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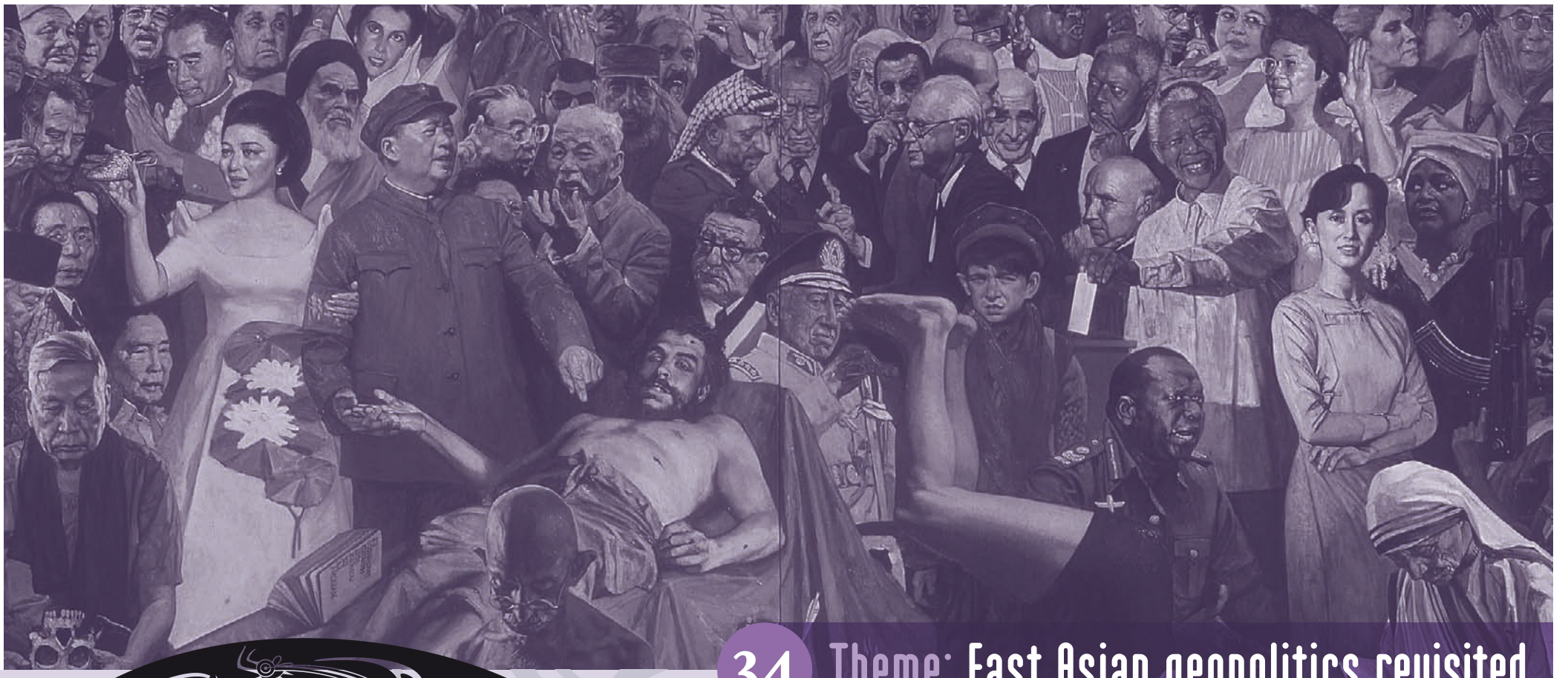

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34 Theme: East Asian geopolitics revisited

International Institute for Asian Studies

IIAS NEWSLETTER

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The tyranny of taste & cultural citizenship

This paper examines the interaction between the 'tyranny of taste' and the art practice of Chinese-Australian artists. In discussing how the production and reception of their artwork are measured against mainstream artistic criteria, I hope to move beyond criticism of the Australian government's multicultural policy and to feature within diaspora studies inquiries on the cultural rights of migrants.

Arts > Australia

By Wang Yiyan

Pierre Bourdieu argues that critics need to realize that the producers of the value of a work of art are usually other than the artists themselves (1995: 229). I would argue that this is even more the case with migrant artists, especially before they grasp the rules of the 'field' in their adopted society. It is one thing to have a 'multicultural' society where diaspora communities live and thrive; it is quite another for a society's high culture to absorb values and aesthetics from other traditions. The latter, although it happens all the time, takes much longer and remains at the mercy of members of the dominant class who determine the value of works of art.

Migrant artists can at times become agents in initiating changes of taste within the art establishment. They are, however, rarely part of the decision-making process. Although their multicultural or 'exotic' aesthetics may be appreciated, or even valued, the degree to which they are able to attain cultural citizenship and exercise their cultural rights remains questionable. In other words, they may not be able to choose 'styles of language, cultural models, narratives, discourses that people use to make sense of their society, interpret their place in it', according to Gerard Delanty (2002: 66).

Rules of art

Bourdieu posits an analogy between the rules governing art and language. Speakers of a language subscribe to an overarching system; while individual usage varies, individuals are aware of the boundaries of the system which prescribe acceptable limits on variation. The production and reception of creative art work in a similar way. While artists strive for individuality, their expression must remain within the aesthetic system determined by the class of value producers in a given society. Artists exercise their choice within the system, even when they are deliberately subverting it.

Bourdieu's theory, as he himself explains, is drawn from observing individual artists and writers of similar cultural backgrounds, namely, people who share and understand the implicit aesthetic values of a society. The rules of art, therefore, pose problems to most artists coming from outside that society. For migrant artists, especially those from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, life in the new country often begins with a traumatic fall in social standing. Bewilderment over aesthetic choices soon follows, before they realize they have to learn anew systems of cultural signs, linguistic codes, artistic expressions and, sometimes more pertinently, ways to befriend the art establishment.

Exceptions can be found, of course, when notions of beauty or humour coincide. Creative works can be appreciated by audiences from different cultural backgrounds, when 'outside' artists strike a chord with the 'inside' audience. Appreciation, however, may not be based on the understanding of intended messages and references. Unfortunately for migrant artists, acquaintance with the rules may take years to acquire or may never happen.

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Director's note

Friends of ICAS Unite!

As Secretary General of the *International Convention of Asia Scholars* (ICAS) and an Asia scholar who places great value on international cooperation in research and education, it is my pleasure to announce the fourth meeting of ICAS in Shanghai, 20-24 August 2005. On behalf of ICAS I would like to congratulate the Shanghai Academy of Socials Sciences (SASS) for hosting ICAS 4. Following the success of ICAS 3 in Singapore, ICAS 4 is expected to draw more than 2,000 participants.

Although a large part of our readership is no doubt aware of ICAS, I would like to recapitulate its main features and point out some new developments. ICAS was born out of dialogue between the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) and the Internatinal Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) on broadening the scope of Asian Studies. ICAS' mandate is to transcend boundaries between the disciplines, the nations studied, and the geographic origins of the Asianists involved.

Once ICAS was announced, enthusiastic replies poured in from all corners of the world. The first ICAS was held in 1998 in Leiden, the Netherlands, which brought together 1,000 participants from all continents. ICAS 2 was organized by the Freie Universitat Berlin in 2001; ICAS 3 by the National University of Singapore. ICAS 3 attracted more than 1,000 scholars from 54 countries, with some 940 papers presented in 250 sessions on a great range of topics. ICAS 3 also provided a platform for scholars to explore ways of coordinating Asia research in Asia.

ICAS 4 in Shanghai will feature for the first time the awarding of the Lifetime Asian Studies Award, and ICAS Book Prizes for best studies in (1) the social sciences; (2) the humanities; and (3) ICAS best PhD dissertation in Asian Studies. (Please see announcements, p.42)

By giving Asian Studies a global focus, we hope to increase international cooperation among scholars and lessen the often-parochial attitude among Asianists over the past century. You can support our endeavour by becoming a friend of ICAS (please see our ICAS 4 brochure) which will enable us to strengthen our platform upon which Asia scholars from all corners of the world can study problems of interest to all.

Finally, I would like to draw you attention to the insert in this Newsletter: *ASEM News*. It is a collection of short contributions addressing the impact of the Asia-Europe Meeting on the relations between these continents. Much remains to be done, but a start has been made. <

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS

Editorial

to our readers

The editors invite readers of the *IIAS Newsletter* to contribute – short research essays, reviews of books, journals and websites, opinion, artwork and photography, fiction, poetry, biography, letters to the editor and announcements.

The *IIAS Newsletter* reaches 22,000 individuals and institutions in eighty countries; our readers' interests and scientific backgrounds are many. Our preference is for articles on topical issues with an argumentative edge, reviews that engage authors' core ideas, and reports that inform lay audiences on developments within disciplines.

All authors are encouraged to submit illustrations (photos/maps/prints) with their articles. For successful black and white reproduction, digital images must have high resolution and sharp contrast.

We always welcome strong opinion pieces to stir up the placid canals. If you are appalled (or impressed) by anything on the *Newsletter's* pages, we encourage all to argue back in print, with a letter to us – the editors.
If you have any questions, or would like to pitch us your proposal, please do not hesitate to contact us, David Hymans or John O'Sullivan, at iiasnews@let.leidenuinv.nl

Finally, the Newsletter is searching for talented freelancers – English editors with backgrounds in the humanities or social sciences, graphics buffs who know where to find images, scholars interested in reviewing articles. We are also in immediate need of an editor for our Arts section, and guest editors for future themes. We would love to hear from you.

Enjoy reading!
***David Hymans & John O'Sullivan**, Amsterdam, 22 June 2004*

Letters to the Editor

I am not a neo-realist

In his review 'A New Focus on the Caspian Region: Turning the Periphery into the Centre' in *IIAS Newsletter 32*, Dr Frédéric Grare asserts that my book 'does not really distance itself from a neo-realist perspective'. I disagree and would like to explain why.

Globalisation, Geopolitics, and Energy Security in Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region (The Hague: CIEP, 2003) analyses global power relations and the geopolitics of conflict and co-operation among state and non-state actors for the control of oil and gas resources in Central Eurasia. It employs a new theoretical approach: critical- or neo-geopolitics.

The main ideas of traditional geopolitics are related to the (neo-)realist school of international relations, based on the Westphalian conception of the international system. According to this view, the nation state is paramount; international relations can be explained by the balance-of-power among competing states. This body of theory emerged in the nineteenth century and developed in the first half of the twentieth century. Globalisation (the transnationalisation of production and finance, the internationalization of trade and state functions) and the end of the Cold War forced scholars to rethink state-centric geopolitics.

One new approach attempts to synthesise traditional geopolitics with the 'geo-economics' of the global political economy. Critical- or neo-geopolitics holds that geographic arrangements are social constructions that may change over time with changing human economic demography. It does not constitute the world as a fixed hierarchy of states, cores and peripheries, spheres of influence, flashpoints, buffer zones and strategic relations, but conceptualises world politics as a system of states, economic and technological developments, and non-state actors including ethno-religious movements, international organizations, transnational energy companies, and international crime syndicates.

Critical or neo-geopolitics further differs from orthodox geopolitics, neo-realism, and world-systems theories in its scepticism to claims of objectivity. Instead, neo-geopolitics holds that any study of world politics carries conceptual and methodological assumptions that skew analysis; it calls for a methodological and conceptual re-evaluation of political geography.

Contrary to Dr Grace's assertion, *Globalisation, Geopolitics, and Energy Security in Central Eurasia and the Caspian Region*, in applying the neo-geopolitical framework, goes beyond the neo-realist approach in analysing conflict and co-operation among state and non-state actors for the control of oil and gas resources in Central Eurasia.

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Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada

Kunming under siege

As a long-term resident of Kunming, China, I was pleased to read 'From Muslim Street to Brilliant Plaza: Constructions of Urban Space in Kunming' by Leeke Reinder in IIAS Newsletter 31. The physical changes in Kunming are indeed drastic, as Reinder notes. But I disagree that these 'drastic physical transformations bring about relatively small social changes'. On the contrary, I suggest they have profound social impact.

Over the past decade the city of Kunming has been torn down and rebuilt – old wooden buildings, low-rise apartment blocks and narrow streets have made way for new apartments, shops and office structures of seven stories or more, and much wider roads. These changes are the result of economic and social change (reform and marketisation) and have produced further change.

Many residents have experienced the speed and extent of change as a crisis in material life. There are two major shifts, from low to high-rise dwellings and from city centre to suburban life. Though most people welcome new flats with running water and private toilets and baths, others lament the loss of old buildings and streets (the Muslim street noted by Reinders is one of the few old streets left). But the broader social impact of the new spaces is more widely felt and doubted.

Older people and children are especially affected. The elderly have suffered abrupt changes in lifestyle through their removal to the suburbs (although they may retain their previous neighbours, having been moved together). An outdoor social life, in courtyards and in doorways of their homes, was previously part of daily life for older people, but is now hardly possible. Many have been placed in old-age homes. For children there are no spaces to play near home where grandparents can keep watch over them.

The construction of new city spaces is further separating rural and urban life, and along with the Kunming's massive increase in traffic, is a reflection of growing social inequalities.

***Andy West**, Beijing, China*
andywest@scuk.org.cn

The atoms of meaning

Dear Professor Goddard,

You wrote a very interesting article in *IIAS Newsletter 33*. I share your view that linguists do not seem to regard semantics as an essential part of their discipline.

However, is this a shortcoming of scientists, or does it reflect the general lack of interest in basic research? It does not produce immediate results, even less spectacular ones, hence those attracted towards this research will continue to be small in number, and their influence too.

All the more I am grateful that scientists like you persevere in this demanding task.

***Richard Daehler**, Interculture EU-RO-NI, Zurich, Switzerland*
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Theme editorial

East Asian geopolitics revisited

Asia accounts for more than half of the world's population. China is the only Asian nation with a permanent seat on the Security Council. Japan, a member of the G8 and a major contributor to the UN, the IMF and the World Bank, is completely under-represented in their leadership. Asian nations are virtually excluded from the ranks of those thought to underwrite global order and stability. The setting of 'global standards' seems to be the preserve of non-Asian powers.

Theories of global order, international relations and security are likewise the preserve of authors active in the United States, with a sprinkling from Northwest Europe. For East Asia, the story is often written in Washington. Although shifts in US policy create ripple effects throughout the region, the focus on America tends to ignore the interests of regional states as well as intra-regional dynamics. The latter fall further out of view as research tends to focus on bilateral rather than multilateral relations.

Despite the outward appearance of stability, East Asian states since the end of the Cold War have been redefining their positions in international society. 'National self-assertion' best seems to describe the new attitude. Contemporary East Asian assertiveness results from a mixture of developments, both domestic and international.

Internationally, the end of the Cold War softened ideological confrontation; with defense alliances with Washington under revision, East Asian governments are voicing their security concerns. Domestically, governments tend to be more populist. Driven by an outspoken, often nationalist, public opinion – it is not always clear whether the (new) media follow or create it – vocal domestic constituencies can curtail governments' foreign policy making autonomy, especially when actions by foreign states seem to infringe on national sovereignty.

Regardless of the many forms nationalism takes, it often carries within it a core of resentment rooted in history. The challenge for East Asian governments is to channel – at times vindictive – nationalist agendas into foreign policies that serve long-term interests. The need for economic stability and the common interest in regional security puts a premium on intra-regional cooperation. While each nation seeks to assert its own place in the region, it is equally clear that all agree on the benefits of regional cooperation.

Increased national self-assertion is a reflection of East Asian governments' and citizens' desires to find autonomous solutions to the region's challenges.

Koen De Ceuster and Kurt Radtke

From the Bertholet Collection. *Dreams of Spring: Erotic art in China*. Amsterdam: Pepin Press (1998)

Paint on silk 32 x 33 cm

'I write with my body'

Opinion > Deviance

Writing about sex under the motto 'I write with my body', several young women writers outrage China. The Chinese call them *xinxin renlei* – brand new humans.

By Yue Tao

The first 'new human' writer, Wei Hui, shocked the nation five years ago with *Shanghai Baby*. Another Shanghai girl, Mian Mian, followed suit with *Candy*. Three years ago, Jiu Dan described her own work as 'prostitute literature'. When Mu Zimei, a magazine journalist of twenty-five, published her intimate diaries online, China was rocked by scandal. Before the Mu Zimei phenomenon could subside, a university teacher released seminude photos of herself online under the pseudonym 'Bamboo Shadow Clear Pupil'. While Western media and some young Chinese celebrate these women writers as cultural freedom fighters, most Chinese abominate them.

Strictly soft-core

Why all the fuss? Is new human writing pornographic? Hardly. Compared with erotic novels written centuries ago, new human writing is strictly soft-core. *Jin Ping Mei* (Golden Lotus Vase), a Ming dynasty classic available in quality bookstores on the mainland, has hundreds of scenes that graphically portray sexual intercourse (hetero and homo), orgies, techniques, and accessories. Though new human writing is occasionally illustrated with seminude photos of the author, they are nothing like the frankly technical illustrations that often appear in traditional erotic literature.

Does celebrating sexual pleasure contradict Chinese values? On the contrary, traditional Chinese culture venerates sex. It views the sexes as complementary opposites like heaven and earth. When heaven and earth are in harmony, peace and fertility reign; when men and women are in harmony in bed, good health and children result. The Chinese euphemism for sex is 'spring' (connoting gentle, warm, pleasant and lively) as Chinese erotic art illustrates. Unlike Western erotic art, which exhibits tension and excitement, Chinese 'spring palace drawings' are playful and cheerful, even humorous.

Bad influence

If sex itself is not culpable, are people afraid that the new human decadence will corrupt society, especially the young? No. The Chinese public is too arrogant to fear moral corruption. Anyway, the new humans write only about their exclusive social circle – rock and roll musicians, postmodern poets, avant-garde painters, entertainment journalists and fun-seeking foreigners – a tiny minority whose lifestyle is outside the mainstream. As for bad influence, Chinese classics are more

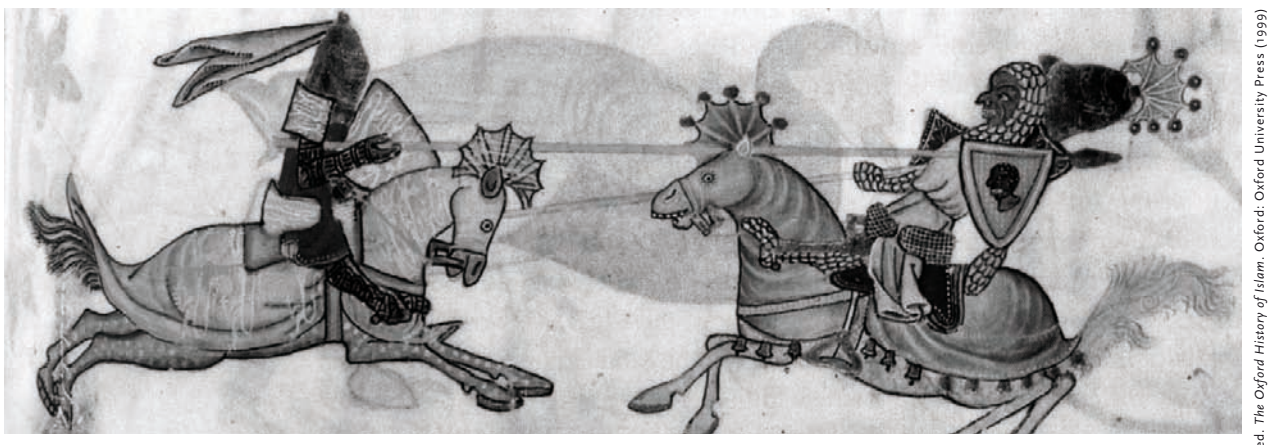
'traditional erotic novels and art were always bedside reading or brothel decoration'

Opinion

The Collapse of the Global Conversation

Opinion > World politics

The world after 11 September 2001 has seemed a bewildering place – as if all liberal notions of universal reason, freedom, tolerance and the rule of law have been proven a lie overnight.



John L. Esposito, ed. *The Oxford History of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1999)

King Richard 1 and Saladin

By Subroto Roy

We can start with the observable fact that there is and has been only one human species, no matter how infinitely diverse its specimens across space and time. All have a capacity to reason as well as a capacity to feel a range of emotions. And every human society, in trying to ascertain what is good for itself, finds need to reason together about how its members may best survive, grow, reproduce and flourish. This process of common reasoning and reflection requires freedom of inquiry and expression of different points of view. The lone voice in dissent needs to be heard, at least not suppressed in case it is the right voice counselling against a course that may lead to catastrophe for all. To reason together implies a true or right answer exists to be found; truth seeking requires freedom as its logical corollary.

This is an editorially abridged version of a keynote address given to the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats in Manila, Philippines on November 16 2001. The full version 'A General Theory of Globalisation and Modern Terrorism with Special Reference to September 11' may be found in Uwe Johannen, Alan Smith, James Gomez, eds. (2002) *Post September 11: Political Freedom in Asia*, Singapore: CALD, and at: http://www.buckingham.ac.uk/publicity/academics/articles/roy-sept11.pdf

'the crimes of September 11 2001 were ones of political protest. But they were not something inexplicable or sui generis. *They represented a final collapse of the centuries-old cosmopolitan conversation with Islam'*

With the enormous growth of science, some scientists have gone to the limit of declaring no religious belief can possibly survive. In fact the ultra-scientific prejudice fails ultimately to be reasonable enough, and is open to a joint and decisive counter-attack by both the religious believer and the artist.

Asia's modern dilemmas

Broadly speaking, throughout the vast span of Asia over the last two hundred years, there has been admiration for the contribution of the modern West to the growth of scientific knowledge. Where it has come to be known and applied, there has been admiration for liberal Western political thought as well. Concurrently, Asian nationalists in the 20th century struggled to establish autonomous national identities. Asian nationalism represented an unwillingness to be treated as mere means towards the ends of Western nations, something we still see today.

In earlier times, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and Nelson Mandela led successful non-violent political protests of non-white peoples against white organized authorities. Their protests assumed a level of tolerance arising out of mutual respect between rebel and authority. None was a totalitarian revolutionary out to destroy his adversary; each wanted to preserve and nurture aspects of the existing order. Each first became the master of the political idiom of his adversary, willing and able to employ this idiom to demonstrate the self-contradiction of his opponent, who was typically faced with a charge of hypocrisy, of maintaining both x and its contrary.

Suicide, terrorism and political protest

Suicide as political protest abides by the Socratic injunction that it is better to suffer wrong than to wrong others.[1] Terrorism by suicide crosses that line – over into a world of utilitarian calculation by the perpetrator that his or her suicide is inadequate, and must be accompanied by death among one's adversary.

The perpetrators of September 11 subjectively acted in the name of Islam. Words are also deeds while deeds may also convey meaning.[2] The words and deeds of the perpetrators, and of the nations organized against them since then, are components of a complex and subtle global conversation taking place as to the direction of our common future.

Political conversations require time and patience; the movements of Gandhi, King and Mandela each took decades to reach fruition. In the post 11 September world, tolerance has vanished, replaced by panic, mutual fear and hatred. Violence appears as the first, not last recourse of political discussion. The world after 11 September has become a bewildering place – as if all liberal notions of universal reason, freedom, tolerance and the rule of law since the Enlightenment have been proven a lie overnight, deserving only to be flushed away in face of resurgent ancient savageries.

Be this as it may, common reasoning

dangerous. *Water Margin* is a saga of violence and secret societies; *Three Kingdoms* is about political intrigue; *Dream of the Red Chamber* concerns the vanity of life. No one knows how many teenagers form gangs inspired by *Water Margin*, how many adults play dirty tricks learned from *Three Kingdoms*, or how many *Dream of the Red Chamber* readers adopt its nihilistic worldview. If moral implications got books banned in China, the classics would be suppressed.

'if moral implications got books banned in China, the classics would be suppressed'

Since new human writing is neither pornographic nor dangerous, why does it upset so many people? In public criticisms on the web, the most frequent accusation is that new human writers are 'irresponsible'. They expose the details of their promiscuous sex life without considering how other people feel. There is a tacit, pragmatic rule in Chinese society: indecent behavior, including extramarital sex, can be tolerated as long as it does not embarrass anyone. Traditional erotic novels and art were always bedside reading or brothel decoration. Though publicly accessible now, they are too archaic to agitate people. New human writing, by contrast, is a twenty-first century sensation that travels the internet to reach tens of millions of readers – teenagers as well as adults – within seconds.

New human writers are like exhibitionists. Meeting them, people are shocked and embarrassed. 'Just reading you, I feel ashamed for you', many critics say. Chinese culture is a shame culture; Chinese morality depends on shame. Nothing feels worse than being ashamed, but nothing liberates more than indifference. 'I already lost face; what more can I lose?' Losing face, new humans liberate body and pen. They consider liberation the greatest artistic achievement of all: 'It is my way of life. If I stop, I am not myself any more.' They quote Western feminist slogans to show how enlightened they are – avant-garde performing artists seeking individual freedom and female liberation. They are above the multitude still trapped in Confucian morality.

New human irresponsibility irritates the Chinese, and its self-righteousness outrages them. Irritation and outrage notwithstanding, they accept new human writing as a fact of life. The government bans new human books, shuts down websites, and dismisses authors from their jobs, but new humans sprout like mushrooms. Public curiosity and vehement reaction provoke them. Without the attention, new human writers would enjoy neither celebrity nor scandal. They would be invisible, which they hate most. It seems Western pollution is real – it not only spawns a group indifferent to face, but lowers Chinese eroticism from art to manifesto. <

www.pics.skyhits.com

Yue Tao *studied English language and literature at Fudan University, Shanghai, and social sciences at the University of Amsterdam. She is currently International Programme Officer and Chinese Affairs Coordinator at Leiden University Worldwide Programmes. Her interests include comparative literature and intercultural communication.*

still has its place: in identifying deep, long-term historical factors that may have accumulated to cause such a crime. One factor has been techno-economic: the invention of the internal combustion engine, coupled with the discovery of petroleum beneath the sands of Arabia, which made the material prosperity of the modern West depend on access to oil.

'Asian nationalism represented an unwillingness to be treated as mere means towards the ends of Western nations, something we still see today'

A second and independent factor has been the history of Christian Europe's alternating persecution and emancipation of the Jewish people, which led in due course to the Balfour declaration of 1917 and, following the Nazi Holocaust, to the creation of modern Israel among the Arabic-speaking peoples.

The history between Christianity and Judaism is one in which the Arabic-speaking peoples were passive bystanders. Indeed, they may have been passive bystanders in the creation of their own states as well – for a third factor must be the lack of robust development of modern political and economic institutions, mechanisms of political expression and accountability in the Middle East. Beginning with the Allied-induced Arab revolt against the Turks, the classic imperial doctrine of divide and rule has continued in more subtle diplomatic forms: championing post-Mossadeq Iran against any incipient Arab nationalism, then Iraq against post-Revolutionary Iran, then against Iraq in the Gulf War of 1991. It is only during and after the Gulf War that Osama
Bin Laden, as a totalitarian revolutionary, arose as an adversary of the West.

Through these developments, political conversation among the Arabic-speaking peoples remained stifled; whatever current it had turned inward to the austere roots of a desert faith. But this attempt to return inevitably became something reactionary in the late 20th century. Finding the Beduin and the deserts of Arabia transformed over the intervening decades, it could only try to recreate itself among the Pashtoon in the barrenness of Afghanistan, and led to the bizarre scenes of the Taliban attempting to destroy televisions and cassette-tapes in the name of Islam.

The crimes of September 11 2001 were ones of political protest. But they were not something inexplicable or *sui generis*. They represented a final collapse of the centuries-old cosmopolitan conversation with Islam.

What September 11 has demonstrated is that even while the information we have about one another and ourselves has increased exponentially in recent years, our mutual comprehension of one another and ourselves may well have grossly deteriorated in quality. Reversing such atrophy in our self-knowledge and mutual comprehension requires, in the opinion of the present author, the encouragement of all societies of all sizes to flourish in their scientific knowledge, their religious and philosophical consciousness and self-discovery, and their artistic expressiveness under conditions of freedom. <

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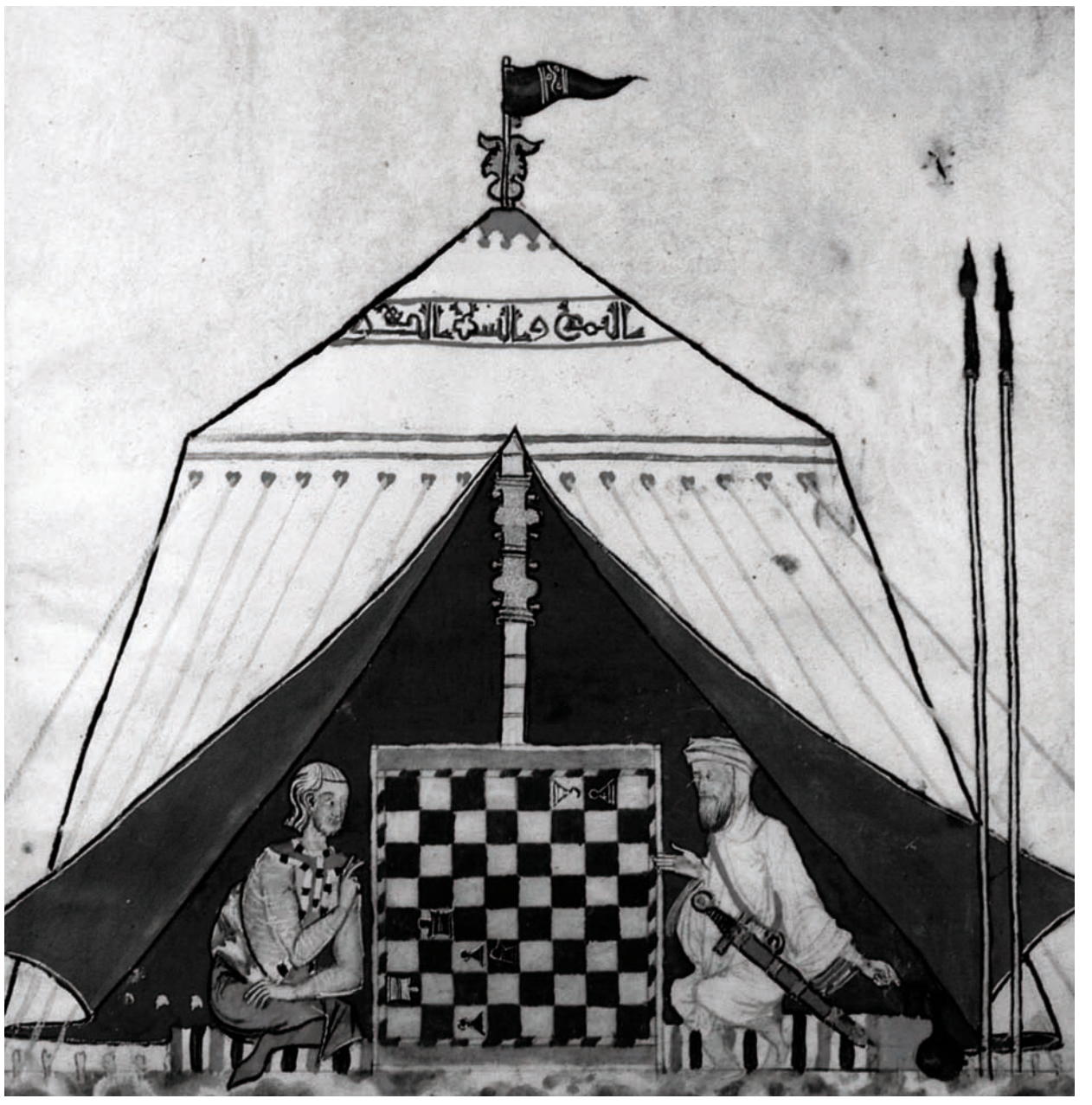


Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

Notes >

1 Plato Gorgias 474b, 483a,b
Hannah Arendt (1971) *The Life of the Mind, Thinking*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 181-182

2 This was emphasized by the late Cambridge philosopher Renford Bambrough (1980) 'Thought, word and deed' in *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Supp. Vol. LIV, 105-117

Courtesy of the artist and Soho Galleries, Sydney

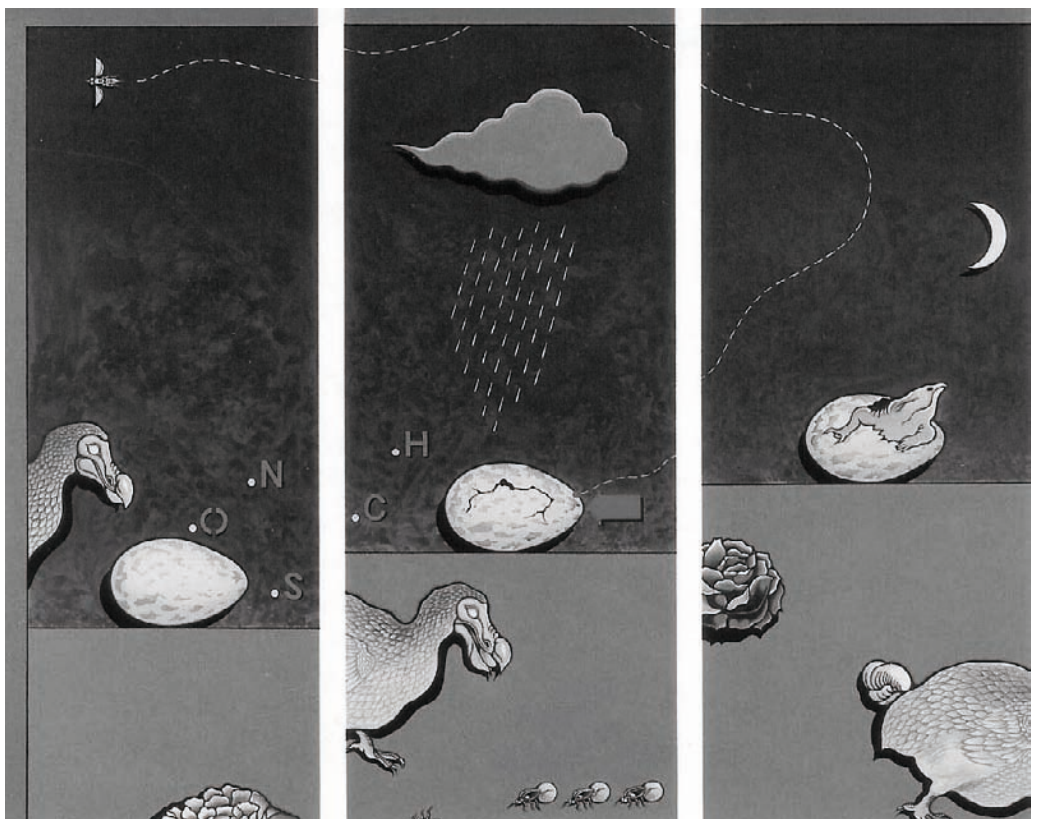
Hu Ming *Jade Frog* **oil on canvas** **110x80cm**

'the choices open to migrant artists are limited – the ethnic artist is subjected to the unwritten rules of art and the tastes of an unfamiliar society'

Zhou Xiaoping *Dancing* 2002 ink on rice paper & on canvas 180 x 280cm

Courtesy of the artist. Private collection

Guan Wei *Dodon't* **1997 acrylic on canvas 3 parts** **127 x 167cm**



Courtesy of the artist and Sherman Galleries, Australia

'it is one thing to have a 'multicultural' society where diaspora communities live and thrive; it is quite another for a society's high culture to absorb values and aesthetics from other traditions'

Shen Jiawei *Self-Portrait – Suddenly Back to 1900* 2000 oil on canvas 165 x 120cm

Courtesy of the artist. Private Collection

continued from page 1 >

Many artists from China over the past decade have, however, managed to familiarize themselves with rules of the Australian art field. John McDonald, an Australian art critic, believes that Chinese art is changing the face of Australia. He notes that 'barely a week goes by in Sydney and Melbourne nowadays without a Chinese exhibition or art event, or without Chinese émigrés featuring prominently in some competition or group show' (McDonald 2002: 18). McDonald terms the increasing acceptance of Chineseness in Australia's art establishment 'the Cultural Revolution'.

