and other techniques such as *dab*-printing, waste-block printing and embossing. Items of note include book illustrations for Lu Xun's *True Story of Ah Q* by Zhao Yannian, a series of prints depicting musical instruments by Chen Qi, and the *Book of the Sky* by Xu Bing

Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art

53 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0PD
T +44-20-7387 3909
www.asianartinlondon.com/m_events.asp

Until 19 December 2003

Colours in Chinese Porcelain

Also included in the *Asian Art in London* programme, this exhibition highlights the meaning and sources of colour in Chinese porcelain.

Ashmolean Museum of Art & Archaeology

Beaumont Street
Oxford, OX1 2PH
T +44-1865-278 000
www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk

Until 5 January 2004

Legend and Landscape: Japanese Paintings

This exhibition contains 38 paintings divided into sections on five major schools of painting in Japan from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Highlights of the exhibition include a painted album of scenes from the *Tale of Genji* accompanied by poems based on the *Five Virtues of Filial Piety*.

United States

The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art

The University of Chicago
5550 S. Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637
T +1-773-702 0200
http://smartmuseum.uchicago.edu

2 October 2003 – 4 January 2004

Hiroshi Sugimoto: Sea of Buddha

Hiroshi Sugimoto was allowed to work inside Kyoto's famed thirteenth-century Buddhist temple Sanjusangendo (Hall of Thirty-Three Bays). He photographed the

dawn light illuminating 1,000 statues of the bodhisattva Kannon. The black-and-white images frame multitudinous rows of Kannon's slightly varied faces, which the eye reads as a 'sea of Buddha'. The exhibition also includes *Seascapes* and the artist's books *Sea of Buddha* (1997) and *Noh Such Thing as Time* (2001), the video *Accelerated Buddha* (1997), and the print portfolio *In Praise of Shadows* (1999).

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

5905 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90036
T +1-323-857 6000
www.lacma.org

Until 4 January 2004

Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art

The purpose of the exhibition is to explain the notion of human perfection, the methodology needed to achieve it, and the visual imagery used in its service. It is comprised of approximately 150 Tibetan, Nepalese, Indian, and Chinese paintings, sculptures, textiles, and ritual implements from North American, European, and Nepalese collections.

American Museum of Natural History

Central Park West and 79th Street
New York, NY
T +1-212-769 5100
www.amnh.org

Until 4 January 2004

Vietnam: Journeys of Body, Mind, and Spirit

This is an exhibition of physical, temporal, intellectual, and spiritual journeys in Vietnam today reflected in diverse media: woodblock prints, handmade textiles, historical and contemporary ceramics and baskets, palanquins carried during festivals, votive paper goods, water puppets, and an ancestral altar are among the four hundred ceremonial and everyday items displayed.

Asia Society and Museum

725 Park Avenue (at 70th Street)
New York, NY
T +1-212-517 2742
www.asiasociety.org

Until 14 December 2003

An Explosion Event: Light Cycle Over Central Park

Cai Guo Qiang's large-scale drawings,

made by burning gunpowder on paper, are studies for his 'explosion' event in Central Park on September 15. The exhibition is divided into three sections: *Sigmal Towers* (pillars of light), *The Light Cycle* (a vertical halo) and *White Night* (small shell explosions of brilliant white light).

Until 18 January 2004

Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Iran, 1501-1576

The exhibition contains more than 75 objects, including miniature paintings and arts of the book, ceramics, carpets, textiles and metalwork. Organized historically, it explores the development of the Safavid artistic style and the context in which it emerged, with a focus on depictions of paradise as a garden and the hunt, both of which played major roles in Safavid court life.

Until 15 February 2004

TOOBA: Shirin Neshat

This 12-minute, double-screen video installation by Shirin Neshat serves as a contemporary counterpoint to *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Iran, 1501-1576*.

Asian Art Museum

200 Larkin Street
San Francisco, CA 94102
T +1-415-581 3500
www.asianart.org

Until 11 January 2004

Leaning Forward, Looking Back: Eight Contemporary Korean Artists

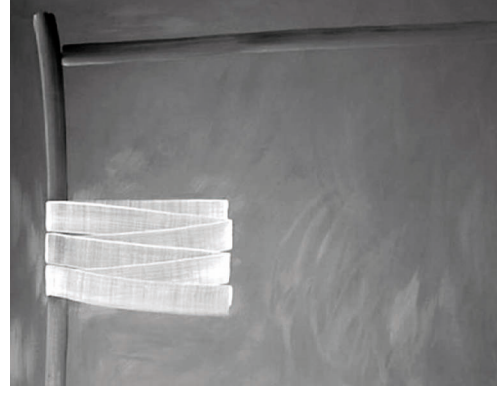
This exhibition explores connections between the present and both the tangential past and the future. The artists' work ranges from traditional Korean painting to contemporary video and sculpture. The artists' work is rooted in the history and legends of the subjects of Japanese painting from the earliest historical times to the present day. This exhibit presents Japanese paintings in a wide variety of formats, including small fan-shaped illustrations, album leaves, hanging scrolls, and narrative handscrolls alternating text and illustration.

Until 21 March 2004

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Perspectives: Yoyoi Kusama

The Sackler gallery inaugurates its five-year programme of contemporary installations with two works by the Japanese artist Yoyoi Kusama. Through the repetition of colours and forms, the pavilion's surface vanishes into pattern and pulls the viewer into Kusama's potent hallucination. <



SONG, Hyun-sook, '8 Brushstrokes', 2000, egg tempera on canvas, Height 201 cm x Width 150 cm.

Maritime Piracy in Asia

Report >
Southeast Asia

4-6 September 2003
Amsterdam,
the Netherlands

By Derek S. Johnson and Erika Pladdet

In response to the challenges posed by contemporary piracy in Asia, the IIAS, in collaboration with the Amsterdam-based Centre for Maritime Research (MARE), has launched a long-term initiative aimed at stimulating research on piracy.¹ The first step in their research programme was to convene an expert meeting as part of the conference 'People and the Sea II: Conflicts, Threats and Opportunities'.

An important outcome of the Amsterdam meetings was the provision of a baseline on the current state of knowledge on piracy, and an understanding of the activities of the key international organizational players, the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) and the International Maritime Organisation (IMO). These two organizations provide support for nations engaged in counter-piracy efforts by maintaining a database of all reported incidents of piracy, and by supporting the development of technologies and protocols to protect ships from pirate attacks. A fundamental issue for piracy research that emerged repeatedly in the presentations and discussions was the strengths and weaknesses of the divergent definitions of piracy held by the IMO and the IMB. The IMO conforms to the United Nations Law of the Sea (Art. 101) definition of piracy that restricts it to illegal acts of violence or detention acts committed on the high seas, or outside the jurisdiction of a coastal state, for private ends by private ship against another private ship. The IMO defines acts of violence or detention committed against ships that occur within the jurisdiction of a state as armed robbery at sea. All states are thus free to criminalize piracy that occurs within their waters in divergent ways. The IMB has a much broader definition of piracy: 'an act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the attempt to or capability to use force in the furtherance of that act'.

While the IMB definition is useful for its inclusiveness, the IMO differentiation between national and international acts of maritime violence and detention reflects the very different responses that are possible to acts of violence in those two different maritime areas. All states need to cooperate to the fullest extent in order to suppress pirate acts on the high seas or outside the jurisdiction of any state (Art. 100 Law of the Sea Convention). The meaning of 'fullest extent' is not, however, clearly defined (Chaikin 2003). Acts of violence or

Along with cowboys and knights in shining armour, the pirate is a classic romantic figure in the imaginations of youngsters. Indeed, the romance of the pirate extends to a broader audience than that, as the success of the recent film *Pirates of the Caribbean* demonstrates. The contemporary reality of piracy, however, shatters the stereotype of the charming pirate rogue so wittily played by Johnny Depp. Over the past 15 years, the incidence of piracy has surged, with the busy sea lanes of Southeast Asia playing host to the largest number of attacks. Pirate attacks have become increasingly violent, and have come to represent a growing threat to maritime trade.

detention against ships within national waters are subject to the national legislation of the coastal states. The enforcement and legal regimes of these states are highly varied.

One of the key challenges of international counter-piracy cooperation is thus to harmonize legal and enforcement provisions among nation-states, particularly in piracy-affected areas like Southeast Asian waters (Djalal 2003). It was apparent, even in the positions taken by representatives at the conference from India, Japan, Indonesia, and the USA, that this is far easier said than done. Sensitivities to outside incursions into national waters and strong memories of historical conflicts create an environment that is in many ways inimical to the multilateral effort required to combat piracy.

Nonetheless, urgent action is required. IMB data show that attacks have tripled in the ten years since 1993. Worse still, the violence of attacks is also growing (Ong 2003). In the first six months of 2003 alone there were 234 pirate incidents that resulted in 16 deaths, 52 injuries, 20 missing crew, and 193 hostages being taken (ICC 2003a). Even these figures do not represent the whole picture, as many incidents of piracy go unreported.

In addition to the important research that needs to be conducted on the international institutional context for the suppression of piracy in Asian waters, it is evident that too little is known about the economic, political, and social contexts of piracy. Who are pirates? What drives individuals to piracy? We can speculate that poor economic conditions lead to an upsurge in piracy, although we do not yet have studies that have examined that relationship in a careful way. We do know that there is a range of types of pirate activities, from small-scale hit-and-run attacks on boats at berth to sophisticated operations that hijack entire vessels in order to sell the cargo and the vessel, after having changed its name, using forged ownership papers. We do not, however, know much about the criminal networks that exist for the fencing of stolen goods and which are sufficiently well connected to know when to target particularly valuable vessels. Indeed, participants in the conference raised the very real concern of bar-ratry where pirates collaborate with ships' crews for mutual profit.

There was also lively debate during the panel sessions about the potential for politically motivated piracy and terrorism at sea. In view of the post-11 September environment, Gerard Ong rightly observed that 'ships can be dangerous too' as vehi-

cles for attacks on vital shipping lanes or sensitive environments. In early September, the IMB reported that a recent upsurge of piracy in the Malacca Straits may be due to attempts by Aceh rebels to fund their activities through vessel capture and hostage taking (ICC 2003b). While increasing state anti-piracy naval and coastguard capacity is important, the formulation of effective counter-piracy policies also requires that increasing research attention be directed at macro political-economic and social factors such as those we have sketched here. It is our hope that the programme of piracy research that arises from the IIAS-MARE initiative will help in this effort. <

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Notes >

- 1 Over a five-year period, the IIAS-MARE research programme on piracy will consist of regular workshops and conferences on piracy that will feed into a publication series. The latter will include volumes dealing with scholarly and policy concerns, covering both contemporary and historical periods. For more information see: www.iias.nl

Local Land Use Strategies in a Globalizing World Shaping Sustainable Social and Natural Environments

Report >
General

21-23 August 2003
Copenhagen,
Denmark

By Reed L. Wadley, Ole Mertz & Andreas Egelund Christensen

During the last decade, a number of developing countries first experienced rapid economic growth and were then faced with even more rapid economic decline, particularly countries in Southeast Asia that fell victim to the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Meanwhile, in some places, increases in state power have placed greater constraints on local peoples' livelihoods. Declining state power elsewhere has fostered local autonomy, but has also increased outside threats, mainly the threat of uncontrolled

Over the last few decades, globalization processes have taken centre stage in most development debates. Developing economies have been particularly vulnerable to these processes, and are acutely exposed when economic crises, natural disasters, epidemics, or other adversities drain local and national resources. But how do local rural people react to such events? Having been managers of delicate or sometimes hostile environments for generations, local people are no strangers to crises. How do they combine management of their land and natural resources with the challenges and opportunities of globalized economies?

resource exploitation. In sum, this has led to heightened concern among government officials, development specialists, and local peoples over the sustainability of natural resource use.

Local peoples in many areas have been faced with apparent increases in climatic variability, population growth and movement, land use change, deforestation, land degradation, and poverty. Other changes include increasing commercialization and the creation of new economic, social, and political alignments. Constrained in their economic agency by their natural and social environments, local rural peoples

(whether indigenous or migrant) have dealt with these changes by adapting their earlier local land use strategies to the new circumstances.

The globalization process may affect these constraints through, for example, land degradation, shifting opportunities for labour migration, and changing notions of household necessity. Of particular importance in how people adjust is the well-documented 'occupational multiplicity', the diverse sources of income in farming households that affect natural resource use. This multiplicity has long allowed families to remain flexible in uncertain natural

environments and changing economic circumstances, most recently brought on by intensified global forces.

At the conference, we debated issues revolving around the mission of the Danish University Consortium on Sustainable Land Use and Natural Resource Management (DUCED SLUSE). Participants in fields ranging from anthropology and geography to soil science and forestry focused on local land users and the causes and effects of their strategies and practices in the face of externally induced crisis. We gave special emphasis to Southeast Asia and southern Africa, the main regions of interest in the SLUSE programme. Among a score of topics, we addressed the relationship between resource use and off-farm diversification, as well as the social institutions that people have devised to manage their relations to the land and its resources, their strategies for managing lands under increasing pressure, and the impact on the natural environment.

Among the invited speakers were Karen Lawrence and Raymond Bryant who turned a critical eye on community forestry policy, comparing Nigeria with the Philippines in their examination of 'spaces of malpractice' whereby gaps in donor intervention and governance may reinforce destructive practices. They also found that, under the 'right' local political conditions, donor intervention may bolster local resistance to resource malpractice and thus enhance the prospects for effective, long-term local resource management.

Drawing on an example from Palawan in the Philippines, they argued that the native Tagbanua of Coron Island faced entrenched political and economic opposition to their efforts at autonomous control of their territory. Paradoxically, they were able to draw from a range of policy tools, such as the community forestry stewardship agreement and the Certificate of Ancestral

continued on page 46 >

continued from page 45 > Domain, to resist official 'malpractice' and assert their own management plans for the island. With critical support from a leading Philippine environmental non-governmental organization (NGO), diverse official policies allowed the Tagbanua to shape the terms of encounter over a conservation project under the National Integrated Protected Areas Program (and funded by the European Union). They did this in such a way that it enhanced their own ability to manage Coron Island.

NGO support was critical for this local success: it helped to prepare local Tagbanua organizations early on in the policy process, and aided them in bridg-

ing shifts in government programmes, thus ensuring that they were not dependent on government initiatives. As a result, Tagbanua leaders were able to take advantage of available, official inputs but in such a way that they never lost sight of the need to maximize local control. Thus, they activated diverse social and political resources and began to close the governance gap that had previously favoured resource malpractice on Coron Island. This case thus represents one way that local peoples have successfully combined management of their natural resources with the challenges and opportunities offered by globalized economies. <

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Info >

The above conference was held at the Institute of Geography, part of the GeoCenter of the University of Copenhagen. In addition to funding provided by IIAS, the conference was sponsored by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Danida) through the DUCED SLUSE programme, the Danish Social Science Research Council, North/South Priority Research Area (University of Copenhagen), the Danish Agricultural and Veterinary Research Council, Knud Højgaard's Fond, the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University (Copenhagen), and the Institute of Geography (University of Copenhagen).

India's Ship-Scrapping Industry Monument to the Abuse of Human Labour and the Environment

Report >
South Asia

For the 36,000 migrant labourers working in Alang, Gujarat, the sound of the magnificent Arabian Sea is drowned in the deafening ship-breaking activity and the fresh ocean air is clogged with the fumes of welding torches. They have come from the most backward states of India: Bihar, Orissa, and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Extreme poverty and unemployment has compelled them to migrate to the ship-breaking yards of Alang. Desperate for work, they have taken up jobs that the local Gujarati labourer considers too risky, cutting open toxin-laced ships using the most primitive methods, under hazardous working conditions.



Both photos Courtesy of Derek Elias, UNESCO, CSI

By Rupa Abdi

After 25 to 30 years, when ships are at the end of their sailing life, they are sold to scrapyards in order to be dismantled so as to recover the valuable steel which constitutes almost 95 per cent of the ship. India is the world's largest ship-breaking nation by volume, and in India, Alang is the main centre of ship-breaking activities. The 6,000 metric tonnes of steel that come out of Alang every day, on average, account for about 15 per cent of the country's total steel output. At about half the cost of regular furnace-based plants, this output contributes massive revenue in terms of custom duty, excise duty, sales tax, and so on, to central and state government exchequers.

Ship-scrapping around the globe exemplifies both the potentialities and the dangers of an increasingly globalized economy. Northern corporations seek to delocalize their activities (and waste producers, their hazardous materials) to southern countries, which are unwilling to enforce internationally acceptable environmental and labour conditions for fear of the industry relocating to an even lower cost country.

Ship-breaking may create job opportunities for thousands of labourers and contribute to the economic growth of these regions, but exposes the labour force to risks of death, serious injury, and chronic health problems. During the scrapping process hazardous wastes are released into the environment, and labourers are exposed to toxic substances. In short, economic profit gains precedence over environmental health and labour rights.

Alang ship-scrapping yard.

Ship-scrapping at Alang violates numerous national and international regulations related to pollution, hazardous wastes, and labour rights. Established in 1982 and built on the sweat and blood of migrant labourers, Alang has grown to be the world's biggest ship-breaking yard, a monument to the outrageous abuse of human labour and environment. The labourers in Alang live in poor housing and sanitary conditions and little attention is paid to their health and safety concerns. According to the physicians in and around Alang who treat numerous Alang patients, the combination of hazardous working conditions, congested and unhygienic living conditions, poor quality drinking water, availability of illicit country liquor, and rampant homosexuality and prostitution have given rise to a number of skin, gastrointestinal, and liver diseases besides tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria, malnutrition, cancer, HIV-AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases (STD). According to the local Bhavnagar Blood Bank office at Alang, besides 38 confirmed cases of AIDS, about 50-55 new cases of other STD are being reported every week among the labourers. This is probably the tip of the iceberg. There is a severe lack of medical facilities at Alang. The main facility is the Red Cross Hospital which is inadequate to meet the health requirements of 36,000 labourers. Serious cases are referred to the Civil Hospital at Bhavnagar, 55 kilometres away. The violation of the civil and labour rights of these workers is common. In fact, they are low paid, are provided no systematic job training, and do the ship-dismantling work with insufficient protective gear. As a result, injuries and deaths due to accidents are common.

The ship-breakers, who own the ship-breaking plots, buy scrap ships in the international market and get them dismantled by the migrant labourers that they have employed on a contract basis, are rather feudalistic in their attitude towards the labourers. Whatever little concern they may have for the working and living conditions of the labourers and environmental pollution arises from the fact that, of late, Alang has been receiving a lot of adverse publicity in the national and international media due to the large number of accidents and deaths of its workers over the last couple of years. Since 1996, over 400 fires have broken out and around 200 labourers have died. This has led to pressure groups within ship-owning countries urging their governments not to send their ships to scrapping yards with poor safety and environment records. The ship-breakers, on their part, insist that the ship-owners should de-contaminate the ships before selling them off to the scrapyards.

The Gujarat Maritime Board (GMB), a government body responsible for regulating ship-breaking activity and for provision and maintenance of basic infrastructure facilities at Alang, has laid down some safety and environmental regulations to be followed during ship-breaking, but has limited powers to implement them due to the economic and political clout enjoyed by the ship-breakers. Non-governmental organizations in India as well as international, such as Greenpeace, are of the opinion that in accordance with the Basel Convention, which decrees that exporting nations and polluting industries have to take care of their own toxic waste, ships should be cleaned of all toxic materials in Western countries before they are to be scrapped in Asia. But until that happens, the labourers and the environment at Alang will continue to get a raw deal. <

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The *uma* (communal longhouse) and its inhabitants are the smallest unit within the imminent political system of the *laggai*. Buttui, Siberut Island.

Myrna Eindhoven

The Return to the *Laggai*

Report >
Indonesia

As part of the current reformative politics in Indonesia, *otonomi daerah* (regional autonomy) has been introduced. In response to the growing demands for greater political and financial autonomy, a start was made when decentralization was introduced in 1999. The desire to have autonomy at a provincial level, which could potentially have undermined the state, was cleverly circumvented when the government decided to denote lower administrative units – the *kabupaten* (district) and *desa* (village) – as key levels in the new autonomous system (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2001).

By Myrna Eindhoven

The era of *Reformasi* has offered greater political and financial freedom, and has also created the opportunity for critical parties to be more vocal. Several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have taken this opportunity to voice their desire to have greater legal recognition of *adat* (tradition or custom) and *adat*-based rights to natural resources. Regional autonomy and the adherent decentralization are all about the empowerment of Indonesia's civil society and the democratization of its political structure. Under internal as well as external pressure to move towards a less authoritarian political system, Indonesia is being forced to replace former repressive top-down policies with locally instigated bottom-up strategies. The role of domestic NGOs in promoting local *adat* as an important bottom-up strategy is extremely significant. Local NGOs, supported by post-Cold War discourses that prioritize democratization, human rights, environmental protection, transparency, and good governance, do not seem to have a hard time linking themselves with powerful international (donor) organizations, thereby creating potentially powerful positions for themselves.

On the mainland of West Sumatra regional autonomy has triggered off a restructuring of the local government, in which the *desa* (village) structure is to be replaced by a local government based on the *nagari*.¹ When West Sumatra reintroduced the *nagari* as a local government unit in late 2000, the Mentawai Archipelago – also part of the province of West Sumatra – feared that they would also become subject to this 'return to the *nagari*'. This would have been an unacceptable development for most of the Mentawaians, for they feel substantially different – in a cultural as well as religious sense – from their Minangkabau neighbours from the Sumatran mainland. While Mentawai waited for additional legislation from the provincial level, several local NGOs had in the meantime introduced the idea that Mentawai should have its own movement: *kembali ke laggai* (return to the *laggai*).² A simple return to the *laggai* is, however, not as simple as it may seem. Not all parties involved are equally in favour of such a return, in which the current village government would be replaced by one based on the *laggai*. Some consider it the ultimate opportunity to differentiate the Mentawaians from the mainland Minangkabau, while others fear – not unreasonably – that the structure of the *laggai*, which is, strictly taken, a land tenure structure, is not capable of carrying the political structure that it would need to support in the near future.