Diaspora and Chineseness

Alongside the radical changes to their personal and professional lives, the artwork of Chinese migrant artists in Australia has undergone transformation in nearly all respects – from subject matter, media, form, and use of colour, to the very basic techniques of expression and execution. The greatest change, however, is in the audience – the enormous gap between the expectations of the Chinese authoritarian art establishment and the free market art field of Australia. Needless to say, Chinese migrant artists did not share with the Australian art establishment an understanding of what constitutes art – its production, reception, marketing and social function. How to create art that speaks to the Australian audience is the fundamental challenge Chinese-Australian artists continue to face and each must find an answer in his or her own artistic language.

'artists exercise their choice within the system, even when they are deliberately subverting it'

While its manifestations vary, 'Chineseness' is a common feature in the works of Chinese-Australian artists. The relationship between their work and Chineseness is often paradoxical: on the one hand, they need to cater to Australian taste, which may or may not welcome overt expressions of Chineseness in visual form; on the other hand, if Chineseness and the element of exotica is totally absent, it is even harder for Chinese-Australian artists to claim space in the Australian art market. The balance is a delicate one, and expressions have to be subtle or innovative. Naturally, the market eventually makes its own selections. One can always eroticise one's Chineseness but it is the art field that decides if one has done so artistically and tastefully.

Opposing McDonald's optimism about the success of Chinese artists in Australia, another art critic, Ben Genocchio at *The Australian* newspaper, notes that Chinese artists remain a closed community. Genocchio believes their lack of interaction with the wider Australian environment will see their popularity dwindle in a few years' time, making them irrelevant to the history of Australian art (Gennochio 2002).

Cultural citizenship

The point here is not whether one agrees with McDonald or with Genocchio, but that Chinese-Australian artists are largely irrelevant to such debates. The field, rather than the artists themselves, will decide whether Australian art history will write Chinese-Australian artists in or leave them out. This is why cultural citizenship is a crucial issue at this point in time – after Australia has given migrants political citizenship, it is time for notions of citizenship to factor in cultural rights and practices.

Gerard Delanty (2002: 66) argues that cultural citizenship has two equally important aspects: the cultural rights of individual citizens and the political institutionalisation of such cultural rights. He places particular emphasis on access to the dominant language – its styles and forms, cultural models, narratives and discourses – the tools people need to make sense of their society, interpret their place in it, determine courses of action and make demands for further political and cultural rights. The learning component of citizenship, Delanty insists, must be seen not only in individual terms but as a medium of social construction, through which individual experience becomes collective learning, ultimately to be realized in social institutions.

Courtesy of the artist and Ray Hughes Galleries, Australia. Private collection

Guo Jian *Trigger Happy* 9 1999 oil on canvas 180 x 200cm

Wang Xu *Sydney Scene* 1996 Chinese ink and colour on rice paper 70 x 130cm. Private collection

In my interviews with Chinese-Australian artists, some stated that language remains the key obstacle to their professional development. Without English competence, they remain unable to exchange ideas with their peers – other than those using the same ethnic language. The importance of English competence in their profession has to do with understanding the rules of art. Without English, the path to professional development is much longer and full of pitfalls, such as inadequate translations and delays in the transmission of ideas and news on cultural events. For the acquisition of new ideas, most artists still rely on Chinese-language materials. In communicating, many still feel desperately trapped and inhibited.

'if Chineseness and the element of exotica is totally absent, it is even harder for Chinese-Australian artists to claim space in the Australian art market'

The inability to speak English in Australia entails at least a partial deprivation of one's cultural rights. This is very different from the predicament faced by Chinese 'diasporic intellectuals' who cannot speak Chinese (Ang 2001: vii), at least as far as cultural citizenship is concerned. Not speaking Chinese does not keep cosmopolitan, transnational, diasporic intellectuals from actively participating in their chosen areas of social and cultural life in Australian society. Not speaking English raises innumerable barriers for artists wanting to transcend ethnicity.

Envoi

Australia as an open society has given Chinese migrant artists the space and opportunity to pursue their professional goals. The social policy of multiculturalism encourages cultural interaction and allows artists from different backgrounds to engage in creative work. However, it is important to realize that the choices open to migrant artists are limited – the ethnic artist is subjected to the unwritten rules of art and the tastes of an unfamiliar society.

Cultural citizenship becomes feasible only after migrant artists have survived disadvantaged economic and social positions, and above all, linguistic deprivation. The rules of art and multicultural aesthetics are, for migrant artists, friend and foe. Many Chinese-Australian artists have successfully met the expectations of the art field and have found their own voice while bridging different traditions. And from artistic success, one may indeed aspire to the further attainment of cultural citizenship in their newly adopted home. <

The cover illustration is by Shen Jiawei, *The Third World*. Oil on canvas 259 x 356cm, 2002. I gratefully acknowledge Professor John Clark and Dr Yao Souchou, departments of Art History and Anthropology, University of Sydney, and Dr Margaret Bradstock, department of English, University of New South Wales, for advice and help in preparing this essay.

Wang Xu *Woman* 1997 charcoal on paper 57 x 75cm. Private collection

Wang Xu *Sitting Man* 2000 acrylic on paper 59 x 84cm. Private collection

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The Japan that can say yes

Research > Japan

Japan under Koizumi has become a more assertive country in world affairs; a certain intransigence can be observed in its foreign policy. Contemporary Japanese self-assertion is driven by an internal logic set in motion by Japan's defeat in World War Two, given new scope for expression by changes in the international environment.

By Kazuhiko Togo

ANP/AFP file

Koizumi inspecting troops heading for Iraq

Japan had not been defeated and occupiedby outside forces prior to 1945. Defeat in World War Two was nothing short of traumatic for the majority of the population. The Allied Occupation had as its initial goal the complete and permanent demilitarisation of Japan. Article 9 of the Constitution, promulgated in 1946, stated: 'the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation.... Land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained.' Pacifist idealism, a major current running through post-war Japanese society, dates from this period.

The Cold War descended on East Asia in 1947. Under the US strategy of containing communism, Japan re-emerged as Western democracy's bulwark in East Asia. Economic recovery became the priority; with its newly established Self Defence Forces, Japan entered a security alliance with the US. Those prepared to face the reality which surrounded Japan welcomed this change. But their views clashed with pacifist idealism, which had established itself in the vacuum of defeat. Under the iron umbrella of US-Soviet rivalry, a deep rift descended on Japanese society. Pacifist idealism was supported by the Socialist and Communist Parties, labour unions, the media, influential intellectuals, and public opinion. The conservative parties, government agencies and a minority of intellectuals espoused realism.

The end of the Cold War transformed the context of Japanese foreign and security policy and brought the country into the arena of international politics. Japan's internal political power structure changed as well. In 1993, forty years of Liberal Democratic Party rule was brought to an end by a reform-minded coalition government. In 1994, the LDP returned to power in a most unlikely coalition with the Socialist Party. Reversing its previous stance of unarmed neutrality, the Socialist Party acknowledged the legality of the Self Defence Forces and the security treaty with the United States. The largest political party carrying the banner of pacifism thereby lost its *raison-d'être*; the newly formed Democratic Party, with a much more pro-active security policy, became the opposition in 1996.

Against the background of these internal and external changes, Japan moved towards a more realistic, pro-active and responsible stance in international affairs. Offended by the derision that met Japan's $14 billion contribution to the 1990-91 Gulf War, many Japanese became convinced that active participation in the international arena required political and military contributions. The Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) Law was passed in 1992, enabling troops to be sent to Cambodia, the Golan Height and East Timor on UN peacekeeping operations. The 1993-94 North Korean nuclear crisis and the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait crisis resulted in the reaffirmation of the US-Japan security alliance in 1996 and 1997. North Korean encroachments by sea and sky in 1998-99 further enhanced awareness of Japan's own responsibilities for national self-defence.

9/11, North Korea, and Koizumi's security policy

Koizumi came to power in April 2001 and was immediately faced with the challenge of global terrorism. Declaring any terrorist attack to be an attack on Japan's security, Koizumi ordered the Maritime Self Defence Forces to the Indian Ocean to offer logistical support to US, UK and other coalition forces. In October 2002, the North Korean nuclear crisis erupted, further heightening Japan's sense of vulnerability. Tokyo reacted by enacting new laws to respond to armed attack; a missile defence program was introduced in the 2004 budget.

Koizumi's decision to send troops to Iraq must be understood as part of Japan's readiness to bear greater responsibilities towards global security. While the government came under heavy criticism for following America's lead, its decision was based on a calculation of long-term Japanese strategic interests. Had its security policy been more mature, Japan, while still supporting the US, could have entered into dialogue with nations in the Middle East and Europe and pushed for a greater United Nations role.

Koizumi's foreign policy

Under Koizumi a new intransigence has appeared in important foreign policy arenas. As a result, Japan missed several opportunities to strengthen its foreign policy leverage. If the 1990s were a period of realist victory over pacifist idealism, the turn of the century witnessed the beginning of a new rift between realists and nationalists pursuing narrowly – and emotionally – defined national interests

The first sign of intransigence appeared immediately after Koizumi took power, in his policy towards Russia. Japan and Russia had been working to settle the territorial dispute over four islands northeast of Hokkaido since the late 1980s. Both sides had failed to grasp opportunities during the Gorbachev and Yeltsin presidencies. In 2000-01, Prime Minister Mori and President Putin came close to resolving the issue and signing a peace treaty. After Koizumi came to power, confusion reigned within the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while raging public sentiment against compromise practically crushed the accumulated results of a decade of negotiations.

'the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation... Land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained' - *Japanese Constitution, 1946, Article IX*

Intransigence was evident in Koizumi's policy towards North Korea. Public outrage following Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang – when it was revealed that eight of the thirteen Japanese abducted by North Korean agents were dead – was understandable, but the anger froze Japanese policy, preventing it from acknowledging Kim Jong Il's unexpected apology. Public pressure compelled the government to take a tough position; Japan thus lost important diplomatic leverage in the ongoing North Korean nuclear crisis.

Japanese policy towards China remains difficult. On the one hand, the policy of engagement has been consistent since the end of the 1970s. China's growing military power, assertiveness in the South China Sea, and continuous pursuit of Japanese war guilt has, however, fuelled antipathy in Japan, particularly since the mid 1990s. Tokyo's policy of continuing Official Development Assistance while the economy was in the doldrums only added fuel to the fire.

The issue of Taiwan has only complicated matters. Following Japan's diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1972, Japan severed relations with the Republic of China, though the island remained a major trading partner. Taiwan's democratisation, affirmation of national identity, and Li Deng-hui's praise of Japanese colonial governance appealed to certain politicians and intellectuals; anti-Chinese feelings became mixed up with pro-Taiwanese emotion.

Koizumi's China policy rests on engagement, but is on delicate ground. His repeated visits to Yasukuni Shrine to pay homage to the war dead keep the two leaderships from engaging in meaningful dialogue. Japan's China and Taiwan policies remain unclear at the outset of the twenty-first century.

Domestic terrain

Koizumi's policy of greater self-assertion cannot be understood without analysing the domestic context of its formulation. Since the end of the Cold War, the legitimacy of the iron triangle of politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen who governed post-war Japan has been shattered. The long time rule of the Liberal Democratic Party ended in 1993, bringing fluidity to politics. Bureaucracies were brought down by a series of scandals, while the burst of the bubble economy shook financial institutions and small and middle-scale enterprises. The economic crisis, and the limitations it placed on Japan's once mighty checkbook diplomacy, made the country more sensitive to its political role.

Koizumi came to power in 2001 upon a wave of popular discontent and desire for a new reform-minded leader. Public opinion favours greater Japanese self-assertion; Koizumi's policy plays to this media-led, self-assertive public opinion. Among his supporters are members of the older generation whose sense of national pride has long chafed under the post-war ascendancy of pacifism. The younger generation, too, is quite vocal in asserting Japan's need for participation in global issues of peace and security.

Ways ahead

The momentum towards greater self-assertion in security policy will probably continue for some time. A few years hence, the revision of the Constitution's Article 9 may appear on the agenda. Realists have a crucial role to play in convincing neighbouring countries that the revision of Article 9 does not signal a Japanese return to militarism; rather, it reflects Japan's desire to become a more responsible and pro-active member of the international community. This task is important due to the legacy of war. Japan's quest for greater self-assertion has not yet found solid ground for true reconciliation with neighbouring countries.

True self-assertion can only be achieved through the understanding of the position of others. Self-assertion inevitably brings states into the international arena where the conflicting interests of other nations confront them. Without the peaceful resolution of these conflicting interests, few states will have their interests realised. Self-assertion that can understand the positions of others, however, can only be manifested when there is real national self-confidence. After the void that engulfed the country nearly 60 years ago, Japan's whole post-war history can be seen as a long painful process in trying to regain a true sense of self-confidence.

Japan's responsible and active participation in the cause of regional and global security was restricted for many decades after World War Two by the influence of pacifist idealism. One can only hope that Japan, by gaining a true sense of self-confidence, develops a wise and balanced policy, conducive to realising its true interests in harmony with its neighbours in East Asia and beyond. <

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South Korea speaks for itself

Research > South Korea

A traditional Korean saying has it that when whales do battle, shrimp get hurt. While the saying no doubt holds true, Koreans no longer identify themselves with the proverbial shrimp.

By Koen De Ceuster

The end of the Cold War has led to a shift in the East Asian balance of power. On the Korean peninsula, alliances based on economic benefit are replacing ideological alliances dating back to the Korean War. South Korea has benefited most from this process: the country's economic prowess and President Roh Tae Woo's pragmatic 'Nord Politik' charmed the Soviet-Union and the Peoples Republic of China into establishing diplomatic relations and relaxing their unconditional support for North Korea. That the North was plummeting economically did not help its international appeal.

Though the end of the Cold War provided new opportunities, South Korean self-assertion since the late 1980s cannot be understood apart from the drastic changes that have swept South Korean society. Pride in the booming economy and peaceful democratisation led to a sea change in the self-perception of South Koreans.

Between a rock and a hard place

Surrounded by Russia, China and Japan, Korea's rulers have long realized the need for self-strengthening and have gambled on playing one giant off against the other. Following the demise of the kingdom's self-imposed isolation at the end of the nineteenth century, inept reform initiatives created a power vacuum on the Korea Peninsula; an international struggle for supremacy ensued. The Sino-Japanese (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904), backed by skilful diplomatic manoeuvring rendered Japan's colonization of Korea internationally uncontested. For thirty-five years Koreans suffered but failed to come up with a credible challenge to colonial rule; liberation was only granted when Japan capitulated. While Korean desire for independence was firm, it was short-circuited by post war Allied strategy.

Divided into two occupation zones, opposing political systems were established under American and Soviet patronage. The ideological divide crystallized when two separate states were founded in 1948. The Korean War merely confirmed the division; with only an armistice agreement in place, the war is technically not over. Given the international involvement in the Korean War, a peace treaty will formally require the endorsement of the powers, once again qualifying Korean agency.

National self-depreciation and international patronage

Following Japanese capitulation and intense political battle, Syngman Rhee emerged victorious in the South, Kim Il Sung in the North. Though both leaders and the states they founded claim their roots in the national resistance movement, Syngman Rhee belongs to a lineage of moderate 'Christian self-reconstruction' nationalists (Wells 1990). Convinced that the loss of independence was in large part the result of Korean weakness, many of Syngman Rhee's followers had accepted the inevitability of colonization and pursued public careers under Japanese rule. Re-instated after liberation, they became South Korea's social elite. Despite the nationalist bombast of Rhee and his successors, the conviction that the country was weak, threatened, and in need of a foreign protector pervaded the South Korean elite. As a shrimp among Cold War whales, South Korea turned to the US as its benefactor and protector.

The main threat to South Korea came from the North, which lost no time in rebuilding its war-ravaged infrastructure. Unlike the South, where American aid was diverted into political slush funds, the North's centrally planned economy effectively funnelled the financial support it received into kick-starting the economy. The atmosphere in the South was gloomy; given the North's more radical roots – armed resistance against Japanese imperialism – reticence was absent. Instead, a strong sense of historical legitimacy and pride in what can be achieved alone, the essence of the North Korean *juch'e* ideology, gave rise to unflinching self-confidence.

The roaring nineties

Such was the situation in the sixties, but history has since turned the tables. While the North still clings to its *juch'e* ideology amidst a crumbling economy, the South has powered ahead, forcing its way into the ranks of the OECD. Economic development has allowed the South to become militarily less dependent on the US, reducing its sense of vulnerability. Even more important than economic success was change in the political landscape: by the mid 1980s society had grown exasperated with authoritarianism and demanded democratic reform. In the summer of 1987, the state gave in to mounting public pressure by acceding to free, direct presidential elections.

ANP/AFP file

The movement to impeach President Roh Moo-hyun

In retrospect, this largely cosmetic concession proved the start of a decade of deepening democratisation. Through successive parliamentary and presidential elections, entrenched elites were pushed aside and the organs of state made more accountable. While backroom dealings, corruption, and political bickering did little for public trust, support for democratic institutions remained strong. This was apparent when the opposition-dominated National Assembly tried, on questionable grounds, to impeach President Roh Moo Hyun in March 2004. Dubbed a 'parliamentary coup d'état', citizens took to the streets against the vengefulness of old-style politicians in defence of their president and their hard-won democracy. The 15 April parliamentary elections, in the midst of the impeachment imbroglio, saw remarkable voter turnout following years of declining participation. The party supporting the president won a landslide victory, securing Roh Moo Hyun a majority in the National Assembly to pursue his reform policies.

The mobilization of citizens behind their embattled president testifies to the new vibrancy of civil society. If democracy has deepened in South Korea, it is thanks to civil society groups who have, together with a much freer press, forced accountability on politicians. This has in turn led to a remarkable redefinition of South Korea's international position. The new assertiveness is in part due to generational change among politicians and the electorate. The so-called 386-generation, Koreans in their thirties, born in the sixties, and fighting for democracy on university campuses in the 80s are at the political forefront today. Their primary concern is neither the Korean War nor the communist threat, but the legacies of the authoritarian state. Their struggle has also been a social struggle against government-business collusion in favour of the large conglomerates (*chaeb_l*). Both are seen as self-serving elites: speaking for the nation, with only their own interests in mind.

'the so-called 386-generation, Koreans in their thirties, born in the sixties, and fighting for democracy on university campuses in the 80s are at the political forefront today'

Courtesy of 1morefilm: www.1morefilm.com

***Noord Korea: een dag uit het leven* A film by Pieter Fleury**

Towering pride

Following decades of submissiveness, a towering pride over their hard won democracy and economic prowess has taken over Koreans; government and civil society alike now reach out to the region and the world.

The presidency of Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003) proved a turning point in Korea's international positioning. Convinced of the sterility of the confrontational strategy towards North Korea, Kim opted for the 'Sunshine Policy' of cooperation and engagement. Its most palpable success to date has been the June 2000 Pyongyang summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il. Particularly noteworthy was the fact that Kim Dae Jung actively canvassed foreign support for his policies; China became an important regional partner for South Korea, both economically and diplomatically. South Korean diplomacy has become ever more apparent since the Bush administration entered the White House. Confronted with American obstruction to his Sunshine Policy, Kim intensified efforts toward regional cooperation to increase the pressure on Washington. This has lead to a de facto realignment of forces, with the US increasingly isolated in its stance towards North Korea.

Kim Dae Jung's far-sighted diplomacy was also apparent in his dealings with Japan, where he sought to address lingering grudges over Japan's political inability to atone for its colonial wrongdoings. He made a landmark visit to Japan in August 1998, and came away with a remarkably upfront apology from the Japanese government. Much to the dismay of anti-Japanese diehards, he opened Korean markets to Japanese cultural products. The message was clear: Seoul would no longer play the anti-Japanese card when it served domestic mobilisation. While anti-Japanese sentiment still flares up, it is no longer fomented by the government, but by groups in civil society.

That South Korea speaks with its own voice has become evident under Roh Moo Hyun's presidency. Roh made it clear from the start that he wanted American-Korean relations to change, for Korea to be treated as an equal partner. In the ongoing six-party talks over North Korea's nuclear program, Seoul has been a key player advocating flexibility to Washington. In order to assure leverage, and to acquiesce any American misgivings, Roh committed troops to the US-led coalition in Iraq. Whether the full contingent of 3,600 troops will be sent remains to be seen; the new parliament may be unwilling to commit troops so long as the UN is sidelined.

South Korea's foremost foreign policy concern remains North Korea. Over the past two decades, the threat assessment of North Korea has shifted from a narrow military concern to a more comprehensive political appraisal. With a new generation of politicians at the helm, and after five years of 'sunshine' engagement on various fronts, ideological confrontation has become secondary to the acknowledgement of national unity. Realization that relations with the North cannot improve in isolation, but must take place in a regional context, has pushed Seoul onto the world stage, a role commensurate with its new economic and political clout.

South Korea is proving that a shrewd shrimp can move among the whales. <

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State patriotism versus popular nationalism in the People's Republic of China

Research > China

Mao Zedong's claim that 'China has stood up', made on the founding day of the People's Republic, may well be the defining statement of Chinese self-assertion. There has never been a retreat from this basic position. While the Chinese Communist Party continues to mobilise nationalism to secure its legitimacy, what is new in the 1990s is the emergence of a popular nationalism outside Party control, one that limits the autonomy of the Chinese state to pursue rational and coherent strategies.

Courtesy of Ben Nijhoff, www.thechinareport.com

The Armed Peoples Police Unit, Tianenmen Square 2002

By Phil Deans

National self-assertion as a core value of Chinese political elites predates the formation of the People's Republic. Two strands of nationalism emerged as a response to imperialism and modernity: the conservative nationalism of the urban bourgeoisie inspired by Western liberal democratic ideas, and the radical nationalism of the peasantry and working classes, inspired by the Marxist tradition. These clashed in the Chinese Civil War. Subsequently, Chinese nationalism in the Leninist PRC remained dominated by state objectives; only in the 1990s did growing economic, political and military capabilities enable China to exert sustained influence on regional and global politics.

While the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continues to mobilise nationalism to secure its legitimacy, the emergence of its popular variant is increasingly a constraint on, and a threat to, the CCP. It has led to a reduction of state autonomy in a range of areas, including policy towards Taiwan, the United States and Japan. For the CCP, Chinese self-assertion is less problematic when it challenges international financial institutions and the universal aspirations of the human rights regime. What has emerged in recent years is a tension between the state nationalist project and the aspirations of popular nationalism; the key question is whether the 'Fourth Generation' of leaders under President Hu Jintao will act as a moderating influence on growing popular demands for China to assert itself.

ANP/AFP file

Peoples Liberation Army

Nationalism and legitimacy in the PRC

Since the founding of the PRC, the CCP has derived much of its legitimacy from its nationalist credentials; this has necessitated its policy of self-assertion, most evident in the realm of rhetoric. While the CCP's legitimacy was also based on the charisma of its revolutionary leadership and its social and economic reforms, these, too, were part of the broader nationalist project. Mistakes made during the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and visible realignments of ideologically imbued foreign policy by the late 1970s, however, undermined CCP authority. Deng Xiaoping thus launched a series of reforms to bolster the Party's economic credentials.

The CCP leadership has continued to appeal to Chinese nationalism to legitimise its role, using media and education to promote a particular vision of China and its future. Disagreements within the leadership over emphasis, and how to deal with nationalist aspirations in the Chinese periphery, most notably in Taiwan and Tibet, led to a shift towards a more inclusive patriotism (*aiguozhuyi*). Economic and political reforms since 1978 saw the CCP transform itself into a conservative nationalist party.

Significantly, nationalism has become the rallying cry of those who challenge the CCP on a range of issues. The student-led reform movement of 1989 is perhaps the key turning point in the emergence of a new, popular nationalist discourse existing outside CCP control. The mid-1990s saw the growing expression of popular nationalism through the publication of books such as *The China that Can Say 'No'* and the use of the Internet as a forum by Chinese nationalists. While the CCP continues to mount patriotic campaigns, popular nationalist discourses are increasingly challenging the Party, witnessed in popular reactions to the dispute with Japan over the Diaoyutai/Senkaku Islands, the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, and the death of a Chinese pilot in a collision with an American spy plane.

Self-assertion versus economic growth

A neat fit between the economic goals of the reform programme and national self-assertion is far from guaranteed. The conflict between narrowly defined nationalist objectives and the priorities of economic reform are visible in a number of policy areas, including foreign policy. Conflicts exist in the Chinese leadership over prioritising national self-assertion or economic growth, and these tensions, combined with growing popular nationalist aspirations, may hinder the autonomy of the Chinese state to pursue rational and coherent strategies. This has been readily apparent in the cross Straits relationship with Taiwan, where the unresolved Chinese civil war continues to challenge the CCP's legitimacy. The recovery of Taiwan is of fundamental importance to the CCP's nationalist project; it remains the last act in bringing down the curtain on the 'century of shame and humiliation'.

PRC policy towards Taiwan has undergone significant shifts since 1949; the current strategy appears to be one of locking the Taiwanese economy into the Chinese developmental trajectory while maintaining a hard line on Taiwan's international status. Taiwan is a major investor in the PRC; a dynamic economic relationship has developed over the past 15 years. The emergence of separatist Taiwanese nationalism, however, challenges the PRC's objectives; the Chinese leadership's response to changes on Taiwan could threaten the entire reform process by generating a regional military conflict.

Self-assertion and popular nationalism have generated problems in the PRC's relations with Japan. Fifty years of Japanese aggression have become central in discourses of Chinese identity, and popular anti-Japanese sentiment appears to be growing. In 2003, Chinese responses to the discovery of Japanese chemical weapons stockpiles left over from the war and the activities of Japanese sex tourists in China demonstrated the depth of popular hostility. At the same time, Japanese investment, whether direct or via intermediaries in Hong Kong and Taiwan, is necessary for the PRC's economic development. Economic inter-dependence, however, has not translated into an improved political relationship. While the Chinese leadership wants to pursue a pragmatic policy, the mobilisation of the historical legacy limits the ability of the Chinese leadership to develop and maintain a rational relationship.

'the recovery of Taiwan is of fundamental importance to the CCP's nationalist project; it remains the last act in bringing down the curtain on the century of shame and humiliation'

Ideological self-assertion

Self-assertion is evident in the ideological areas of Chinese policy. The PRC continues to assert itself in international society as the self-styled 'leader' of the third world. Its entry into the World Trade Organisation notwithstanding, the Chinese leadership routinely criticises the liberal assumptions underpinning the ideology of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. While this has not led to significant changes of policy within the Bank or the IMF, it has won support for China among developing countries.

Ideological self-assertion is also evident in Chinese criticism of the international human rights regime. Since the early 1990s, this criticism has become more sophisticated; the PRC has mobilised support from other Asian countries to include economic and cultural particularities in any discussion of rights. Finally, the PRC has been a staunch advocate of state sovereignty in international society, at a time when globalisation and the Bush Administration's unilateralist foreign policy have challenged the principle. The PRC can thus be seen as a conservative rather than a revisionist power in international society.

Implications

The Chinese leadership remains focused on creating an environment favourable for economic growth and development. The legitimacy of the CCP, however, is leveraged on more than improving living standards; promoting the Chinese nationalist project remains crucial. Increasingly, the leadership is under pressure from elements within Chinese society not only to deliver the economic goods, but to satisfy growing nationalist aspirations.

At times these objectives may be complementary; at others there will be significant contradiction, and popular pressure may reduce state autonomy. As such, self-assertion may be a sign of weakness rather than strength. Self-assertion is more likely to be dynamic in the ideological realm, in criticising Western universal pretensions or American unilateralism. While recent years have witnessed Chinese engagement with multilateral institutions, the leadership is likely to pursue international cooperation only when this will not antagonise popular nationalist sentiment. The issue of sovereignty is so enmeshed within the nationalist agenda that any changes will be cautious.

This has implications for non-regional powers such as the United States and the European Union. Chinese nationalism is likely to respond negatively to outside involvement or intervention. Outside powers are therefore advised to await invitation rather than threaten intervention. <

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ANP/AFP file

Chen Shuibian and Annette Lü celebrate their victory in 2000

Taiwan's democratic movement and push for independence

Research > Taiwan

Taiwanese nationalism can be traced back to resistance against Japanese colonialism in the early 1920s. Upon Japan's defeat in 1945, Taiwan was returned to the 'motherland', the Republic of China. Taiwanese rebelled in 1947; the Guomindang's suppression of the uprising – the February 28 Incident – alienated the population and helped create the contemporary Taiwanese independence movement.

By Chang Mau-kuei

As is well known, there were two Chinas after 1949; following the Communist victory on the mainland, the island of Taiwan became the last holdout of Jiang Zieshi's Guomindang (GMD) regime. Until the mid 1980s, the GMD ruled Taiwan with an iron fist; in the name of countering communist insurgency, the regime was inclined to punish all signs of political assertion from below. During this period, the independence movement was forced underground or into exile; it had little or no impact on cross-Straits relations or on Taiwan's domestic politics, though resentment against the ROC – the 'Chinese outsider regime' – remained.

Increased prosperity in the 1970s created a social base desiring political change. Opposition to the GMD grew, especially after 1978 when the US and the PRC established diplomatic ties. Diplomatically isolated and its legitimacy challenged, the GMD had to loosen its grip to include more Taiwanese in politics. This set the background for the political struggle during the process of democratisation between 1986 and 1995.

Indigenising Taiwanese politics

The opposition to the GMD regime called for democracy, social reform, and the assertion of Taiwanese identity and pride. The call to determine Taiwan's own future grew as control over the levers of political power and cultural domination shifted from Mainland Chinese to Taiwanese. Political indigenisation was prompted first and foremost by the GMD's desire to retain dominance; without its transformation, the GMD would likely have lost power much earlier. Institutionally, indigenisation included phasing out the National Assembly, which in theory still represented all of China, and revisions to the constitution to accommodate democratic politics and direct presidential elections.

From 1986 onwards, the GMD had to compete with the newly formed Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In addition, the GMD had to face Taiwanese self-assertion from within the party – led by its own chairman Li Denghui. Li came to power in 1988, succeeding the last strongman of the ROC, Jiang Jingguo. Li's twelve-year rule – termed the 'silent revolution' – featured indigenisation as its basic philosophy in international relations and domestic politics, in trade and culture, the military and education.

Unsurprisingly, the programme provoked backlash. The power struggle within the GMD, the expulsion and marginalisation of mainlander elites from important positions, and the replacement of Chinese nationalism with Taiwanese consciousness resulted in the break-up of the GMD, first with the emergence of the New Party in 1993, and again in 2000 with the emergence of the People First Party. Feuds within the GMD benefited the DPP, allowing it to win key elections. The DPP not only sided with the GMD-promoted indigenisation campaign, but allied with Li in his intra-party fight, helping to split the GMD. Li led the GMD and the country until he was expelled in 2000 for 'destroying the party and selling the country'.

The 'silent revolution' encouraged citizens to cultivate their love and loyalty to Taiwan. Though the name and constitution of the ROC remain, people can now justifiably think of the ROC as equivalent to 'Taiwan', a source for new loyalty and pride.

The current dilemma

Beijing's influence on Taiwanese domestic politics has grown since the mid 1990s. This can be attributed to China's new economic weight, and the need felt by Taiwanese businesses to 'go west' across the Straits to compete successfully in the global economy. In 2003, China, including Hong Kong, accounted for about one fourth of Taiwan's trade surplus, and about one-half of Taiwan's foreign investment. To further complicate matters, an estimated one million Taiwanese live, study, do business or travel in China every day; others have chosen to live on the mainland more permanently. The number of cross-Straits marriages has also risen. As a result, China can now play Taiwan's domestic political game by manipulating Taiwan's vested and perceived interests. This has made Taiwanese party politics a nastier game, with both sides mobilizing appeals to national identity.

Li Denghui's visit to the US in June 1995, followed by his 'provocative' statements on 'two countries', triggered the 1995-96 Taiwan Straits crisis which saw large-scale military exercises in southern China, and the shooting of ballistic missiles into Taiwanese waters. This was followed by Hong Kong's uncontested return to the mainland in 1997, which Taiwanese viewed with alarm. For the PRC, Taiwan remains the last lost territory, the final wound caused by a century and a half of national humiliation. Many suspect that, if provoked, Beijing will use force to unify China; no one in power in Beijing can afford to appear soft on Taiwan.

Despite Beijing's repeated warnings, Taiwan held its first-ever referendum on March 20, 2004. Coinciding with presidential elections, the referendum was to call on China to remove its 500 mid-range missiles aimed at Taiwan. The proposed referendum invited citizens to vote on Beijing's stand – the legitimacy of its option to use force to unify China. The referendum drew criticism from the US, where President Bush accused Taiwan's President Chen Shuibian of wanting to 'change the status quo unilaterally'.

Mounting pressure finally forced Chen to compromise. He replaced the original referendum question with two awkwardly worded queries that addressed funding for national defence, and the creation of a special department to promote peaceful relations with the PRC. The referendum failed to pass the threshold required by law (an absolute majority of eligible voters had to vote in favour). Only 45% of eligible voters participated, though 90% of them voted in favour of the two proposals. The referendum, however, demonstrated strong Taiwanese assertion in the face of pressure from both Beijing and Washington.

As the campaign ended, Chen regained the presidency by a margin of 0.2%. Protests questioning the legitimacy of Chen's victory plunged Taipei into chaos for weeks. Taiwan's voters are now divided into two camps. The first, Pan Green Camp, led by the current DPP government, sees the PRC as an immanent threat. While they may desire better relations with China, their main concern is Taiwan's hard-earned democracy, prosperity and pride. The DPP, under the pretext of improving government efficiency, wants to revise or draft a new Taiwanese constitution. As openly pushing for independence remains risky, the Pan Green Camp has chosen a defensive approach to the sovereignty issue: resistance to unification, and, as a last resort, insistence on the right to declare independence should Beijing invade.

The Pan Blue Camp is led by the GMD and other opposition parties. Viewing China as the land of economic opportunity, they want Taiwan to make use of its relative advantages before it is too late. They do not 'wish' for better relations with China; they demand the government improves relations immediately. Criticizing Taiwanese independence as parochial and risky, they present themselves as the true sons of the ROC.

Taiwan's domestic politics – the processes of indigenisation, democratisation and electoral competition – are driving the country's zigzagged route towards self-assertion. So far, the Taiwanese have been unable to establish a clear and sustainable consensus over their own future. The island is pulled by forces from different directions, and is plagued by internal divisions. The overall trend, however, is in favour of greater sovereignty. The dust is far from settled, and the trouble is likely to continue. <

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ANP/AFP file

Poster outside opposition Guomindang building the day before Chen-Shuibian's inauguration as President. Taipei, May 18, 2004

This article originated from the IIAS workshop 'Emerging National Self-assertion in East Asia' held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 25 May 2004. Longer versions are forthcoming.

Japan's Javanese Connection

Research > Japan & Java

It is part of our received wisdom that Japan has had very little historical connection with Java. This article argues that Java has, in fact, had a substantial influence on the development of early Japanese civilization and presents evidence of this contact.

By Ann Kumar

It is known that Japan underwent a revolutionary transformation in the Yayoi period (from c. 300 BC to 250–300 AD) which saw the introduction of an advanced and expansionist wet-rice civilization, sophisticated metal-working and other technologies, a centralizing religion, and a hierarchical society culminating in a king/emperor. One of the great mysteries of Japanese history is why, after the 10,000-year stasis of the hunter-gatherer society of the preceding J_mon period, there was such a complete transformation in the Yayoi period.