Local NGOs and the provincial government are much in favour of the 'return to the *laggai*'. Most local NGOs use it as a supportive tool in processes of identity formation. The provincial government, is eager in making Jakarta believe that the 'return to the *laggai*' is a direct expression of the popular will of the Mentawaians and, thus, prove that it can handle issues of ethnic diversity within the province by itself. The local government in the Mentawai Archipelago itself

seems to have little or no interest in the developments around the *laggai*. The review of draft versions of legislation has met with serious delay not least because of the slack behaviour of local government officials. Only recently have they openly stated that they do not consider the 'return to the *laggai*' to be in their interest. The 'return to the *laggai*' is seen as just one more burden on the newly constituted but already problematic governance of *kabupaten* (district) Kepulauan Mentawai, created in 1999. The local communities, on their part, feel generally left out when it comes to negotiations regarding the 'return to the *laggai*'. Due to various practical obstructions, these communities are informed either slightly or not at all. As a result they feel that the return to the *laggai* is a process in which their role is at best that of the spectator.

Section 24 of the provincial regulation 9/2000 on the reintroduction of the *nagari* grants the Mentawaians the opportunity to draft their own regulations with regard to the restructuring of the local government on the count of their significantly different *adat* and culture. Although this statement may seem only logical, this was in fact one of the first times that the different status of the Mentawaians had been officially recognized in neutral terms. That is to say, in earlier days the different Mentawaiian *adat*, culture, and religion had always been talked about in negative terms, as a backward and pagan lifestyle that had to be either changed or erased (Persoon 1994). Thus the statement published in section 24 of the above-mentioned provincial regulation was interpreted as a public acknowledgement of the different, yet equal, status of the Mentawaians within the province of West Sumatra.

In accordance with this legislation, an advisory team of 23 people consisting of civil servants, intellectuals, and academics, several of whom were Mentawaians, was created. This team had to investigate the wishes of the local communities and was also responsible for draft versions of the legislations which would eventually lead to a return to the *laggai*. It was a local NGO, Yayasan Citra Mandiri (YCM), known as a strong protagonist of the *laggai* structure, which facilitated five meetings with local communities in the first three months of 2001. The team experienced several problems while compiling the successful draft version. According to the advisory team local communities had forgotten about the *laggai*. Moreover, this loss of cultural knowledge could be blamed upon the Indonesian government, which had been actively suppressing the local culture of the Mentawaians since the 1950s. In the team's recommendations, the government was, therefore, cited as being responsible for re-educating the local communities about the *laggai* system. It also turned out to be rather problematic to overcome all differences in the various local understandings of *laggai* and opinions on what the system should look like in the future. On the southern Mentawai islands of Sipora and the Pagai Islands the word *laggai* refers to a settlement, but on the

Island of Siberut the word knows a variety of different meanings, none of which refer to a settlement in the sense understood on the southern Mentawai Islands. The process of 'returning to the *laggai*' is technically speaking an impossible process, for – at least on Siberut – there has never been a *laggai*.

Apart from the confusion with regard to the terminology, the structure of the settlements on the different islands tends to differ significantly due to different initial settlement patterns. Things have also been complicated through both spontaneous and forced (re)settlement projects, instigated by the Indonesian government. Thanks to these different and shifting settlement patterns it is now extremely difficult to delimit the borders of the *laggai*. Whether it should be composed on the basis of the initial stretches of ancestral land, or whether it should be based on the territory of the village, is a highly debated issue all the more so because the very access to political power is at stake here.

Negotiations about the return to the *laggai* are characterized by bottom-up rhetoric in which the revitalization of *adat* is made into an important feature of local autonomy. The choice for *adat* as a central notion within these developments is not a random one: in national as well as international public discourse it is considered to be something that originates from below, which means that the revitalizing of *adat* is a symbolically powerful factor in the quest for bottom-up strategies. That the return to the *laggai* will automatically lead to *adat* enjoying a more important role is, however, not all that certain. Neither is the revitalization of *adat* an automatic guarantee that democratization, in the Western understanding, will follow. ◀

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Note >

- 1 The *nagari* is a typical Minangkabau form of local government, which was operative in West Sumatra until 1985. It was at that time the Indonesian government – in an attempt to create uniformity in the abundant variety of local forms of government – introduced the *desa* (village) government system (Persoon 1994: 227).
- 2 The use of the word *laggai* in the context under discussion is based on the use and meaning of the word as it is understood on the southern Mentawai Islands of Sipora and the Pagai Islands, where it refers to a 'settlement'.

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Hybrid word prosodic systems
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Human genetics and its political, social, cultural, and ethical implications
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5 January 2004 – 5 June 2006

Southeast Asia

Supaporn Ariyasaiskul, MA (Thailand)
Research fellow, sponsored by CNWS
Late Ayutthaya's foreign trade policy: A study in its regional and international context with an emphasis on the reign of King Boromakot (1733-1758)
1 September 2003 – 1 September 2007

Dr Andi Faisal Bakti (Canada)
Research fellow within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
Majlis Taklim, pengajian and civil society: how do Indonesian Majlis Taklim and pengajian contribute to civil society in Indonesia?
15 May 2002 – 17 December 2003

Jajat Burhanudin, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The making of Islamic modernism. The transmission of Islamic reformism from the Middle East to the Malay-Indonesian archipelago in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century
18 September 2001 – 18 September 2005

Prof. James T. Collins (Malaysia)
Senior visiting fellow
Towards writing a social and linguistic history of Malay in East Indonesia
1-31 October 2003

Muhammad Dahlan, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The role of the Indonesian state institute for Islamic studies in the redistribution of Muslim authority
15 June 2001 – 15 June 2005

Jan-Paul Dirkse, MA (the Netherlands)
Affiliated fellow
The Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) 1967-1992: Dutch-Indonesian relations in a changing perspective
29 September 2003 – 31 May 2004

Myrna Eindhoven, MA (the Netherlands)
Stationed at the ASSR
PhD student within the ASSR/IIAS/WOTRO programme 'Transnational Society, Media and Citizenship'
Rays of new images: ICT's, state ethnicopolitics and identity formation among the Mentawaians (West Sumatra)
1 November 2000 – 1 November 2004

Prof. Zohra Ibrahim (Malaysia)
Affiliated fellow
Information brokerage and knowledge sharing in Southeast Asia
6 January 2003 – 6 January 2004

Moch Nur Ichwan, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The making and unmaking of statistism. Islam: state production of Islamic discourse in New Order Indonesia and afterwards
6 April 2001 – 6 April 2005

Jasper van de Kerkhof, MA (the Netherlands)
Junior research fellow, sponsored by NIOD
Indonesianisasi and nationalism. The emancipation and reorientation of the economy and the world of industry and commerce
15 October 2002 – 15 October 2004

Dr Michael Laffan (Australia)
Research fellow within the research project 'Islam in Indonesia'
Sufis and salafis: A century of conflict and compromise in Indonesia
1 January 2002 – 31 December 2004

Dr Hotze Lont (the Netherlands)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow within the KNAW programme: 'Indonesian Society in Transition'
Coping with crises in Indonesia
5 November 2001 – 5 December 2004

Dr Greame Stewart Macrae (United Kingdom)
Affiliated fellow
Negara Ubud: The history in a Balinese tourist town
1 August 2004 – 31 October 2004

Dr Johan Meuleman (the Netherlands)
Research fellow within the programme 'Islam in Indonesia'
Dakwah in urban society in twentieth-century Indonesia
1 January 2001 – 31 December 2004

Ahmad Syafii Mufid, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the framework of the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The place of sufi orders in the religious life of contemporary Jakartans
18 September 2001 – 18 September 2005

Noorhaidi, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The jihad paramilitary force: Islam and identity in the era of transition in Indonesia
1 April 2001 – 1 April 2005

Dr Keat Gin Ooi (Malaysia)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by NWO
The Japanese occupation of Dutch Borneo 1942-1945
25 March 2004 – 26 May 2004

Arief Subhan, MA (Indonesia)
PhD student within the project 'Islam in Indonesia'
The changing role of the Indonesian Madrasah and the dissemination of Muslim authority
15 June 2001 – 15 June 2005

Prof. Md Salleh Yaapar (Malaysia)
Professorial fellow, holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies
Pantun and Pantourm: A study in Malay-European literary relations
5 February 2003 – 5 February 2005

Prof. Ben White (the Netherlands, United Kingdom)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow, KNAW programme: 'Indonesian Society in Transition'
Coping with crises in Indonesia
25 September 2001 – 25 December 2004

East Asia

Prof. CHANG Mau-kuai Michael (Taiwan)
Visiting exchange fellow, sponsored by NSC
The Politics of Privilege in Taiwan
1 December 2003 – 1 June 2004

Li Boya, BA (China)
PhD student within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme
'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
1 January 2001 – 31 December 2005

Dr RHEE Sang jik (R.O. Korea)
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by KRF
The structure of the Korean language: Phonetics, phonology and morphology
1 August 2003 – 1 August 2004

Prof. SHEN Yang (China)
Affiliated fellow within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS Research Programme
'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
1 October 2003 – 31 December 2003

SIO Joanna, BA (China)
PhD student within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme
'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
1 January 2001 – 31 December 2005

Mr TOGO Kazuhiko (Japan)
Professorial fellow, sponsored by Canon and Ailion Foundation
Japanese foreign policy
1 August 2003 – 1 August 2004

Prof. TSAI Wei-Tien Dylan (Taiwan)
Visiting exchange fellow within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme
'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China', sponsored by NSC
Unselective Binding and Various Wide-Scope Effects in Chinese
1 October 2003 – 31 May 2004

Dr YANG Shu-yuan (Taiwan)
Visiting exchange fellow, sponsored by NSC
Order, Affluence and Violence: The Bunun Experience of the Japanese Colonial State
11 September 2003 – 10 December 2003

Dr YE Shuxian (China)
Affiliated fellow, stationed at Literature Studies (UL), sponsored by KNAW
Listening to the Analects: Oral Tradition and Confucius
1 November 2003 – 31 December 2003

Dr WEI Jennifer Meei Yau (Taiwan)
Visiting exchange fellow, sponsored by NSC
Language Choice and Identity in Emerging Democracies: A view from recent Taiwanese Political Discourse
30 September 2003 – 31 March 2004

Rethinking Geopolitics in Central Eurasia

Report >
Central Asia

19-22 August 2003
Singapore

By Mehdi Parvizi Amineh

The need to apply neo-geopolitics to CEA stems from the radically changed distribution of control over territory and resources on the Eurasian landmass. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of newly independent states out of former Soviet territory has unleashed a contest among state and non-state actors to penetrate states and societies in this part of the world. Faced with grave economic, financial, social, and political challenges, the internal sovereignty of the region's eight newly independent states remain weak while their societies remain marginalized, lacking the capacity to benefit from ongoing processes of globalization. As a result, a 'fourth world' of impoverished peoples is now living in incompletely formed states, characterized by contested identities and uncertain loyalties.