Skeletal evidence indicates that immigration rather than local innovation was the key to this transformation. The appearance not just of agriculture, itself a major advance, but of sophisticated metalworking and a fully developed court civilization provides further support for the conclusion that outside influence rather than the more gradual process of local evolution was responsible.

Courtesy of Sankokan Museum, Tengri University, Japan

Bronze bell from the Middle Yayoi period (c. 100BC-100AD)

Bronze and iron

Though research on bronze and iron age civilizations in Java has been minimal, it is known that metalworking developed earlier there than in Japan. There is a striking typological similarity between Yayoi artifacts – bells, blades, and pottery for example – and their Javanese counterparts. This is not just the sort of generic similarity one might expect of objects with the same function, but extends to design features unrelated to function, the repertoire of motifs used and the details of the decoration. Thus Yayoi pots, with their classic shapes and restrained geometric decoration, are as similar to Javanese pots as they are dissimilar to the undisciplined form of earlier J_mon pots.

The striking similarities between these artefacts relate not only to form and decoration, but also, particularly in the case of weapon blades, to specific techniques of production. A number of early Japanese blades have the characteristic asymmetric flaring at the base of the blade that unites all kris (traditional Javanese blades) into a single family. More significantly, the kris and the Japanese sword blade are made using the same specialized technique. In the case of other artefacts, such as masks and architecture, the resemblance between the Javanese and Japanese examples is so strong that earlier Japanese and German scholars have remarked on it and wondered what the historical explanation might be.

'though many adherents of the prevailing belief in the Korean origin of early Japanese civilization regard this counter-proposal as outrageous, it is in fact supported by more compelling evidence than competing hypotheses'

To provide this historical explanation, I have used a 'consilience of induction' strategy, a term first used by William Whewell (1840) and later by Darwin in *Origin of Species*. This strategy takes many separate lines of evidence from different groups of phenomena or classes of facts to form an integrated explanatory framework.

Rice, religion and DNA

The relationship between the different types of cultivated rice is complex and cannot be explored here. It is sufficient to point out that Morinaga's work (1968) has demonstrated that Javanese rice (*javanica*) was the closest relative of ordinary Japanese rice, and vice versa. This establishes the first demonstrably genetic as opposed to typological link between Java and Japan. Rice, the basis of the Yayoi civilization, also had a parallel religious significance in Java and Japan.

This is reflected in the myth, common to both, of the angel who descended from the moon to bring rice to mankind, and whose heavenly robe both Javanese rulers and Japanese emperors must don at the time of their accession.

Other shared myths are that of the sea goddess who gives rulers dominion over the undersea world and the world of the spirits, and the secular myth of the radiant prince, peerlessly beautiful, superbly attired, phenomenally accomplished in all the arts, and of hyper-refined sensitivity. This prince, called Panji in Java and Genji in Japan, epitomizes the highest imaginable attainment that urban court life seemed to make possible. The ensemble of cults called Shinto also corresponds to equivalent cults in Java.

There is also genetic evidence of contact between Java and Japan. The positive evidence of earlier studies using indicators such as teeth, skulls and blood has been confirmed by the author's study (1998) of d-loops (the d-loop is part of mitochondrial DNA), which shows that Japanese and Indonesians share sites (particular locations on the d-loop) not found in other Asian populations. This indicates that there has been not only great cultural and technological influence from Java, but also significant numbers of migrants.

Language

It is axiomatic that any contact of the magnitude suggested by the evidence so far must have involved language contact and borrowing. Diverse theories concerning the relationships of the Japanese language have been put forward by researchers, and Japanese has been linked to languages from Basque to Tamil. The most favoured candidate for a genetic relationship with Japanese is Korean. Though there may indeed be a distant genetic relationship with the Korean language, Korean cannot have been the language of the immigrants who brought the innovations of the Yayoi period. If this had been the case, attempts to prove the relationship between Japanese and Korean using the comparative method (which can certainly reach as far back as the Yayoi period) would have succeeded by now.

The author and Rose (2000) presented data which clearly establish linguistic borrowing (rather than a genetic relationship) by an earlier form of Old Japanese, not from Korea, but from an antecedent of Old Javanese. This linguistic data was statistically evaluated using Bayesian probability. Furthermore, the linguistic evidence elucidates many different aspects of the contact – directionality (demonstrating that the borrowing was indeed from Java to Japan, not the other way round), precise location of the donor language, intensity of contact, and imported ideas and concepts which, by their nature, cannot be found in archaeological remains. Thus we find words referring both to known Yayoi innovations such as swords, warehouses, fences, rice-mortars, plates, cloth, and baskets (material objects) as well as to concepts of kinship, royalty and divinity, and the idea of the divinity of royalty.

Some of the borrowed words are from the high-culture end of the language spectrum, such as Old Javanese *matur*, 'to present, offer, tell or report to person of higher rank', which was borrowed by an antecedent of Old Japanese as *matur-* 'to give or present something to a person of high rank/God; to offer prayers'. It was also used as the 'humble auxiliary' *matur-*. This usage as an affix indicating humble speech shows that it had in Old Japanese the full range of meanings it had in Old Javanese – including speaking to a superior – and which it still has in Modern Javanese, where it is used as a humble auxiliary verb in expressions like 'my humble answer/question/respect/thanks'.

At the other end of the language spectrum, we find the borrowing of less culturally loaded everyday words such as *sosok*, to pour, and *tutup*, to cover. These words are both basic vocabulary and verbs, categories that are known to be borrowed only in cases of intense language contact.

Thus the 'consilience of induction' strategy shows that there has been significant cultural influence and at least some migration (determining how much requires further research) from Java to Japan. Despite our instinctive resistance to the idea, the Javanese did, in fact, sail 'up the map' to Japan – which is also the direction the currents flow in. (The Austronesian ancestors of the Javanese had made the more difficult journey southwards from Taiwan at a much earlier date).

Though many adherents of the prevailing belief in the Korean origin of early Japanese civilization regard this counter-proposal as outrageous, it is in fact supported by more compelling evidence than competing hypotheses, and this evidence cannot be disregarded.

This research sheds new light on the development of Japan and Java. It demonstrates that the court civilization of Java is actually much older, and much more indigenous (rather than derived from India as is often supposed) than has previously been realized. The research also provides a new perspective on the way gender relationships are perceived in different civilizations, since this particular civilization was one in which women were seen as the bearers of precious gifts such as rice and cloth, and divine protectors of kings. Finally, it also helps to explain the resilience of Javanese civilization in the face of external cultural influence and foreign conquest. <

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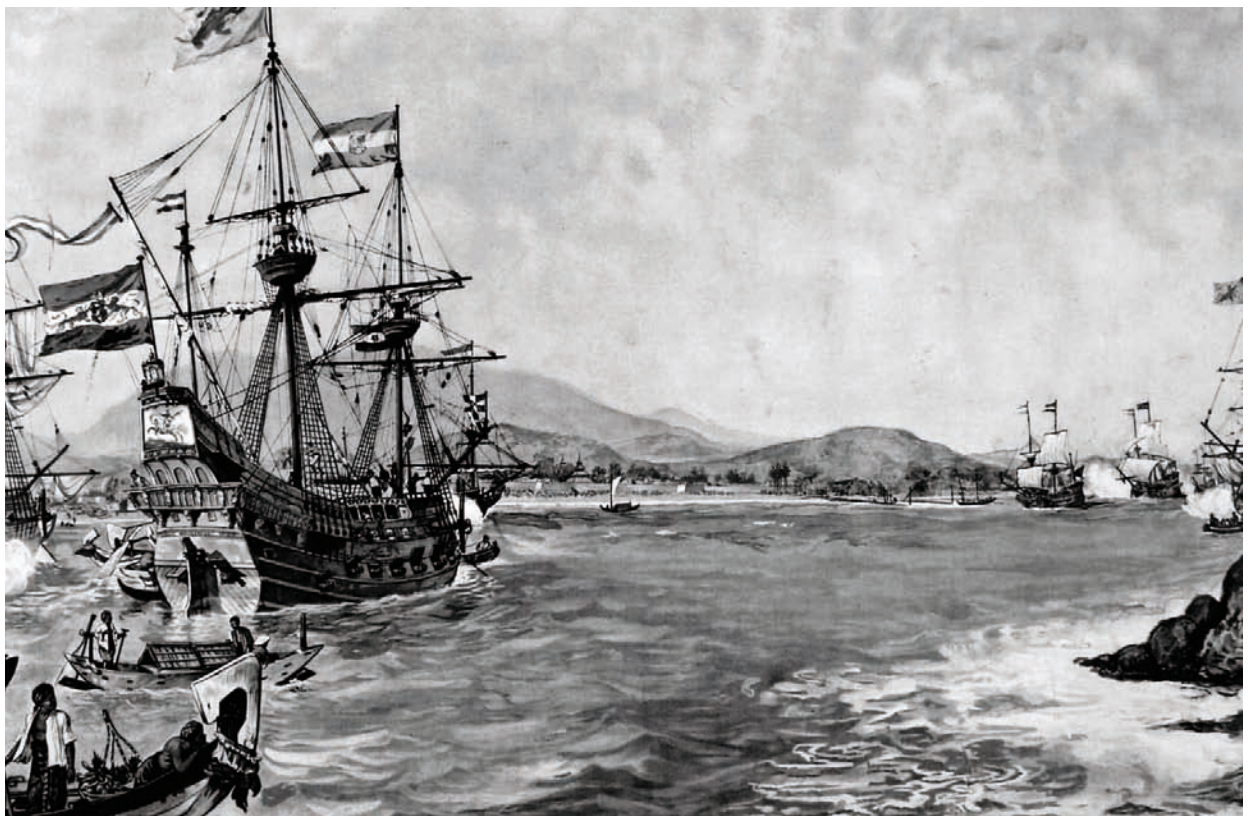
The Dutch East India Company in Burma: 1634-1680



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Research > Burma

Early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch arrived on the Coromandel Coast in quest of India's fabled cotton textiles. On India's east coast, they stumbled upon the lucrative trade across the Bay of Bengal to Arakan, Burma, and Siam. The Dutch planted factories in Burma and remained there for close to half a century.

By Wil O. Dijk

This article highlights a little known aspect of the Dutch East India Company (VOC)'s inter-Asian trade: the trade with Burma. The vast archives of the VOC at the National Archives in The Hague have yielded a treasure trove of detailed information on seventeenth century Dutch-Burmese relations. The archives throws light on the composition of the VOC's Burma trade, and how it fit into the grand design of the Company's inter-Asian commerce, where it was not as marginal as some historians would have it. Vital statistics on shipping, imports and exports, wages and prices, and inventories of Indian textiles the Dutch shipped across the Bay of Bengal, together with purchasing and selling prices, allow us a unique glimpse into life in seventeenth century Burma.

Shifting fortunes

The VOC's Burma trade formally began on 14 May 1634, when the *Vlielandt* sailed from Masulipatnam to Syriam. The Dutch planted three trading posts: the main office at Syriam, at the time the country's main port of entry, a subsidiary office in Ava, the new capital, and a small post, no more than a shop, in Pegu City, Burma's old capital. In the early years, the company also had a factory in Prome, a key market town on the Irrawaddy. The Burma office remained within the jurisdiction of Pulicat, the company's head-office on the Coromandel Coast.

The Company's accounts show that customers came from all walks of life – from kings to governors down to the odd slave. The clientele was ethnically diverse and included Muslims, Hindus, Armenians, Portuguese, Chinese, Siamese, Turks, Peguans and, of course, Burmese. The VOC's main interest in Burma lay in its market; considerable profits from the sale of Indian textiles and red cotton yarn provided the company's factories in Coromandel and Bengal with much needed funds.

The VOC's years in Burma can be divided into three distinct periods: the early years of indecision (1634-1648), the golden middle years (1649-1669) and the final years of decline and departure (1670-1680). During the first period suggestions were made, in turn by Pulicat and Batavia (the company's head office in Asia), to close down the Burmese factories. Pulicat and Batavia, however, seemed unable to agree, with the result that trade continued half-heartedly. The second period witnessed a great improvement in conditions for trade. In the final years, a new king with little interest in trade or foreigners ascended the Burmese throne. By this time the objectives of the Dutch East India Company had altered, while forces beyond its control were working to undermine the company. In the end the Burma trade became a casualty of the company's new priorities.

'the VOC, through its elaborate inter-Asian network, was in a position to trade Burmese goods in the most profitable markets throughout Asia'

Ruby rings and elephant tusks

During their time in Burma, the Dutch had dealings with four Toungoo Kings (Thalun, Pindalè, Pye and Minyèkyawdin). As with relations the world over, the exchange of gifts played a crucial role; this ritual provides us with detailed lists of gifts exchanged between the Dutch and the Burmese Kings as well as other dignitaries. Among Burmese gifts to the Dutch were ruby rings, betel boxes, tin, lac, chillies, elephant tusks, teak, musk and, as a great favour, the odd elephant.

On occasion, Dutch gifts could be quite exotic: King Thalun was once presented with a lion and a bear. Typically, Dutch gifts consisted of luxurious and costly textiles. When comparing lists of gift and commercial textiles, it becomes apparent that these fabrics moved in different worlds. Exquisite, extremely expensive textiles were offered as gifts in the rarefied world of palaces and kings; cheap, coarse commercial textiles were traded in the dusty world of shops and marketplaces.

It is this latter, common grade of textiles that formed the backbone of the VOC's Burma trade. The textiles most in demand in Burma were of average quality and low price, such as the plain and coarse bethilles, chelas and allegias which Burmese used to make *cabayas* and *lungis*. However, it was the lowliest of textiles – chiavonis, tampis, cortis, coarse chintz and narrow black taffachelas and, above all, coarse and cheap brandams, blue boulongs and single-ply taffachelas that sold best. Colourfast Indian red cotton yarn was in such great demand that the Burmese mixed it with indigenous yarns to weave cloth of their own.

Standard of living

In addition to data on imports and exports and profits and losses, we now have access to precise figures for wages and the cost of daily necessities, from which the standard of living can be determined. The average Burmese could well afford an occasional length of imported Indian cloth in the middle and lower price ranges. When we compare the spending power of seventeenth century labourers in Burma and Coromandel, it becomes clear that Burmese labourers enjoyed a much higher standard of living than their counterparts in India. In fact, the high wages the Burmese labour force could command was one of the main reasons the Dutch brought in gangs of slaves from India to toil in their Burmese factories.

Empire of trade

Burma offered a large assortment of export goods. Statistics indicate that the Dutch generally took what they could get. Tin was a constant as were lac, elephant tusks, chillies (long peppers) and beeswax. In the 1650s, Chinese copper coins and Burmese ganza (a metal akin to bell metal) became major exports. The Company turned large quantities of Chinese copper coins, flowing into Burma from Yunnan, into money to be used as legal tender in Batavia and Ceylon. In the final years, the Dutch also exported a great deal of gold, much of it originating in China. The VOC, through its elaborate inter-Asian network, was in a position to trade Burmese goods in the most profitable markets throughout Asia.

Their Bengal factory, always in need of additional funds, was sent valuable Burmese cargoes (including Chinese coins, ganza, and zinc). The copper extracted from Chinese coins and ganza was in great demand in Coromandel, as were gold, tin, timber and chillies. In Japan a profitable market existed for Burmese catechu, namrack, deerskins, buffalo hides and horns. Lac generated excellent profits in Mocha, as well as in Persia, where there was a good market for Burmese tin, elephant tusks, cardamom, and the costliest of Burma's fabled rubies. Considerable quantities of Burmese elephant tusks were shipped to Surat, while in Holland there was demand for the excellent Burmese lac. As for Burma's famous Martaban jars, there was constant demand throughout Asia for these huge, glazed pots used to store and transport a myriad of things, from potable water and rice to gunpowder and, on occasion, stowaways.

'trade was no longer its main concern; the VOC had changed into a territorial enterprise with military and political commitments'

Balancing the books

One of the principal problems of the VOC's Burma trade was that, due to a lack of sufficient export goods, the Dutch experienced difficulty in transferring their money (the proceeds from the sale of Indian textiles and yarn) from Burma to Coromandel and Bengal where additional funds were desperately needed. To this end, the Dutch in Burma provided Indian ruby merchants with large loans that they had to repay after their return to India. Nonetheless, large amounts of capital remained tied up in Burma and accumulated steadily, a regular cause of concern for the Company.

In the final decade of Dutch operations in Burma, the 1670s, trade deteriorated steadily, a situation aggravated by a new king said to care little for foreigners or their business. Perhaps more importantly, the company had by now come under serious threat from forces working against it both in Europe and the Far East. To understand why the Dutch decided to abandon Burma at this point in time, both aspects need to be examined. Trading with seventeenth-century Burma had never been easy. The commercial and political climate in Burma was not, in fact, any worse in the 1670s than it was in the 1630s.

Military commitments

The main points of contention – the ban on direct trade with China at Bhamo, royal monopolies, high tolls, and the disarming of ships – were exasperating but not new. Rather, the circumstances and priorities of the Company had changed. Trade was no longer its main concern; the VOC had changed into a territorial enterprise with military and political commitments and began to operate increasingly from its two power bases, Batavia and Ceylon.

More importantly, a radical shift occurred in its commercial priorities. Whereas in the early days the company's inter-Asian sea-borne traffic was a key element in its drive to create a vast empire of trade – with the outcome of this traffic largely determining the flow of trade between Asia and Europe – by 1680 the situation was different. The VOC's inter-Asian trade had peaked by the 1670s, and was replaced by direct trade between Asia and Europe. This is perhaps the main reason behind the Dutch decision to abandon Burma. Whereas Burma had been an integral part of the VOC's inter-Asian trade for nearly half a century, the company's new priorities now made it irrelevant.

In the 1740s and 50s the Dutch made several attempts to re-enter the Burmese market. Although the reason for this belated policy change was never clearly specified, Batavia expressed hopes to trade with Burma again. By then, however, Burma was in the throes of a bloody civil war that would bring down the Restored Toungoo (1597-1752) and usher in the Kon-baung Dynasty (1752-1885), hardly the best of times to attempt a renewal of trade. This is where the VOC records on Burma finally fall silent. <

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Hulton Archive (97i/04/vict/0661/66)

British East India Company war ships attack a Chinese fleet during the first Opium War, January 7, 1841. Drawn by G.W. Terry and engraved by G. Greatbach.

'charitable work relied on donations from Western firms involved in the opium trade... it is not surprising that in the minds of many Chinese, opium and Christianity became closely associated'

courtesy of CICM, Rome

Opium and the Good Fathers

Research > China

By the end of the eighteenth century, the British East India Company had established its eastern empire. Calcutta was its capital, in the Ganges delta. Not far inland along the same river was Patna, centre of the opium empire. And at the end of the trade routes to the Far East was China, a market with hundreds of millions of potential customers.

By Harry Knipschild

In the beginning only the Chinese upper class could afford to buy, consume and become addicted to opium. However, when British country traders and Chinese smugglers increased the quantity of opium brought into Guangzhou (Canton), the price temporarily became attractive, and the number of users grew rapidly. In 1837 the total value of the India shipments amounted to nine million pounds sterling; almost three million of that turnover was from the export of opium to one country: China.

The war for drugs

In 1839 Emperor Daoguang (r. 1820-1850) sent imperial commissioner Lin Zexu to Guangzhou to stamp out the traffic in opium. Lin had come to the conclusion that, by now, almost eighty per cent of Chinese magistrates and clerks were addicted. A man of action, Lin ordered the arrest of the most notorious British traders who were deported, never to visit China again. British traders had to hand over more than 20,000 chests of opium (over one million kilograms). Lin had all of it destroyed in public on the beach.

The London government declared war and sent an expeditionary force. The purpose of the war, according to Home Secretary John Russell, was to demand compensation for the atrocities, maltreatment and losses suffered by British merchants. In future they should be allowed to conduct business under normal conditions. The Opium War (1839-1842) ended in victory for the British. Under the Treaty of Nanjing (1844) the Chinese government was forced not only to legalise the import of opium, but to open several ports to foreign trade and to hand over the island of Hong Kong to the British Crown.

After the assassination of the French missionary August Chapdelaine (1856) in the province of Guangxi, the French had an excuse to join the British in a second war. In those days, the Qing dynasty was threatened from all sides: from within by civil war, from the north by the Russians, and from the sea by the British and French. Only by giving way to almost impossible demands in the so-called unequal treaties (1860) were the Manchus able to continue their rule over China until 1911. One of the claims conceded by Prince Gong was the admission of European missionaries under imperial protection into the inland of China.

Opium and mission

Even before the Opium War of 1839 missionary entrepreneurs were active along the coasts of China. Preachers such as Prussian Karl Gützlaff travelled out in ships carrying opium, their funds remitted via opium traders; their charitable work relied on donations from Western firms involved in the opium trade. Gary Tiedemann (2003:3) argues it is not surprising that in the minds of many Chinese, opium and Christianity became closely associated.

'when it blossoms the region looks like an immense garden of flowers which delights the eye, but ... all the same, there is a deathly poison in the many-coloured chalices'

After the treaties of 1860, a new generation of European Roman Catholics felt the urge to aid the Chinese. They heard stories of great numbers of Chinese children, especially female babies, abandoned by their parents and devoured by wild animals outside their villages. A French organisation, the Holy Childhood, provided money to help. Near Brussels, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) was founded with the aim of bringing aid and the true faith to the Chinese and their young. A first group of four Belgian and Dutch priests arrived in Dagu on an English ship in November 1865, bringing fifty chests of opium for further inland trade. A year later, four more CICM-members made the trip. Remi Verlinden, one of the Belgian fathers, safely arriving in Hong Kong harbour after surviving a typhoon, wrote to his brother: 'Next to my cabin was a cargo of opium, with a value of seven million francs. The owners were three Persians, the real Jews of the East. Their opium was not insured. You should have seen their faces during the hurricane!' (Verhelst and Daniëls 2003:870).

Wherever missionaries were working to convert the Chinese, they were confronted with opium. The drug was so omnipresent that in their letters they sometimes made only casual remarks. The European fathers, while themselves smoking cigars and tobacco, did their utmost to persuade their converts to renounce opium. Hamer tried to achieve this with both presents and threats. He promised his young charges in a children's home brightly coloured pictures provided they did not touch the drug. Towards the same end, Hamer at times threatened to refuse absolution in confession.

Fairbank et al. *East Asia: Tradition and transformation* revised edition. Houghton Mifflin Company: New York (1989)

Gansu, opium centre

In 1878, pope Leo XIII decided to extend the CICM-mission in China. He selected the territories of Gansu, Kukunor (now Qinghai) and Ili (now Xinjiang) for the Belgian and Dutch congregations. Ferdinand Hamer, the first bishop of the diocese, travelled with a group of missionaries to his destination. When he arrived in Lanzhou, the capital of Gansu, in early 1879 it was clear that poppy cultivation was one of the major economic activities of the area.

Eleven years later, in 1890, Belgian Cyril van Belle of the CICM reported: 'Already in 1854, the opium trade had a value of 170 million francs and after the war of 1860, when the English had removed all obstacles to their trade, the value rose to 220 million. The Empire of Flowers has been reshaped into a field of poppies!' Van Belle explained that the Chinese had come up with the idea of not only importing opium, but cultivating the poppy themselves. 'The Chinese have begun to sow the poppy and nowadays they grow it all over the country. The plant thrives here in Gansu. When it blossoms the region looks like an immense garden of flowers which delights the eye, but at the same time it makes me sad; all the same, there is a deathly poison in the many-coloured chalices' (*Missiën* 1890:260).

In Gansu, arable farming was largely replaced by the cultivation of the lucrative poppy plant. A field of poppies yielded a profit thrice that of a regular field. There might, however, be another problem. In a period of drought the yield of poppies was adequate, but in 1878 people were dying of hunger due to lack of food.

The CICM missionaries who established themselves a year later in Gansu were determined to declare a complete ban on the cultivation, trade and consumption of opium. They refused the right of confession to Chinese Christians who didn't obey the European priests. One could argue whether this was a stimulus to their conversion efforts. Not infrequently, they and their converts were reproached that it was the Europeans who had forced opium upon China.

A new missionary method

In their letters, the CICM missionaries sometimes made reference to opium-addicts who came to their stations for help. In 1897 Belgian Constant Daems wrote that he had gotten hold of medicine to help the addicts with their 'yin'. He was not always prepared to treat the victim with the potion he received from French nuns in Shanghai. 'The remedy is only available in the church. The heathens are therefore obliged to turn to us. At first we react in a rather cool way. In order to convince us they then begin to talk about conversion. If they persist we accept them in our residence for two or three weeks. In that case they have to promise us that they will submit completely to our authority. In the mean time we teach them the Roman Catholic catechism. In this way we have achieved quite a lot of conversions'. (Missiën 1898:3)

One can question whether this form of converting Chinese heathens was effective. Daems considered the question himself, and had a clear answer: 'The required reading of our catechism stimulates in their heart a sure desire for conversion. Slowly but surely, as our teaching holds on and becomes firm, their want to become a Christian grows. Indeed, the soul of man is created for the truth, like the eyes for light.... The grace of God is effective in their heart, the love of the Christians for each other delights the poor heathens. Usually those opium-addicts, when their body is healthy again, beg us to remedy their soul as well by means of baptism' (*Missiën* 1898:3). <

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Assessing Khazaria

Research > Central Asia

The Khazars enter history in the fifth century AD. In the thirteenth, they disappear. Why are these semi-nomads, who reigned from the Caucasus and the Urals to the Caspian and the Dnieper of interest to students of Eurasian history?

By Paul Meerts

Colin McEvedy (1961) *The Peguin Atlas of Medieval History.* England: Penguin Books

Khazar Empire
c. AD 650

First, because the Khazars, along with the Franks and the Byzantines, served as a dam against the tide of Islam, then threatening Europe from three sides. Second, because the Khazarian Empire had a very particular dual structure of government. Third, the Khazars had an enduring influence on their neighbours, and as allies of the Greeks, contributed to the perpetuation of Eastern Rome. Last but not least, religion draws our attention. Though many Khazars were Muslim or Christian, the leading clans, as well as the royal family, adopted the Mosaic laws.

Independent Khazaria

With the disintegration of the Western Turkish Empire in the seventh century AD, the Khazars were freed from the yoke of their Turkic brethren. Henceforth Khazar external relations were with neighbouring tribes, the Bulgars and Magyars who became their vassals, Byzantines, Arabs, Russians and to a lesser extent, Ostrogoths and Vikings.

The Khazars influenced world history through the Bulgars, Seljuks and Magyars. They split the Bulgars into two confederations, one which moved West and conquered present-day Bulgaria, the so-called proto-Bulgarians. Arpad, leading his people to present-day Hungary, was a Khazar-nominated Khan. Seljuk who took his Turks to present-day Turkey, was the son of Timuryalik, an officer in the service of the Khazars (Legg 1970: 164, 178, 184).

Until the ninth century Khazaria was an ally of Byzantium. Apart from incidents in the Crimea during the time of Justinian II, the relationship between Byzantines and Khazars were friendly. In the seventh century the Khazars sent 40,000 men to support the Byzantines against the Persians. In the eighth century a Khazar princess became Empress in Constantinople and her son, the emperor Leo, came to be called 'the Khazar'. In the tenth century the emperor (Khagan) of Khazaria was held in higher esteem than the Pope of Rome and the successor of Charlemagne, evidenced in the letters of the Byzantine chancellery to their foes and allies (Dunlop 1954: ix).

The beginning of the end

By the tenth century Khazar relations with the Byzantines had soured. The reasons for this are unclear. It might have had to do with the waning power of the Arab Empire, and thus a reduced need for Byzantium to have the Khazars as allies. It could also be that the conversion of the ruling elite of Khazaria to the Jewish faith annoyed Constantinople.

Arab-Khazar relations were more hostile. Although many more Khazars were Muslim than Christian, the history of Khazaria is riddled by wars with Arab invaders. Arab forces made deep incursions into Khazar territory, conquering the Caucasus, destroying the former Khazar capitals of Balanjar and Samandar and threatening the capital Khazaran-Itil (Atil) on the lower stretches of the Volga.

With the rise of the Kievan-Rus state in Ukraine a new enemy arose at the end of the tenth century. Initially, the Khazars worked together with Russian forces in fighting Muslims around the Caspian. But as Russian strength grew, Khazar power dwindled. In 965 Russian forces under Svyatoslav destroyed the stone fortress of Sarkel; two years later they razed the capital city, Itil. The downfall of the Khazar Empire came in 1016 as a consequence of combined Byzantinian and Kievan actions. (Gilbert 1993: 25, Legg 1970: 195).

Destroying Khazaria was a tragic miscalculation on the part of both the Russians and the Greeks. The weakening of Khazaria strengthened the Pecheneg and Oghuz tribes, who became formidable enemies of both Kiev and Constantinople. As the Russians were weak, the downfall of Khazaria must have had internal reasons. Possible explanations may be found in the nature of Khazaria's political, economic and religious life.

Power dispersed

Khazaria's political system might provide the key to understanding Khazaria's downfall. Like other Turkic peoples, the Khazars had a system of tribal and clan rule. Of the many tribes that made-up the empire, one or two were dominant. Within these tribes, leading clans existed, and within the clan were leading families; the royal family came from the leading clan. This did not mean, however, that the royal family held de-facto power in the country. Real power was wielded by the Beg, comparable to the great-vizir, *shogun*, or *hofmeijer*.

The real power struggle was over the post of the Beg. Leading generals normally held the reigns of power and were not always from the 'correct' families. The Beg took the real decisions, was in charge of the treasury, led the army and was assisted by generals and local rulers. This was the 'republican' element in the state of Khazaria. But the Khagan remained the formal head of state; in a ceremonial sense the Beg was his underling, though the Khagan was excluded from decisions of state. At times the division of power between the formal and the de-facto power centre was blurred. The absence of a political focal point may be the first reason for the downfall of Khazaria; there was a de-facto double kingship in the Khazar realm.

Economic dependency

Khazaria's economy, unlike the steppe empires where cattle breeding was the dominant source of income, depended on trade and agriculture. Cattle, rice, fish and wheat were the most important products. The country was situated at a crossroads on the silk-route. The Khazars' tolerance attracted many traders, among them Greeks, Arabs and Jews. Besides the trade with Byzantium, the Caspian offered numerous possibilities for exchange with Persians and Arabs. This oriental trade was supported by raw materials found in the Caucasus, such as gold and silver. The slave trade was also important. Russians brought slaves from the North to the slave-market in Itil, who where then shipped to the Muslim lands in the South. Russians, Bulgars and Burtas brought in furs and fish. Tributes paid by vassal tribes and the Caliph added to the Khazar treasury, as did transiting merchants who paid ten percent of the value of their goods to tax collectors.

'the only visible trace of Khazaria on the world map is the name of that gigantic inland sea, the Caspian, an upcoming focal point of world politics'

But on the whole, the country's economic base was weak and dependent on external sources. As the Khazars had strong neighbours, control of these external sources was problematic. Even though Khazaria was more sedentary than other steppe empires, in the long run it could not match the institutionalised state formations that surrounded it. It was much more difficult to accumulate margins than in the cities of the Baghdad and Byzantine Empires. Internal weakness and external economic dependency may be a second factor leading up to the fall of the Khazar state.

The odd man out

The third factor undermining the power of Khazaria was its religion. The Khazar Khagan Bulan accepted the Jewish faith in the second half of the ninth century; his successor Obadiah established synagogues and Judaic schools. The reason for the conversion to Judaism might well have been political. Conversion to Islam would have brought Khazaria under its archenemy, the Caliph. Conversion to Christianity would have made the country too dependent on Constantinople, which, though Khazaria's main ally, could never be fully trusted.

Judaism was an elegant third way out. But this choice also meant isolation and the danger of being crushed between two powerful monotheist faiths, one from the South and one from the West. And so it happened. There was no brother-power to call to in the end. Religious tolerance strengthened Khazaria as the absence of religious repression created loyalty to the Khagan, and attracted an influx of Jewish, Muslim and Christian traders. On the other hand Khazaria lacked a clear religious identity and zeal; this can be seen as a factor weakening chances for survival. As we see in history, religion can be a powerful binding factor.

'Khazaria was an enigma in world history. The Khazar Empire governed a crucial region on the Eurasian crossroads for over three hundred years, with social and state structures not readily found elsewhere'

Khazaria was an enigma in world history. The Khazar Empire governed a crucial region on the Eurasian crossroads for over three hundred years, with social and state structures not readily found elsewhere. The conversion to Judaism of their leaders and tribes might not be unique in history, but remains a fascinating event that has stirred the imaginations of many.

Like many other horse riders, their state withered away, leaving traces that can be seen today. Without the Khazar Empire, present-day Bulgaria and Hungary might not exist in their present forms; this may be true for Turkey and Ukraine as well. Even after a millennium we find words pointing to Khazaria, such as the name of the largest inland sea on earth (Khazar Sea in Farsi, Turkish and Arabic). Or '... the survival in popular memory (in Ukraine) of the long struggle in the past with the Judaic Khazars' (Subtelny 1990: 52). But indeed, the only visible trace of Khazaria on the world map is the name of that gigantic inland sea, the Caspian, an upcoming focal point of world politics. <

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Can the rise and fall of the Khazar Empire explain the Jewish presence in Central and Eastern Europe? Research on the subject began in the nineteenth century; in 1999 Jerusalem hosted the first symposium on Khazaria, bringing together Israeli, American and Russian scholars. Interested readers are referred to www.khazaria.com.

Legal systems and political regimes in post-socialist Central Asia

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Several legal systems operate in Central Asia today: newly introduced Western law, practices left over from the Soviet era, and traditional systems based on custom and religion. The latter did not disappear during the Soviet era, but adjusted themselves to Communist state-party hierarchies. The symbiosis of traditional society and socialist legacy is the main stumbling block for legislative reform in Central Asia today.

By Irina Morozova

Traditional systems of law informing current practice include customary law (*adat*) and religious law (*Sharia* except in Christian Georgia and Armenia and Buddhist Mongolia). *Adat* has proven remarkably stable while *Sharia* has survived the centuries; they are closely linked and often identified as one. Customary law, functioning in the form of strong communal relationships and the awarding of social status according to age and kinship hierarchies, is strong in rural areas and exists in modified form in the cities. Religious systems of law in post-Soviet societies are weaker; seventy years of secular education have left their mark. While the new independent states all proclaim themselves to be secular republics, ideas of Muslim law are still alive. *Sharia*, however, is no longer in serious use.

Of the social institutions informing customary law, the social class of *agsakals* has been especially durable. At the top of the social pyramid resides the *agsakal*, an old man seen as experienced and wise; his decisions are to be followed by family and community. The institution of the *agsakal* is legally recognized in Turkmenistan where it is called The Council of *Agsakals*. In Mongolia, often called the most open and democratic country in Asia, respect for agsakals still persists, albeit in weaker form. The social group also survives in the Eastern and Southern regions of the Russian Federation – Buryatia, Tuva, Kalmykiya, Tatarstan, and especially in the Northern Caucasus.