Traditional geopolitics studies the international order by making a spatial

Geopolitics in Central Eurasia (CEA) is today a more contentious issue than ever.¹ Organized crime, ethno-religious conflict, environmental degradation, civil wars, and border disputes reflect the region's instability. At the same time, Central Eurasia has huge oil and gas resources – the production and export of which could prove crucial to the region's economic and political development. The following key questions were addressed at the ICAS3 panel: (1) How should we conceptualize geopolitics as an approach to studying international relations in the post-Cold War period? (2) What is the nature of geopolitics as practiced by both state and non-state actors in the region? (3) What are the possibilities for and impediments to political stability and sustainable economic development in the countries of Central Eurasia?

map of the earth's productive resources and of the territorial actors that compete for control over resource-bearing locations. This approach to studying inter-state relations had its heyday at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, with Alfred T. Mahan and Halford J. Mackinder as its main proponents.

A new approach, neo-geopolitics, aims to synthesize traditional geopolitics and geo-economic analyses. It looks not only at states but at a variety of actors that operate across borders: national and transnational governmental and non-governmental institutions, organizations, firms, armed forces, terrorist groups, peace movements, human rights activists, and environmental organizations. The neo-geopolitics approach should help us to better understand the rapidly changing geopolitics of post-Soviet CEA.

Its geo-economic position and resource wealth is turning CEA into an arena where the major powers wrestle for control.

Regional state actors (Russia, Iran, Turkey, China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan) meet outsiders (US, EU and its member states) as well as NGOs and radical-fundamentalist Islamic and criminal groups operating across borders. This mixture of actors – and the scope of their activities – suggests that today's Great Game for the influence and control of the region's peoples and resources cannot be analysed through concepts invented during the nineteenth-century, when the region was dominated by the British and Russian Empires.

In her paper, Shirin Akiner (School of Oriental and African Studies) focused on the impact of the Soviet collapse on the level of social provision. She found that the relatively well-educated populations of the region are impoverished and have to cope with deteriorating health care systems. She argued that the states of CEA have low levels of both political awareness and political capacity. Since their independence, they have shifted from one-party to one-man systems. In Kazakhstan, for example, the president and his family control the press and key economic sectors. Akiner recommended regional cooperation as a step towards integrating CEA into the world economy.

Henk Houweling (University of Amsterdam) argued that the post-Cold War interregnum was brought to an

end with the 11 September attacks. In the post-Cold War period, American foreign policy makers draw upon self-conceptions from the nineteenth century, casting itself in the role of world redeemer. This self-concept fits in well with the needs of domestic society. Households, enterprises, and state organization have adapted their internal organization to uninterrupted access to fossil energy. The gradual exhaustion of domestic supply requires power projection beyond the borders of the US. Houweling, however, rejects the hypothesis that domestic energy needs are the direct cause of America's military power projection into the oil-rich region of western Asia and CEA. He argues that the creation of trade, investment, and transportation links between the industrial cores of Western Europe, Russia, and Northeast Asia are unifying these industrialized economies. Linking this integrated industrial complex to energy-rich western Asia and the Caspian would deprive America of its naval control over food and energy supplies to potential challengers in Western Europe, Northeast Asia, and China.

Eva Rakel (Humboldt University Berlin and University of Amsterdam) discussed the major obstacles for Iran-

ian policy makers to cooperate with the CEA countries. Iran's geopolitical position was buffeted by the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the 'disappearance' of the 1,700 kilometre Iran-Soviet Union border. Since then, Iran has been determined to reinforce its regional position. Iran has three main objectives in CEA: to expand its infrastructure (especially its railway network), to gain political and economic influence through the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), and to acquire shares in a number of Caspian oil and gas development and export ventures. Iran has been reasonably successful in the first of these aims, while the latter objectives remain unattained due to obstacles posed by its economic troubles, its divided leadership, and US sanctions. Rivalry between different political factions in Iran frustrates any attempt of developing a coherent long-term foreign policy, and is a potential threat to the survival of the regime itself.

Fully aware of these obstacles, the participants at the panel asserted regional cooperation to be a means not only to support economic development but also to solve existing and prevent potential future internal conflicts through peaceful means. To my mind, it deserves recommendation that this subject is elaborated on in the future. <

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Note >

1 Central Eurasia (Central Asia and the South Caucasus) consists of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

Dealing with Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia

Report >
General

19-22 August 2003
Singapore

By Margaret Sleeboom

During our ICAS3 meeting we explored the ways in which government/state policies affect the fate of the socio-genetically marginal, and the role that researchers play in the process of developing and applying the fruits of genomics. According to TSAI Dujian (National Yang Ming University, Taiwan), consensus building can have a mediating role in Taiwanese genomic policy. So-called 'organic intellectuals' (Gramsci) ought to provide a challenge to the one-dimensional logic of technological progress by developing narratives and group ethics at various levels of society, especially among the socio-genetically marginal. Mediation of new social and ethical views, argues Tsai, is an important way of coping with the biases and stereotypes generated through the use of genetic technologies.

Some reactions to this proposal were sceptical. One member of the audience wondered, who then, are those organic intellectuals, and how could they acquire the power to steer processes that are so obviously part of an unfair

Few will dispute that new genetic technologies will become very useful in the prediction of disease and diagnostics. Nonetheless, the health and position of some social groups and individuals may be adversely affected when genetic information is applied in any social context. The concept of socio-genetic marginalization draws attention to the practice of relating the social to the (assumed) genetic make-up of people and brings out its consequences. Certain groups and individuals may find themselves isolated as a consequence of discrimination on the basis of genetic information, and suffer the psychological burden of the knowledge, feelings of social inaptitude, and a sense of financial uncertainty.

global economic and political system? Tsai nimbly handled these rather challenging questions by pointing out the need for a proactive attitude to play a positive role in the government's consensus policy on all socio-economic groups, rather than just pharmaceutical companies and researchers. If academics are going to say something about genomics, argued Tsai, they might as well use their position and skills to voice the views of the socio-genetically marginal, and articulate them with an eye on socio-economic improvement for the weak.

Margaret Sleeboom discussed this issue regarding genetic sampling in Mainland China and in Taiwan. Her comparison of political and socio-economic interest groups involved in public discussion on genetic sampling and the definitions of targeted groups in both states showed that their different cultural and political composition leads to different research regulation and practices. This was demonstrated by the clearly distinguishable ways in which scientists in these two states define their research population, collect their

genetic samples, and conduct their research. Thus, different political and cultural views on the 'ethnic' nature of the Chinese and Taiwanese populations not only affected the treatment of sampling populations, which often occupy weak socio-economic positions, but also the scientific outcome of genetic research.

The relevance of the attitude of intellectuals towards the application of new genetic technologies, such as genetic screening, was seconded by NIE Jingbao (Otago University, New Zealand). Nie characterized the Chinese birth-control programme as 'probably unprecedented and unrivalled regarding its massive scale and profound impact'. In its twofold aim to control the 'quantity of the population' and to improve the 'quality of the population', the latter has received increasing emphasis in the 1990s. The ideological underpinning for this socio-genetic engineering programme, argues Nie, draws on various forms of social Darwinism, biological determinism, statism, scientism, utopianism, and reductionism in the sense that it addresses

complex social problems in which bureaucracy, controlled by scientists and technicians, plays a considerable role.

Genetic citizenship?

Analogous to 'queer citizenship', in the United States a coalition between patient families, politicians, and scientists has been forged, leading to political activism for 'genetic citizenship' – defending the rights of the genetically disadvantaged – and against genetic discrimination by insurance companies and employers. Kaori MUTO (Shinshu University, Japan) discussed the form that genetic citizenship will take in Asia at the dawn of the 'era of molecular epidemiology': the latter attempts to explain social behaviour through the biological make-up of people. Muto illustrated this by her study on Japanese families with Huntington's Disease, ten years after the identification of the responsible gene. For, also in Asia, molecular epidemiology leads to new forms of health promotion, preventive medicine, and increasingly 'individualized' therapies.

Drawing on interviews with clinicians, excerpts from clinic-based ethnographic observations in India, and narratives of infertile couples from differing social-economic backgrounds, Aditya Bharadwaj (Cardiff University, Wales) showed how couples are caught between societal disapproval of infertility and protracted, financially debilitating medical interventions. Their

reproductive agency often takes the form of resisting (seemingly) unending cycles of medical treatment, while, at the same time, they demonstrate an interest in pursuing such treatment so as to alleviate intense familial and societal pressures.

Jyotsna Gupta (LUMC, Leiden) also noticed that genetic diseases in the reproductive field receive great attention. She weighed its benefits against the money that could be allocated to the genetic diagnoses of common diseases such as of thalassaemia and sickle-cell anaemia. More investment in the diagnosis of communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, would even prevent certain cases of infertility and sub-fertility in both males and females. Nearly all members of our panel agreed that the 'organic intellectual' may be failing to give a voice to the narratives of the socio-genetically marginal. Thus Gupta asked rhetorically, 'in whose interest is a genetic horoscope if a vast Indian majority strongly believes in an astrological horoscope cast at a child's birth?' Disagreement remained, however, as to whether researchers should have a mediating role between the various political and economic interest groups, or try to take distance from the compromising field of genetic politics. <

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Transnational Exchanges

Business Relations and Identity Formation Emanating from Asia

Report >
 General

6-8 May 2003
 Amsterdam,
 the Netherlands

The ASEF-Alliance workshop 'Transnational Exchanges' tried to map transnational business relations in Asia and trace them in space and time, across national boundaries, regions, and continents, exploring their historical roots. A comparison of transnational business relations across space and time may throw light on a number of issues that figure prominently in the ongoing theoretical debates, such as the role of national vis-à-vis ethnic identities in trade and business ventures. Below a brief description is given of the content of the workshop, the reasoning behind the choice of theme, and the context in which the theme is to be appreciated.

By Heidi Dahles

Recent literature on processes of globalization identifies the emergence of transnational social spaces 'as social realities and entities that grow up either from the grassroots by international migration or through a complex top-down and bottom-up process brought about by international business companies' (Pries 2001). Transnational social spaces emerge as a result of the growing and differentiating migration movements and of substantial changes in the activities of international business companies. Or in other words, the development of international business networks generates transnational spaces either through the operations (investments, outsourcing of production and services, etc.) of the enterprises involved, or through labour migration created by these operations.

The question arises as to whether business companies lose their distinct national identity when operating in transnational spaces. If so, which alternative markers of identity do they resume in order to position themselves under the specific conditions of transnationalism? As Aihwa Ong (1999) points out, the concept of transnationalism denotes new relations between nation states and capital, which have developed under late capitalism as cultural interconnectedness and mobility intensified across space.

Economic activities in transborder areas (industrial districts extending across borders, special economic production zones, EU-regions, growth areas, triangles or corridors, in many parts of the world) make for excellent research and are bound to increase our understanding of processes of identity formation in organizations. Transnational organizations are located in specific culturally and ethnically defined spaces. This particular condition of transnational spaces impacts on their management strategies, coalitions and joint ventures, and competitive positions. The economic arrangements that emerge in transnational spaces are comprised of elaborate network relations, public-private partnerships,

forms of subcontracting and outsourcing, and franchising; and these relations of economic cooperation bind together both multinational corporations, and large- and small-scale enterprises. Corporate identities and business cultures become exposed to local business practices and management models. This is the field that organizational anthropologists regard as a challenging area for research on processes of integration, fragmentation, hybridization, the emergence of multiple identities in organizations, and the dynamics of local management practices.

The features that mark today's globalized world, such as multiple types of exchanges, from goods and services to technologies, ideas, and peoples, have also been predominant in transactions between the different parts of Afro-Eurasia over the previous centuries. Cross-border transactions have a long history, stretching back beyond the past two millennia into prehistoric times if we are referring to Eurasian interaction. World historians Andre Gunder Frank and Barry Giles argue in their book, *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (1992) that Europe, Asia, and Africa were part of a single world-system as early as 2000 BC. A historical dimension not only confirms the processes of global and regional integration that have been ongoing, but also supplies a sound historical empirical basis to the recent debates on the rationale of business coalitions and exchanges in transnational space.

The workshop raised questions addressing continuity and change in transnational relations, such as: To what extent do these relations differ if pre/post-colonial and colonial conditions are compared? What kind of factors and relationships emerge as recurring or stable? What processes can be identified in transnational business relations and practices? What role does the nation-state play in either facilitating or hampering transnational exchanges? What underlying mechanisms of loyalty and commitment can be identified in transnational exchanges? How does cultural affinity relate to political and economic interests?

The papers were grouped around historical eras, starting in colonial times and moving onto decolonization and the post-colony, and into the twenty-first century. A number of papers by (business) historians focused on transformations in trade and business networks emanating from the Straits and the identity politics affecting both existing business partnerships and new cooperative ventures.

The manifold ways in which organizational boundaries are affected as a consequence of economic transformations in Asia and beyond has been the focus of the workshop. Doing business across borders implies not only relocation of production processes, but also relocation of labour and management models and strategies. The emergence of transnational organizations raises questions about passing involvements vis-à-vis the management of cohesion in organizations, identity formation,

local management strategies, and inter- and intra-organizational conflicts and crises. As has been acknowledged in management literature, there is a trend towards fluidity and complexity of boundaries, both physical and symbolic, within and outside organizations due to diminishing time-space stability in late capitalist economies. This, however, does not imply that boundaries are disappearing. The increasing permeability of boundaries surrounding and delimiting organizations from their environment may on the one hand generate processes of redefining and strengthening of symbolic boundaries, distinguishing the organization from others, and on the other stimulate segments within the organization to reassert their position in times of change. What happens if different entrepreneurial styles meet in transnational organizational cooperation? Some scholars expect the emergence of mixed cultural styles, or the hybridization of entrepreneurial culture, as for example Chan Kwok Bun who argued that multiple forms of cooperation between mainland Chinese firms and Western companies generate hybrid arrangements at management level.

continued on page 51 >

[advertisement]

The Annual ASIA-EUROPE Workshop Series 2004/2005

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

Building on the success of the first two series, consisting of a total of twelve innovative workshops, ASEF and the Alliance have again decided to sponsor six workshops (USD 15.000 per workshop) between September 2004 and September 2005. In addition, ASEF fully funds three workshops, earmarked for Asian institutions that are actively creating a network of Asian institutes within Asia through their research activities.

WORKSHOP CRITERIA (IN SHORT)

- focus on a contemporary and innovative topic, which concerns shared interests between Asia and Europe.
- jointly organized by an Asian and a European institute from an ASEM member country.
- not part of a larger conference.
- held in one of the ASEM countries with Asian and European participation.
- participants should come predominantly but not exclusively from the scientific domain.

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION: 1 MARCH 2004

The complete call for proposals is enclosed as an insert to this issue and is also to be found at: www.asia-alliance.org

SOAS in the European Alliance

Having informed you in the previous issue that the Centro de Estudios de Asia Oriental (CEAO, Madrid) joined the European Alliance, it is our pleasure to announce that the Alliance has since welcomed another partner. The renowned School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS, London) signed the Alliance Memorandum of Understanding on 17 October, during the multi-level Alliance on Taiwan and China in the Global Communities.

During several meetings at the Third International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS3), several Asian partners confirmed their interest to establish a sister Asian Alliance for European and Asian Studies and suggested organizing joint workshops with other Asian institutes to stimulate and strengthen such efforts. In this regard the call for proposals for the third Asia-Europe Workshop Series is a timely one. -JS <

continued from page 50 >

Others show that either Western or local styles of doing business are advocated instead of some hybrid mix of both. As Helen Kopnina pointed out, recruitment practices in small- and medium-scale Singaporean Chinese companies may show a preference for professional managers over family members; this, however, does not necessarily imply that family ties and paternalist hierarchies do not figure in the power relations within the firms.

It is becoming more and more accepted, in both managerial and scholarly debates, that *heterarchy* should replace hierarchy and local autonomy should replace centralized decision making, resulting in an 'integrated variety' model of management that combines the autonomy of local management with the integrative regime of a global organization. Nonetheless, management practices in transnational companies often perpetuate long-estab-

lished hierarchical relations. Geeske Boode illustrated this by showing how cultural boundaries between Thai staff and Western management, cast in persistent unequal power relations, generate and enforce structures and practices of domination. In contrast, Hyunghae Byun and Sierk Ybema demonstrated that such structures and practices of domination are reproduced in Western contexts by Asian (in this case Japanese) companies, which maintain a strict hierarchical and top-down approach to management based in an integration perspective. In transnational organizations, inter-organizational relationships between groups of people from different cultural, ethnic, religious, gender, and class backgrounds pose problems in terms of management of group interests and the management of boundaries between these groups. There is a multiplicity of coordination and control elements, and there may be considerable tensions between them, as discussed by Mhinder Bhopal and Chris Rowley,

whose paper demonstrated how multi-ethnicity in Malaysian companies can be an asset as well as a liability to both management and staff.

In the final analysis, organizational change always challenges group identities and sets new targets for identification. Mergers, acquisitions, strategic alliances, and diverse forms of partnerships between both large- and small-scale enterprises generate new organizational forms and necessitate the redefinition and renegotiation of organizational boundaries. The disappearance of borders, in both past and present, has not necessarily led to more openness or cosmopolitan orientation, but has given rise to the emergence of socially constructed borders within and across spaces. <

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Info >

The interdisciplinary ASEF-Alliance sponsored workshop 'Transnational Exchanges: Business Networks and Identity Formation in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Asia and Europe' was organized as a joint activity of the Free University, Amsterdam and the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. The papers presented at the workshop will be published in an edited volume and a special issue of a business journal. The abstracts are available at: www.asia-alliance.org

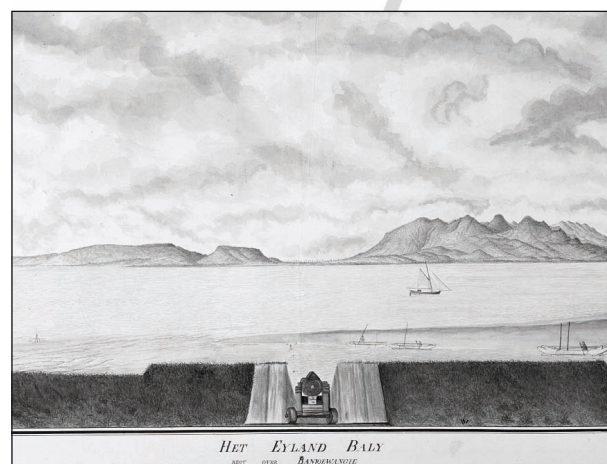
Note >

- 1 *heterarchy*: lit.: 'the rule of foreigners'; in the context of late capitalist organizations this concept refers to diverse loci of power and control within and outside these organizations, which are partly converging, partly conflicting, and continuously changing in a complex global economy.

Asia and South Africa: A Missing Link of Nearly Seven Million Words

Research >
General

The significance of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) archives for research on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was fully acknowledged earlier this year when the organization's complete archives, including the relevant archives held at the Cape Town Archives Repository, were incorporated into the Memory of the World list of UNESCO, the cultural branch of the United Nations. The Resolutions of the Council of Policy of the VOC, covering the whole period of Dutch occupation of the Cape colony from 1651 to 1795, are presently being digitized by two TANAP (Toward A New Age of Partnership) teams in Cape Town.



Drawing of Bali opposite of Banjoewangie, early nineteenth century.

By Helena Liebenberg

From 1652 to 1795 the Council of Policy was the highest governing body at the Cape. Prior to 1652, on 26 June 1649 to be exact, Leendert Jansz and M. Proot compiled a *remonstrantie* or short exposition of the advantages that the VOC would derive from a fort and garden at the Cape of Good Hope (C. 274 'Letters received'). Jan van Riebeeck commented on this letter in June 1651. According to the relevant documents the Council of Policy had already been established before the landing at the Cape of Good Hope on 6 April 1652, since the first resolutions that Jan van Riebeeck and the Council of Policy took were recorded on board the *Drommedaris*, when the Council was actually known as the Broad Council (made up of captains and other high-ranking officials of the fleet). When the captains of the fleet that founded the settlement left the Cape, other officials were appointed in their stead. The meetings of the Council of Policy did not take place regularly but were dependent upon the commander, who was the convener. All letters from the Lords Seventeen (the Directorate in Amsterdam) and from Batavia had to be opened and discussed at the Council meeting. Responses had to be drawn up by the Council and signed by all members. All written work was carried out under the Council's supervision.

In order to make all this information available to the world TANAP decided to launch and finance a transcription project and a digitizing project. The former involves transcribing 110 volumes (1744-1795) or approximately 4.5 million words. The latter involves scanning, digitizing, and converting the 121 already published volumes (1652-1743) into XML, involving approximately 2.5 million words.

Anna de Koningh, daughter of Angela of Bengal, a slave woman at the Cape and an unknown white father. Anna, married to Oloff Martini Bergh, a VOC official, was the progenitress of the Bergh family in South Africa. After Anna's birth and having been emancipated, Angela was married to Arnoldus Basson and in her turn became the progenitress of the Basson family in South Africa.

The work involved in the digitizing project was carried out in two phases by a team of two computer experts and two proofreaders. Firstly, the 121 already published volumes were scanned, digitized in Word, proofread, corrected and finally converted into XML format. Secondly, of the 110 volumes concerning the transcription project, 75 volumes which were initially transcribed in Word had to be converted into XML format. (The remaining 35 volumes of the transcription project are transcribed directly in XML format.) At present, ships' names and geographical names are two of the encoded text types. Once the encoding has been done, searches may be executed on the Internet and all the encoded information covering these subjects may be extracted. When the information has been converted into XML as data, it can be made available, for instance, in either printed or electronic format.

The publication of the massive quantity of information contained within these 231 volumes will not only be of interest to historians, sociologists, and anthropologists, but is also expected to capture the attention of linguists, as it offers examples of Asian influence on the development of the Afrikaans language. A number of words from Malay origin

entered the vocabulary of the inhabitants of the colonized regions of the Cape. Some words were part of the standard trade jargon, referring to beautiful and exotic fabrics, while other words referred to social behaviour. Words like *pikol* (Afr. *aanpiekel*), *combaars*, *baadjoe*, *piering*, and *bakkaleien* (from eastern Indonesia, Afr. *baklei*, to quarrel or fight) were eventually incorporated into Afrikaans.