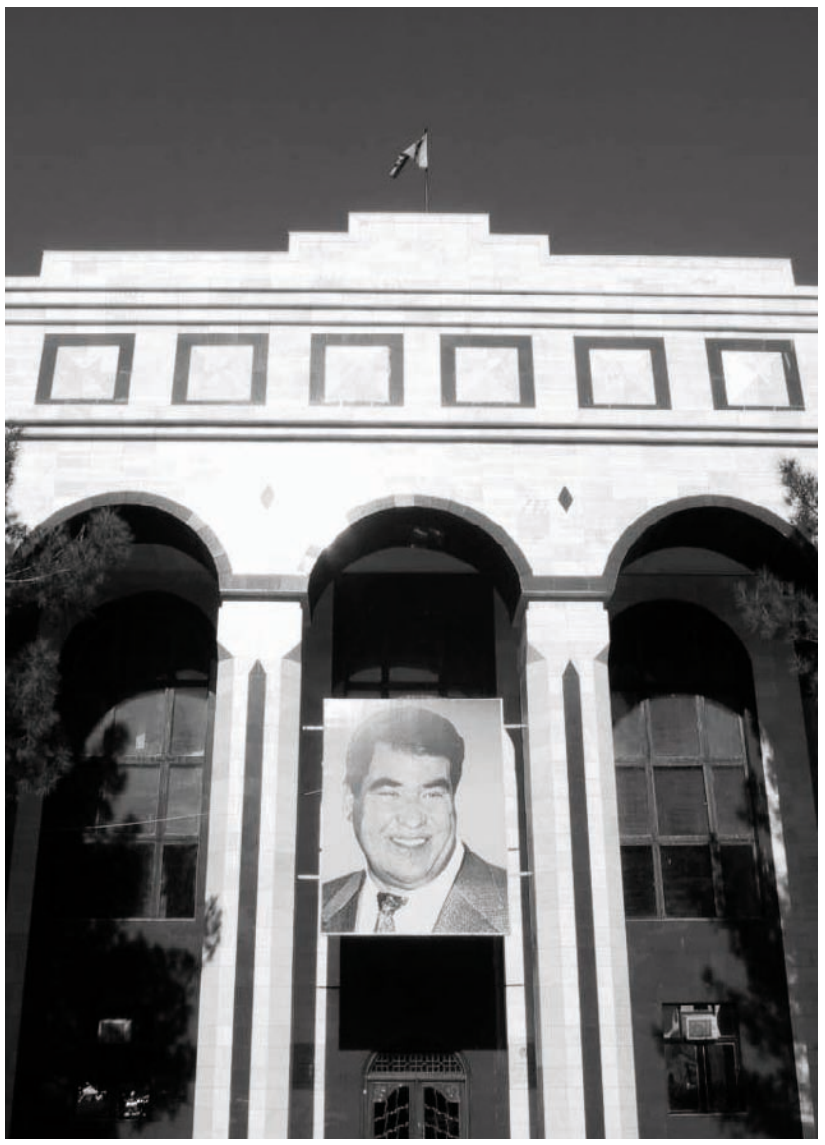
Customary law is also reflected in the system of clans, very much alive in the contemporary politics of Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus. In the beginning of the 1990s the struggle between clans in Tajikistan became so acute that it led to civil war. One of the threats to the rule of the President of Turkmenistan S. Niyazov is consolidation of an oppositional clan. The Uzbek President I. Karimov regularly purges members of the Samarkand, Tashkent and Bukhara clans from his administration.[1] In Kazakhstan, strategic industries and the most profitable sectors of the economy belong to, or are controlled by, members of the presidential family and their relatives.[2] The principle of social-economic redistribution among members of the clan is one of the main obstacles to the development of Western-style legal institutions. Clan identity ill fits individually based democratic conceptions of law; the effective application of the latter is routinely sacrificed to the pursuit of clan interests.

The Soviet legal system imposed on the Central Asian and Caucasian peoples had a certain modernizing effect on traditional societies. While Soviet legal institutions appeared Western, they did not work in practice the way they were supposed to on paper. While social systems based on clan-patronage and kinship were criticized during the Soviet period, they did not disappear – they adjusted themselves to Communist state-party hierarchies. By the 1960s, the reform of administrative systems was complete; clan relationships and the social cult of the *agsakal* had mutated into the structures of national *nomenclatura*.[3]

The Soviet legacy

Post-Soviet societies all face problems of establishing new national identities and working out common understandings of legal conduct. Since the early 1990s, governments, oppositions, intellectuals and foreign observers have tried to introduce discussion on legal systems into the public domain. While Central Asian political and intellectual elites want to appear in favour of public debate, the discussions they sponsor are either unprofessional or serve narrow political interests. With authoritarian regimes controlling the public domain, key topics are banned from discussion while affected groups are not adequately involved.

To date, debate on the state of law has focused on overturning the Soviet legacy. Concepts of legitimacy and law are now expressed in terms of democracy, civil society, human rights and the market economy. These concepts serve as antonyms to another range of terms: Soviet one-party system, totalitarian state, communist ideology and planned economy. Post-Soviet politicians, journalists and populists, perhaps believing that the new terms reflect acquired sovereignty, juggle them for career purposes. The active use of the democratic lexicon, however, has yet to further the understanding, much less the application, of democratically based law.



Courtesy of Delaine Swenson

Government building with photo of president

When Western legal concepts are discussed in public, Central Asian intellectuals and politicians frequently misinterpret them, especially if they are understood through the lens of traditional political culture. Very few intellectuals were schooled in the history of democratic thought. One common presumption was that democracy was free of ideology. Another was that democracy as a philosophy, without the institutions that gave it practical realization, brought security to Western Europe and North America. Others ignored the long time-span necessary to build democratic civil societies. To the extent that democracy entails education and tradition, it is necessary to bring up individuals capable of solving conflicts democratically – through legal institutions.

Legal illiteracy among populations, the inexperience of Central Asian legal specialists and the persistence of entrenched habits create other dilemmas. Many inhabitants of the former USSR had grown accustomed to Moscow's dominance. They seldom recognized the need to learn about their rights, tending to believe bureaucrats would know better, and would observe and defend their rights. After the USSR's disintegration, Western emissaries and consultants filled the vacuum of external patronage, their observations and opinions gracing the front pages of local newspapers.[4]

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The past legitimizes

Central Asian intellectual elites play a significant role in developing legal concepts. During the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods, university professors and scholars in academies of science aspired to political influence; sociologists, historians and philologists now advise politicians. Academics are charged with developing discourses of nationhood and national development, and to emphasize their democratic and legal nature.

'by the 1960s, clan relationships and the social cult of the agsakal *had mutated into the structures of national* nomenclatura*'*

Concurrently governments appeal to the legacy of ancient and medieval Central Eurasian empires and khanates. There are simply too few regional analysts able and allowed to write on the essential contradictions between the political culture of the medieval khanates, the successors to which the present states pretend to be, and the democratic civil societies that they claim to be building. In official ideologies, the historical features of modern Central Asian nations are listed together with Western democratic values.[5] The promotion of national symbols and the celebration of historical anniversaries have become typical ways to demonstrate the legality of political regimes. Here we may be witnessing a modification of customary law: the more ancient the history of the nation, the longer the genealogy of the ruler, the more lawful the regime.

If in the first years of independence political analysts speculated on the democratic elements within Central Asian traditional political cultures, by the end of the 1990s many had grown pessimistic, wondering if democracy was ill-suited to the region. Central Asian populations have likewise become more cynical, evidenced by the widespread mistrust of all authority and legal regimes. By doing so, they approve the authoritarian – even totalitarian – political systems that operate in most of the countries today. <

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Longer versions of the three articles will be among those published in a forthcoming (October 2004) Journal of Asian Legal History monograph: *Central Asian Law: An Historical Overview*. The monograph will address sources of law in Central Asia – from customary to religious to code law – as they developed historically.

Legal reform in Central Asia: a tale of two associations

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Rule of law minimally implies a system that respects the basic principles of human rights via democratic means; applies laws through a fair process independent of outside influence; and where laws and their application are generally accepted and respected by government and citizens. Under this definition, Central Asian republics are not yet governed by the rule of law.

By Delaine Swenson

A crucial part of the democratic transition of the five former Soviet Republics of Central Asia – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan – has been the need to establish legal systems based on the rule of law. While significant and growing differences exist among the five republics, in the area of legal reform common problems and root causes explain the current state of affairs: the legacy of Soviet law, the almost complete domination of politics by the presidency (and the corresponding weakness of the legislature and judiciary), corruption, lack of resources, and lack of meaningful civil societies.

'criticism of the Turkmen government had to be avoided; students were given assignments under the guise of looking for American government or judicial violations of citizens' rights'

The challenges of reform

Regrettably, the current situation in the five republics is not consistent with either democracy or respect for the rule of law. Turkmenistan is a Stalinist style dictatorship where President Niyazov has created a personality cult that would be laughable if it were not so serious for the citizens of his country. Uzbekistan runs a close second, where President Karimov has stamped out meaningful political opposition and the parliament is little more than a rubber stamp. Next on the scale is Kazakhstan, where President Nazarbaev has banned political parties and imprisoned their leaders; most independent media have been closed down or taken over by the president's family members or close associates.

The 1992-97 civil war in Tajikistan wreaked havoc on the economic and political institutions of the poorest part of the former Soviet Union. Despite peace accords with the Islamic opposition, President Rahmonov has managed to consolidate power in the presidency. Democracy in Kyrgyzstan, once touted as the democratic darling of Central Asia, has taken definite steps back over the past years as President Akaev, in a now familiar story, strengthened presidential control at the expense of independent media and political opposition.

In the early 1990s, with promise of reform in the air, Western assistance providers travelled to Central Asia with resources and experts to aid newly independent governments establish democratic societies. In many cases, this resulted in the creation of Western-style constitutions and free market- oriented laws. Everyone soon discovered that, as in the Soviet Union, the gulf between the words of the constitution and realities for citizens was substantial.

Building civil society

One outcome of this gulf between official pronouncement and practice was the realization by Western assistance providers that meaningful reform was unlikely when working with government officials. This led to a refocused effort to assist 'civil society', a more grass roots approach to legal reform. The next generation of leaders was deemed more open to change; greater focus was thus placed on working with the younger members of society. Starting from the mid 1990s, assistance largely took the form of programs to develop independent non-governmental associations for attorneys, judges and law students, specialized lawyers' groups for women and the creation of legal information centres and clinics.

The development of a sustainable civil society continues to be more of a challenge than many expected. The development of the Judges' Association in Uzbekistan and a law students' association in Turkmenistan serve as examples of the potential successes and failures possible in Central Asia.

The Association of Judges of Uzbekistan

Western assistance providers, primarily members of the American Bar Association's Central Europe and Eurasia Law Initiative (CEELI) program, have, for many years, worked with judges in Uzbekistan to develop an independent association to promote judicial independence and professionalism. Significant progress was made when the Association of Judges of Uzbekistan (AJU) sponsored a series of conferences on the training of judges, discussing topics such as developing judicial independence, judicial guarantees of human rights, and the role of judges in a democratic society. The organization also developed as an association, increasing its services to members and becoming more influential in decision-making concerning the judiciary.

The AJU was becoming an effective NGO; unfortunately, this came to a halt late in 2001 when the president of the association resigned. It was no secret that the president was forced to resign, made obvious by the fact that his replacement was a Ministry of Justice official. This selection was ratified by a vote of association members that was neither free nor fair, calling into question both the independence and long-term viability of the organization. The incident illustrated the tendency of Central Asian governments to tolerate no other potential centres of power or opposition in society; any non-governmental organization's success quickly becomes its downfall.

The Ashgabat law students' club

Programs such as law students' associations illustrate the potential for the future. Law students, unlike their older peers, are unburdened by the prejudices of the old system. They embrace the ideas of democracy, human rights and improving the living conditions of their fellow citizens. As they will be the judges, lawyers, prosecutors and government officials of the future, they are an important resource to develop. As a result, the ABA and other assistance providers have developed numerous law students' associations and legal clinics in cities across Central Asia. One of the more interesting examples was the development of a law students' club at the only law school in Turkmenistan, at Turkmen State University in the capital, Ashgabat. I say 'club' because the Turkmen government officially frowns upon 'associations'.

The Turkmen government was at first reluctant to allow the ABA into the country, suspecting that its programs would undermine the legitimacy of President Niayzov's cult of personality (renamed Turkmenbashi – father of the Turkmen people). However, following some very embarrassing losses in international legal transactions, the government felt that having Americans assisting in the training of their future lawyers was a good idea. Even so, the government maintained tight controls over ABA activities, most obviously by refusing to register the ABA and by keeping CEELI activities under surveillance.

Still, Turkmen State University was able to develop a law students' association and a legal information centre exposing students to concepts of human rights, the rule of law, and the role of lawyers and judiciaries in developing democratic societies. Criticism of the Turkmen government had to be avoided; students were given assignments under the guise of looking for American government or judicial violations of citizens' rights. Criticism of America was acceptable to the official minders present; the latter failed to realize that the lessons learned about human rights and limitations on government were lessons that applied with equal force to Turkmenistan.

Conclusion

Legal reform in Central Asia is a long-term process. Change is neither easy nor quick; progress will require patience and long-term commitment.

'everyone soon discovered that, as in the Soviet Union, the gulf between the words of the constitution and realities for citizens was substantial'

It remains to be seen to what extent Western assistance providers will have the will to stay in the region if tangible results are not more quickly forthcoming. There is hope for the future development of the Central Asian republics in that there are significant numbers of genuinely talented, progressive-minded Central Asians who will some day have their say. The role of Western democracies is to patiently push this process forward while supporting reformists where possible. <

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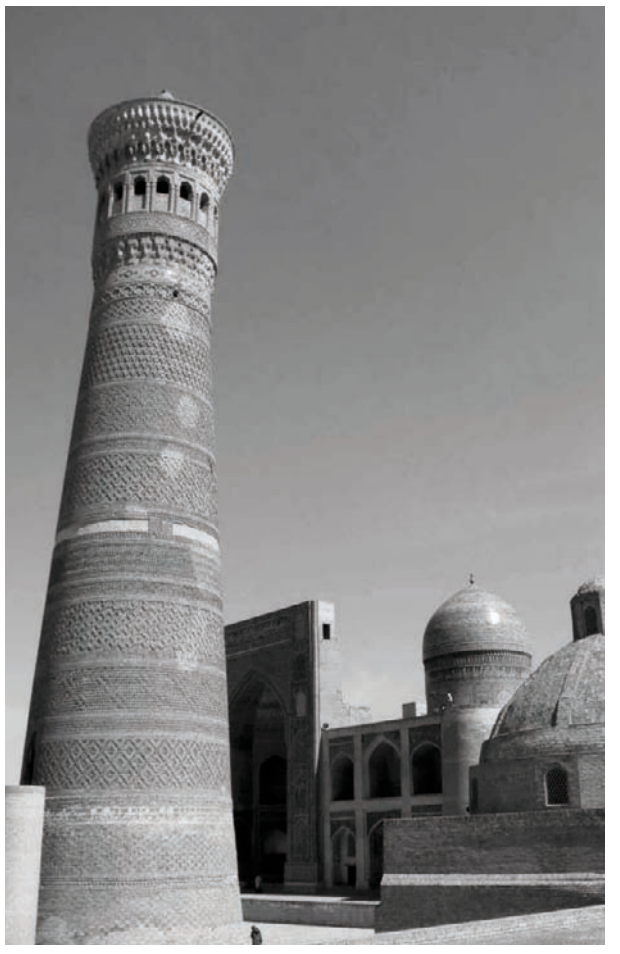

Courtesy of author

A picture of the Kalyan Minaret known as the Tower of Death, from which, legend has it, criminals were thrown. If you particularly offended the Kahn, you were sewn into a bag of cats who would scratch you on the way down. It was the only part of Buhkara that Ghengis Khan didn't destroy because he liked it so much.

Courtesy of author

The new Presidential Palace in Ashgabat, capital of Turkmenistan

Customary law under socialism: the Uyghur in Xinjiang

Research > Central Asia

In socialist Xinjiang, many Uyghur customary practices were interfered with, forbidden or discouraged. These prohibitions politicised elements of customary practice and enhanced their legal character. Local custom, it is argued, most readily assumes the force of customary law when it can be mobilized to counter unpopular government campaigns or a codified legal system.

By Ildikó Bellér-Hann

I define local or customary law as a set of normative rules that lack codification, jurisdiction and organized executive force, is subject to change, and has fuzzy boundaries. Customary law cannot be separated from other normative frameworks such as ethics, morals and good manners, since it is 'concerned not only with what is permitted and prohibited, but also with the ethical world in which actions and relationships take place. It has a strong moral component that passes judgment on how people ought to behave. "Customary law" is very much a moral system' (Ambler 2001: 43). This broad definition is particularly useful in discussing aspects of social life among the sedentary Muslim population in Xinjiang, as indigenous discourse often views rights and obligations in religious and moral rather than legal categories.

Custom under socialism

Following the incorporation of Xinjiang into the People's Republic of China, Islamic courts were officially abolished. This ostensibly left Xinjiang's Muslims with a single, secular legal system. The previous 'non-interference policy' was abandoned, most notably during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Although never explicitly recognized as a legal system, aspects of customary practice (*örp-adät*) came under repeated attack under socialism.

In official rhetoric and folklore publications, *örp-adät* is a sanitized concept referring to permitted elements of religion purged of 'feudal superstitions' – a loose bundle of social norms that define the Uyghur as a national minority. Officially promoted understandings of *örp-adät* and local usage do not, however, coincide.

'in official rhetoric and folklore publications, örp-adät is a sanitized concept referring to permitted elements of religion purged of 'feudal superstitions' – a loose bundle of social norms that define the Uyghur as a national minority'

Permitted standards of *örp-adät* are enriched by values from Islamic law, at least among farmers in Southern Xinjiang. Its elements are perpetuated today as part of the 'custom bundle'. Insistence on women waiting three months between divorce and re-marriage is one example. Another is the awareness that the customary expectation of daughters to give up their claim on real estate from the paternal inheritance contradicts Islamic law.

When new regulations are introduced in areas of social behaviour previously under the control of custom, practices perceived as customary may be rendered illegal. The 1950 Marriage Law introduced a minimum age for marriage higher than that sanctioned by custom (Mackerras 1995). Compliance, however, can be achieved by lying about the age of the young couple at the time of registration. Endogamous tendencies in pre-socialist times included close kin and cousin marriages. Chinese authorities tried to curb the practice through vigorous campaigns, but the practice persists; the proximity of kinship between bride and bridegroom is simply denied when the marriage is registered.

By Ildikó Bellér-Hann

Young Uyghur woman with her newborn child, Kashgar region 1996.

During my fieldwork in 1995 and 1996 in Kucha and Kashgar oases, I noticed a discrepancy between legal systems in matters of inheritance. Collectivisation had altered previously dominant patriarchal practices. Although secular law granted equal status to women, it also abolished landed property. Houses, however, continued to remain private property and were transferred from father to son. In Deng Xiao Ping's era of reform, peasants were given rights to use, but not own, arable land. In the mid-1990s, some peasants started transferring land to their sons, tacitly treating it as their own property. So long as land use contracts between individuals and the state are renewed, this practice will likely continue. It illustrates the re-emergence of local customary law within the new secular legal framework.

Giving and receiving

Custom dictates that at the time of major religious holidays, married women receive gifts of clothing from their husbands; the husband's failure to comply may result in women initiating divorce proceedings (which are usually granted by the secular court). Women's claim to gifts is formulated as a 'right' (*häq*). It would be mistaken to dismiss this claim as trivial; together with food and money, clothing has continued as one of the most important means of social exchange. It is used as payment for social services as well as for gifts given and received at all life cycle rituals. Giving, receiving and possessing such goods are also important markers of social standing and prestige.

The advent of the 'socialist market economy' has allowed for greater individual freedom; it also made space for the re-emergence of pre-socialist practices, and the value of gifts has increased significantly. In order to mask the ever-increasing gap between successful rural entrepreneurs and poor farmers, the government launches rigorous campaigns against such ritual displays of wealth. In this, the government is supported by Islamic religious institutions under its control. Women, however, continue to insist on the continuation of this customary practice, claiming emotional need and resorting to semi-secret measures to circumvent state intervention. Women thus simultaneously insist on their customary rights to receive and to give.

In pre-socialist times, women, in case of divorce, had the right to claim their dowry from their in-laws. They were also entitled to claim property from the household in compensation for their invested labour. The longer a woman lived and worked in her husband's family, the more she could claim. This practice, defined as custom, has persisted to this day; it has such force that modern secular courts take account of it.

Fairbank et al. East Asia (Houghton Mifflin Company: New York, p.933)

Marriage Registration, Chinese woodcut

Childbirth

A married woman's claim to be allowed to visit her natal home 'once every eight days' is similarly defined as a 'right,' provided it is situated reasonably near her husband's residence, as is her right to return there to give birth to her first and second child. To do this for her third and fourth child, she is dependent on her husband's goodwill and approval. But on the first two occasions the husband risks communal disapproval if he objects. The principle of compulsory family planning contradicts both Islamic and customary ideas that see children as God's gift. To avoid or even subvert state policies, people may resort to customary practice.

'when new regulations are introduced in areas of social behaviour previously under the control of custom, practices perceived as customary may be rendered illegal'

Before the introduction of compulsory family planning, husbands often objected to their wives making full use of their customary rights. Now, if children are born without authorities' permission, it is more likely that husbands will support the woman's right to give birth to her children in her natal home. It is particularly helpful if the house happens to be in a different administrative area. In such cases, both pregnancy and birth are more easily kept secret. Similarly, women's visiting rights may be exploited to the same end, especially during official inspections: pregnant women, breast-feeding mothers and babies can be kept out of sight. Informal adoption practised by families in pre-socialist times has likewise been affected by family planning. Unplanned children are registered under the name of a childless brother or sister. It remains to be seen if family planning policies will inadvertently encourage exogamous marriage tendencies.

The above examples demonstrate how state interference may inadvertently politicise certain elements of custom. One could argue that so long as customary law remains uncodified, it remains amenable to constant change, and that local custom most visibly emerges as local/customary law in confrontation with a codified legal system. <

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Local associations and social services in the rural Philippines, 1565-1964

Research > Philippines

The inability of the state to provide social services to the majority of the population is a fact of daily Filipino life that decolonisation did little to alter. In the face of natural and human-induced adversity, rural communities have long had to rely on their own associations. Much of this history, however, has gone unnoticed.

Photo by Greg Bankoff

Community installed pump, SACMA Association, Masantol, Pampanga province 2003

By Greg Bankoff

Evidence of organisations providing relief in rural areas dates back to the late sixteenth century, in the form of religious fraternities known as *cofradías*. While these were primarily religious associations, they also had charitable functions: care of the sick, providing funds, encouraging affiliates 'to engage in social and charitable enterprises and to aid the unfortunate and needy' (AAM).

Nothing new

Less formal but more prevalent than the *cofradías* was the organisation of extra-familial work rooted in customary village practice. This was sometimes voluntary labour on public works but in other cases entire communities worked together until all houses in a new or relocated *barrio* (neighbourhood) were built. Alternatively, families and groups exchanged labour at the sub-community level. Need or lot determined the order in which a person or family received help, suggested by the Tagalog word *turnuhan* (from the Spanish *turno* meaning 'a turn') by which this form of labour was known.

The association between religion and mutual assistance remains a feature of the organisations associated with the revolutionary period and the early years of US colonial administration. The *Katipunan*, the secret society that instigated the revolt against the Spanish in 1896 was a mutual assistance association and a religious brotherhood as well as a political grouping. Likewise, early trade unions retained many of the attributes of the *cofradías* and *turnuhans* in which they had their roots.

American colonial authorities were keen on instilling the virtues of Jeffersonian democracy in their outpost of empire. They enacted the Rural Credit Law to organise small farmers into self-help cooperatives and created agricultural credit associations that functioned much as 'village banks'. Again, the question remains whether such associations were altogether new or were, in fact, superimposed on an already existing network of more informal mutual benefit organisations.

Reliable protection

Apart from these formal organisations, exchanges of a more informal nature continued to be practised in rural areas throughout the latter years of American administration. In particular, the role and function of local Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) needs further elaboration. Though the focus of their activities was on schools, the location of other community services at these sites such as clinics widened their range of activities. As earlier *barrio* organisations under Spanish colonialism had cloaked their activities in religious guise, they now sought official approval as PTAs given the emphasis American authorities placed on educational attainment.

The Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) and the immediate post-war years further encouraged communities faced by adversity to help themselves. After 1946 both the national government and Catholic Church began to emphasize rural development in an effort to thwart the spread of communist influence; this led to policies aimed at decentralising government and promoting grassroots cooperative organisations.

At the barrio level, evidence suggests that formal and informal associations continued to provide communities with their only reliable protection against hazard and misfortune. Fieldwork conducted in the 1950s-60s shows the persistence of labour exchange arrangements for mutual advantage (Hart 1955:431-433; Hollnsteiner 1968:22-31; Lewis 1971:128-138). At least on Luzon, small neighbourhood associations called *puroks* still flourished, concerned with overall municipal improvements (Rivera and McMillan 1952). Many of these activities continued to be accomplished in co-operation with local PTAs (Romani 1956:235).

Invisibility

Lack of public recognition for these associations does not necessarily originate from their desire to remain hidden. Rather, their invisibility derives more from the outside world choosing to see only what fits its expectations. One can speculate on how this process worked in the past by looking at how it works today, with emphasis on NGOs and the comparative obscurity of People's Organisations (POs). The national state sees the one and not the other, just as its Spanish and American predecessors chose to see only the religious and educational aspects of the associations that existed in their time. Western social scientists, in their preconceived search for single-purpose community organisations, have often failed to recognise the existence of more multi-purpose associations that fulfil many of the same functions.

Nor is the continued existence of these organisations in one form or another meant to suggest that they have remained unchanged over the centuries. On the contrary, they have proven extraordinarily resilient and adaptive, helping integrate Catholicism and formal education with indigenous concepts of mutual assistance and creating the conditions whereby contemporary POs now successfully compete with NGOs for donor funding (Francisco 1997:93).

The importance placed by Western scholars and their heirs in the nation state on decolonisation as a fundamental transition reflects an overly top-down periodisation of history – one, moreover, that is belied by the continuing dynamics within rural societies. <

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Decolonizing Societies. The Reorientation of Asian and African Livelihoods under Changing Regimes

Netherlands Institute for War Documentation
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'Decolonisation' has a deceptive clarity. Referring to the formal transfer of power from colonial to national regimes, it leaves little room for misunderstanding. But the simple definition obscures; when we focus on people's livelihoods during the long transition to independence, alternative understandings emerge. The political periodisation sheds little light on such long-term social processes as labour mobilization and urbanization, or, indeed, the life stories of individuals.
Within the framework of the research programme *Indonesia across orders*, scholars on Asia and Africa convened in Amsterdam to discuss the impact of decolonisation on livelihoods. It turned out that the effects of power transfer were in many ways small, or only indirectly influenced people's lives.
In this issue of the *IIAS Newsletter* two participants at the conference present their views: Karl Hack and Greg Bankoff. Both show that the 'traditional' periodisation, with its emphasis on changing regimes, has little or no value when looking at personal narratives or mutual help organizations in Southeast Asia. <

Photo by Jill Jolliffe

Indonesian army captures resistance fighters, East Timor, early 1990s

Life histories, identity and crises of authority in Southeast Asia

Research > Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is a region afflicted by crises in authority; recent historiography seems to agree on little else. Life histories can show that points of contention, and so resolution, often rest on questions of identity – particularly on a sense of injustice which crystallizes identities in opposition to the state, fuelling demands for autonomy, influence, power and resources.

By Karl A. Hack

Recent literature including Colombijn and Lindblad's Roots of Violence in Indonesia suggests that 'reservoirs of violence' are critical in explaining conflict in Southeast Asia. Enforcers – *panglima, jagos,* militias, retainers attached to local power-holders persist from the colonial period. Colombijn and Lindblad's thesis mirrors the historiography for South Asia emphasizing the weakness of the Raj, able to function only by tolerating and co-opting local power brokers and 'enforcers'.

Geoffrey Robinson has further refined the concept of 'reservoirs of violence', showing that they persist across times of relative peace. They pattern crises when they arise, but seldom initiate them, as with the paramilitary violence that accompanied East Timor's vote for independence in 1999. Politically, specific militias were products of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the 1975-99 occupation. Operationally, their 'repertoires of violence' followed traditions reaching back to seventeenth-eighteenth century *liurai's* (local chiefs) levies and their style of combat.

Another model that has been used to explain Southeast Asian crises is neo-patrimonialism: politics driven by 'cacique' elites, 'bossism', and patron-client ties. This is David Steinberg's approach in his *The Philippines: A Singular and Plural Place* and of key chapters in David Brown's *The State and Ethnic Politics in South-East Asia*. Brown uses the neo-patrimonial model to argue that Southeast Asian polities rely on villagers' support of local elites, and local elites' support of central elites, both motivated by hope of reciprocal benefit. Thus Acehnese in the 1940s-50s aligned with the Islamic political party *Masjumi* when the latter had influence in Jakarta. But once Masjumi was out of power, Achehnese tried to leverage influence through revolt. In this model, it is not 'reservoirs of violence' so much as entrenched styles of politics that have made crises endemic over much of Southeast Asia.

By contrast, Reynaldo Ileto has complained that ideas of clientelism can reduce even Filipino anti-Japanese fighters to the status of clients blindly following elites. All idealism is lost, and Asians are orientalised as the victims of neo-feudal, underdeveloped politics.

Life histories

Life histories have the potential to combine approaches in the historiography. Personal narratives illustrate a central aspect of crises of authority: that points of contention, and so resolution, often rest on questions of identity, particularly on a sense of injustice which crystallizes identities in opposition to the state, fuelling demands for autonomy, influence, access to power and resources. The violence after World War Two was often about how to define post-colonial identities, when groups who had achieved access to 'reservoirs of violence' (by way of Japanese training and arms) entertained different 'imagined decolonisations'.

Chin Peng, Secretary General of the Malayan Communist Party since 1947, is the subject of two recent books: Ian Ward and Chin Peng, *Alias Chin Peng* and C.C. Chin and Karl Hack, *Dialogues with Chin Peng*. Chin Peng shows how Malayan Chinese had several identities to choose from: overseas Chinese with traditional social beliefs, petty capitalists and emigrants, communists, 'Malayan Chinese', and later, 'Malaysians'. Chin Peng's testimony has also confirmed how Chinese support for insurgent struggles was fuelled by the creation of reservoirs of violence in 1942-45 (armed Chinese supported by rural squatters) and how events affected their sense of identity. Thus support for communism rose and fell with the formation of the multiracial Alliance Party in 1952, the May 1969 racial riots in Kuala Lumpur, and the government's subsequent favouring of Malays.

State responses

Chin Peng's story focuses our attention on government policies for managing ethnic and national identities. Chin Peng was defeated by ethnic divisions in Malaya (winning over Muslim Malays proved difficult, while the multiracial Alliance provided an alternative funnel for Chinese identity) and by government action against 'reservoirs of violence' (rural Chinese were resettled in tightly controlled New Villages). Ultimately, the Alliance, through the elite-led Malayan Chinese Association, – on a communal basis through the Alliance and later *Barisan Nasional*. Singapore opposed virtually all alternative forms of narrative – communist, radical, and communal. From 1959 to at least the 1980s, the People's Action Party (PAP) required released detainees to renounce their former allegiances. Singapore also scaled back the influence of the Chinese language. English was made the compulsory language of education, and children were obliged by the 1980s to learn a second 'mother tongue'.

If integrating identities, or allowing them space to express themselves – for instance by allowing schooling and media in different languages – seems vital to avoid crises, how has Singapore managed to minimize problems since 1964? Rapid economic growth enabled non-patrimonial benefits to be distributed to atomised individuals integrated into the PAP's narrative of meritocracy. The PAP also sought feedback, when fed directly to the party rather than the media. This can be seen as a form of 'one-party democracy' that ensures individual and group aspirations are sifted and, to some extent, met.

'Southeast Asian states are far less prisoners of the past than approaches that focus on embedded culture and political structures imply'

offered Chinese a more effective avenue for expressing grievances and winning concessions. The Malaysian strategy of accommodating ethnic minority leaderships successfully neutralized potentially oppositional identities.

Successful management of divergent identities can take different forms. Singapore, like Malaysia, retained detention without trial and exercised a policy of negating communist narratives and suppressing radical dissidents. The Malaysian state integrated potentially oppositional identities, at least the most important ones – Chinese and Indian

How can we trace shifts in senses of grievance and identity in relation to states' strategies for dealing with them? One way is by interweaving personal narratives – of rebels, government protagonists and others – to create a picture not of Southeast Asian crises, but of Southeast Asians in crises. For instance, one can contrast the Chin Peng's narrative with Burma's Chao Tzang Yawnghe. Chao is a Shan prince, who moved from Shan loyalty to post-war Burma (his father was President), to Shan revolt. We have his *The Shan of Burma: Memoirs of a life in Exile* as well as good general histories. Chao's story shows how the Burmese civilian government of 1948-62, then the military after 1962, failed to domesticate Shan, Karen, Chin and Kachin identities and to effectively dismantle, or absorb, 'reservoirs of violence' in its upland regions.

Focusing on interwoven individual narratives may help integrate theories from political science with lived reality and the agency and tactics that shape events. They also suggest that Southeast Asian states are far less prisoners of the past than approaches that focus on embedded culture and political structures imply. The way the state has dealt with crises and groups with competing identities has been critical. In times of relative success – as in Malaysia and Singapore, and during the 1970s-80s Indonesian New Order – each state pursued its methods to close spaces available to selected alternative identities: those of, for example, regionalists, communists and western-style liberal democrats. Yet each went to considerable lengths to integrate more manageable potential opponents at the group and/or individual level.

The best place to see how this competition between state strategies and alternative identities has played out may turn out to be at the level of individuals: of the life story. <

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Indonesia 1937-1942: prelude to Japanese occupation

Research > Indonesia

World War II is widely regarded as a turning point in modern Indonesian history. The existing research focuses on military operations, Indonesian nationalism and victims of the Japanese regime. Insufficient attention has thus far been paid to the geographical and historical background of the war's impact on local livelihoods.

By Shigeru Sato

As is well known, Indonesians experienced a catastrophic lowering of living standards during the war. It is also well known that this was in large part due to the greed and cruelty of the Japanese army. Though further studies are warranted, a continuous search for crimes may not lead to a qualitative improvement in our knowledge. Monocausal explanations have long blinded us to other important factors; living standards during the War cannot be explained solely in terms of exploitation.

The big picture

The Indonesian economy was enmeshed in global trading networks; the wartime alteration of trade affected every aspect of daily life – food, clothing and employment. For clothing, Southeast Asia in the pre-war years relied almost entirely on imports. With the advent of war, this supply was cut. Consequently clothing became so scarce that many people had to wear modified jute bags or nothing at all.

To deal with this and other shortages, the Japanese embarked on economic reorganization projects, including production of cotton and textiles in the occupied territories. These projects required vast stretches of farmland and massive labour mobilization, and undermined local food production. The reorganization of the economy, more than the criminality of the Japanese Army, affected the livelihoods of local populations.

Those who equate World War II with the Japanese occupation see a sharp break between the Dutch and Japanese eras. The war, however, began earlier with the Japanese invasion of China in July 1937 and the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. Global economic changes were affecting the Indonesian economy well before the Japanese invaded in 1942.

Towards autarky

Studies of the Indonesian economy in the late Dutch era generally focus on the decade up to the outbreak of war in Europe and ignore the following two and a half years, thus creating the image of a sharp break in early 1942. A new focus on the pre-invasion years will reveal significant continuities in economic policy throughout the war despite the change of regime. The Japanese, knowing little about the economic administration of Indonesia, studied Dutch policies and continued them whenever possible. Many so-called 'Japanese occupation policies' were copies of Dutch policies formulated a few years earlier.

'mono-causal explanations have long blinded us to other important factors; living standards during the war cannot be explained solely in terms of exploitation'

Continuity also derived from the fact that both Dutch and Japanese administrators worked within the broader structural changes of the world economy. Dutch authorities, with lessons learnt from World War I and the Great Depression, began preparations for the colony's survival in economic isolation when political tensions rose in 1938.