For geographers and onomasticians the resolutions offer an extremely rich source for place-name research, including the names of regions, rivers, mountains, and towns, being either of Dutch or indigenous origin. The fact that the texts also include a large number of personal names of VOC employees, casual visitors, freemen and their families, high-profile Easterners banned from their countries, and slaves and their families, should be of great importance to genealogical research. Those interested in maritime history can find many ships' names, reconstruct sea routes, locate shipwrecks, and much more besides. After the completion of the editing later this year, the sources will be made available on the TANAP website. <

Dr Helena Liebenberg is a language researcher who is presently involved in the transcription project in Cape Town, transcribing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch documents and translating these texts into modern Afrikaans and English on request. She has a keen interest in the origin and development of languages, in particular Afrikaans. helena@sentrum.co.za

www.tanap.net

Asia's Past Secured
Ten years ago UNESCO launched the Memory of the World Register 'to guard against collective amnesia calling upon the preservation of the valuable archive holdings and library collections all over the world ensuring their wide dissemination'. At the end of August, UNESCO selected the documentary collections of 20 countries to be included in the Register, among which are the VOC archives worldwide. The enormous size and global spread of these archives make the listing of the kilometres of VOC archives worldwide rather unique. For the TANAP programme, this is a landmark indeed, rewarding the hard work of J. van Albada en Pieter Koenders over the last years. It is hoped that this UNESCO recognition will stimulate preservation of records, particular those in India, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia, which are often in a deplorable condition. Politicians often still think that such Western collections are not needed to research their own national history, let alone Asian history in general. Rather than remnants of a despised colonial past, such collections can and have been put to use in modern studies. <
Henk Niemeijer

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Koloniën, 4 MIKO, inventarisnummer G.6. Collectie Nicolaas Engelhard (1761-1831).

Courtesy of the Cape Town Archives Repository

The Predicament of Commissioned Research

Report >
Indonesia

Although commissioned research is not in itself unusual, it raises the question of how to safeguard the independence of inquiry, especially when moral, political or newsworthy issues are at stake. As the party placing the commission and other parties involved may have interests in the outcome of the inquiry, attempts to intervene in the inquiry are not inconceivable. While this is inadmissible in light of the independent nature of the inquiry, neither is it possible to cut off contact with the commissioning party: a good working relationship can be crucial to the research. In contrast to the humanities departments of most universities, the NIOD often faces these dilemmas in its research assignments.

By Hans Blom

From the outset, commissioned research has been at the heart of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), itself founded by Royal Decree in 1947. The Dutch government commissioned the 26-volume history on the Netherlands in the Second World War by NIOD's former director L. de Jong, the Weinreb inquiry and, more recently, the Srebrenica report. Today's NIOD research programme 'Indonesia across Orders' was also commissioned by the Dutch government, and the current historical research programme 'Japan and the Netherlands' can likewise be considered commissioned research. Drawn up after consultation with the Japanese embassy in The Hague, the latter project is funded by the Japanese government.

Due to the sensitivities of war history, in particular that of the Second World War, NIOD's research cannot be carried out in safe academic seclusion. Interest groups and even politics squat on NIOD's threshold, trying to read over the shoulders. This makes it necessary for NIOD and its researchers to reflect on their position vis-à-vis the outside world. The situation – commissioned research eagerly watched by the world of politics, interest groups and the larger public – may seem inimical to independent research; it requires the solid protection of research interests and a careful strategy of dealing with stakeholders.

The NIOD/Rijksmuseum exhibition 'Dutch, Japanese, Indonesians: The memory of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies', exhibited in the Rijksmuseum in 1999 and subsequently shown in Japan, brought to the fore many of these challenges. With the sensitive nature of the topic in mind, the exhibition aimed to present various perspectives to the visitors – many of whom presumably entered the exhibit with one-sided pre-conceptions. The exhibition presented the stories and experiences of individuals, displaying highly personal artefacts and documents. These were presented in the simplified context of national categories: the experiences and memories of Indonesians, Dutch/Europeans, and Japanese.

During the research for the exhibition, contact was sought with the parties involved in various ways. Not surprisingly, the final result was influenced by the often emotional, sometimes cogent pleas of interest groups to have 'their' experience represented in the exhibition. These ranged from specific elements of collective wartime experience (specific internment situations and categories of victims), to the ordeals of ethnic groups (Chinese, Eurasians), and more political interpretations of this episode (especially among Japanese war veterans). The exhibition was adopted by the bilateral Organisation for the Commemoration of 400 Years of Dutch-Japanese Relations for the obvious reason that this was a crucial episode in the contacts between the two nations. But reactions from the various parties involved proved the recalcitrant nature of the material: from the perspective of



Photo album of the Peta Foundation, Jakarta.

the Netherlands and of the Indisch population in the Netherlands, the period of the Japanese occupation could not be passed over in silence; from a Japanese perspective reticence would be the most desirable option on this score.

With respect to the content, those responsible for the exhibition showed an awareness of the risks and acted circumspectly in accordance with their own insights. It became clear in their contacts with the parties involved that there would be a lot of resentment, as proved to be the case during the opening and afterwards. At the risk of generalizing – as there was of course a whole spectrum of reactions – the Indisch groups were often disappointed at what they felt to be insufficient attention paid to the suffering and injustices they had experienced. They expressed their irritation above all in individual interviews and, occasionally, in the media.

Japanese grievances mainly concerned the way the emperor had been portrayed as well as a perceived trivialization of three hundred years of Dutch colonial oppression, by comparison to which the three years of Japanese occupation pale to near insignificance. In spite of many explanatory discussions during the initial stage of the project, the result were negative media coverage in Japan and the Japanese government's refusal to allow the ambassador to be presented with a copy of the conference and exhibition publication at the opening conference.

Furthermore, the commitment made to assist in making the exhibition accessible to the public in prestigious locations in Japan went unrespected. As a result, a vastly reduced version of the exhibit was shown on panels in a few small, relatively remote locations in Japan.

Interestingly enough, the fewest problems came from Indonesia, which had many other pressing problems on its mind at the time. As a result the exhibition was not present-

Five Peta veterans at the opening of the Museum Yapeta in Bogor on 18 December 1995. The statue is of Sudirman, who later became commander-in-chief of the Republican army, but was a *daidanchō* in the Peta during the Japanese occupation.

ed in Indonesia at all. Nevertheless, the Indonesian ambassador came to accept a copy of the book and made use of the opportunity to make critical remarks about the Netherlands, Dutch colonial policy, and Dutch historiography.¹

This example shows, above all, the need for independent researchers to be aware of the problems which can arise through close contact with commissioning and interested parties. The inclination to accommodate the funding party or – what is even more tempting – the contact persons, especially if they can be regarded as victims in the bargain, is understandable, but it can easily place a researcher on a slippery slope.

My personal and institutional experience has convinced me that it is of utmost importance that the independence of research is explicitly specified as a basic condition, and that this is formalized in agreements. Regarding (government) commissioned research in particular, agreements ought to include a ban on intervention in the research by the commissioning party, guaranteed unhindered access to sources, guaranteed and sufficient budget, and publication guarantees, even if the result is not what the party placing the commission wants. In extreme cases exemption from claims is also worth considering. In addition, an academic supervisory committee can support researchers in the event of conflicts with the commissioning party, while giving that party the feeling of not being unduly dependent on the arbitrariness of a single researcher or research institute.

Friction, irritation, and a permanent difference of insight or opinion are never entirely to be avoided, no matter what one does. After all, in many cases they derive from the same source that generated the research: the emotions connected with the issues to be investigated. It is important to take contacts with the parties involved seriously. Consultation with those 'involved' in the past (and in the production of its history) can be a useful and necessary addition to historians' more 'traditional' sources. Their stories and memories can provide essential information that is seldom put on paper, adding personal and emotional flavour to our understanding of the period. Furthermore, the public can be mobilized to provide information and personal documents. Finally, lobbying can attract researchers' attention to less known and publicized events. In the 'Indonesia across Orders' programme, this is the case with the Indonesian Chinese, whose fascinating array of experiences have remained outside most histories of decolonization.

This means that consultation should include a wider community of people and not remain restricted to representatives of interest groups. The 'Indonesia across Orders' programme does this by organizing frequent seminars for non-academic audiences, with special interest in 'new' source materials such as photographs and films, and for specific sub-groups, such as the Indonesian Chinese. In the recent past, this has resulted in the unearthing of unique personal sources and invaluable communication with 'hands on' experts.

The integrity of individual researchers and institutional determination can provide clarity and firm footing (and have a preventive effect) against two common reflexes: 'who pays the piper calls the tune', and 'those who have been through it themselves are the best judges'. These reflexes are incompatible with the demands of academic rigour. In NIOD's commissioned research projects on Asia, terms were specified at the outset to enable researchers to produce genuine, balanced research. May that integrity be maintained in practice. ◀

Professor Hans Blom is the Director of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), part-time professor at the University of Amsterdam, and Chairman of the Koninklijk Nederlands Historisch Genootschap. His specializations are nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dutch History with particular focus on the so-called 'Pillarization' (Verzuiling) and on the Netherlands during the National-Socialist occupation.
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Indonesia across Orders

'Indonesia across Orders: The reorganization of Indonesian society' has been developed at the request of the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. The research is aimed at providing new insights into the consequences of war, revolution, and decolonization for the different population groups in the Indonesian archipelago from the 1930s to the 1960s. The programme covers four research areas that embrace a wide range of social developments: the Indonesianisasi of the economy and of the world of industry and commerce; the financial settlement and the question of war damage, rehabilitation and repayment; the mechanisms of and views on order and security; and the changes in urban society.

Netherlands Institute for War Documentation

'Indonesia across Orders: The reorganization of Indonesian society'
Els Bogaerts MA, Programme coordinator
Marije Plomp MA, Assistant coordinator
Herengracht 380, 1016 CJ Amsterdam, the Netherlands
T +31-20-523 3800, F +31-20-523 3888, indie-indonesie@niod.knaw.nl

Note >

1 For the reactions to this exhibition, see Somer, E., S. Rijppma, *Nederlanders, Japanners, Indonesiërs. Een opmerkelijke tentoonstelling*, Zwolle and Amsterdam: Waanders (2002).

Orality and Improvisation in East Asian Music

Ninth International CHIME Meeting

Agenda >
East Asia

1-4 July 2004
Paris, France

East Asian Music is supported by a large body of prescriptive theory and playing instructions. Quite a few musical genres in East Asia allow for little or no improvisation and rely primarily on a tradition of written music scores. Yet, orality is of major importance in the transmission of this music, and countries like Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and China have steered their own courses towards musical modernity, exploring realms like rock music, avant-garde (contemporary composition) and, to a lesser degree, also areas like world music and jazz. So what do orality and improvisation mean in East Asia today? And what do they mean in the context of

continuing traditional genres, from temple ceremonies to teahouse performances?

The Ninth International CHIME meeting will be preceded and followed by a week of workshops in which, on special invitation, Chinese and Western musicians will join forces in various cooperative and improvisatory projects. Among the musicians invited are: the Shanghai Conservatory Percussion Ensemble and the Shanghai Jianguan Sizhu Ensemble led by Chen Xiaolu. We urge conference participants to bring their own musical instruments for spontaneous music making in the leisure hours in-between conference sessions,

or indeed, for illustrating points made in their papers.

Abstracts of upto 300 words for individual papers related to the theme of 'Orality and Improvisation in East Asian Music' are welcomed and should be sent in before 1 March 2004. <

Contact and proposals:

CHIME European Foundation For Chinese Music Research
Programme Committee of the Ninth CHIME Meeting
chime@wxs.nl
http://home.wxs.nl/~chime

The Internet and Elections in Asia and Europe

Agenda >
General

18-20 March 2004
Singapore

Scholars and analysts from across the political spectrum have commented on how information technologies are transforming political, and especially electoral processes. Although it is unclear whether the Internet is 'democratizing' politics, there is little doubt that the Internet is a rich and valuable resource for candidates, parties, political organizations and citizens who seek to provide or acquire political information and engage in political action. Few empirical studies, however, have systematically explored the nature of the structure for political action provided by different types of actors within the electoral system. Moreover, no studies have been conducted to date comparing the use of the Internet in elections across countries. And, because of the cultural and political context in which much of the research has been framed (primarily in North America and Western Europe), analysis and policy issues arising from this work tend to overlook contextual factors prominent in many Asian countries that may to mediate the role of the Internet in political activity.

The scientific objective of the overall study is to understand how the Internet is employed by a wide range of political actors during periods of concentrated electoral activity in different national contexts. The central research question guiding the project is: In what ways and to what extent are online structures produced within different political systems during electoral campaigns in a manner that facilitates political action?

The workshop is designed to train a group of Asian and European scholars planning on conducting a long-range international comparative study of how websites are being used during election campaigns. This proposed ASEF workshop is intended to contribute towards the launch of this international study in which Asian countries play a prominent role. <

Contact and proposals:

Dr Randolph Kluyer
trkluyer@ntu.edu.sg
http://oase.uci.kun.nl/~jankow/elections/proposal%20ASEF.htm

Lies, Conspiracy and Propaganda

Agenda >
General

26 September 2004
Canberra, Australia

The histories of Europe and Asia are studded with conspiracies and rumours of conspiracy. The idea of powerful forces working behind the scenes to shape events and to conceal their power from the public has deep roots both in historical evidence and in popular imagination. From the Protocols of the Elders of Zion in Europe to the death of Lin Biao in China and the Gestapo coup in Indonesia, the combination of fragmentary information, political interest, and fertile imagination have given rise to a vast range of conspiracy theories.

This conference will examine conspiracies, real and imagined, along with the lies and propaganda, used on the one hand to conceal reality and on the other to create suspicion and mistrust. Prospective contributions are invited on relevant topics including:

- specific and/or comparative studies of the conduct and effects of conspiracies in Europe and/or Asia (including Australia)
- efforts to create the suspicion of conspiracies where none existed
- the public and media appetite for conspiracy theories
- the historiographical treatment of conspiracies

Note that proposed titles with 200-400 word abstract should be submitted by 14 December 2003. <

Contact and proposals:

Dr Robert Cribb
robert.cribb@anu.edu.au

The Impacts of Space Technology in Southeast Asia

Agenda >
Southeast Asia

August 2004
Bangkok, Thailand

Many in the worlds of politics, academia, and media today, consider space technology to be a high-technology engine for economic growth. Unsurprisingly then, numerous Asian nations have readily embraced new developments of space technology, as prove the applications in a plethora of fields, prominent among which are: telecommunications, meteorology, and research as well as exploitation of environmental resources. Certain recently initiated and innovative applications in the fields of health and telemedicine, distance education, crime pre-

vention, disaster monitoring and poverty mitigation (e.g. food and agriculture planning and production), behold potential revolutionary effects for these Asian nations.

Turning our eye to the developing nations of Southeast Asia, a number of them have adopted programmes by which they actively pursue the increased application of space technologies in their economies. Simultaneously, they seek to acquire their own capabilities, by means of small satellite developments and technology transfer.

These satellite technologies and oper-

ations, as well as their impact on Southeast Asian communities, culture, and commerce, are the focal points of the symposium 'Space Technology Developments in Southeast Asia and its Impact on Culture, Commerce and Communities'. This meeting will provide opportunities for academics and professionals to interact outside their own specialist disciplines and to discuss and share information and knowledge to solve common problems of sustainable economic growth. We warmly welcome abstracts from space engineers and scientists, sociologists, rural

and urban planners, economists, political scientists, legal experts, educators, and satellite service providers (telecommunications, earth observations, meteorologists). The deadline for the submission of abstracts is mid-February 2004. <

Contact and proposals:

Dr David Soo
d.n.Soo@let.leidenuniv.nl
A symposium website will be established by the end of November 2004.

The Life and Work of the Sixth Dalai Lama

Agenda >
Central Asia

The year 2006 might very well be the 300th anniversary of the death of Tshangsdbyangs rGya-mtsho, the Sixth Dalai Lama. And then again it might not. As with many enigmas, some of us think we know things that others know we do not; some of us boldly comment upon texts about whose provenance we are not, and cannot ever be certain. Nonetheless, these enigmas provide a forum for possibilities and interpretations. They offer us a site within which we are able to interrogate myth and beauty alongside the perhaps more solid concerns of politics and historiography.

Such problems are central to the life and work of the Sixth Dalai Lama. We invite scholars to contribute papers for a proposed volume, to be published in 2006. Papers may be submitted on all areas of Tshangsdbyangs rGya-mtsho studies – textual, historical, political, biographical, linguistic, and contextual. Given the controversy surrounding the Dalai Lama's death, this may be a good place to investigate what might have happened during the period between 1706 and 1746. Please contact us with an idea of what you wish to contribute, so as to avoid duplication. Our deadline is January 2005. <

Contact and proposals:

Per Sørensen
soerensen.pk@gmx.de
Simon Wickham-Smith
simon@qamutiik.net
www.qamutiik.net/IATS.pdf.

[advertisement]



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18, Yamazato-cho, Showa-ku, 466-8673 Nagoya, Japan
e-mail: nuai@ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp

> International Conference Agenda

November 2003

10-11 November 2003

Chiang Mai, Thailand

'Social science and AIDS in Southeast Asia', ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
 Convenors: Dr Sophie Le Coeur, Chiang Mai University, Thailand and Dr Evelyne Micollier, Université de Provence, France
 Information: sophie@phpt.org
 lecoeur@ined.fr

21-23 November 2003

Stockholm, Sweden

'New perspectives in Eurasian archeology', ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
 Convenors: Dr Magnus Fiskesjö, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Sweden and Chen Xingcan, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China
 Information: magnus.fiskesjo@ostasiatiska.se

December 2003

1-3 December 2003

Armidale, Australia

'Migrant labour in Southeast Asia: Needed, not wanted', International Conference
 Sponsors: The Japan Foundation, UNE Asia Centre, School of Economics UNE
 Contact: Amarjit Kaur
 akaur@metz.une.edu.au

3-10 December 2003

Salzburg, Austria

'Changing Concepts of Security in Asia', Salzburg Seminar
 Contact: Cheryl Van Emburg, administrative director and recruiting coordinator
 cvanemburg@salzburgseminar.org
 www.salzburgseminar.org

15-17 December 2003

Chiang Mai, Thailand

'The security paradox of open borders: Surveillance and control of migrants', ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
 Convenors: Dr Carl Grundy-Warr (National University of Singapore) and Prof. Didier Bigo (Sciences-Po, France)
 Information: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

5-7 January, 2004

Hong Kong, China

'The State of Contemporary China', The Chinese University of Hong Kong
 Contact: H.C. Kuan, director
 usc@cuhk.edu.hk
 www.usc.cuhk.edu.hk

Information: www.ari.nus.edu.sg/
 040502EthnicInteractions.htm
 Contact: Michael J. Montesano,
 convenor
 arigpw@nus.edu.sg

14-15 November 2003

Berkeley (CA) United States

'Theoretical issues in the study of rural and small-town China'

Information: http://iias.berkeley.edu/events/z2003.11.14-15.html

21-24 November 2003

Auckland, New Zealand

'Asia: Images, Ideas, Identities'

Contact: Dr Xin Chen
 x.chen@auckland.ac.nz
 www.nzasia.org.nz/conference/ConferenceHomePage.htm

1-7 December 2003

New Delhi, India

'Mudra: Gesture, Meaning, and Metaphor', ABIA Sixth Workshop and Seminar
 Indira Gandhi Centre for Arts
 Contact: Dr Madhu Khanna,
 coordinator
 Khanna_madhu@yahoo.com
 Dr Radha Banerjee (seminar)
 Eap_ignca@yahoo.co.nz

8-12 December 2003

Leiden, the Netherlands

'Southeast Asian pop music in a comparative perspective', workshop
 Contact: Professor Kees van Dijk, KITLV
 vdijk@kitlv.nl

16 December 2003

Tilburg, the Netherlands

'"Dakwah" and the dissemination of Islamic religious authority in contemporary Indonesia', Convenors: Prof. Herman L. Beck and Moch Nur Ichwan, MA
 Information: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

8-11 January, 2004

Honolulu (HI) United States

Hawai'i International Conference on Arts and Humanities
 Information: humanities@hichumanities.org
 www.hichumanities.org

13-14 February 2004

Berkeley (CA) United States

19th Annual South Asia Conference
 Contact: Elizabeth Inouye
 csasasst@uclink.berkeley.edu
 http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/conference.html

20-21 November 2003

Hong Kong, China

'East-West identities: Globalisation, localisation, and hybridisation'

Contact: Ms Jane Cheung, Office of International Cooperation and Exchange (OICE)
 lewi@hkbu.edu.hk
 www.hkbu.edu.hk/~lewi/conferences/identities.htm

26 November 2003

Hong Kong, China

'Urbanization and Non-Agricultural Land Use in Post-Reform China'

The University of Hong Kong
 Centre of Urban Planning and Environmental Management (CUPEM)
 Information: cupem@hkusua.hku.hk

2 December 2003

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

'Communal Violence and Emerging Ghettos in Ahmedabad City', Lecture by Prof. Darshini Mahadevia
 Convener: Dr Oskar Verkaaik

Sponsored by IAS
 Contact: Prof. Mineke Schipper and Prof. Daniela Merolla, convenors
 w.j.j.schipper@let.leidenuniv.nl

11-12 December 2003

Leiden, the Netherlands

'Facing Fieldwork: Challenges for Anthropology in a Globalizing World'

Information: W_D_O@hotmail.com
 www.wdo.leidenuniv.nl

17-19 December 2003

Yangon, Burma

'Traditions of knowledge in Southeast Asia', Contact: Dr Khin Hla Han, Hmwe or Thant Syn
 uhr@uhr.edu.gov.mm

16-17 January 2004

Bonn, Germany

'Aesthetics in East and West: Art and Identity', A symposium on the theory of aesthetic and the practice of art
 Contact: Prof. Wolfgang Kubin,
 University of Bonn
 info@kah-bonn.de
 www.bundeskunsthalle.de

13-16 February 2004

Seattle (WA) United States

'Breaking barriers and building bridges: Human rights and the law in South Asia', National South Asian Law Student Association Conference 2004
 Contact: Regina Paulose
 paulosr@seattleu.edu
 www.law.seattleu.edu/salsa

21 November 2003

Durham (NC) United States

'Women and Modernity in Japan: The New Woman and Moga'

Contact: Yan Li
 liyan@duke.edu

28-30 November 2003

Matara, Sri Lanka

'Sri Lanka at crossroads: Continuity and change', Ninth International Conference on Sri Lanka Studies
 Contact: Prof. Sarath Amarasinghe,
 University of Ruhuna, coordinator
 sarathamarsinghe@hotmail.com
 www.icsls.org