The outbreak of war in Europe initially fuelled a boom in the export of kapok, tin, tapioca and sugar. From around May 1940, exports fell due to the closure of European markets and shipping difficulties. Demands from the United States for strategic resources such as rubber soared, compensating losses to some extent, but overall exports dropped sharply. Newspapers reported mass dismissals of workers from export industries; shortages of many imported items were acute.

At this juncture, the Dutch authorities accelerated the move towards self-sufficiency in industrial goods and foodstuffs. The number of power looms for weaving textiles quadrupled in the two years following September 1939. Experiments in cotton cultivation also began in this period.

The systematic reform of agriculture began in 1938. The 'forced cultivation ordinance' (*teeltdwang-ordinantie*) was drafted and implemented within two weeks of the German invasion of Poland. The plantation belt on the east coast of Sumatra, for instance, had previously imported large quantities of food from continental Southeast Asia. Food imports were now sharply reduced; Aceh in North Sumatra was designated the main food supplier for the plantation belt. Aceh had been a food importing area; plans were made to convert it into a food exporting area, by introducing new strands of rice and cultivation methods, and accelerating existing irrigation extension projects. During the occupation the Japanese conducted a large-scale campaign to increase agricultural production. Observers have characterized it as the 'Japanisation' of Indonesian agriculture, but the Dutch formulated its broad outline years earlier.

Social consequences

Dutch food policies affected social relations. Traditionally, domestically grown rice was processed by farmers and consumed in the countryside, while the urban population and plantation workers consumed imported rice. The government's policy to curtail rice imports and establish self-sufficiency in food necessitated the flow of Indonesian rice from the countryside to the cities and plantation areas. This change to the distribution pattern favoured the emergence of a rice milling industry. Harvesting and pounding had been important sources of income for peasant women. With the development of large motorized mills, rice brokers came to villages, brought in gangs of harvesters, and took the rice away. Now small farmers had fewer employment opportunities and less rice to buy.

Jagat Tomonokai, *Shashin de Tsuzuru Ranin Seikatsu Hanseiki: Senzenki Indoneshia no Nipponjin Shakai*, p.195

Japanese government representative Kobayashi visiting Dutch counterpart Van Mook in Batavia to negotiate trade, September 1940

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, by severing trade between Southern China and Indonesia, weakened the position of ethnic Chinese traders in Indonesia. They seized the opportunity brought by the commoditisation of rice and established a virtual monopoly on the rice milling industry. Dutch authorities utilized these mills and Chinese trading networks to control rice distribution. This aggravated ethnic enmities. When the Japanese invaded, many Indonesians destroyed and looted Chinese-owned rice-mills and shops. The Japanese, however, continued the Dutch policy of using Chinese economic power to implement the controlled economy.

The war differentially impacted upon variegated and stratified local communities; local studies are therefore essential. Rubber and copra, for instance, were important export commodities for indigenous smallholders: those in rubber producing regions benefited from increased American demand until the Japanese invasion. Those in copra producing areas faced hardship because markets were mostly in Europe. Within the same community, large rice farmers benefited from the rapid commoditisation of rice whereas small farmers and landless peasants lost much of their livelihood. The war presented opportunities for some to consolidate their economic or political positions. Some lost their livelihood or their lives.

Our understanding of these social and economic dynamics during World War II, 1937-1945, is still partial, hazy and simplistic. It will remain so unless we introduce broader perspectives and document these dynamics through local studies. <

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Nurcholish Madjid and the Paramadina Foundation

Courtesy of Paramadina Foundation

Nurcholish Madjid

Research > Indonesia

Religious meetings in Indonesia today differ radically from past tradition. Yet, in content, many represent a back-to-basics approach.

By Andi Faisal Bakti

The Paramadina foundation was established in Jakarta in 1986. Its name is derived from *para* (for) and *madina* (Muhammad's seventh-century city-state of Medina).[1] The foundation runs a training centre, a secondary school and a university where Islamic philosophy, theology, mysticism and law are taught. Paramadina shares with those labelled Islamic fundamentalists the emphasis on creating an 'ideal Islamic state'. This, however, is where the similarities end.

Paramadina departs from tradition in the way it conducts its activities. It organizes forums in luxury hotels, where participants in business attire applaud high-tech presentations by neo-modernist Islamic scholars. Training is imparted in seminars rather than lectures, which favour rational over normative argumentation. Paramadina has a flexible dress code: women are allowed to wear skirts in class during religious instruction. This approach to Islamic education has made the foundation popular among middle to upper class Muslims. Being a student of the Paramadina secondary school or university is considered fashionable, a sign of wealth and social status.

'Islam yes, partai Islam no'

To understand Paramadina's purpose and philosophy, it is necessary to know something about its leader Nurcholish Madjid, the institute's inspiration and backbone. Born in 1939, educated in Jakarta, and president of the Islamic Students' Association (HMI) from 1966 to 1971, Madjid gained prominence as a national student leader against the authoritarian governments of Soekarno and Soeharto. With a doctorate in Islamic Studies from the University of Chicago, Madjid is recognized as an authority on Islam and Indonesian politics; since 1998 he has been professor at the State Islamic University of Jakarta. Arguing that being a good Muslim is compatible with the pursuit of knowledge and cultural enrichment, and as a champion of *masyarakat madani* – a concept which encompasses pluralism, tolerance, and democracy – Madjid enjoys a large following among educated Muslims.[2]

Most of Paramadina's nineteen founders belong to the '1966 generation' that struggled to oust Soekarno. Some attained prominence in Soeharto's administration while others joined social and non-governmental organizations and became intellectual activists in the liberal Muslim community. Many were prominent writers, more influential than their counterparts in the bureaucracy. Madjid early on became disillusioned with the struggle of Islamic political parties to form an Islamic state, which he claims has no basis in the Qur'an. The leader of Paramadina considers it more important for Muslims to develop themselves culturally, for Islam to become an ethical force in society.

'eschewing political parties and promoting Islam through education and social assistance, Paramadina has managed to allay the mistrust of the military'

In eschewing political parties and promoting Islam through education and social assistance, Paramadina has managed to allay the mistrust of the military, and has gained wide support in society. Within the state apparatus, Paramadina enjoys the patronage of high-ranking military personnel, bureaucrats, and politicians in the Golkar party. Within civil society, support comes from leaders of the Islamic Students' Association (HMI), leaders of socio-religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, PII (Indonesian Islamic Learners' Association) and KAHMI (Graduate Body of Islamic Students' Association) – many belong to Paramadina while others are invited to give lectures. In business circles, Paramadina is supported by successful entrepreneurs (*Forum Keadilan*, 2003).

Are they fundamentalists?

Madjid's discourse on pluralism and tolerance places all religions on a par with Islam. He frequently cites the words of the prophet Muhammad '*al-hanafiyyah al-samh*' (tolerant truth), and quotes the *Mithaq al-Madina* (The Constitution of Madina), and Qur'anic verses (2: 62; 5: 69) which state that all believers, including Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians will be rewarded equally in the Hereafter. He also refers to verses that state that each [religious] community has its own enlightened leader (35: 24-25; 13: 7). Democracy, too, is said to have Qur'anic precedents, implied in the terms *musyawarah* and *syura*, both meaning deliberation.

Despite the fact that Madjid's lectures base themselves on the primary Islamic resources of the Qur'an and the Hadith, literalists and traditionalists have criticized his foundation's objectives and approach to Islamic education. Contrary to what many Muslims believe, Madjid's ideas are *not* secular. His agenda is to restore a Madina-like Islamic community, one that is tolerant, democratic and pluralistic. Many of those labelled 'fundamentalists', however, have persistently failed to grasp this fact and consider Madjid a heretic.

Nevertheless, Nurcholish Madjid's teachings, through his presentations in mosques and his foundation's activities, are gaining adherents. While Madjid's readership is now limited to Malay-Indonesians, it is hoped that his works will be translated into English and other languages. <

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Notes >

1 Another derivation is from *parama* (prime) and *dina* (our religion), 'our prime religion'.

2 The term *masyarakat madani* became part of Soeharto's new Malay-Indonesian vocabulary in the early 1990s. It is used widely in scholarly and political circles, in particular by Habibie, the third President of Indonesia, as well as by Anwar Ibrahim, former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia.

Local politics in decentralized Indonesia: the Governor General of Banten Province

Research > Indonesia

'I am the governor general' says local boss H.Tb. Chasan Sochib. He is a peculiar (or typical) type of local boss in decentralized Indonesia. How and why did he become so powerful?

By Okamoto Masaaki

Six years have passed since Soeharto's fall paved the way for democratisation; three since Habibie's rise opened the door to decentralization. While researchers have addressed local politics and decentralization in post-Suharto Indonesia, few have concentrated on the political dynamics and structures of any one locality. We have a general picture of regents (*bupati*) and mayors (*walikota*) behaving like 'small kings' (*raja kecil*) and local politicians desperate on *bupati/walikota* for money, but these do not provide a clear picture about who controls political and economic resources or how this takes place within the institutional setting of the regional autonomy law. The following sections trace the economic and political rise of one local boss in the Banten area: H.Tb. Chasan Sochib.

'he could act as a bridge between the military, bureaucracy and Golkar, and the Banten informal world'

The New Order in Banten

The Banten area, previously a part of West Java province, is comprised of Serang, Lebak, Pandeglang and Tangerang regencies and the cities of Cilegon and Tangerang. The north is the rich industrial area while the south is poor and agricultural. The New Order regime in Banten cemented the ethnic divide between rulers and the ruled, which had its roots in the Dutch colonial period. Mainly Sundanese hold the important administrative and military positions of *bupati*, regional secretary and district military commander.

Bantenese informal leaders – Islamic teachers (*ulama*) and local strongmen (*jawara*) – were co-opted into the political machines of the governing party, Golkar, in the early 1970s. In 1971 ulama were organized into the *Ulama* Work Squad (*SatKar Ulama*). Local Jawara were organized into the Martial Artist Work Squad (*SatKar Pendekar*) in 1972, renamed the Indonesian Union of Bantenese Men of Martial Arts, Art and Culture (PPPSBBI). *Jawara* are men of prowess in traditional self-defence (*silat*) and wear black uniforms and carry machetes.

In Banten *jawara* are culturally recognized as robust and often reckless criminal types. The one hundred twenty-two PPPSBBI-affiliated *silat* schools in Banten were mobilized to support Golkar during the election, alongside the military and police. Chasan Sochib was the *jawara* who became the *SatKar Pendekar*'s general chairman and one of the executive committee members of the *SatKar Ulama*. He could act as a bridge between the military, bureaucracy and Golkar, and the Banten informal world. According to Chasan Sochib, three thousand jawara serve him and are on standby at all times.

Product of the New Order

Chasan Sochib was born in Serang regency in 1930. He attended Islamic boarding schools before joining a guerrilla warfare unit during the revolutionary period. His working life began in 1967, providing logistical support to the Siliwangi military division. Two years later he founded a construction company, PT Sinar Ciomas Raya, which frequently won government tenders for road and market construction projects. His involvements spread to the Krakatau Steel State Company, the largest steel company in Southeast Asia, and into tourism and real estate while holding key positions in associations such as the Regional and Central Chambers of Commerce and Trade (*Kadin*) and the Indonesian National Contractors' Association (*Gapensi*), putting his men on their local executive committees. Certifications from Kadin and Gapensi are necessary for government procurement. Chasan Sochib utilized this to coordinate projects in the Banten area. Coordination brought him more money; *jawara* under his control became his (sub) contractors and received a share of his profits.

Chasan Sochib's activities are not limited to the *jawara* and business worlds. One of the founders of a private university and the Banten Museum, he remains the head of the Serang branch of Generation '45 (the committee for ex-independent war fighters). He has become powerful in all aspects of Bantenese life; thus outsiders appointed as top bureaucrats relied on him and his network as a bridge to the Bantenese world. The fall of Suharto in May 1997 changed this informal governing system. Chasan Sochib, product of the New Order, was endangered.

Birth of the reformed Chasan Sochib

The Reformasi echoed in Banten. Students mounted a nationwide protest movement against Suharto and his regime, demanding his resignation and the reformation of government. Student demonstrators criticized Chasan Sochib for his closeness to Suharto. He responded: 'You know, Pak Harto (Suharto) is still our president. We should respect him!' But his attitude changed when Suharto resigned. When students confronted him, he jumped on the *Reformasi* bandwagon. He quickly became reformed in utterance.

A favourable wind has blown for Chasan Sochib. The movement to establish Banten province began in February 1999, demanding the separation of the Banten area from West Java province. At first Chasan Sochib was far from supportive; his company was engaged in a large-scale road construction project by the West Java provincial government. When he realized that the movement had deep-rooted and wide support in Banten, he became an enthusiastic proponent. He became the general adviser to the Coordination Committee to Establish Banten Province (*Bakor*) in February 2000. Mass mobilization, money and lobbying the centre bore fruit. In October 2000, the law establishing Banten province passed in parliament. Thousands of Bantenese welcomed it and Chasan Sochib was on their side.

Courtesy of author

H.Tb. Chasan Sochib celebrates his seventieth birthday, 2000

Entrenched power

Chasan Sochib turned to his old methods – reliance on *jawara* – to sway Banten province, first economically and then politically. Co-opted by the centrally appointed non-Bantenese provisional governor to guarantee the security of the province, he was rewarded with numerous projects. He became the new Banten provincial branch head of *Kadin* and of *Gapensi*, and of the Construction Business Development Committee (*LPJK*).

'the New Order regime in Banten cemented the ethnic divide between rulers and the ruled'

He became politically powerful too. In December 2001, elections for provincial governor were held in the provincial parliament and a Javanese politician, Joko Munandar from the Development United Party (PPP) and Chasan Sochib's political lay daughter, Atut Chosiyah from Golkar, won the governor and vice governorships. This would have been impossible without Chasan Sochib's support and *jawara* pressure on parliamentarians.

Now Chasan Sochib could intervene in provincial government policies on personnel and budgeting. His construction company won tenders for the Banten Regional Police Headquarters, the Provincial Parliament, the Provincial Government Complex and several main roads at inflated prices. The provincial parliament is unable or unwilling to check his influence. Referring to the traditional market where Chasan Sochib and his associates have their offices, provincial legislators often say 'We just wait for the agreement from the *Rau*'. Referring back to an earlier era, Chasan Sochib proudly stated: 'I am actually the Governor-General. If he (Joko Munandar) goes wrong in leading Banten, I will correct him. As I am most responsible for him. He rose with my support.'

Naturally there is opposition to Chasan Sochib's dominance in Banten. Ex-Bakor members have formed an anti-Chasan Sochib organisation, though it has remained ineffective thus far. Newspapers cannot be too critical of him; machetes may well be the reward for criticism.

Conclusion

The 2004 general election passed peacefully in Banten, though invalid votes reached two million out of about six million votes and jawara were dispersed to various parties. There was no large-scale violence as political parties committed themselves not to mobilize *jawara*. Chasan Sochib was one of the Golkar spokesmen. Golkar barely won with about 21% of the valid votes. Is this a problem for Chasan Sochib? Seemingly not, as he still keeps jawara in hand and holds top positions in business associations with his men on the board, keeps good relationships with the military and police and appoints his favourites to governorship.

Chasan Sochib or his successor's dominance may fade if Bantenese stop considering *jawara* as legitimate leaders. If not, the same pattern will most likely continue. <

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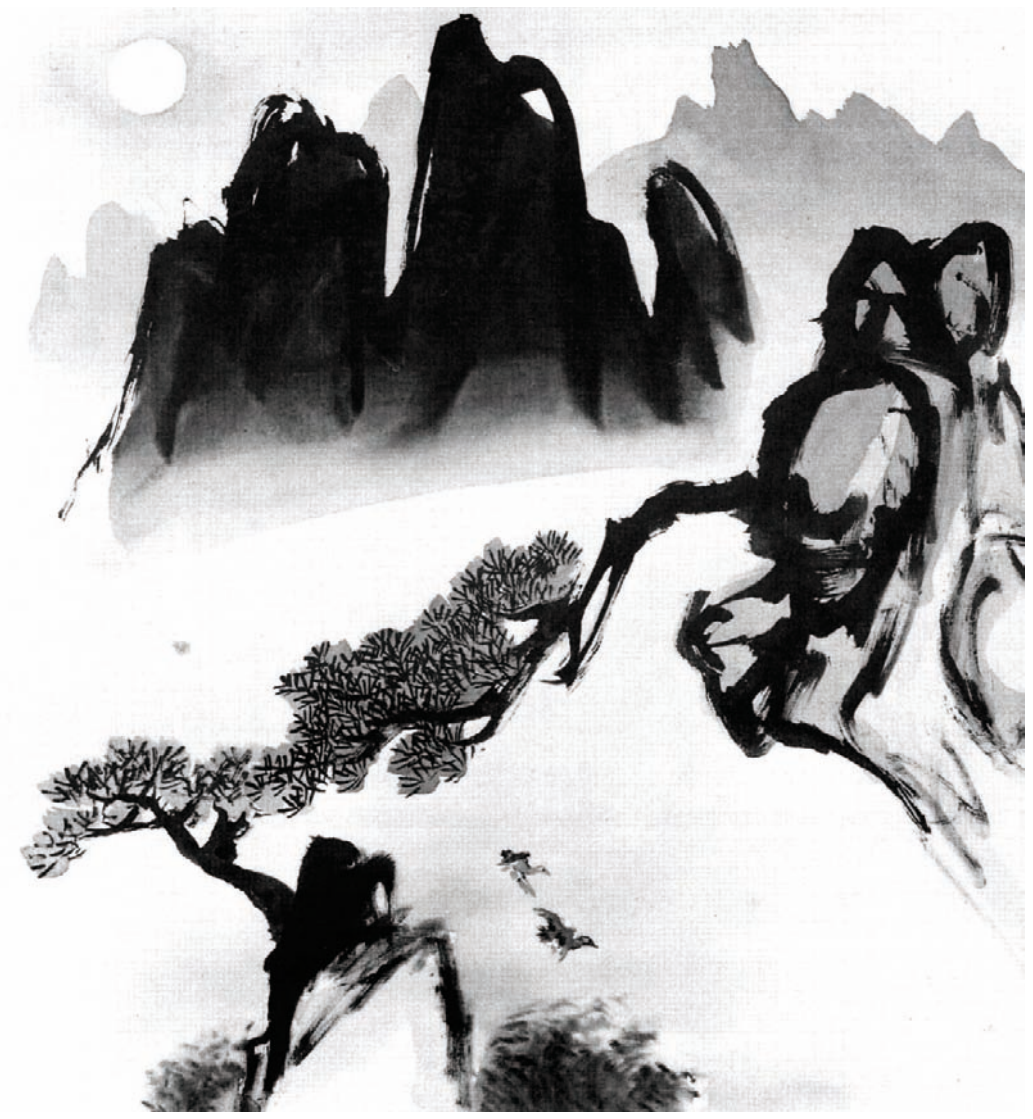
Young Japanese Researchers on Southeast Asia Series
Okamoto Masaaki is the fifth contributor to this series which draws attention to original research by young Japanese scholars with research interests in Southeast Asia. Japanese research on Southeast Asia has a long tradition, is abundant, and at times takes different routes from European or American research on the region. Many Japanese scholars publish in Japanese or in Southeast Asian languages; consequently interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese scholars remains limited. If you wish to introduce your own research on Southeast Asia, please contact the editors of the *IIAS Newsletter*.
- Rogier Busser

Historical Consciousness and the Future of Modern China and Japan:
Conservatism, Revisionism and National Identity

Report > East Asia

While the phenomena of conservatism and revisionism have long pedigrees in the modern histories of China and Japan, Western scholars have focused mainly on liberals and leftists. They have thus overlooked schools of thought crucial to our understanding of the role of history and tradition in shaping modern collective identities in East Asia.

23-25 May 2003
Leiden University, the Netherlands



Korean Art: the Brooklyn Museum, New York

By Axel Schneider

Our subject is located within the context of far-reaching changes in research on the modern era and the nature of modernity. The participants discussed a key factor in the intellectual and political life of modern China and Japan: the revival of interest in views of history and tradition distinct from hitherto dominant Marxist and liberal visions, and the impact of this revival on the creation of collective identities. In the distinctive forms of conservatism and revisionism, reflection on tradition and the role of history have become, again, essential ingredients in the process of shaping political legitimacy and collective identity, with far-reaching consequences for the future of both countries.

'Globalisation' has been at the centre of public debate since the end of the Cold War. In the West, expectations ran high that globalisation – conceptualised as the worldwide spread of modern Western models of economics, politics, society, and culture – would lead to a world united under the umbrella of universal modernity. These expectations have failed to materialize. Although the global economy can be identified as a universal capitalist system of some sort, cultural and political developments have moved in the opposite direction. Elites around the world increasingly doubt Eurocentric notions of cultural and political modernity, and re-emphasize their own historical heritage. This revival of interest in history and premodern traditions goes hand in hand with a resurgence of movements emphasizing various types of particular collectives, concerned primarily with national identity and ethnicity.

The bifurcation of globalisation into a universal economic system on the one hand and an emphasis on particular historical traditions on the other finds parallels in academic debates on 'modernization'. In recent years, new concepts have been formulated – such as the notion of 'multiple modernities' – to cope with the apparent demise of Eurocentrism. Faced with the challenge of post-modernism and globalisation's bifurcation, historical and cultural factors are now given greater weight in modernization processes, while many still try to subsume particular phenomena under a core of modernity, identified as a set of structural, institutional and cultural arrangements.

While the phenomena of conservatism and revisionism have long pedigrees in the modern histories of China and Japan, Western scholars have focused mainly on Chinese and Japanese liberals and leftists. For the most part, they have either neglected conservative and revisionist approaches, or dismissed them as irrelevant. Western scholarship has hence overlooked important schools of thought relevant to our understanding of the role of history and tradition in the shaping of modern collective identities in East Asia.

The workshop

The conveners invited specialists from the US, China, Japan, the UK, Germany and Austria to identify and discuss key theoretical issues underlying changes in academic research, and to delineate topics for research on conservatism in China and revisionism in Japan.

The workshop began with two general, theoretical presentations on methodological issues of historical comparison (Frederic Wakeman, Berkeley: 'Comparative history') and on conceptualising world history in the age of globalisation (Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, Vienna, 'World history and the issue of universality and particularity'). It was followed by a panel on contemporary Japanese attitudes towards World War Two (Tetsuya Takahashi, Tokyo, 'Nation, war and memory: the case of Yasukuni') and on the phenomenon of intellectual and political apostasy from a trans-war perspective (Rikki Kersten, Leiden, 'Historical consciousness and the issue of turning points'). Both aimed to come to grips with the complicated workings of historical memory in modern Japan.

'elites around the world increasingly doubt Eurocentric notions of cultural and political modernity, and re-emphasize their own historical heritage'

Next came two presentations analysing the re-emergence of conservative and revisionist trends in historical consciousness in contemporary China and Japan, addressing questions of identity formation, national subjectivity and fundamental views of history (Axel Schneider, Leiden, 'Chinese conservatism', and David Williams, Cardiff, 'Revisionism, subjectivity and the Great East Asian War: the view from Kyoto'). The workshop concluded with a panel aiming at a larger analytical framework for understanding recent conservative and revisionist trends in East Asia, which addressed how these trends are linked to, and differ from, general questions of modern nationalism (Luo Zhitian, Beijing, and Kevin Doak, Georgetown, 'Nationalism and the issue of ethnicity' in China and Japan, respectively). <

The workshop was organized by Rikki Kersten and Axel Schneider of Leiden University, and was supported by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation. It represented the first milestone in the five-year NWO-funded research project on Historical Consciousness, led by the conveners of this workshop. Please refer to the website for future events and research updates: www.vici-core.leidenuniv.nl

Manuscripts 2740/ M 469, illustrations of Tibetan ritual objects

Manuscript 2740/0/2. Fragile manuscript in gold and silver

All photos courtesy of the Kern Institute, Leiden University

Tibetan Treasures in Leiden:

Progress Report on the Metamorfoze Project

Report > Tibet

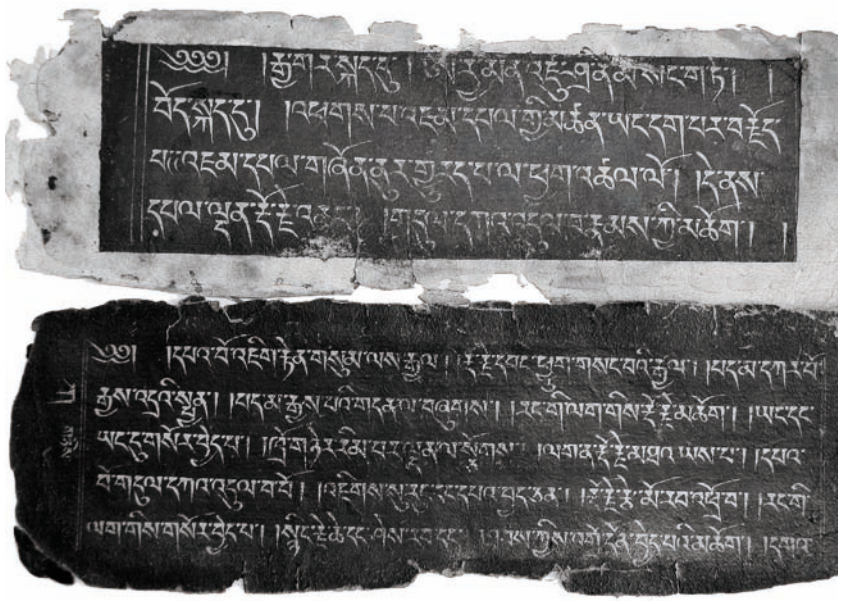
The Kern Institute Library preserves a unique collection of approximately 1,580 Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints collected by Johan van Manen (1877-1943). Since their arrival in the Netherlands in 1936 and 1943, they have mainly benefited local scholars. This collection will soon be available for public reference.

By Kalsang Norbu Gurung and Tharphen Lingtsang

The Johan van Manen collection contains a wide cross-section of Tibetan Buddhist and Bon literature: important works of dGe lugs pa, rNying ma pa and bKa' brgyud pa masters. Only a few texts of the Sa skya pa and other schools are included. This no doubt reflects van Manen's or his assistants' personal interests, or limitations on the areas they were able to visit. Particularly interesting are two different versions of an old Bon text, called *Klu 'bum*.

The collection also contains many interesting manuscripts that may not be available elsewhere. Some seem to be unique copies that were never published after van Manen obtained them.

Sadly, more than twenty texts from the collection were badly damaged during transportation; much of that damage is irreparable and the affected texts could not be filmed. Another solution must be found to make them accessible. A further sixteen texts, recorded in the de Nebesky-Wojkowitz catalogue, cannot be found.



Block-prints 2740/ H 46 and 2740/H 67, two different versions of old Bon text: Klu 'bum

Cataloguing

The collection has been catalogued twice: first by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz from 1953-1955, and then by Chongla and Rechung, handwritten in Tibetan, from 1961-1965. The former focuses on (margin) titles and page numbers. The latter comprises several large volumes containing further details: authors, subjects, and occasionally, additional colophon notes. Although the Chongla and Rechung catalogue provides detailed information, its loose-leaf format is rather impractical. We mainly use the Nebesky-Wojkowitz catalogue and only consult the Tibetan one where more information is needed. The Kern Institute Library classifies Tibetan works by religious school (dGe lugs pa, Jo nang pa, etc.). We adhere to the Wylie system of data entry. Diacritics are only used for transliterations of Sanskrit. Incorrect spellings of Sanskrit have been recorded as alternative spellings in the thesaurus description, alongside the correct transliteration.

Specific Problems

A number of problems were encountered during cataloguing. Sub-chapters or texts belonging to particular sets were separated in the van Manen collection. Moreover, their local accession-codes (inventory numbers) often are not continuous. Similarly, tables of contents were occasionally separated from the texts and given separate accession-codes. This makes it very difficult to identify the affected texts, as the crucial data usually appear in the colophon at the end of the collection. It is not always clear whether constituent texts were left in their original order. All texts have been microfilmed and arranged by their inventory number. In the catalogue, we identify their provenance by means of their Chief and Family title.

A second problem is authorship. Tibetan texts were often written for special occasions, at the behest of a student or teacher; commonly all those involved are mentioned. The whole colophon has to be read to locate the name of the author, who usually refers to himself at the end of the text. However, when mentioned by someone else (e.g. an editor), his name appears at the beginning, with the title. Tibetan authors, moreover, use many different names and titles. They also use abbreviated or Sanskrit names, or refer to themselves merely by a title; establishing identity can be very difficult. In this regard we would like to acknowledge the usefulness of the *Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center* on-line database (www.tbrc.org). Many Tibetan texts are considered to be rediscovered texts (Tib. *gter ma*). These usually only contain the discoverer's name (Tib. *gter ston*), which we then use for cataloguing. In those rare cases where an earlier author is mentioned, we render both.

Third, as is well known in the classification of Tibetan texts, many authors are unknown and texts are often without contents pages. In these cases we have used the most likely keyword(s) for classification.

Finally, the compilers of both catalogues misread a number of titles, which have now been changed to the most plausible title. Parts of titles that are illegible due to erasure and damage have been replaced with ellipses in our on-line data. Where title pages are missing, we use margin titles or titles written on a separate sheet by the collectors.

As a result of the *Metamorfoze Project*, a wide range of Tibetan sources and materials will become available for research. Thus far, we have processed more than half of the texts and these are now available on microfilm. We hope the entire collection will be available by the time this article appears in print. Concluding this project, we hope to publish a more detailed catalogue of the collection. <

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Note >

See also 'Preserving Tibetan Heritage' by Dory Heilijgers, *IIAS Newsletter* 29, http://www.iias.nl/iiasn/29/IIASNL29_25.pdf

Tibetological Collections & Archives Series

Kalsang Norbu Gurung's and Tharphen Lingtsang's *Tibetan Treasures in Leiden: Progress Report on the Metamorfoze Project* is the eleventh contribution to the Tibetological Collections and Archives Series devoted to projects on cataloguing, 'computerization' (inputting and scanning), editing, and translation of Tibetan language collections and archives. In this series, colleagues present their initiatives to the wider public and update the scholarly world on the progress of their projects. Some are high-profile, of which Tibetologists are generally aware, yet some are less well known. I hope the projects presented will benefit from the exposure and response this coverage will engender. <

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Plants and Psychoactive Substances in Health and Culture

Report > Plants

The symposium 'Plants in Health and Culture' focused on the role of plants (wild or cultivated in herbaria and gardens) in the various cultures, health care and knowledge systems of Europe, Central Asia and India. This paper discusses one of the symposium themes: the role of plants as sources of psychoactive compounds.

Kashikar, CG (1990) Identifiaction of Soma, Pune:Dr Kshirsagar

16-17 February 2004
Leiden University

By Jan Houben

David S. Flattery discussed his research, based on a study co-authored with Martin Schwartz in 1989, on the Indo-Iranian sacred plant soma/haoma. He argued that soma/haoma ceremonies were based on the use of *Peganum harmala* (harmel), a common intoxicating plant found in Central Asia. Flattery argued that priests drank soma/haoma in ceremonies, which could contain a drug to expose deceitful intentions. In this way priests demonstrated their integrity. The term soma/haoma (derived from *sauma or *su, meaning 'to press, extract by mortar and pestle') did not originally refer to a plant, but the part of the ceremony where the drug ephedrine was extracted from the plant ephedra. Soma/haoma thus came to be synonymous with ephedra. Ephedra, however, is not intoxicating on its own; an active drug needs to be added. The necessity of using mortar and pestle in the ceremony favours harmel as this active drug.

'modern subjects do not prepare themselves in the same way, embarking on their 'trips' on full stomachs and continuing with habits such as drinking coffee and smoking'

There is, however, little ethnographic evidence for the combination of harmel and ephedra in Iran, and the published pharmacological evidence for their interaction is indirect. A clinical experiment may negate this aspect of Flattery's argument.

Flattery refuted the claims of V. I. Sarianidi to have identified haoma temples in Central Asia; the theory that the Rigveda soma plant, *Amanita muscaria*, was an intoxicant that disappeared and was replaced by substitutes or different ceremonies; and the proposition that ephedra, even if it does have stimulant properties, was consumed as soma/haoma in order to experience stimulation.

Jan Houben also addressed the problem of identifying soma/haoma, though arriving at different conclusions. He gave an overview of two centuries of research on soma/haoma, including literary reflections on current theories, such as those of Aldous Huxley. Houben pointed out that while the effects of psychoactive substances have often been considered, other factors influencing the physiology and conceptual state of performers have been neglected. He agreed with Flattery that ephedra played an important role and that stimulation per se was not the main goal of soma/haoma rituals. Houben further argued that ritual preparations (such as fasting and remaining silent) in combination with the stimulant properties of ephedra were sufficient to produce experiences of 'visions' or 'hallucinations'. Current research tends to associate such experiences only with strong hallucinogens as modern subjects do not prepare themselves in the same way, embarking on their 'trips' on full stomachs and continuing with habits such as drinking coffee and smoking.

The identification of soma/haoma as a strong hallucinogen, for example Wasson's 1969 proposal of it being *Amanita muscaria*, seems unwarranted. Soma/haoma being a stimulant such as ephedra, however, does suit the evidence quite well – especially the evidence of Vedic ritual which points to the use of a single plant for the preparation of the sacred Soma juice. The lack of available quality ephedra when the Vedic people migrated from mountainous areas of Iran and Afghanistan explains the use of substitutes in Vedic rituals which otherwise reflect the basic structure of ancient rituals.

Opium

C.C. Bakels discussed the search for the original habitat of the opium poppy, *Papaver somniferum* L. Many varieties of the Papaver crop have long been in existence; more than 300 landraces and advanced cultivars are known. *Papaver setigerum* DC is widely accepted as the progenitor. The primary distribution of the plant is difficult to establish, but its nuclear area is commonly held to lie in the western Mediterranean: Italy, northern Africa, eastern Spain, the Mediterranean coast of France and the Mediterranean islands. Papaver must first have been used in this area.

Bakels points out that Papaver turns up regularly in the first farming communities of western Central Europe. The oldest finds are seeds, preserved by charring or waterlogging, and pollen. These finds come from excavations in, somewhat surprisingly, the German Rhineland and the south-eastern part of the Netherlands and are dated to 5300 BC (calibrated radiocarbon dates). The well-known finds in the Alps and surrounding area are younger, but an older find recently appeared in Italy.

The opium poppy spread from Western Europe to the rest of Europe, the Near East and Egypt, Asia and further afield. Since the capsules which provide the latex and are the main source of psychoactive substances do not preserve well, it is unclear when the opium poppy was first used as a drug. An unusual vessel found in one of the oldest farming communities in western Central Europe suggests that the plant was not only grown for food. The first explicit evidence stems from a Sumerian clay tablet (end third millennium BC) found in Iraq which seems to contain a description of the incision in the capsules.

Cannabis

Arno Hazekamp's contribution concerned cannabis, mainly famous for its narcotic effect. The finding that the human body produces its own cannabis-like chemicals has aroused extensive scientific interest. But because of the large number of compounds identified in the cannabis plant, it is difficult to ascertain the active ingredients of medicinal cannabis. Hazekamp overviewed the current status of medicinal cannabis and recent developments which made cannabis available on prescription at Dutch pharmacies from September 2003. Most of the medicinal effects of cannabis have never been proven by modern scientific research. Moreover, opinions about cannabis are usually based on political or emotional grounds rather than on facts. Hazekamp's goal is to separate the myths surrounding cannabis from the facts. The search for the active compounds compares different types of cannabis, which may improve the medicinal effect of preparations. <

'priests drank soma/haoma in ceremonies, which could contain a drug to expose deceitful intentions. In this way priests demonstrated their integrity'

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Information >

The program, abstracts, poster presentation and a photographic report of the symposium can be found at www.plantsinhealthandculture.nl.
The speakers at the symposium have been invited to contribute to the proceedings (Jan Slikkerveer, ed.) which will be published at end of 2004.