3-5 December 2003

Heidelberg, Germany

'Migration und Ritualtransfer am Beispiel marginalisierter religiöser Gruppen des Vorderen Orients', Convener: Prof. M. Ursinus
 Information: ifg@ix.urz.uni-heidelberg.de

15 December 2003

Leiden, the Netherlands

Maldives Expedition 2003, colloquium
 Contact: Alex de Voogt
 a.j.de.voogt@let.leidenuniv.nl

21-23 December 2003

Xiamen, China

International conference on higher education reform in China
 Organizers: Higher Education Development Center, Xiamen University
 Wah Ching Centre of Research on Education in China, the University of Hong Kong
 Information: www.hku.hk/chinaed

16-18 January 2004

Gainesville (FA) United States

43rd Annual Meeting of Southeast Asian Conference of the Association for Asian Studies
 Contact: Dr S. Yumiko Hulvey
 yulvey@aall.ufl.edu
 www.lib.duke.edu/reference/kenb/sec-main.htm

16-17 February 2004

Leiden, the Netherlands

'Plants in health and culture', Sponsored by IIAS
 Convenors: Prof. Jan Houben, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris and Prof. Rob Verpoorte, Biological Institute Leiden
 Contact: Prof. Jan Houben
 J_E_M_Houben@yahoo.com

21-23 November 2003

Bonn, Germany

'Art history and art in China', A symposium about the history of art and art collecting
 Contact: Prof. Lothar Ledderose,
 University of Heidelberg, convenor
 info@kah-bonn.de
 www.bundeskunsthalle.de

28-30 November 2003

Matara, Sri Lanka

'Sri Lanka at crossroads: Continuity and change', Ninth International Conference on Sri Lanka Studies
 Contact: Prof. Sarath Amarasinghe,
 University of Ruhuna, coordinator
 sarathamarsinghe@hotmail.com
 www.icsls.org

3-5 December 2003

Berlin, Germany

Online Educa Berlin
 Contact: Beate Kleesen
 info@icwe.net
 www.icwe.net

15-16 December 2003

Kaohsiung City, Taiwan

'The Scientific Status of Bicoastal China Studies', The Society of Indian Philosophy & Religion
 Contact: Dr Chandana Chakrabarti
 chakraba@elon.edu

16-18 January 2004

Gainesville (FA) United States

43rd Annual Meeting of Southeast Asian Conference of the Association for Asian Studies
 Contact: Dr S. Yumiko Hulvey
 yulvey@aall.ufl.edu
 www.lib.duke.edu/reference/kenb/sec-main.htm

29-31 January 2004

Sambalpur, India

Second Biennial Conference of the Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies
 Information: lipi@cal.vsnl.net.in

26-28 February 2004

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

'Malay Images', Second international conference on Malay civilization
 Sponsored by IIAS

Convenor: Prof. Asmah Haji Omar
Information: datasmah@upsi.edu.my

March 2004

5-7 March 2004
San Diego (CA) United States
AAS (Association for Asian Studies) annual meeting 2004
Information: www.aasianst.org/annmtg.htm

9 March 2004
Lyons, France
'Diplomatie et poésie dans le Pékin des années folles'
Information: www.eurasie.net/webzine

16 March 2004
Lyons, France
Sinophilie et modernité dans Le Lotus Bleu de Hergé
Information: www.eurasie.net/webzine

18-20 March 2004
Singapore
'The Internet and elections in Asia and Europe'
ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
Convenors: Dr Nicholas Jankowski (University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands) and Dr Randolph Klaver (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore)
Information: ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

18-20 March 2004
Hong Kong, China
'The production of food and foodways in Asia'
Contact: Ms Viki Li
Foodconference@cuhk.edu.hk
www.cuhk.edu.hk/jant

23-25 March 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
'Niet-Javaans, nog niet Javaans en onjavaans: Ontmoetingen en breuken in een beschaving'
Sponsored by IAS
Contact: Prof. Ben Arps, convenor
b.arps@let.leidenuniv.nl

24-27 March 2004
Berlin, Germany
5th European Social Science History Conference
Information: eeshc@iisg.nl
www.iisg.nl/sshc

25-26 March 2004
Bangkok, Thailand
'Illicit traffic in cultural property in Southeast Asia'
Sponsored by IAS
Organized by: Chulalongkorn University-

ty (Institute for Asian Studies) and the Asia Pacific Executive Board of the International Council of Museums and the Sustainable Heritage Development Programs
Convenor: Prof. Amareswar Galla
Information: ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

25-27 March 2004
New York (NY) United States
'Antiquarianism and the early modern age: Perspectives on Europe and China'
An interdisciplinary conference at the Brard Graduate Center
Contact: Francois Louis
louise@bgc.bard.edu

28-29 March 2004
Bangkok, Thailand
'Gender and development in Southeast Asia: Emerging issues and new challenges'
Information: concourse2@yahoo.com
geocities.com/warig

April 2004
22-24 April 2004
Hamburg, Germany
'City states and mega port cities in Pacific Asia and Europe: Economic and political strategies in comparison'
Asia-Africa Institute, University of Hamburg
Contact: Dr Arndt Graf
arndtgraf@yahoo.de

May 2004
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
'Festival of literature and culture of the Islamic world'
Institute of Malay Language and Literature
Contact: Dato' Haji A. Aziz Deraman
aziz@dbp.gov.my
www.dbp.gov.my

5-8 May 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
'Conflict, security and development in the post-Soviet era: Towards regional economic cooperation in central Eurasia'
NATO Advanced Research workshop
Organized by IAS
Convenors: Dr Irina Morozova and Dr Mehdi Amineh
Information: ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

7-9 May 2004
The Lake District, United Kingdom
'Generational interaction and change'
Pakistan workshop 2004
Contact: Dr Steve Lyon or Prof. Pnina Werbner
S.M.Lyon@durham.ac.uk
P.Werbner@keele.ac.uk

28-30 June 2004
Paris, France
'Theory and method in Indian intellectual history'
Organized by the Equipe de recherche LACMI, the international research group 'Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism' (University of Chicago) and the IAS.
Contact: Prof. Jan Houben
j.e.m.houben@let.leidenuniv.nl

29 June - 2 July 2004
Canberra, Australia
15th Biennial Conference of Asian Studies Association of Australia
Contact: Prof. Robert Cribb
robert.cribb@anu.edu.au
<http://coombs.anu.edu.au/ASAA/>

July 2004
July 2004
Beijing, China
'Enabling role of the public sector in urban housing development'
ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
Convenors: Prof. Anne Power (London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom) and Prof. Tuan Yang (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China)
Information: ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

1-4 July 2004
Paris, France
'Orality and Improvisation in East Asian Music'
Ninth International CHIME Meeting
Information: <http://home.wxs.nl/~chime>

2-3 July 2004
Cambridge, United Kingdom
'Ayurvedic Identities Past and Present: The Case of Modern and Global Ayurveda'
Indic Health Conference II
Information: divinity@cam.ac.uk
www.divinity.cam.ac.uk/CARTS/dhiir/indic/conf04.html

5-7 July 2004
Malang, Indonesia
'Old-age vulnerabilities: Asian and European perspectives'
ASEF-Asia Alliance workshop
Convenor: Mr Warkum Sumitro (Universitas Brajajaya, Indonesia) and Dr Rully Mariani (Belle van Zuylen Institute, the Netherlands)
Information: ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

6-9 July 2004
Lund, Sweden
18th European conference on Modern

16-19 June 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
'The Philippines: Changing landscapes and mindscapes in a globalizing world'
Seventh International Philippine Studies Conference (ICOPHIL)
Contact: Prof. Ot van den Muijzenberg, convenor
ovandenmuijzenberg@fmg.uva.nl
www.ias.nl

17-18 June 2004
Heidelberg, Germany
'The ills of marginality: New perspectives on subaltern health in South Asia'
Contact: Prof. W. Sax, convenor
william.sax@urz.uni-heidelberg.de

28-30 June 2004
South Asian Studies
Organizers: SASNET and Lund University
Contact: Lars Eklund, deputy director
Lars.Eklund@sasnet.lu.se
www.sasnet.lu.se/researchf.html

7-8 July 2004
Semarang (Central Java), Indonesia
'Decentralization and Structural Reformation'
Second International Conference on Indonesia
Faculty on Social and Political Sciences, Diponegoro University
Contact: programme secretariate
psstugm@yahoo.com
jgunawan@gamanet.ac.id

15-16 October 2004
Boston (MA) United States
'Contemporary Chinese Arts and Culture'
Sponsored by IAS and the Fairbank Centre
Contact: Prof. Michel Hocky
mh17@soas.ac.uk

22-24 October 2004
DeKalb (IL) United States
Burma Studies Conference
Center for Burma Studies
Contact: Alexandra Green
greenar@denison.edu
<http://www.grad.niu.edu/Burma/>

15-16 October 2004
Boston (MA) United States
'Unity in diversity'
ICANAS-37
Organizers: Orientalist Society of the Russian Academy of Sciences
Contact: Prof. Dmitry D. Vasilyev
ivran@orc.ru

26-28 August 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
'European scholarship in Malay world studies: Looking back, striding ahead'
Sponsored by IAS
Co-sponsored: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
Contact: Prof. Yaapar, convenor
m.s.yaapar@let.leidenuniv.nl

23-27 August 2004
Moscow, Russia
'Europe in diversity'
ICANAS-37
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16-19 June 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
7th International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL)
For registration and information, please visit www.ias.nl/ias/agenda/icophil
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November 2004
20 November 2004
San Antonio (Texas) United States
AAR - Annual American Academy of Religion Conference
Information: www.aarweb.org/annualmeet/2005/philadelphia.asp

June 2005
June 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
International Association of Chinese Linguistics
Contact: Dr Rint Sybesma, convenor
r.p.e.sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl

July 2005
July 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
'Between stress and tone'
Contact: Dr Bert Remijsen, convenor
a.c.l.remijisen@let.leidenuniv.nl

Autumn 2005
Autumn, 2005
Malmö, Sweden
'Gender and Human Rights'
Second Nordic-China Women and Gender Studies Conference
Organized by IAS, Fudan University's Nordic Centre and Malmö University
Information: www.nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/

15-16 October 2004
Boston (MA) United States
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Contact: Prof. Michel Hocky
mh17@soas.ac.uk

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The Philippines: Changing Landscapes, and Mindscapes in a Globalizing World

Conference Announcement and Call for Panel Proposals
7th International Conference on Philippine Studies

A list of possible topics is provided on the conference website.
Deadline for papers: January 2004

Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL)
The Philippines: Changing Landscapes, Humanscapes, and Mindscapes in a Globalizing World

Convenor:
Prof. Ot van den Muijzenberg
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

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 'Asian History'
 1 October 1999 – 1 October 2007

Prof. H. Steinhauer (the Netherlands)

Special Chair at Nijmegen University
 'Ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia'
 1 September 1998 – 1 September 2004

Prof. B.J. Terwiel (the Netherlands/Germany)

Special Chair at Leiden University
 'Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia'
 1 September 1999 – 1 September 2004

> Colophon

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 November 2003
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