The Symposium was sponsored by:
Erasmus, European Union
Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Leiden University
International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)
Leiden Ethnosystems And Development Programme (LEAD), Leiden University
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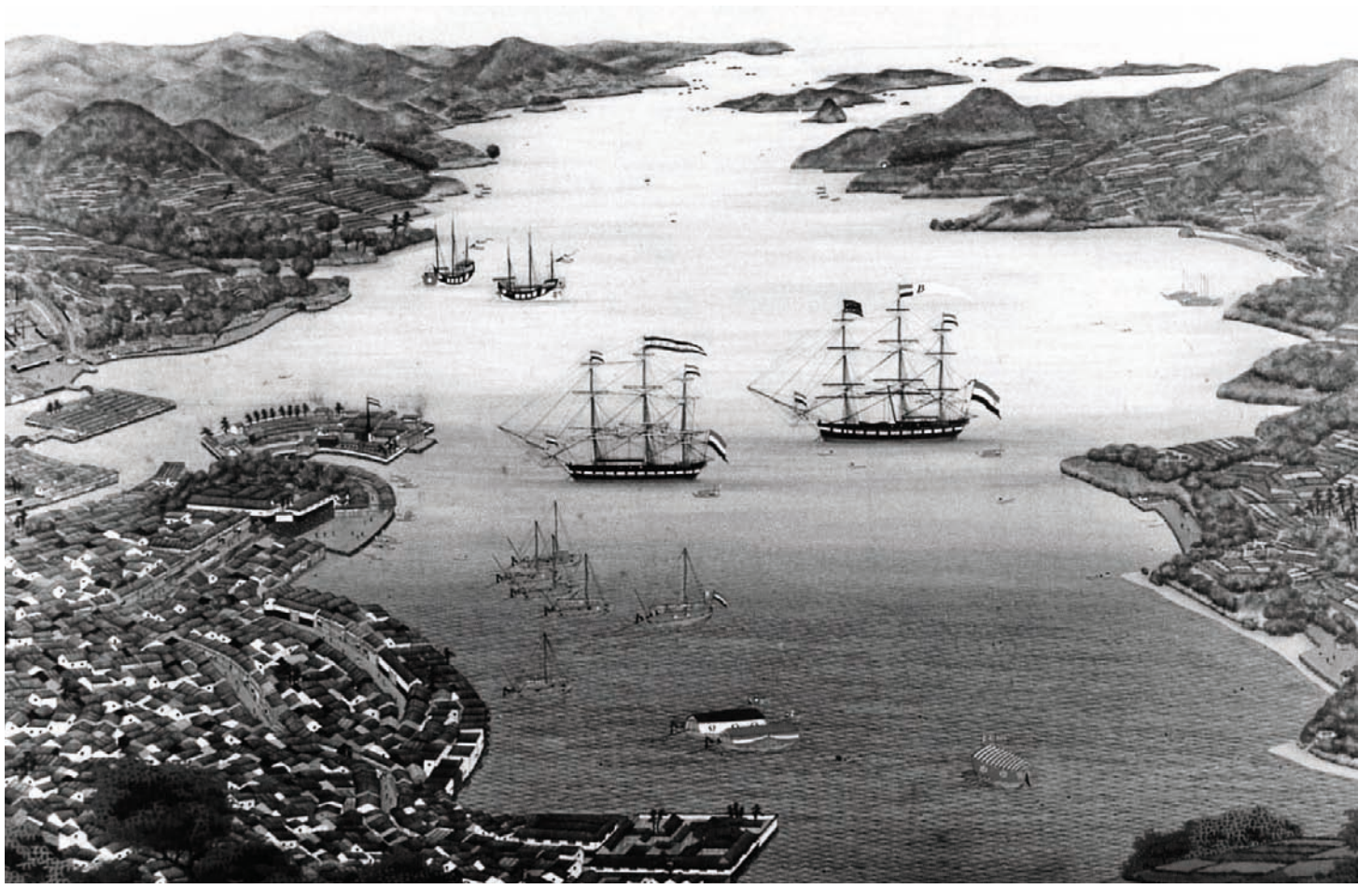

Courtesy of the Maritime Museum Rotterdam, the Netherlands (P.1574)

Nagasaki Bay, c. 1820

Maritime Asian History

Report > East Asia

While intra-Asian trade, domestic ethnic diversity and the foreign relations of pre-modern Japan have been in the Japanese academic spotlight since the early 1980s, maritime Asian history has only recently received the attention it deserves.

by Fujita Kayoko and Yamauchi Shinji

1-2 November 2003
Naha, Okinawa, Japan

In 1993, a handful of young researchers in the Kansai district formed the *Kaiiki Ajiashi Kenkyukai* – the Research Group of Maritime Asian History or *Kaiikiken*. Its members, many of whom were dissatisfied with conventional divisions in historical study, sought to break new ground in the study of maritime Asian history. Kaiikiken's monthly meetings, consisting of presentations and critical readings of historical documents such as the *Rekidai hôan* (*Lidai baoan*, a compilation of diplomatic documents of the Ryukyu Kingdom) stimulated a group of young historians over the next decade. Kaiikiken is now one of the major academic organisations in the field.

The symposium in Okinawa

'The Potential of Maritime Asian History: The 10th-Anniversary Symposium of the Research Group of Maritime Asian History' was held 1-2 November 2003 at the Research Institute of Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts in Naha, the former capital of the maritime Kingdom of Ryukyu (1429-1879). Supported in part by the 21st Century Centre of Excellence Program *Interface Humanities* at Osaka University, fifty faculty and students from all over the Japanese archipelago, China, Thailand, and Singapore attended the symposium.

The symposium began with Geoffrey Wade's lecture 'The Pre-Modern East Asian Maritime Realm: An Overview of European-Language Studies' which overviewed, in English, the past fifty years of Western scholarship on pre-colonial maritime East and Southeast Asia.[1] Wade's presentation, referring to more than 600 works, covered eight themes: (1) the Austronesians; (2) East Asian nautical technologies – e.g. shipbuilding; (3) maritime activities – e.g. tributary systems, trade, piracy, religious interactions; (4) maritime routes and trade networks – e.g. the trans-Marey Peninsular routes, the coming of Islam to maritime Asia; (5) major ports and port-polities; (6) shipwrecks; (7) traded commodities – e.g. ceramics, textiles, spices, animals; and (8) classical texts relating to maritime East and Southeast Asia.

by Fujita Kayoko

King and Queen of the Ryukyu Kingdom leave Shuri Castle to greet Chinese delegates at the harbour, 2 November 2003, Naha, Okinawa

Wade's lecture was followed by five presentations in Japanese by members of Kaiikiken. First, Momoki Shiro, a researcher on Vietnamese history and Kaiikiken's leader since its founding, recounted the group's past activities and outlined strategies for the coming decade.

This was followed by four empirical papers on maritime Asian history. Based on archives concerning Qing-Ryukyu relations such as the *Qindai zhongliu guanzi dang'an xuanbian* and *Rekidai hôan*, Fukazawa Akito examined the Qing government's granting of diplomatic documents to Ryukyuan envoys for an island group close to Fujian. Noting the effects of piracy, Fukazawa emphasised the need to combine micro-level examination of river transportation and macro-level examination of trans-oceanic interaction to reconstruct the past.

Fujita Akiyoshi then presented his database of statues of the Mazu goddess (including items such as place names, material, technique, date and place of manufacture, form of hands, aliases of statues) in the Kyushu and Okinawa regions, used to investigate the pre-modern diffusion of folk beliefs in the China Sea area. Particular attention was given to the geographical distribution of Overseas Chinese in the early sixteenth century.

Okamoto Hiromichi, a specialist on the role of the Ryukyu Kingdom in pre-modern maritime trade networks, argued for statistical studies of all participants of Chinese tributary trade during the Ming. Introducing part of a comprehensive table of tributary cases based on the *Ming shi-lu*, Okamoto claimed that previous statistical studies used improper historical sources and suffered from a narrow geographical focus and vague definitions of 'giving tribute'.

Yamauchi Shinji then examined transnational folk beliefs in the pre-modern Northeast Asian maritime area and gave Japanese, Korean, Ryukyuan, and Chinese examples of prayers for safety at sea taken from sources from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. Yamauchi argued that early-modern Japanese and Korean nautical beliefs contained similar features to earlier Chinese beliefs. This hypothesis runs contrary to conventional theory, held by many Japanese ethnologists, which emphasises the indigenous character of Japanese folk beliefs.

Towards the new decade

Wade's lecture provided Japanese scholars with a rare opportunity to learn of recent Western research, convincing them of the necessity to interact with colleagues abroad. Momoki suggested Kaiikiken members publish their research in English as well as in Asian languages. He also pointed out that research results should be reflected in Japanese secondary education, in textbooks and seminars for secondary school teachers.

Concluding his lecture, Momoki asked: 'Are we going to establish maritime Asian history as a discipline or should it remain a loose bond of people whose research involves maritime aspects?' In other words, can the study of maritime Asian history evolve without becoming a rigid discipline? Just as trade and cultural interaction via perilous sea routes resulted in unique maritime cultures in pre-modern Asia, international collaboration may lead to new breakthroughs in the study of maritime Asian history. <

Information >

For further information on the activities of Kaiikiken, please visit its website: http://homepage2.nifty.com/PHASU/mah-mirror/index.html (most of the contents are in Japanese). Kaiikiken is currently organising the workshop *Northeast Asia in Maritime Perspective: A Dialogue with Southeast Asia* (Mielparque Okinawa, Naha, Okinawa, Japan, 29-30 October 2004), hosted by the 21st Century COE Program *Interface Humanities*, Osaka University, and the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. Around twenty scholars from Northeast and Southeast Asia, Australia, and the United States will discuss maritime trade and its impact on states and societies in Northeast Asia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The workshop will be in English. For further information, please see: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2004/okinawa.htm

Fujita Kayoko *is a researcher with* Interface Humanities, *Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University, Japan. (http://www.let.osaka-u.ac.jp/coe/) Her Ph.D. thesis on Tokugawa Japan's foreign policy as observed by agents of the VOC will soon be submitted to CNWS, Leiden University.*
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Yamauchi Shinji *is senior researcher with* Interface Humanities. *His latest work is a monograph on the history of maritime East Asia in the Nara and Heian periods (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2003)*
ShanneiJ@aol.com

Note >

1 Abstract and full text (ARI Working Papers Series 2003, No. 16) are available online: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps2003.htm

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Babel or Behemoth: Language Trends in Asia

Review > Linguistics

Language is part of what makes us human. Governments' language policies are conscious efforts to make use of this human trait for non-linguistic aims. The result is loss of linguistic diversity due to linguistic pragmatism and political ambition.

By Manfred B. Sellner

Babel or Behemoth: Language Trends in Asia is a collection of essays presented at the Asia Research Institute's (ARI) Inaugural Asia Trends Day in Singapore in July 2003. The conference discussed the consequences of language policy in East and Southeast Asia and examined the traditional socio-linguistic questions of 'who speaks what to whom?' and 'when and why?' Eleven case studies responded to these questions[1]; a number of them are reviewed here. The geographical focus is on India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore; Japan gets mention as an exporter of entertainment and as a sponsor of cultural events in Asia, Hong Kong as a media consumer and the PRC as a disseminator of Mandarin Chinese. The function of English in the 'Asian Babel' and the link between language and nationalism are consistent themes throughout the book.

PhotoDisc

'English, formerly perceived as a symbol of linguistic imperialism, is now accepted as the primary vehicle of economic globalisation'

The editors published the papers before the conference. As they readily acknowledge, this presents difficulties in unifying, complementing, and cross-referencing the contributions. The result is a collection of independent essays with overlapping coverage of theme and substance. Nevertheless, *Babel or Behemoth* will appeal to people interested in the 'Asian Babel'[2] and the ways governments attempt to control it.

Reid discusses the impact of the 'three revolutions' (writing, printing and electronic) on the script, structure and (mis)use of Malay in Indonesia. He argues that newspapers printed in Romanised Malay helped to standardize the written language and to create a multi-ethnic reading community; it also served as the basis for Indonesian nationalism in the 1920s. The introduction of the radio contributed to the standardization of the oral language; paradoxically, it also helped to sustain attachment to minority languages in rural areas and in the diaspora.

Lingua franca

Lo Bianco points out that Asia is the birth place of 'transnational generic English' (p. 21). English, formerly perceived as a symbol of linguistic imperialism, is now accepted as the primary vehicle of economic globalisation. Other transnational codes that supplement national languages include Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Indonesian-Malay and Arabic.

Singh discusses the interrelated causes of language death and convergence and gives an intriguing account of the concept of 'mother tongue' in India's language census. Singh's account is complemented by Tan's detailed overview of ethnic as opposed to linguistic make-up based on census data in India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. Abhakorn concentrates on the relationship between language choice and education in several Southeast Asian countries, pointing out that only Singapore and Malaysia propagate policies of multilingualism. He argues that languages are often regarded as tools to be discarded once rendered useless (p. 84).

Lindsay discusses the Southeast Asian language barrier in the performing arts, while Iwabuchi illustrates the Japanese lead in this area and describes attempts to circumvent the language barrier in the realm of pop music.

There are few available books providing up-to-date diachronic and synchronic background information on Asian language trends. The editors point out the difficulties of obtaining basic data on language policies and use in Asia. Taken as a whole, the articles comprise a laudable effort to overcome this situation. *Babel or Behemoth* is a well-documented starting point for in-depth analysis on this topic, at the interface of sociology, politics and applied linguistics. <

Notes >

1 The articles by Kuo and Jernudd, Mohamed, and Anderson are reprints.
2 The ASEAN-Babel boasts 448 living languages in ten countries.

- Lindsay, Jennifer, and Tang Ying, eds. (2003) *Babel or Behemoth: Language Trends in Asia*. Singapore: Asia Research Institute, pp. 210, ISBN: 981-04-9075-5

***Manfred B. Sellner** is assistant professor in the department of linguistics at the University of Salzburg and guest lecturer on Japanese linguistics at the University of Vienna. His interests include sociolinguistics, linguistic typology and psycholinguistic questions of second language acquisition/bilingualism, experimental phonetics and the documentation of endangered Asian languages.*
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Chinram: The Evolution of a Nation

Review > Burma

The Chins are a relatively little known ethnic minority in Burma. They have borne the brunt of colonial 'pacification', missionary efforts to convert them to Christianity, and detribalisation. Hardly passive victims of colonial oppression, the Chins took every opportunity to transform their society in response to a dangerously unpredictable world.

By Donald M. Seekins

In Search of Chin Identity is an ambitious and informative book that claims 'nationhood' for the Chins, a people straddling the mountainous borders of modern-day Burma (Myanmar), India and Bangladesh. By 'nation' Sakhong means a people 'who possess the consciousness of a common identity, giving them a distinctiveness from other people', though not necessarily possessing their own state (p. xiv).

Chief-land-god

In the first of the book's three parts, Sakhong describes Chin identity before the colonial era: a common mytho-history, a homeland (*Chinram*, the 'land of the Chins') and a unifying body of practices and institutions (*phunglam*, way of life, culture) best understood in terms of the 'unitary functional pattern of "chief-land-god"' (p. 80). Part two narrates the Burmese Chins' encounter with British imperialism and missionary Christianity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Part three discusses the integration of the Chins into Burma following the 1935 Government of Burma Act (which separated Burma from India, dividing Chinram between two, later three states), World War II (when the Chin Levies fought on the side of the British against the Japanese), and the February 1947 Panglong Conference which brought together the Chins, Shans and Kachins and lowland Burmese in a future independent state. Here Sakhong discusses Aung San's vision of a multi-racial, secular Burma and criticizes U Nu's promotion of Buddhism as the state religion (p. 216).

Traditional tribal society was exclusivist and tightly knit, with a hierarchy of nobles, commoners and slaves. At its apex, chiefs (*ram-uk*) were not only owners and distributors of land, heads of their communities and commanders in war, but also high priests, responsible for offering sacrifices to the *Khua-hrum*, locally rooted guardian deities whose good will was believed necessary for prosperity. When Baptist missionaries challenged the power of the *Khua-hrum* and *Khua-chia* (evil spirits, causing accidents and disease), conversion to the new faith was eased by the old belief in *Khua-zing*, a Supreme God to whom the chiefs did not sacrifice, because He, viewed as the source of all life (*zing*), is 'good, never cruel and never harms people' (p. 46).

'detribalisation did not result in dehumanisation, as the Christianity preached by American Baptist missionaries provided the Chin with the basis for a new way of life'

Detribalisation

The British 'pacification' of Chinram between the first invasion of the country in 1871 and the Anglo-Chin War of 1917-19 cleared the way for 'detribalisation', the breakdown of the old 'chief-land-god' nexus. Sakhong, however, argues that detribalisation did not result in dehumanisation, as the Christianity preached by American Baptist missionaries provided the Chin with the basis for a new way of life. The latter overcame the traditional isolationism of the tribes, creating a new Chin identity based on a community of worshippers in a wider world where they could relate as equals to 'civilized' lowlanders.

The aftermath of the Anglo-Chin War was an important turning point, since the British revised the 1896 Chin Hills Regulations to restore the authority of the *ram-uk*. Young men were recruited for the colonial army. Chin dialects replaced Burmese as the language of instruction in mission schools, made part of the colonial educational system under the able but authoritarian supervision of Rev. J. Herbert Cope (a more sympathetic missionary figure was Laura Carson, who criticized British brutality during the Anglo-Chin War and organized relief work). The school system expanded, and because most teachers were Christians, converts grew rapidly before and during World War II when Chin preachers and teachers replaced American missionaries. By 1999, over 80 percent of the Chin population were Christian (p. xvii). However, Sakhong points out that the failure of the missionaries to foster a common Chin language has impeded Chin unity.

The author does not carry his narrative through to the Ne Win (1962-88) and State Law and Order Restoration Council/State Peace and Development Council (1988-) periods. This is unfortunate, since there is limited information in Western languages on how the Chins maintain their identity in the face of military-enforced 'Burmanisation', including the post-1988 junta's aggressive promotion of the Buddhist religion. While the SPDC builds new pagodas nationwide, it discourages the construction of new churches and mosques and the renovation of old ones.

The book's assumption of a unitary Chin identity may be problematic, especially in describing the pre-colonial period when the many tribes were isolated from each other by geography and exclusive rituals. But I*n Search of Chin Identity* provides a good case study of how indigenous peoples, rather than being passive or alienated victims of colonial oppression, took the opportunity, with the help of a small handful of dedicated missionaries, to transform their society in response to a dangerously unpredictable world. <

- Sakhong, Lian H. (2003) *In Search of Chin Identity: a Study in Religion, Politics and Ethnic Identity in Burma*. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series, no. 91. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, pp. xxi, 280. ISBN 0-7007-1764-1 (European edition).

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The History of Tibet

Review > Tibet

This three-volume publication compiles articles on the political, religious, social and cultural history of Tibet.

By Vladimir Uspensky

Tibetan studies form an amalgam with Buddhist studies, and the Buddhist perspective on Tibetan history, originating from Tibetan written sources, is deep-seated in modern scholarship. As McKay writes, 'the dominance of Religious Studies/Buddhology' results in a 'serious historical imbalance' (Vol. 1, p. 24). The Western image of Tibet as a mythical country outside time and space – the 'Shangri-La image' – has penetrated not only popular culture but also scholarly research.

'Tibet was an island of stability in revolution- and war-torn East and Central Asia'

Ancient Tibet

The first volume is dedicated to the ancient history of Tibet. Given the limited sources, it is surprising that this obscure field within Tibetan studies is presented in such detail. The main subjects of this volume are early Tibetan statehood, the emergence of the Tibetan empire and its expansion, ancient beliefs and sacred landscapes. The early period of the dissemination of Buddhism and its social and political implications are treated in detail; several entries are dedicated to the Bon religion, its origins and early history.

Tibet as a Buddhist country, the mainstream concern of Tibetan studies, is the focus of the second volume: the beginning of the 'Second Propagation' of Buddhism, the establishment of monasticism, and the origins of the 'rule by incarnation' culminating in the supremacy of the Dalai Lama. The incorporation of Tibet into the Mongol Yuan Empire, contacts between Tibetan high lamas and the emperors of Ming China, and the rise to power of the Gelugpa School are well covered. The two local Chinchuan wars (1747-49 and 1771-76) receive an entry each. Other important events receive insufficient attention, including the Manchu Qing Empire's administration of Tibet. The 1750 Lhasa Revolt and Gurkha War (1788-1792) are scattered over several entries.

Modern dilemmas

The focus of the third volume is twentieth-century Tibet prior to the flight of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to India in 1959. This volume is largely concerned with the policies of foreign powers towards Tibet and the Tibetan government's attempts to establish contacts with the outside world. The Simla Convention, Indo-Tibetan border issues and British contacts with Tibet in the 1920s are treated in detail, though the 1904 Younghusband Mission does not receive a separate entry. Many newly discovered facts concerning the Tibetan policy of tsarist and communist Russia are also discussed. As McKay justly remarks, the de-facto independent state of Tibet was 'an island of stability' (Vol. 3, p. 2) in revolution- and war-torn East and Central Asia. There was, however, little unity within the ruling elite; their rivalry and egotism are vividly described.

300 Buddhist Deities, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg

The 'Great' Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682).

The post-war events are well known: 'the Tibetan Government had suddenly awoken to the reality of the dangers which threatened it' (Vol. 3, p. 586) and attempted unsuccessfully to secure the country's sovereignty. These attempts are described in detail. The volume concludes with an overview of current and historical Western visions of Tibet and Buddhism. No specific entries discuss developments in Tibet between 1951 and 1959, apart from a brief description of Tibetan resistance to Chinese rule.

'the Western image of Tibet as a mythical country outside time and space – the Shangri-La image – has penetrated not only popular culture but also scholarly research'

Each of the three volumes is addressed to a different audience. The first volume contains in-depth studies by a small number of scholars on an obscure period of Tibetan history. The second volume may become a standard reference book for every Tibetanist. A major part of the third volume is of interest not only to specialized scholars but also to a general audience curious to learn more about Tibet. A short annotated bibliography of additional readings is also attached to the first volume.

The anthology contains 126 articles by a total of 75 mainly Western authors. There are a few entries by ex-patriot Tibetan scholars on the modern history of Tibet, though none by modern Chinese scholars as 'their historical scholarship fails to meet Western academic standards' (Vol. 1, p. 8). Inclusion of the modern Chinese perspective on Tibetan history, however, would have been appropriate. As the editor writes, these articles 'do not establish one "true" account of Tibet, or even provide a consensus of opinion on particular points' (Vol. 1, p. 15). He points out that 'Tibet has as many histories as it has historians' (Vol. 3, p. 30). The majority of Tibetanists would agree: as the Tibetan proverb says, 'each lama has his own teaching'.

Despite its heavy reliance on previously published works, this three-volume anthology is a new event in Tibetan studies. The articles combine in unexpected ways and will stimulate further research. The outcome of McKay's efforts is impressive and deserves words of profound gratitude. <

- McKay, Alex, ed. (2003) *The History of Tibet* 1-3 vols. London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, ISBN 0–700–71508–8
  Vol. 1. The Early Period: to c. AD 850 *The Yarlung Dynasty*. pp. XXIX, 624. ISBN 0–415–30842–9
  Vol. 2. The Medieval Period: to c. 850-1895 *The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy*. pp. XIII, 789. ISBN 0–415–30843–7
  Vol. 3. The Modern Period: 1895-1959 *The Encounter with Modernity*. pp. XIV, 737. ISBN 0–415–30844–5

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The Bogle Mission: travels through Bhutan and Tibet 1774-1777

Review > Bhutan/Tibet

Diplomat George Bogle and surgeon Alexander Hamilton travelled to Bhutan and Tibet in the late eighteenth century. Their unromanticized accounts, edited by Alastair Lamb, provide insight into Himalayan Buddhist court life in the pre-modern period.

By James Cooper

In 1774 Warren Hastings, the Governor General of India, dispatched a young Scotsman, George Bogle, as emissary to the Panchen Lama's court in Tibet's second largest city Shigatse. The Panchen Lama, an outgoing and intelligent man, was then the most powerful figure in Tibet outside the capital Lhasa. Despite, or perhaps because of the growing influence of Beijing at Lhasa, the Panchen Lama was prepared to carry out his own foreign policy initiatives.

A trade route to Lhasa

Following the closure of Nepal's borders after the Gurkha overthrow of the Newars in 1769, Hastings hoped the Bogle mission would lead to the establishment of a trade route between India and China. Although a community of Capuchin missionaries had lived in Lhasa in the early years of the eighteenth century, there had been no diplomatic contacts between modern Europe and Tibet. In retrospect, the Bogle mission brought only limited and short-term benefits to trade and politics. After 1792, the Tibetans closed their doors to Europeans, until they were forced to enter into relations with British India by the Younghusband mission of 1903-04. Only a handful of Europeans were able to visit central Tibet in the nineteenth century.

Bogle, accompanied by surgeon Alexander Hamilton, enjoyed a hospitable reception in Tibet and was apparently fascinated by its culture. He also seems to have formed a warm personal relationship with the Panchen Lama during his stay in Shigatse; the Scotsman enjoyed an ease of access to the Panchen's court that no European ever enjoyed again. Bogle died soon after returning to India, before he could collate the reports that he compiled for Hastings concerning conditions in Tibet (and Bhutan, through which he travelled to Shigatse).

Significance for Tibetan studies

The writings of Bogle and Hamilton have, until now, remained largely unknown, with only one less than comprehensive and poorly sourced early twentieth century summary of Bogle's observations available to the general reader.

'this is not an account of a one-way transmission of knowledge, but a genuine exchange reflecting an era of the European Enlightenment and a Himalayan Buddhist court open to the world'

Yet the reports of these eighteenth-century travellers provide a unique resource for the study of Tibet in the pre-modern period. Alastair Lamb has thus rendered great service in providing a properly edited version of Bogle and Hamilton's writings.

This is not an account of a one-way transmission of knowledge, but a genuine exchange reflecting an era of the European Enlightenment and a Himalayan Buddhist court open to the world. In gathering information about Tibet, religion received less attention from Bogle than might be expected. Bogle also instructed the Panchen in the ways of the outside world. He not only wrote an account of Europe that became the main Tibetan source on the subject, but also a play demonstrating British theatrical culture. Unfortunately, this was apparently so dull that Lamb has judged it best excluded from this volume.

Lamb, the leading authority on Indo-Tibetan diplomatic relations in the colonial period, has worked intermittently on the primary sources for the Bogle mission for nearly fifty years, and is uniquely qualified to edit this work, which is enriched by his own notes. This is, however, only the first of two scheduled volumes, with the discussion of the wider context of the mission, as well as the index and maps, reserved for the second volume. This produces certain difficulties for the reader, and it is hoped that the appearance of the second volume will not be overly delayed. Standing alone, however, this volume provides an invaluable and unromanticized picture of contemporary Tibetan society that will be of considerable and enduring interest to scholars and to anyone interested in this Himalayan region. <

- Lamb, A., ed. (2002) *Bhutan and Tibet: The Travels of George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton 1774-1777*; vol.1, Letters, Journals and Memoranda, Hertingfordbury: Roxford Books pp. 479, ISBN 0 907129 13 7

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Shamans in Asia

Shamans are not remnants of a mythic past. While their practices have never vied for modern status, they remain capable of healing many modern minds.

Review > Shamanism

By Amit Ranjan Basu

Chilson and Knecht's edited volume is a collection of six essays on shamanism, originally published in *Asian Folklore Studies*, 1984-1999, brought out to celebrate the journal's sixtieth anniversary. The editors felt that, 'although the study of shamanism had given much in the last two decades, there was no book widely available that gave first-hand ethnographic accounts of shamans in different areas of Asia' (p. vii).

Between humans and spirits

In his introductory essay, Knecht discusses conceptual issues, highlighting Mircea Eliade's approaches to the study of shamanism. Knecht suggests that in treating psychosomatic disorders, shamans are capable of acting as mediators between humans and spirits. It is unfortunate, however, that the editors did not consider Kakar's contribution (1982) on traditional healing methods in psychotherapy.

Knecht observes that 'from a world-wide perspective shamanism appears to be such a variegated phenomenon that it is impossible to state with certainty whether shamanism in general is in decline or not' (p. 22). In many large cities modern shamans attract and sustain numerous believers seeking advice on business activities, political performance, and family problems.

F. Georg Heyne discusses the social significance of the shamans of the Chinese Reindeer-Evenki, an ethnic group of two hundred that he studied in the late 1990s. As the group's protector and healer, the shaman fulfils important tasks and functions. When the group lacks a shaman, spirits become dissatisfied, causing sickness and misfortune. Despite having a special 'psychomental' state, shamans were never officially the heads of the clan or its political leaders (p. 46).

'modern shamans attract and sustain numerous believers seeking advice on business activities, political performance, and family problems'

Anwarul Karim interviewed eleven Bangladeshi healers from the weaving, oil pressing and farming communities in the late 1980s. Eight of these healers were women who belonged to landless families. He studied five distinct groups of shamans: *Faquir, Ojha, Baul faquir* and *Bedia*, observing that 'shamanistic cure and psychoanalytic cure are quite parallel (sic). Modern medicine cannot always guarantee a permanent cure, but both modern medicine and shamanism can bring temporary relief to the patient, the one by drugs and the other by means of symbols' (p. 82).

Jean Mottin writes about the shamans of the *Hmong*. Four million *Hmong*, said to be among the earliest settlers in China, now live in China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. Mottin thinks 'shamanism is an important form of religion in the world, yet it is one of the least understood forms' (p. 87).

The Korean shamanic practices of *Chaesu Kut* are vividly captured by John A. Grim. The majority of practitioners in contemporary Korea are women, known as *mudang*. Because of the low status attached to *mudang*, the term *mansin*, 'ten thousand spirits', is now preferred. His rich descriptions and comparative analyses bring out the similarities in shamanic practices across cultures that link the world of spirits and religion.

Takiguchi Naoko is the author of the final two chapters on shaman communities of the Miyako archipelago. She describes the structure of Miyako theology, and in her second chapter, provides a detailed ethnographic case study of a Miyako shaman, making use of the shaman's diary which contains details of initiation and practices.

Though the book offers examples of ethnographic research on shamanism in Asia, the scope of the volume seems limited considering the depth and complexity of Asian heterogeneity. The book does not offer critical approaches to ethnography, nor does it engage with contemporary anthropological theories that have questioned the construction of 'folk'. Despite its limited scope, *Shamans in Asia* will attract scholars for the charm of its rich ethnography. <

Richard Walker/Honolulu Star-Bulletin (walkerphotos.net)

Performance of Taegam Nori (Korean Shaman Dance)

- Chilson, Clark and Knecht, Peter, eds. (2003) *Shamans in Asia*, London: RoutledgeCurzon pp. viii + 199, ISBN 0-415-29679-X.

Reference

- Kakar, Sudhir (1982) *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and its Healing Traditions*, New York: Alfred A. Knoff.

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China's Minorities on the Move

Review > China

***China's Minorities on the Move: Selected Case Studies* is a pioneering study in ethnic minority migration in China. The collection of articles rejects earlier assumptions that downplay the role of ethnicity in explaining migration dynamics.**

By Elena Barabantseva

The case studies emphasise the importance of ethnicity in shaping internal migration in China: '[i]n all flows we see the vital importance of kinship, ethnic, and native place or hometown networks' (p. 28). In the introduction, the editors recount the impact of ethnicity on the geographical distribution, education, occupation, and social status of minority migrants. The studies rely on statistical data from the 1990 Chinese national census, sample surveys of minority migrants conducted by the authors in 1997-98 in Beijing, Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang, and interviews with more than 1,600 representatives of minority migrant communities.

Courtesy of author

Environment and identity

The first two case studies focus on Inner Mongolia. Jirgal Burjgin and Naran Bilik argue that increased cultivation of pastureland by Han immigrants in Inner Mongolia has forced an outflow of Mongolian herdsmen into the desert and into urban areas. This has a shattering effect not only on the region's environment, but on the identity of the Mongol people who have to shift from nomadic life to settled animal husbandry or urban livelihoods. Wang Junmin's essay examines patterns of migration, settlement, and social interaction among four dominant groups (Mongolian, Hui, Manchu, and Han) in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods of Hohhot, Inner Mongolia's capital.

The next three chapters analyse migration in Xinjiang, the Chinese region with the largest concentration of ethnic minorities. The essay by Ren Qiang and Yuan Xin shows that most of the new migrants in Xinjiang are Han from the more prosperous provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Other ethnic groups have also moved to Xinjiang: regional census data report thirteen resident nationalities in 1949 and forty-seven in 1990. The high level of multiculturalism, the authors argue, leads to the stabilization of local society through greater inter-ethnic interaction. These developments also damage Xinjiang's ecology, leading to deforestation and desertification.

To the towns

Ma Rong's contribution focuses on the relationship between Uyghur and Han communities in southern Xinjiang. He shows how population distribution patterns are influenced by employment opportunities. Hence high rates of Han employment in Xinjiang's administrative positions concentrate Han communities in urban areas. Nevertheless, the Han seasonal floating population outnumbers permanent residents. Incoming Han migrants concentrate in oil-rich areas and rural areas of townships, where employment in housing and road construction, agriculture and the militia corps is found. Interestingly, most of these enterprises remain under the direct administration of the county or regional government.

The chapter by Tsui Yen Hu also addresses Uyghur movement in Xinjiang and draws attention to new patterns of migration. Since the early 1990s, young Uyghur girls and women have replaced middle-aged peasants as the leading migrant group. This reflects the growing gap in wealth between urban and rural areas and the resultant higher demand for female workers in the service sector, for example in restaurants and in child-minding. Tsui Yen Hun also demonstrates the decisive role played by ethnic identity, kinship links and education in migrants' job seeking and employment.

The chapter by Zhang Jijiao shows that minority migration from Guizhou is not a one-way process. Significant numbers return home and improve living conditions by contributing capital, which exceeds the revenue of major Guizhou industries (p. 146). Returned migrants also serve as transmitters of new technologies and ideas. Carolyn Hoy and Ren Qiang, in their analysis of predominately illegal Uyghur migration to Beijing, conclude that the Uyghur migrants' relationship with the city differs from the Han migrants', as Uyghurs face hostility from local residents and remain unprotected by government authorities.

This book fills a gap in migration studies by demonstrating the relevance of ethnicity in understanding population flows in China. The research, however, suffers from certain limitations. While the chapters complement each other and collectively produce a rich account of minority migration dynamics in China, the analysis is in places repetitive. Also, the experiences of migrant minority women, and social tensions between Muslim migrants and non-Muslim local residents receive insufficient attention. Nevertheless, the book is an invaluable source of primary statistical data and presents an innovative analysis of one of the defining features of contemporary China. *China's Minorities on the Move* will prove useful to those interested in both migration and Chinese studies. <

- Iredale, Robyn, Naran Bilik and Fei Guo, eds. (2003) *China's Minorities on the Move: Selected Case Studies*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, pp 183, ISBN 0-7656-1024-8

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Truth, History and Politics in Mongolia

Review > Mongolia

***Truth, History and Politics in Mongolia* examines the political manipulation of history in post-socialist Mongolia. Shifting memories of the historical figures Chinggis Khaan, Zanabazar and Sühbaatar illustrate the role academic and popular historiography play within contemporary Mongolian nationalism.**

by Irina Morozova

Kaplonski's book belongs to the current wave of anthropological studies on historical imagery and the popular interpretation of historical symbols. Based on data collected during several years of field research in Ulaanbaatar, the author provides insight into the ideological mixture that inhabited the minds of urban intellectuals at the dawn of democratic reforms in the early 1990s.

The book consists of eight chapters. The first two provide the reader with theoretical background, description of fieldwork methods, the main concepts on social memory and nationalism, and terminology. In chapter three, 'Democracy comes to Mongolia', Kaplonski addresses the political history of Mongolia in its transition from socialism to what is often believed to be a democratic society. The main hypotheses on the historical symbols of Mongolian democracy appear in chapter four. Chapter five, 'The icebergs of history', overviews the role of historiography in shaping Mongol identity over the last one hundred years. Chapters six and seven are crucial as they discuss modern interpretations of three historical figures: Chinggis Khaan, Zanabazar and Sühbaatar. The final chapter summarizes the hypotheses of the book.

Nutag *and* uls *in Mongol identity*

Kaplonski rightfully points out the importance of *nutag* (birthplace) for Mongol identity. He argues that *nutag* has become inseparable from the *uls* (the state and its people) and demonstrates the importance Mongols attach to historical personalities who have contributed to the *uls*. The author becomes so concerned with proving the *nutag-uls* linkage between Chinggis, Zaanabazar and Sühbaatar that he overlooks other features of identity.

Photo by the author

Annual celebration of the *Naadam* nomadic festival, July 2003. The horse cavalry represents the army of Chinggis Khaan; the nine banners, the nine Mongolian tribes united by him.

Kaplonski fails to address traditional epic and Buddhist concepts of historical time, even as he quotes from Caroline Humphrey's 'exemplariness' of Mongolian historical personalities and the inspiration individuals can draw from them. According to traditional epic and Buddhist concepts, the past is not a closed period. Although Mongolian academics may see a great historical figure as 'a boundary marker, initiating a new era in history' (Kaplonski, p. 120), most ordinary people perceive a holy image surviving the centuries, capable of reincarnation. The turbulent history of the 1910-1920s provides illuminating cases of such manifestations of historical imagery.[1] Other epic elements of Mongolian historical consciousness, such as the cult of *baatar* (hero), also remain neglected by the author.

Mongolia's heroes

As the author points out, Chinggis never vanished from Mongolian consciousness. During the socialist period his image was kept alive in written sources and unofficial narratives, and acquired additional nationalist meaning. Mongols never identified with Chinggis' tyrannical features, but emphasized his achievements as a political leader – the consolidator of the scattered Mongolian tribes. In the Buddhist historical tradition, the focus was put on Chinggis as lawgiver. I would argue, however, that Chinggis' military conquests and imperial legacy are also matters of national pride, evidenced by some peculiar moral justifications for his brutality.[2]

Emphasizing Buddhism (suppressed during socialism) was part of the search for a new national identity in the early 1990s. As Kaplonski points out, the image of Zanabazar – the first Mongolian 'Living Buddha' – is associated with the establishment of Buddhism in Mongolia. In socialist times, Zanabazar was exhibited to the outside world as a cultural figure, a gifted Mongolian artist and intellectual of the seventeenth century. The author highlights the dilemma posed by the great Zanabazar's surrender to the Manchus. However, post-socialist Mongols tend to justify this with the longue durée in mind.

As Kaplonski explains, Sühbaatar gained popularity among Mongols as a fighter against the Chinese and as the commander-in-chief of the Red Mongolian Army. Contemporary Mongolian historians have re-evaluated Sühbaatar and, based on recently available archival data, concluded that his role in the 1921 revolution was no greater than that of other leaders such as Soliyn Danzan and Dogsomyn Bodoo. At the same time, contemporary Mongolian historians attribute, erroneously, 'democratic' credentials to these early revolutionaries; Kaplonski exposes their political motivation. The next question the author could have asked is whether contemporary Mongolian historians' perceptions of democracy are comparable to Western ones.

The book's weaknesses derive, first, from the narrowness of the geographical scope of Kaplonski's nevertheless impressive field data. The author is aware that Halh nationalism is not representative of Mongolia, let alone Mongolian peoples living in China and Russia. Second, while the author addresses the creativity of the Mongolian intelligentsia, other, especially rural, social groups are absent. And finally, as Kaplonski's achievement is his comprehensive knowledge of works by Mongolian historians, it is especially regretful that he seems to be unfamiliar with a number of important works on and around his topic by Russian, German and French scholars.

Despite these drawbacks, the book contributes to our understanding of the recent history of Mongolia and brings innovative research methods to Mongol studies. The book should be especially thought provoking to a Mongolian audience. <

- Kaplonski, Christopher (2004) *Truth, History and Politics in Mongolia: the Memory of Heroes*, London and New York: Routledge-Curzon, pp. 234, ISBN 0-415-30798-8.

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Notes >

1 Yuzefovich L. (1993) *Samoderzhets Pustyni. Fenomen Sud'by Barona R.F. Ungern-Shtenberga*. Moskva
2 Khara-Davan, E. (1991) *Chingis-khan kak Polkovodets i ego Nasledie*. Elista

A Difficult Friendship: Letters of Edward Thompson and Rabindranath Tagore 1913-1940

Review > India

Twenty-seven years of correspondence between Tagore and the English missionary and Bengali scholar Edward Thompson are compiled in Uma Das Gupta's volume. Their turbulent relationship is a reflection of their times: the burgeoning of the Indian independence movement and the waning of the British Empire.

By Victor A. van Bijlert

Thompson, the Wesleyan missionary stationed at Bankura, was an avid student of Bengali language and literature. Thompson had a great admiration for Tagore. He thought that poor English translations were misrepresenting Tagore's work: better translations and a sympathetic assessment of his art would boost the his reputation in the English-speaking world. In 1913 Tagore asked Thompson to correct his English translations, a task which he faithfully carried out.

'the correspondence is emblematic of the larger issues of British colonial hegemony and Indian political self-consciousness'

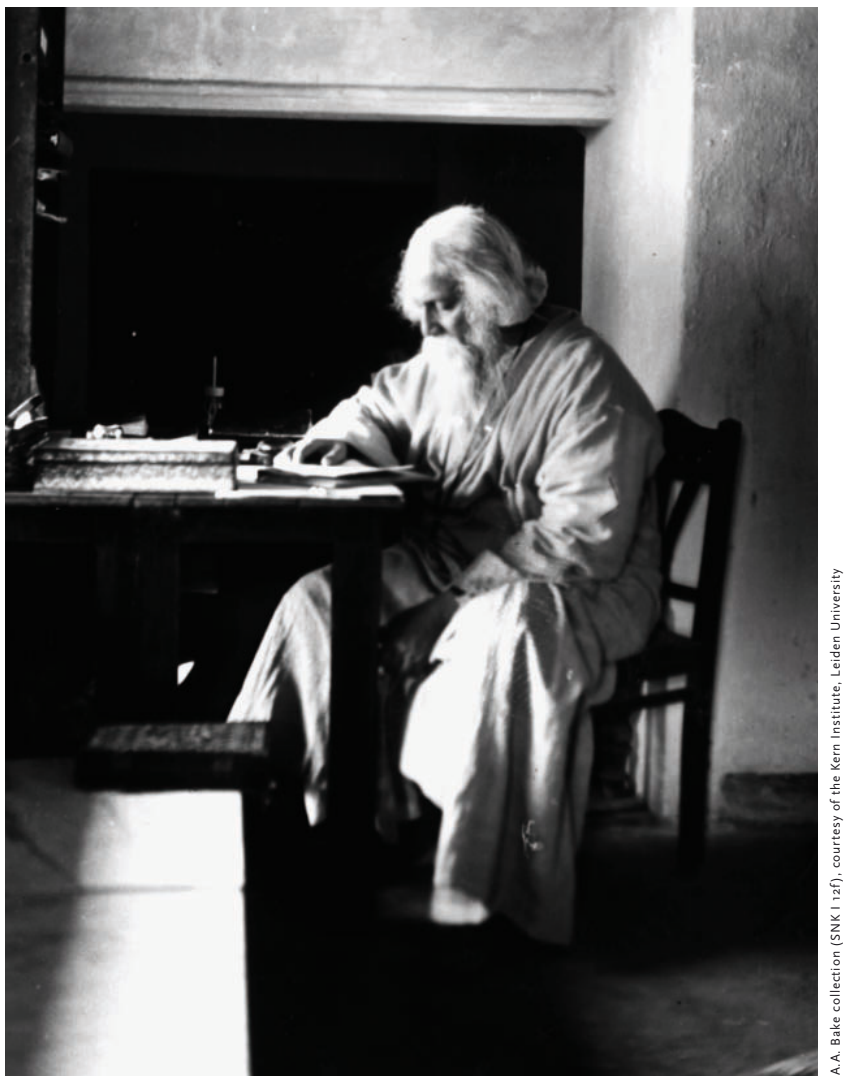
Thompson's first major study of Tagore's poetry and drama, based on his knowledge of the Bengali originals, was published in 1926. It drew a barrage of criticism from Tagore, who called him inept at Bengali and a condescending English schoolmaster. Less than a decade later their friendly correspondence recommenced. Their personal strains and reconciliations, alongside reflections on the unequal relationship between England and India, are well documented in their letters.

In her introduction Das Gupta sketches the unfolding of the friendship. The letters, presented in chronological order, are divided into eight periods between 1913 to 1940, with historical background for each period. Das Gupta has traced the correspondence, preserved in the archives of Rabindra Bhavan at Santiniketan and various libraries in England, to arrive at the most complete source-publication possible. Each letter is annotated and an index of names and subjects is included at the end of the book. *A Difficult Friendship* can be regarded as a companion volume to Sabysachi Bhattacharya's publication (1997) of the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore.

A cultural mediator

Thompson, though he lent support to Indian demands for independence, was not a political figure. He probably saw himself as a non-partisan mediator between India and England. In this role, Thompson felt he could venture his opinions on Indian and English culture and politics alike, which made him unpopular with the Anglo-Indian elite and at times estranged him from his Indian friends (among whom were Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru). Das Gupta regards the correspondence between Tagore and Thompson as emblematic of the larger issues of British colonial hegemony and Indian political self-consciousness; their friendship, however, prevails over their disputes.

The issues discussed in the book remain relevant: Western hegemony and the subaltern position of the so-called Third World, moral integrity versus opportunism, and power politics versus social and political justice. This book is required reading for Tagore scholars; it will also be of interest to students of modern Indian and British history, the sociology of culture, political science and cultural studies. <



A.A. Bake collection (SNK I 12f), courtesy of the Kern Institute, Leiden University

Tagore c. 1925

- Das Gupta, Uma, ed. (2003) *A Difficult Friendship: Letters of Edward Thompson and Rabindranath Tagore 1913-1940.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, viii+243 pp. ISBN 019566312-8

Reference

- Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, ed. (1997) *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore 1915-1941.* New Delhi: National Book Trust, India

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Bengal Studies

In case you would like to introduce your own research in the field of Bengal Studies, please send your contribution or your article proposal to the editors of the *IIAS Newsletter* or to the Bengal Studies correspondent.

Far and Away: Three Authors from Yunnan

Writers > China

Zhang Xiaohong profiles the work of three prominent Chinese writers who live and work in the remote Yunnan province of China. The interview with Hai Nan is extracted from a series of conversations on contemporary Chinese literary trends and women's writing, which took place in Kunming in 2002.

Courtesy of the Michigan University Museum of Art

By Zhang Xiaohong

Yunnan province lies on the Yungui plateau, at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The remote Chinese province is reputed for its beautiful landscape, rich natural resources, mild climate, and above all, for its ethnic diversity. Its mysticism has been a continuous source of inspiration for authors from home and abroad.

Kunming, Yunnan's capital city, is home to many renowned writers, artists and composers. Three prominent young authors, Li Sen, Hai Nan and Chen Chuan have an unusual solidarity. They share the same passion for and commitment to literature. They meet regularly in a shabby, mud-floored restaurant close to Yunnan University campus to exchange books, opinions, and perspectives. Well informed on foreign literature and art, they share an admiration for foreign authors such as Borges, T.S. Eliot, Kafka and Kundera.

Li Sen

Li Sen, the group's uncrowned leader, is deputy dean of the College of Art at Yunnan University. Li Sen writes poetry, fables and critiques. He is best known for his two poem-series 'Rip It Off' (*Sikai*) and 'The Chinese Windmill' (*Zhongguo fengche*), commended by critics as among the best Chinese poetry of the 1990s. Influenced by Wallace Stevens, Li Sen's poetry strikes a balance between classicism and modernism, intellectualism and lyricism. He uses fables to present his views on life, society, politics and history. Like Kafka's allegorical rendering of animals, Li Sen often uses animals to represent bureaucratic political figures, speculative poets, seasoned scholars or social underdogs. Li Sen is also an established columnist and reviewer of foreign writers and artists for the Guangzhou-based literary journal *Flower City* (*Huacheng*). His essay collection *Shadows on the Canvas* (*Huabu shang de yinying, 2000*) provides lyrical interpretations of paintings by Millet, Monet, Van Gogh, Cézanne, Gauguin and many others.

Chen Chuan

Born into a tradition where white hair is symbolic capital, Chen Chuan's youth somewhat works against his literary aspirations. Following his 'discovery' by the editor of Kunlun Press, his prose works *Last Village Pastoral Song and Knock Open the City's Door* were published in 2002. *Last Village Pastoral Song* (*Zuihou de xiangcun muge*) is a collection of prose about events, attitudes, people and material culture, all situated in rural China. Written in fluid, lucid and slightly sentimental language, Chen Chuan's prose defamiliarises the familiar and shatters the stereotyped countryside scenes of popular Chinese cultural imagination. His characters represent abstract symbols rather than living beings. The countryside is a mixed site of memories, fantasies, perceptions and nostalgia.

Having grown up in the country, he assumes the role of an observer or discoverer in *Knock Open the City's Door* (*Qiaokai chengshi de men*). His narrator captures a grey, monotonous, self-enclosed castle-like city in which trivial and shadowy figures roam on the margins or within subculture groups. Chen Chuan's renderings are reminiscent of Baudelaire's *The Flowers of Evil* (*Les Fleurs du Mal*), albeit with a milder tone. Nevertheless, much of his representation is characterised by a desire to discern the bright in the grey, the beautiful in the ugly and the kind in the brutal. This gives Chen Chuan's prose a humanist aspect.

Hai Nan

Hai Nan has been a controversial public figure since the publication of her poem series 'Woman' (*Nüren*) in 1987. A prolific poet, Hai Nan has published four poetry collections: *Organ and Woman* (1992), *Fabricated Roses* (1995), *What Lies Behind* (1997) and *The Colour of Lips* (2000). *Fabricated Roses* is the finest and most illustrative of her collections. Hai Nan's best poetry is characterised by seeming nonsense and near-nonsense, semantic gaps, repetition, the collage of disjointed contexts, fragmentary syntax and allegories.

Hai Nan has also published fifteen novels. Her most radical fictional work, *A Man's Biography* (*Nanren zhuan*) (2000), is a language game that challenges established Chinese literary conventions and frustrates interpretative efforts. Her novels have become more realistic, however. *How Has a Butterfly Become a Sample* (2000) maintains a closer link with external reality than *A Man's Biography*. The female narrator closely examines the story-making or creative process. The image of butterflies chains the entire narrative and constitutes its thematic core of psychosis, love and destiny.

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Interview

How Has a Butterfly Become a Sample; Conversations with Hai Nan

Zhang: *It seems that your poetry underwent a radical change during the 1990s, from complexity and undifferentiation to clarity, from outpouring to self-restraint. What caused this change in your writing?*

Hai: This question is of great importance. When I attended the *Youth Poetry Recital* sponsored by the journal Poetry at the Lu Xun Literary Academy in 1988, many participants, including [the deceased poet] Luo Yihe criticised my poetry. Some of my poet friends suggested that I write with more self-restraint. My poetry was indeed chaotic – I was then twenty-five years old. I wrote poems every day, but discarded most of them that were chaotic and full of 'outpouring'. In 1990 I started writing poems that were later published in *Fabricated Roses*. I wrote three or four twelve-lined poems on a daily basis. Moments of clarity followed those of chaos. I remained composed in class, with Duras's *The Lover* and Eliot's *The Wasteland* on my desk. I was enchanted with *The Wasteland* and absorbed in the atmosphere of 'April is a cruel month.' This kind of writing exercise served to polish my poetic language. Without exaggeration, *Fabricated Roses* can be considered my best poetry collection.

Zhang: *Have you been pursuing a 'language utopia', a term you employed in your prose work entitled 'Elegies of the Heart', through experimental writing? Aren't you sometimes worried that this desired 'language utopia' will daunt readers whose reading takes place in specific socio-historical contexts?*

Hai: I seldom take readers into account in the course of writing. Once setting my pen to paper, I fall into a forgetful state, not consciously, but automatically. Writing is an autonomous act. It is like a labyrinth. Authors who have entered their self-created labyrinths are no longer connected with external reality.

Zhang: *My next question concerns the image of butterflies in your novel 'How Has a Butterfly Become a Sample' and in your namesake poem. The butterfly is semantically ambiguous. For instance, it denotes 'beautiful', 'flying', 'fragile', 'happy', 'psychic', 'transient' and 'changeable.' The image symbolises loyal and tragic love in Chinese literary tradition. Why do you constantly evoke this almost clichéd image?*

Hai: This has to do with the Butterfly Spring in Dali, Yunnan province. I was attracted by the beauty of the samples exhibited at the Butterfly Sample Museum of Dali. No other animal specimens are as beautiful as butterfly samples. The museum is virtually a prison for the life and beauty of butterflies. The living butterflies' indeterminate beauty is not at all free; their samples are displayed as 'beautiful captives' in a prison-like museum. Human existence is as fragile and vulnerable as the fate of butterflies.

Zhang: *Your most famous poem-series 'Woman' imposes a strong psychological shock on readers. I felt that you turned psychological impulses into natural linguistic impulses. I also have the impression that you employ the medium of language to cure psychological wounds. Do you agree?*

Hai: You are perhaps right, though I have never thought about it. In fact, the therapeutic effect of language is not confined to unhappy childhood experiences. Human beings suffer from wounds throughout their lives, especially women, who experience pain almost daily. Language is indeed the best therapy. Women can use writing to cure all sorts of wounds.

Zhang: *Current Chinese poetry criticism attaches great importance to the thematic/semantic content of women's poetry, rather than form and structure. Do you see any gender-specific poetic form in women's poetry?*

Courtesy of the Michigan University Museum of Art

Hai: Zhai Yongming has her own 'gendered specificity', as do Yi Lei and I. No woman poet can avoid talking about her own gender experience. Only on the basis of experience can guesses, hypotheses and fictionalised things be represented.

Zhang: *Thank you for your time and insights.* <

> Art Agenda

Australia

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Parkes Place, Parkes
Canberra ACT 2601
T +61-2 6240 6502
http://nga.gov.au/

16 July – 10 October 2004
Montien Boonma: Temple of the Mind
As a retrospective of the work of Montien Boonma (1954-2000), this exhibition demonstrates the broad range of materials and techniques that the artist explored, including large-scale sculptures in metal, wood, and ceramic; drawings done in pen, crayon, and pencil; and organic collages on paper. The contemplative installations draw on the spirit and senses of Thailand, combining Buddhist imagery with industrial and ephemeral materials such as gold leaf, spices, earth, and charcoal.

Art Gallery of New South Wales
Art Gallery Road, Domain
Sydney NSW 2000
T +612-9225 1744
artmail@ag.nsw.gov.au
http://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au

31 July - 24 October 2004
Celestial Silks: Chinese Religious and Court Textiles
Over 70 textiles made in China for use at the imperial court or as temple offerings in China or Tibet are featured in this exhibition. Highlights include sumptuous dragon robes worn by emperors and high court officials, Tibetan monastery textiles, jeweled ceremonial hats, and a display of rare and beautiful festival badges of the imperial court.

China

Hong Kong Heritage Museum
Temporary exhibition galleries 3 & 4
1 Man Lam Road
Sha Tin, Hong Kong
T +852-2180 8188
http://www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk

2 June - 11 October 2004
Hong Kong Public Housing Exhibition
The tragic fire that broke out in the Shek Kip Mei squatter area on Christmas Day in 1953 inspired a wave of development that saw the birth of Hong Kong's public housing programme. This exhibition reviews the development of public housing over the past half a century through the display of historical photos, reconstructions of resettlement buildings, household settings, and the stories of individual men and women who have lived in different generations of public housing.

14 September 2002 - December 2004
Miniature Classical Chinese Furniture from Charles C. W. Wong Donation
This exhibition of miniature models gives visitors the opportunity to appreciate the beautiful but often neglected aesthetics of classical Chinese furniture. Made of rosewood (huanghuali and zitan) using mortise and tenon joinery, these 1:8 scale models precisely reflect the devotion to detail of Chinese furniture artisans. The models are displayed in settings representing living rooms, bedrooms and studies, retaining both the traditional architectural character and the spirit of Ming furniture.

28 April - 8 November 2004
Banknotes That Tell a Story
This exhibition introduces the history of banknote design in Hong Kong and features changes in banknote design dating back more than a century. Banknotes, sketches, artwork and printing plates selected from The Hong kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Limited's collection, and the newly launched 2003 banknote series will all be on display for the first time, along with an accompanying video commissioned for the exhibition by HSBC.

The Macau Museum of Art
Macao Cultural Centre,
Av. Xian Xing Hai, s/n, NAPE
Macau
T +853-791 9814, 853-791 9800
http://www.artmuseum.gov.mo

Through 31 December 2004
Historical Painting
This is an exhibition of historical paintings about the landscape of Macau in the 19th century.

Denmark

Danish Museum of Textile Art
Bredgade 68
DK - 1260 Copenhagen K
T +45-33 185656
Info@kunstindustrimuseet.dk
http://www.kunstindustrimuseet.dk

Until 30 December 2004
Japanese Textiles from Sys Thomsen's Collection

Textilforum
Vestergade 20
DK-7400, Herning
T +9712-2980
textilforum@textilforum.dk
www.dragt.dk

Photographie © 2000 The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Coupe sur pied, milieu du XIIIe siècle, verre soufflé dans un moule, décor émaillé et doré, Syrie, H. : 13,3 ; D. : 63,6 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Collection Edward C. Moore, legs de Edward C. Moore, 1891.

10 June - 15 August 2004
Contemporary Japanese Quilts
This exhibition of 100 quilts by internationally recognized Japanese textile artists explores the synthesis of Japanese and western quilting.The quilters fused a variety of Japanese and western quilting techniques with Japanese materials. For centuries Japanese textiles artists have used the components of western-style quilts, such as patchwork and appliqué, stuffing and quilting, and even the recycling of old fabrics to create their textiles. However, the concept of combining all these elements into the western concept of quilts is only about 25 years old.

France

Galerie Piece Unique
4 Rue Jacques Callot
75006 Paris
T +33-14 326 5458
http://www.galeriepieceunique.com

Until 15 September 2004
Urban Fiction
In her latest work, Xing Danwen photographs the models of the new districts of Chinese cities, exposing their disproportion and dehumanization. Her art brings attention to the consequences the recent upheaval in the Chinese urban universe: the disappearance of the inheritance from and the references to former generations, and a new world of cold buildings where the human appears terribly ridiculous and alone.

Musée du Louvre
75058 Paris Cedex 01
T +33-01 40 20 50 50
info@louvre.fr
http://www.louvre.fr

30 April 2004 - 25 April 2005
30 Masterpieces of Islamic Art from the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York
The objects originated from the various regions of the Islamic world and represent periods ranging from the 9th century to the zenith of Islamic culture reached by the great empires of the modern era. The 30 objects from the Metropolitan range from a 12th century inlaid ewer from Iran to a 16th century platter from India to a 13th century enamelled and gilded glass bowl from a Syrian workshop. Masterpieces of the Louvre's collection are also displayed, including the large metal vase created for an Egyptian sultan in the mid-13th century, and formerly in the collection of Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini).

Germany

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst
Takustraße 40
14195 Berlin - Dahlem
T +30-830 1382
oak@smb.spk-berlin.de
http://www.smpk.de/oak

8 June – 3 October 2004
Japanese flower and bird representations

Indonesia

Galeri Nasional
Jl. Medan Merdeka Timur 14
Jakarta Pusa 10110
T +021-38433954, 38433955
galnas@indosat.net.id
http://www.gni.or.id

2 August – 11 August 2004
Chang Fee Ming: Mekong
This exhibition of watercolourist Chang Fee Ming's work is comprised of approximately forty pieces made in the past three years and one hundred small works and sketches culled from numerous sketchbooks filled during the artist's frequent travel to the Mekong. A consummate narrator, he sensitively conveys the resilience of the human spirit and of cultural tradition in the face of change.

Israel

Eretz Israel Museum
2, Haim Levanon Street
Tel Aviv 69975
T +972-3 641 5244
http://www.eretzmuseum.org.il/main/

Until 30 August 2004
Magical Shapes: Twentieth Century Chinese Papercuts
A presentation of more than 200 examples of this quintessential Chinese art. Exhibits include talismans made by peasants for themselves and their neighbours, as well as images made by artisans in collectivized studios under government direction as propaganda art and/or souvenirs. The group of elaborate folk papercuts from the Republican period is rare both because much folk art was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and because most papercuts were created originally as ephemera to be renewed each year.

Italy

Palazzo Bricherasio
via Lagrange 20
Torino, Italy
info@palazzobricherasio.it
http://www.palazzobricherasio.it

18 June 2004 – 19 September 2004
Arte Buddhista Tibetana, Dei e demoni dell'Himalaya
This is one of the most complete exhibitions on Himalayan art organised in Italy to date. It features a collection of thangkas, wooden book covers and sculptures in copper alloy, decorated with silver, gold, pigment and gems. It also includes a collection of some eighty rare copper, silver, and golden sculptures dating from the ninth century to the sixteenth century.

Japan

Kyoto National Museum
527 Chayamachi, Higashiyama-ku
Kyoto, 605-0931
T +75-541 1151
www.kyohaku.go.jp/indexe.htm

10 August – 20 September 2004
The Sacred World of Shinto Art in Kyoto (Tentative title)
The former capital of Kyoto with its long history is blessed with many famous shrines, which are endowed with many treasures. These sacred gifts to the gods were not meant for mortal eyes, hence, their very nature kept them from public display. This exhibition explores the world of Shinto through images of deities, narrative handscrolls, paintings of festivals, documents, and votive ema plaques from renowned shrines in Kyoto.

Mori Art Museum
Roppongi Hills Mori Tower, 6-10-1,
Roppongi, Minato-ku
Tokyo
T +03-5777 8600
http://www.moriartscenter.org/

24 August – 5 December 2004
Ozawa Tsuyoshi
The artist whose invention of "discussion art" made him a favorite at international art festivals in the 1990s brings his first solo show to the Mori Art Museum. From capsule hotels to bubbling hotpots, Ozawa attempts to bring the world together by sharing small, intimate spaces with strangers.

Photographie © 1989 The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Encrier avec couvercle, seconde moitié du XVIe siècle, alliage cuivreux, décor incrusté d'argent, H. : 9,2 cm, Iran, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fonds Rogers, 1941.

Fashion in Color: Viktor & Rolf & KCI
This exhibition explores the use of color in fashion and how color can be used to express particular emotions and ideas. It includes the video work of design team Viktor & Rolf, as well as 80 costumes and accessories dating back to the 17th century from the collection of the Kyoto Costume Institute.

Korea

Busan Metropolitan Art Museum
1413 Woo-2dong, Haeundae-gu
Busan, South Korea 612-020
T +82 51 740 4212 i8

21 August – 31 October 2004
Busan 2004 Bienniale Contemporary Art Exhibion: Chasm
As the main event of the Busan Biennale 2004, the Contemporary Art Exhibition presents current trends in contemporary art with the participation of approximately 100 internationally renowned artists from Korea and abroad. The exhibition is divided into three sections: "Hang in There", "My Dear Geum-sun", and "Moving Picture Desire." Works include painting, sculpture, installation, photography, film, mixed media, screen based art, architectural projects and other inter-disciplinary projects based on literature, popular culture, and documentary.

Portugal

Museu Calouste Gulbenkian
Av. de Berna 45A
1067-001 Lisboa Codex
T +21-7823000
http://museu.gulbenkian.pt

Until 5 September 2004
Goa and the Great Mughal
This exhibition highlights different aspects of the relationship established between Portuguese India and the Mughal empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This association lasted for over two hundred years and was expressed in various fields: in trade, as carried on in the ports of Gujarat and Bengal; in politics and diplomacy, as confirmed by the vast body of documents on embassies, treaties, mediators and spies; in religion, through the influence of the Jesuits at the courts of Akbar and then Jahangir; and in culture and art, as demonstrated in the mutual interchange of objects, ideas, tastes and styles.

> Art Agenda

Russia

State Hermitage Museum
34 Dvortsovaya Naberezhnaya (Palace Embankment)
St Petersburg 190000
T +812-117 34 65
http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_En/index.html

Until September 2004
Chinese Export Art
The exhibition in the Menshikov Palace showcases over 200 exhibits, including jewelry, metalware, carved bone, porcelain, wallpapers, fabrics, drawings and "applied" paintings. It shows cultural contacts between China and Western Europe, South East Asia and Russia.

Singapore

Sculpture Square
155 Middle Road
Singapore, Singapore
T +65-6333 1055
arts@sculpturesg.com.sg
http://www.sculpturesq.com.sg

Photographie © 1980 The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Coupe : Bahram Gûr et Azadeh, fin XIIe – début XIIIe siècle, pâte siliceuse, décor de petit feu peint sur la glaçure, Iran, H. : 9,2 ; D. : 21,3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Fonds Rogers et don de The Schiff Foundation, 1957.

Until 29 Aug 2004
reformasi
This is the largest and most comprehensive survey of Indonesian contemporary art shown in Singapore. The works express the concerns and reactions of contemporary Indonesian artists to the unsettling political situation of their native country in the complex post-Suharto era.

8 September 2004 – 17 October 2004
The Concrete Ephmeral Landscape: Postcards from the Floating World
This is a multimedia installation piece by Vince Ong Choon Hoe and Brian Tan. Due to the rapid urban renewal in Singapore, the artists feel a sense of alienation as places of familiarity are demolished or renovated beyond recognition. To create the world as transient and vapourous, the installation is divided into 3 parts: architectural structures, 'sonic' landscape, and films.

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

Until 9 September 2004
Convergences of Art, Science and Technology (C.A.S.T)
This exhibition uses art to examine the practices and discourse of science and technology, as well as their impact on society. Installations include interpretations of the future, interactive stations to demonstrate the interface of science and creativity, and examples of science imitating art through intriguing images of cells and DNA. The exhibition features work by artists in collaboration with scientists, computer engineers and medical professionals.

Spain

CaixaForum, Fundació
T +93-476 8600
info.fundacio@lacaixa.es
http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/eventos/exposiciones/

Venue: Sant Adrià Marina (North Pier)
9 May – 26 September 2004
The Warriors of Xian
These exhibits of funerary art are examples of recent archaeological discoveries at the tombs of Qinshihuangdi and Yangling. The 100 works on display are from the Qin (221-207 BCE) and Han (202 BCE-220 CE) dynasties; featured exhibits include terracotta warriors from Xian, stone armour, and ceramic figures and domestic animals. These objects are on loan from various institutions and museums of the Shaanxi province.

Venue: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC)
Temporary Exhibitions Hall
Palau Nacional, Parc de Montjuïc
08038 Barcelona
T +93-622 0376
http://www.mnac.es/

21 June – 11 September 2004
Feasts, rituals, and ceremonies: Ancient bronzes from the Museum of Shanghai
This exhibition covers bronze age art from the Xia Dynasty (21st-17th centuries BCE) up to the beginnings of the Qin Dynasty (3rd century BCE), focusing on pieces used for ritual purposes. The selection of objects offers a panorama of the role of bronze art in the protocol of ancestor worship, as well as an overview of the evolution of forms, styles, decorations, and metallurgical techniques over the course of this 2000-year period.

Sweden

Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
Box 161 76, SE-103 24
Tyghusplan, Skeppsholmen, Stockholm
T +46 08 51 95 57 50
info@ostasiatiska.se
http://www.mfea.se/

4 September – 28 November 2004
Meetings with Buddha
The exhibition consists of photos from Bodhgaya in India taken by Kärsti Stiege, with music composed by Johan Zachrisson.

Switzerland

The Baur Collection
8, rue Munier-Romilly
CH 1206 Geneva
T +022-346 17 29
email@collections-baur.ch
http://www.collections-baur.ch

8 July – 17 October 2004
Gestures of Asia
This exhibition features the calligraphy, rubbings, books, inks, seals, and ceramics of Asia.

Lacquers of China
These lacquers are a donation from the Chow Family Foundation.

Museum Rietberg Zurich
Gablerstrasse 15
Zurich, Switzerland
T +01-206 31 31
museum@rietb.stzh.ch
http://www.rietberg.ch

Until 29 August 2004
Indian Painting
Venue: Park-Villa Rieter. The exhibition examines the development of the Indian painting from the paintings of the sultanates in the fifteenth century through the fall of the Moghul empire and includes the creation of local art centers in Rajasthan and in the mountain regions.

Thailand

Hariphunchai National Museum
Inthayongyot Road
Lamphun 51000
T +66 53511186
info@flywithmeproject.org
http://www.flywithmeproject.org

Until 20 February 2005
Fly with Me to Another World
The commemorative year-long exhibition of Inson Wongsam's life by Navin Rawanchaikul includes a life-size replica of Inson on his Lambretta scooter surrounded by prints, paintings, and photos based on his recollections and experience as a young Thai artist traveling around the world. The exhibition launches a one-year community art project followed by a series of outreach activities challenging the institutional norms of contemporary art while addressing issues of identity, social struggles, environment, wellness and living heritage in Lamphun, Thailand.

United Kingdom

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

Until 5 September 2004 (provisional date)
The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith
This exhibition brings together over 200 of Aurel Stein's seldom seen Central Asian manuscripts, paintings, objects and textiles, along with other fascinating artefacts from museums in China, Japan, Germany, and France. Items include anti-war poetry, court documents to reclaim land from squatters, mousetraps, desert shoes, and a letter apologising for getting drunk and behaving badly at a dinner party.

The Hermitage Rooms at Somerset House
Strand and Waterloo Bridge
London
T +44-20-7836 8686
info@somerset-house.org.uk
http://www.somerset-house.org.uk

Until 22 August 2004
Heaven on Earth: Art from Islamic Lands
The collections of The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg and the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art are each lending more than 60 works to this display. The exhibition illustrates how the fine and decorative arts of Islam were used to glorify both God and human rulers. The objects cover a vast geographical area and range in date from the early medieval to the 19th century; they include illuminated copies of the Quran, paintings, textiles, jewels, metalwork, and ceramics.

United States

Museum of Fine Arts
Avenue of the Arts,
465 Huntington Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts
T +1-617-369 3222
khygysician@mfa.org
www.mfa.org

Until 12 November 2004
New Discoveries and Long-Lost Friends: Selected Paintings from India
An exhibition of new acquisitions and newly-conserved masterpieces from the MFA's important holdings of Indian paintings, including an extremely rare 13th-century Jain palm-leaf manuscript, and a group of beautiful oversized drawings from Jaipur.

The Field Museum
1400 S. Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60605-2496
T +312-922 9410
www.fieldmuseum.org

Until 12 September 2004
Splendors of China's Forbidden City: The Glorious Reign of Emperor Qianlong
The 400 artefacts and art objects from Beijing's Palace Museum have been used to reveal what Qianlong was like as an emperor and as a man by creating environments drawn from key rooms in the Forbidden City. These include a throne room, the chamber of an imperial wife, and the emperor's personal Buddhist shrine.

Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853
T +607-255 6464
museum@cornell.edu
http://www.museum.cornell.edu

Until 15 August 2004
Contemporary Taiwanese Art in the Era of Contention
This exhibition provides a Taiwanese perspective on the Chinese diaspora. It focuses on the period since 1987, when nearly half a century of martial law ended. Many taboo topics of the past-such as ethnicity, sexuality, homosexuality, feminism, postindustrial culture, and cross-strait relations-became the foci of intense scrutiny and lively discussions among artists and the broader public. The exhibition has been co-organized by the Johnson Museum and the Taipei Fine Arts Museum.

Asia Society and Museum
725 Park Avenue (at 70th Street)
New York, New York
T +1-212-517 2742
boxoffice@asiasoc.org
www.asiasociety.org

Until 5 September 2004
Between Past and Future: New Photography and Video from China
Featuring 130 works by 60 Chinese artists, many of whom will be exhibiting for the first time in the United States, the exhibition reflects the enthusiastic adoption of media-based art by younger Chinese artists. Their works, often ambitious in scale and experimental in nature, reflect a range of highly individual responses to the unprecedented changes now taking place in China's economy, society and culture.

The Apprentice Toyochiyo Making Up, c. 1954, Francis Haar, Gelatin silver print. Courtesy of Tom Haar. From the exhibition Geisha: Beyond the Painted Smile on view at the Asian Art Museum from June 25 to September 26, 2004, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem Massachusetts.

Japan Society
333 East 47th Street
New York, New York 10017
T +1-212-832 1155
www.japansociety.org

22 September 2004 – 2 January 2005
Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation
Shomei Tomatsu is internationally recognized as one of Japan's most innovative and important postwar photographers. Tomatsu's work explores the complex relationship between modern Japanese society and Western culture and politics. This exhibition presents several works from each of Tomatsu's major series, including Nagasaki 11:02, a historic documentation and exploration of the lives of A-bomb survivors in Nagasaki.

Asian Art Museum
200 Larkin St.
San Francisco, California 94102
T +415-581 3500
www.asianart.org

Until 22 August 2004
Spaces Within: Installations by Michael Lin and Wu Mali
Installations, videos, and interactive projects by these living Taiwanese artists explore the connections between private personal lives and group experiences, placing art not in the gallery but in the public realm and inviting visitors to participate in the artist's process.

25 June – 26 September 2004
Geisha: Beyond the Painted Smile
Designed to convey both the image and the reality of geisha throughout history, and to elucidate their role in the development of Japan's artistic culture, this installation features hanging scrolls, woodblock prints, screens, oil paintings, 19th century and contemporary photography, costume, musical instruments, ceramics, and lacquerware. The 150 works, dating from the 17th century to the present, were gathered from institutions and private collections in North America, Japan and Europe.

Interweaving Medical Traditions: Europe and Asia, 1600-2000

Report > Asia-Europe

11-13 September 2003
Wolfson College, Cambridge

European and Asian medical traditions are interwoven in much more complex ways than previously assumed.

courtesy of Stephen Dornbos

Ethnic Chinese women selling medicines on the side of the road

By Sanjoy Bhattacharya

The workshop's participants tended to move away from the simplistic – but widely held – view that medical knowledge flowed only in one direction, from Europe to Asia, and that it was always imposed in the form originally intended by 'hegemonic' interests on compliant under-developed societies. Instead, the meeting's participants pointed to the existence of far more complex trends.

Frequent reference was made to the limited success of many healthcare reform initiatives launched by colonial regimes, international organisations and 'modernising' national governments. The ability of bureaucrats and civilian targets of health care schemes to undermine official immunisation campaigns and hospital regimes was stressed, as was the role of consumers in the commodification of medicinal products and the reformulation of competitive, ever-changing medical marketplaces. The continued presence of these trends was not attributed to supposedly culturally specific Asian mores. Ritualism, superstition and a willingness to justify opposition to organised medical interventions on religious grounds were, it was pointed out, prevalent both in Europe and Asia.

courtesy of author

Small pox immunisation campaign poster from India, 1975-76

Early contacts

The meeting began with papers on early contacts between Asia and Europe. Dominik Wujastyk described medical thought and practice amongst traditional physicians in India during the two centuries before British colonial power was established in India. Hal Cook's paper then discussed the significant role played by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the seventeenth century in seeking information and objects about the medicine and natural history of Asia and conveying them back to Europe. This was followed by Rethy K. Chhem's survey of the nature of Khmer medicine before the onset of French colonialism in Cambodia.

The next panel dealt with medical trends in nineteenth-century Asia. Jong-Chan Lee described the work of medical missionaries in Korea; Hormuz Ebrahimnejad the institutional and epistemological bases of the modernization of medicine in Qajar Iran. They were followed by Dr. Shang-Jen Li, who examined British Medical Research on Leprosy in nineteenth-century China.

Colonial medicine

The final panel of the first day focused on medical trends in colonial Asia. Cristiana Bastos presented the results of her research on the complexities of epidemic disease control in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Goa. Liesbeth Hesselink depicted the role accorded to indigenous midwives and doctors in the Dutch East Indies in the period 1850-1910.

The first panel of the second day continued to look at trends in colonial Asia. After Niels Brimnes discussed his research on popular resistance to variolation and vaccination in early colonial South India, Laurence Monnais described pharmaceutical and drug use in French Vietnam in the period 1860-1939. The next panel, which focussed on the role of voluntary medical organisations in Asia, opened with David Hardiman's paper on the attitudes of medical missionaries in nineteenth- and twentieth-century India to supernatural healing. Alex McKay spoke about British efforts to politicise the working of the Indian Medical Service's dispensary in Gyantse (Tibet) between 1905-1910, whose voluntary schemes were welcomed by Tibetan elites.

The post-lunch session dealt with medical trends in Asian contexts after the end of colonial rule. Kai Khiun Liew presented a paper on occupational health and safety in Singapore's shipbuilding industry, and Sanjoy Bhattacharya described the World Health Organisation's frequent lack of success, despite protracted efforts, in shaping public health and medical policy in independent India.

Medical pluralism

The third day started with a panel dealing with medical pluralism in Europe. Lyn Brierley-Jones described the bitter medical debates that accompanied the spread of homeopathy in Britain and the rest of Europe. This was followed by Gunnar Stollberg's paper on the globalisation of Asian Medicine, which referred to the spread of acupuncture and ayurveda in Germany and in the UK. Vivienne Lo then discussed how the concept of 'deviant airs' was defined – and kept relevant – in 'traditional' Chinese medicine in different periods and socio-political contexts.

The final panel of the meeting, on medical pluralism in Asia, began with a presentation by Margaret Jones. This looked at official attitudes towards indigenous medicine in colonial Ceylon during the twentieth century and questioned the wisdom of pre-supposing the 'hegemony' of allopathy/scientific medicine in this context. Makoto Mayanagi looked at Japanese efforts to regulate and reshape traditional Medicine in modern China. He examined the impact of Japanese medical texts in the Republic of China in the period 1911-1944. The final paper, by Kavita Sivaramakrishnan, dealt with the complexities of ayurvedic learning and practice in colonial Punjab, with particular reference to how ayurvedic practitioners in this British Indian province sought to 'indigenise' specific notions of 'scientific' medicine during the 1930s and 1940s.

The meeting closed with a general discussion on the themes raised by the speakers and their relevance to the way in which historical and social science research was conducted and analysed. The organisers will publish the proceedings of the workshop using a well-known publisher in India to make the book affordable to readers in Asia.

Apart from being very academically rewarding, the workshop was also useful from the point of view of opening up possibilities for future collaboration between European and Asian research institutions. Such links will without doubt result in important new research and a range of exciting publications that will take our understanding of medical history and medical anthropology further forward. <

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sanjoy.bhattacharya@ucl.ac.uk

The workshop Interweaving Medical Traditions: Europe and Asia, 1600-2000 was organised by The Asia Europe Foundation, The European Alliance for Asian Studies and The Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine

Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2004/2005 New call for proposals

Our call for proposals for the Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2004/2005 encouraged researchers to submit proposals for workshops on contemporary topics of interregional and multilateral importance to both Asia and Europe. Crucially, workshops had to be organized by Asian and European partners.

On 9 April 2004, an international selection committee selected nine proposals that excelled in their contemporary relevance to both Asia and Europe, their ability to bridge theory and practice, and their promise to stimulate dialogue between the continents. The selected workshops for 2004/2005 are listed below.

The Asia-Europe Workshop Series, sponsored by the Asia-Europe Foundation and the European Alliance for Asian Studies, continues to stimulate innovative research on Asia-Europe relations and to strengthen existing links between scholars and institutions. With the third round up and running, the pleasure is ours to announce the Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2005/2006. For further details please see the insert in this newsletter or visit: www.asia-alliance.org and www.aews.asef.org.

Wim Stokhof** and **Josine Stremmelaar

19-20 May 2004, Vienna, Austria
Writing History between Europe and Asia
Prof. Susanne Weigelin-Schweidrzik (University of Vienna, Austria)
Prof. K. Kesavapany (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore)

November 2004, Hamburg, Germany
Port-Cities and City-States in Asia and Europe
Prof. Chua Beng Huat (National University of Singapore), Dr Arndt Graf (University of Hamburg, Germany)

18-20 December 2004, Jakarta, Indonesia
Urban Transport Policy in ASEAN: Lessons from European Experience
Dr Nick Marler (University of Leeds, United Kingdom), Ms Ellen Tangkudung (University of Indonesia)

January 2005, Manila, the Philippines
Migrations in Asia and Europe in Contemporary Times: Exploring Transnationalism, Multiple Linkages and Development
Dr Ton van Naerssen (University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands), Dr Marla Asis (Scalabrini Migration Center, Philippines)

10-14 May 2005, Hangzhou, China
First EU-ASEM Workshop on Sustainable Resource Management and Policy Options for Rice Ecosystems in Asia
Dr Reimund Roetter (Wageningen University), Prof. Wang (Guanghuo of Zhejiang University)

11-13 March 2005, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
Comparing Sports Policy, Sports Investment and Regional Development Initiatives in the Hosting of Sports Events in East Asia and Europe
Dr John Horne (University of Edinburgh, UK), Hirose Ichiro (Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan)

May 2005, Leiden, the Netherlands
Communication and Media in popular image building about Islam and the West
Prof. Azyumardi Azra (Islamic State University Jakarta, Indonesia), Dr Dick van der Meij (Leiden University, the Netherlands)

19-21 May 2005, Ventimiglia, Italia
The New Transnational Movements of Persons in the Euro-Mediterranean Area and in South-East Asia, and the Changes in their Management
Dr Salvatore Palidda (University of Genoa, Italy), Dr Carl Grundy-Warr (National University of Singapore)

November 2005, Shanghai, China
Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives
Prof. Li Yihai (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China), Dr John Kleinen (Centre for Maritime Research, the Netherlands)

The European Alliance for Asian Studies

Objectives

The European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance) is a co-operative framework of European institutes specialized in Asian Studies. The Alliance, established in 1997, aims to bring together the fragmented European field of Asian Studies to establish scholarly excellence in central areas of research and expertise for the benefit of institutes' national research environments and the European community at large.

The intention of the Asia Alliance is not to merge the participating institutes, but to provide a framework within which greater co-operation can occur. The Alliance's open structure enables other European institutes to join.

The scientific objectives of the Alliance are: (1) building up high-quality, border-transcending research on Asia with a strong focus on contemporary issues; (2) creating sustainable networks with Asian and other research institutions and scholars; and (3) strengthening links and communication between academic research on Asia and non-academic institutions and actors.

Activities

The Alliance supports short-term research fellowships, academic workshops, conferences and publications. Fellowships are especially intended to promote the kind of fruitful interaction between national research cultures, which usually develops only between relatively long-term members of an intellectual community. Collaborative research programmes are set up to stimulate academic mobility, to increase interaction between scholars studying Asia, and to enable Alliance members to draw on international expertise.

Although the primary focus of the Alliance is on research, it recognizes that disseminating its results to a broader audience, including governments, the media, and the general public is an integral part of the responsibilities of scientific institutions. As a contribution to this, the Alliance annually organizes 'Asia Updates' where scholars present analyses of recent and current events in Asia. In Fall 2004, sessions will address elections in comparative perspective (European Parliament, Brussels) and East Asian energy policy (Madrid).

For more information on the European Alliance for Asian Studies, please visit its website:
www.asia-alliance.org

> IIAS Fellows

15 July 2004 – 15 November 2004
IIAS hosts several categories of post-doctoral researchers (fellows) in Asian Studies. Sponsorship of fellows contributes to the institute's aim of enhancing expertise and promoting underdeveloped fields of study. One of the main objectives of IIAS is to mediate in establishing contacts in the field of Asian Studies and to stimulate cooperation between national and international scholars and institutes. IIAS therefore offers universities and research institutes the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of its resident fellows. As part of their contribution to IIAS, fellows are invited to present lectures, participate in seminars and cooperate in research projects.
IIAS fellowship applications can be submitted at any time (there is no application deadline).
More information and an IIAS fellowship application form are available at:
www.IIAS.nl/IIAS/fellowships.html
For specific information, please contact:
IIASfellowships@let.leidenuniv.nl

Categories of fellows

1. Research fellows
2. Professorial fellows
3. Senior visiting fellows
4. Visiting exchange fellows
5. Affiliated fellows
6. Gonda fellows
7. Research guests

For further details on IIAS fellows, please see the website.

All fellows currently engaged at the International Institute for Asian Studies are listed below. (Please see IIAS fellow section on our website for all acronyms used below.)

General

Miriyam Aouragh, MA (Morocco)
Stationed at the ASSR
PhD student within the WOTRO/ASSR/IIAS programme 'Transnational Society, Media and Citizenship'
The making of a collective Palestinian identity
1 May 2001 – 1 May 2005

Dr Richard Boyd (United Kingdom)
Affiliated fellow
Asian States and Rent Seeking
19 April 2004 – 31 December 2004

Prof. Harbans Mukhia (India)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam, IDPAD fellow
Liberal democracy and its slippages
1 October 2004 – 31 October 2004

Dr Bert Remijsen (Belgium)
Affiliated fellow
Hybrid word prosodic systems
1 July 2002 – 1 July 2005

Dr Margaret Sleeboom (the Netherlands)
Research fellow within the programme 'Asian Genomics'
Human genetics and its political, social, cultural, and ethical implications
17 September 2001 – 15 December 2005

Dr David N. Soo (United Kingdom)
Affiliated fellow
Globalization: An investigation into the emerging Asian space industry. A new force in space?
4 October 2002 – 4 July 2004

Central Asia

Dr Mehdi Parvizi Amineh (the Netherlands)
Stationed in Leiden and at the Branch Office Amsterdam, Research fellow
Conflict, security and development in the post-Soviet era: Toward regional economic cooperation in the Central Asian region
1 July 2002 – 31 December 2004

Dr Alex McKay (New Zealand)
Affiliated fellow
The history of Tibet and the Indian Himalayas
1 October 2000 – 1 October 2005

Dr Irina Morozova (Russia)
Research fellow, sponsored by NWO
Conflict, security and development in the post-Soviet era: toward regional economic cooperation in the Central Asian region
24 April 2003 – 30 November 2004

Dr Cecilia Odé (the Netherlands)
Research fellow
Voices from the tundra and taiga
1 July 2002 – 1 July 2004

South Asia

Dr Vinay Bahl (India)
Affiliated fellow
Development/Underdevelopment: A comparative study of the large scale steel industry in colonial India, Imperial Russia, Britain and North America, 1880-1907
25 September 2004 – 25 November 2004

Dr Du_an Deák (Slovakia)
Gonda fellow
Sh_h Datta – Hindu god in Muslim Garb
1 April – 30 June 2004

Dr Cezary Galewicz (Poland)
Gonda fellow
Bhattoji Diksita's Sanskrit grammar, its reception and critique: A database and study on knowledge transmission and innovation in seventeenth and eighteenth century India
15 June – 15 September 2004

Dr Alexandra van der Geer (the Netherlands)
Research fellow, sponsored by Gonda Foundation
Animals in stone, Indian fauna sculptured through time
1 January 2003 – 1 January 2005

Prof. Haresh Jani (India)
Visiting exchange fellow
Environmental management in a comparative perspective
19 March – 15 June 2004

Dr Sarah Hodges (United Kingdom)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam, Affiliated fellow
Contraception's voluntary empire: Health and society in South India before the development state, 1921-1951
1 May – 1 October 2004

Prof Prahlad Kasturi (United States)
Affiliated fellow
Institutional Features of SAARC Countries
26 July – 25 August 2004

Dr Ruly Marianti (Indonesia)
Affiliated fellow
Elderly women in Pakistan
1 June 2004 – 31 May 2005

Dr Isabelle Onians (United Kingdom)
Gonda fellow
When it is good to be bad: Sexual initiation into Tantric Buddhism
1 September - 30 November 2004

Prof. Sheldon Pollock (United States)
Senior visiting fellow
Indian knowledge-systems on the eve of colonialism
11 June 2004 – 11 July 2004

Dr Saraju Rath (India)
Research fellow, sponsored by Gonda Foundation
Catalogue collection Sanskrit texts
5 January 2004 – 5 June 2006

Dr Satya Shrestha (Nepal)
Affiliated fellow
Migrating from the hills in the Himalayas: The impacts on the social organization of the Jumli (Western Nepal)
1 March – 1 December 2004

Dr Neelam Srivastava (India)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam, Affiliated fellow
Nehru's children: Secular transnationalism and Indian English fiction
1 November 2004 – 30 April 2005

Dr Carol Upadhya (India)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam, Affiliated fellow, sponsored by IDPAD
Indian IT professionals in India and the Netherlands: Work, culture and transnationalism
1 June – 30 June 2004

Southeast Asia

Supaporn Ariyasajsiskul, 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 André Batie (Canada)
Affiliated 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?
4 January – 15 September 2004

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

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 – 15 September 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 ethnopolicies and identity formation among the Mentawaians (West Sumatra)
1 November 2000 – 1 November 2004

Dr Michael Feener (United States)
Affiliated fellow
Islamic legal thought in modern Indonesia
30 July 2004 – 31 August 2004

Dr Jose Neil C. Garcia (Philippines)
Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam, ICOPHIL visiting fellow
Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and transsexual (LGBT) politics and the literary arts in the Netherlands and the Philippines
15 June 2004 – 15 September 2004

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

Prof. Frans Hüsken (the Netherlands)
Affiliated fellow
Social security in post-crisis Indonesia
1 May 2004 – 30 June 2004

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 P.M. Laksono (Indonesia)
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by KNAW
Indonesia in transition
1 June – 31 August 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 Margot L. Lyon (Australia)
Affiliated fellow
New maladies of self and society in a changing Javanese political and economic order
12 October 2004 – 12 January 2005

Dr Graeme Stewart McRae (United Kingdom)
Affiliated fellow
Negara Ubud: The history of a Balinese tourist town
1 August – 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

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 Paulo Pasicolan (Philippines)
ICOPHIL visiting fellow
Levelling the ground for multi-sectoral partnership in watershed management: Actors, processes and lessons learned
9 June – 9 September 2004

Dr Portia Reyes (Philippines)
Affiliated fellow
The Filipinization of history: An exploration into the contemporary indigenization of Southeast Asian historiography
1 July 2004 – 30 June 2005

Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill (United Kingdom)
Affiliated fellow
Old-age vulnerability and social networks in Southeast Asia
1 May 2004 – 30 April 2005

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

Dr Jacqueline Vel (the Netherlands)
Affiliated fellow
Uma politics: Adat in action on Sumba (Indonesia)
1 September 2004 – 31 August 2005

Prof. Md Salleh Yaapar (Malaysia)
Professorial fellow, holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies
Pantun and Pantoum: A study in Malay-European literary relations
5 February 2003 – 5 February 2005

East Asia

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 Mark Gamsa (Israel and Latvia)
Affiliated fellow
Three Russian writers in China
14 June 2004 – 14 July 2004 &
4 August 2004 – 4 September 2004

Willem van Kemenade (the Netherlands)
Affiliated fellow
The US-China-Europe Triangle
1 January 2004 – 31 December 2004

Prof. Kurt Radtke (the Netherlands)
Affiliated fellow
China and Japan since 1991
30 March – 31 July 2004

Dr RHEE Sang Jik (Republic of Korea)
Affiliated fellow, sponsored by KRF
The structure of the Korean language: Phonetics, phonology and morphology
1 August 2003 – 1 August 2004

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

Dr WANG Ping (Australia)
Affiliated fellow
Examining Ci-poetry with Gender on the Agenda - Li Qingzhao and other Ci-poets
1 July 2004 – 31 August 2004

Dr WANG Ping (China)
Affiliated fellow
The Euro-Sino relations after Sept. 11 and its prospects
1 September 2004 – 31 August 2005

WONG Leo, MA (China)
Affiliated fellow within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme 'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
Cantonese syntax
1 October 2004 – 30 September 2005

Prof. YOU Rujie (China)
Research guest within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme 'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
Wenzhou syntax
13 September – 13 October 2004

IIAS Research Programmes & New Initiatives

> Programmes

Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia

The development and application of new biomedical and genetic technologies have important socio-political implications. This NWO/ASSR/IIAS research programme aims to gain insight into the ways in which the use of and monopoly over genetic information shape and influence population policies, environmental ethics and biomedical and agricultural practices in various Asian religious and secular cultures and across national boundaries.

Coordinator: Dr Margaret Sleeboom
www.iias.nl/iias/research/genomics

The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China

This project aims to achieve a detailed description and in depth analysis of a limited number of syntactic phenomena in six languages, both Sinitic and non-Sinitic, spoken in the area south of the Yangtze River. The project will systematically compare these descriptions and analyses to contribute to the development of the theory of language and human language capacity, through the study of non-Western languages.

Coordinator: Dr Rint Sybesma
www.iias.nl/iias/research/syntax

Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries

Forms and transformations of religious authority among the Indonesian Muslim community are the focus of this research programme. The term authority relates both to persons and books as well as various other forms of written and non-written references. Special attention is paid to the production, reproduction, and dissemination of religious authority in the fields of four sub-programmes: *ulama* (religious scholars) and fatwas; *tarekat* (mystical orders); *dakwah* (propagation of the faith); and education.

Coordinator: Dr Nico Kaptein
www.iias.nl/iias/research/dissemination

Indonesianisasi and Nationalization

From the 1930s to the early 1960s, the Indonesian economy transformed from a 'colonial' economy, dominated by the Dutch, to a 'national' one in which indigenous business assumed control. Shifts in command and management of the economy are closely related to economic structure and political alignment. This NIOD project explores this transformation, studying the late-colonial era as well as the Japanese occupation, the Revolution and the Sukarno period. Two issues are given special attention: Indonesianisasi (increased opportunities for indigenous Indonesians in the economy) and nationalization, in particular the expropriation of Dutch corporate assets in Indonesia in 1957-58.

Coordinator: Prof. J. Thomas Lindblad
www.iias.nl/iias/research/indonesianisasi

> Networks

ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index

The *ABIA Index* online database covers publications on prehistory, archaeology, and art history, material culture, epigraphy, paleography, numismatics, and sigillography of South and Southeast Asia. IIAS is the centre for regions outside Asia, with support from the Gonda Foundation. Between 2002 and 2006 the project is coordinated by PGIAR, Colombo, with support from the Central Cultural Fund. Offices have also been opened at the IGNCA, New Delhi, and the Research Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. ABIA Index volume 1 is available at IIAS. Volume 2 is available at www.brill.nl

Coordinator: Dr Ellen Raven
www.abia
www.iias.nl/host/abia

Changing Labour Relations in Asia (CLARA)

Labour relations in different parts of Asia are undergoing diverse historical processes and experiences in terms of their national economies, their links with international markets and the nature of state intervention. This programme aims to understand these changes comparatively and historically, focusing on five overlapping themes: the labour process, labour mobility, labour consciousness, gendered labour and labour laws and labour movements.

Coordinator: Dr Ratna Saptari
www.iias.nl/iias/research/clara

Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship

This multidisciplinary network studies the complex nature of contemporary cultural identities and the impact of the globalization of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on the (re)construction of these identities. Although the programme is based in the Netherlands, the projects are carried out at numerous fieldwork sites.

Coordinator: Prof. Peter van der Veer
www.iias.nl/iias/research/transnational

> New Initiatives

The Development of Space Technology in Asia

The space age has dramatically impacted on all nations. In Asia, the 'space-faring nations' – India, China and Japan – have achieved considerable success in building up indigenous space technologies and applications. Other Asian nations have readily adopted these applications, including satellites for telecommunications, for gathering data on the weather, and environmental and earth resources. IIAS is launching this new research initiative and has initiated a series of workshops on the topic.

www.iias.nl/iias/research/space

Piracy and Robbery on the Asian Seas

Acts of piracy loom particularly large in Asian waters, with the bulk of all officially reported incidents of maritime piracy occurring in Southeast Asia during the 1990s. This is of serious concern to international shipping, as the sea-lanes between East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe pass through Southeast Asia. IIAS and the Centre for Maritime Research (MARE) are currently identifying issues and concerns, and are delineating core elements of an interdisciplinary research programme on piracy and robbery at sea in Asia.

www.iias.nl/iias/research/piracy

Care of the Aged: Gender, Institutional Provisions and Social Security in India, Netherlands and Sri Lanka

This IDPAD/IIAS research project addresses the implications of population aging for the social security and health care of elderly people. As the experience of ageing is highly gendered and can vary according to class, caste, and religion, the project seeks to capture the dimensions, characteristics and trends related to aging among different social and economic groups, with an emphasis on women. This comparative study of the Netherlands, Sri Lanka, and India draws on diverse experiences of development to contextualize the aging process.

www.iias.nl/iias/research/aged

Conflict, Security and Development in Central Eurasia: Towards Regional Economic Co-operation

This research fits into the wider field of comparative studies on regionalism in International Relations. The project will study the complex interplay between nation building and regional cooperation in Central Eurasia, focusing on the possibilities for, and impediments to, the creation of mutually supportive relationships between national policies for development and policies aiming for regional cooperation. The period under study is from 1991 to the present.

www.iias.nl/iias/research/centraleurasia

Projects and events

ICAS Book Prize ICAS Lifetime Asian Studies Award

The secretariat of ICAS, the International Convention of Asia Scholars, is pleased to announce the ICAS book prize. Through this global competition we aim to create an international focus for publications on Asia while increasing their worldwide visibility.

All scientific books published in 2003 and 2004 on Asian topics are eligible. Three prizes will be awarded: (1) best study in the humanities; (2) best study in the social sciences; and (3) best PhD dissertation. The prize consists of ff 2500 for each of the books while the best PhD dissertation will be published. Winners will be announced during ICAS 4 (20-24 August 2005) in Shanghai.

Five copies of the book must be sent to the ICAS secretariat (for guidelines please see www.icassecretariat.org). The deadline for submissions is 31 December 2004. The ICAS website will update lists of received books, by author, publisher and field of study. Reading committees are in the process of being formed and will consist of at least three renowned Asia scholars. The short list of competing books will be made public during the AAS Annual Meeting (31 March-03 April 2005) in Chicago.

ICAS is also pleased to announce the ICAS Lifetime Asian Studies Award. Nominations should consist of a letter outlining the importance of the candidate to Asian Studies and should be sent to the ICAS Secretariat no later than 31 December 2004. The winner will be announced during ICAS 4.

For more information: ICAS Secretariat, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands, Tel: +31-71-5272227, Fax: +31-71-5274162, icas@let.leidenuniv.nl, www.icassecretariat.org

Chinese Storytelling on-line www.shuoshu.org

The website of Chinese storytelling (shuoshu), has expanded into a web-publication. Since February 2004 the site presents information in English, Chinese and Danish, with illustrations, photos, audio and video clips from live performances. Special focus is on the rich tradition of Yangzhou storytelling (*Yangzhou pinghua*). The following areas are treated in detail:

- Oral and written literature: storytelling as performance and text
- Professional storytelling: performed narrative arts
- History and milieu: origins of storytelling, places and audiences
- Masters and disciples: transmission and training
- Elements of performance: linguistic and performing techniques
- Sagas of storytelling: schools and repertoires

The late Yangzhou storyteller Dai Buzhang (1925-2003) performing from Journey to the West of the Dai School, NIAS, Copenhagen 1996

by Jette Ross

The website contains information about projects on Chinese storytelling at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) and elsewhere. It contains a bibliography of studies on Chinese performance arts (*shuochang*) – storytelling and other prosimetric genres involving chant and/or narration and information on publications, conference information, and the Yangzhou Club.

The Norwegian Research Council, Cultural Program 2004-2007, supports the ongoing development of a research database on Chinese storytelling, which will soon be accessible on www.shuoshu.org. This is part of the research project: *Traditional Oral Culture in the Modern Media World of Asia – The Case of Chinese Storytelling*.

For further information contact Vibeke Børdahl at vibeke@nias.ku.dk

Endangered Languages Public Event

28 August 2004, The Hague, the Netherlands

The Endangered Languages event, organised by the NWO Research Council for the Humanities, is aimed at a non-specialised public interested in the preservation and recording of endangered languages and cultures. The results of research on endangered languages will be presented in workshops and demonstrations.

Interactive workshops will allow visitors to explore endangered languages including the West Papuan language, Mpur and the click language Sandawe, spoken in central Tanzania. Researchers will present their projects using posters, films, videos or audio fragments at the information and demonstration market.

UNESCO´s decision to declare the oral and graphic expressions of the Wajapi Indians as a 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity' will also be spotlighted. A member of the Wajapi group and an external expert on Wajapi culture have been invited to attend. They will explain the cultural, mythological and social significance of the Wajapi painting tradition, which includes body painting.
Researchers are invited to participate in this event on endangered languages by presenting their research at the demonstration market. Further ideas for the programme are welcome. Researchers are also invited to submit narratives, tales, myths or sagas that originate from an endangered language. NWO will publish a selection of these stories.

Courtesy of Cecilia Odé

For information and enquiries contact Marloes Telle (Communications Officer at NWO Research Council for the Humanities) at telle@nwo.nl
Website: www.nwo.nl/bedreigdetalen/publieksevenement

The Violins of Genghis Khan

September 16 2004, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Composer and president of the Mongolian Composers Union, Altankhuyag Gaadan, will visit the Netherlands from August 22 to September 17 2004. Invited by IIAS, the Dutch association for contemporary composed music *Gaudeamus* and the North Asia Institute *Tengri*, Altankhuyag in a series of lectures and concerts will introduce current Mongolian composition art to music specialists, academics and the interested public.
Altankhuyag has written a new composition for the occasion, to be performed in a series of concerts in the Netherlands by the New Ensemble and the Mongolian overtone ensemble *Altai KhairKhan*. The internationally distinguished New Ensemble specializes in contemporary music by composers from many cultural backgrounds and musical affinities. The *Altai KhairKhan* folk ensemble specializes in overtone singing, horse fiddling and the West Mongolian repertoire. Together they will form a unique orchestra of 'Western' and 'Mongolian' instruments combining European fiddles, Mongolian horse fiddles and overtone singing.

courtesy of Maya-Matthea van Staden

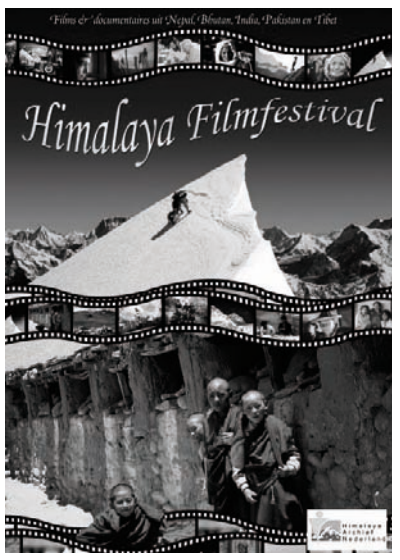
Mongolian composers' understandings of their musical heritage – their way of listening, their national and international aims, the relationship between Mongolian 'traditional' folk music performances and new compositions -– will be central to the lectures and performances.
The Violins of Genghis Khan will be staged

in the main theatre of the Tropical Institute in Amsterdam on September 16. Other dates and locations will be announced.
For the complete programme of concerts and lectures please contact: Maya-Matthea van Staden of the North Asia Institute Tengri vanstaden@tengri.nl

Himalaya Film Festival

6-7 November 2004, Cultural Centre of the Free University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Organized by the Himalayan Archive Foundation in Alkmaar, the Netherlands, the second Himalayan Film Festival at will feature documentary cinema, films and videos on the Himalayan region. The festival will screen approximately 46 films in two parallel programmes, grouped by subject and cinematographic approach. More information can be found at www.himalayafilmfestival.nl



Courtesy of Himalaya Film Festival

Islamic humour from Indonesia

In the Western world, violent acts carried out by radical Islamic groups since September 11, 2001, have resulted in a wave of public concern on anything 'Islamic'. It is often forgotten that Islamic civilization is one of the world's largest communities, with more than 1.4 billion followers on all continents, and that Islamic traditions are an important part of the world's cultural heritage.

Islamic humour from Indonesia is the focus of a classroom project at the Asia-Africa-Institute of the University of Hamburg, Germany. Jokes have been selected from many genres including *Tawa-Show di Pesantren* ('Laughter-Show in the Islamic Boarding School') and collections of Islamic clerics' utterances, prominently those of Abdurrahman Wahid, spiritual leader of the world's largest Muslim organization, the *Nahdlatul Ulama* and former President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Translating the colloquialisms and witty allusions into German was a good exercise for undergraduate students. Understanding humour from another culture is one of the most difficult tasks in intercultural communication. To aid readers' understanding, students in the project have provided notes on Islamic humorous traditions, Islam in Indonesia, and regional diversity.

The translated jokes are being reviewed for correct rendition by a scholar from the Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah in Jakarta, currently at the Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg, made possible by cooperation between the University of Hamburg and the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The translated joke collection will be published in Indonesia and will be made available to German-language tourists in Indonesia.

The collection will be distributed by bookshops and street vendors. It is hoped that the final project will have an official introduction or preface by a known Islamic scholar from Indonesia, in both German and Indonesian.

As there are comparatively few German-language tourists in Indonesia, the partners of this project would like to invite other groups in, for instance, the English, French or Dutch-speaking worlds to participate in similar projects.

For further information please contact Arndt Graf.
arndtgraf@yahoo.de

Stichting Chinese Radio Amsterdam

Postbus 15809
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Hotline: 020 6208866 (call during the program)
e-mail: chineseradioamsterdam@msn.com

Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia from Ankor Wat to East Timor

Book launch: 11 November 2004, Amsterdam

Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia covers the historical development of Southeast Asia from the prehistoric period to the early years of the 21st century, and caters to users of high school, public and university libraries. The three-volume work covers historical topics, including archaeology and prehistory, major historical periods and eras, cultural heritage, ethno-history, wars and conflicts, notable personalities, religions and popular beliefs. Themes focus on political developments, economic and social transformation, constitutional developments and legislation, historical geography and the environment.
Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia will be launched in Amsterdam, the Netherlands on 11 November 2004 by Professor Wim Stokhof, director of IIAS. In conjunction with the official launch in Amsterdam, a round-table seminar on the theme *Southeast Asian Studies in Europe: Reflections and New Directions* will be held on 12-13 November 2004. Drawing upon both academia and the corporate sector from Europe and Southeast Asia, short and long-term priorities will be mapped out for Southeast Asian studies in the next decades.

Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Ankor Wat to East Timor
3 Vols., Ooi Keat Gin, Editor
Publisher: ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California; Denver, Colorado; Oxford, England. Date of publication: September 2004

Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800

23 Septmber-5 December 2004, London, UK

The V&A's autumn exhibition *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe* will feature objects from the period 1500 –1800 after Europeans first discovered the sea route to the Indies. When Europeans arrived in Asia they were overwhelmed by the magnificence of the courts they visited, the wealth of the cities and the sophisticated goods for sale. The human dimension of the story as Asians and Europeans experienced their first encounters forms a central section of the exhibition.

The exhibition will address how East and West perceived and represented each other during a period of intense cultural, commercial and technological exchange. It examines how each saw the other as 'exotic' and how this shaped both cultures.
On display will be more than 200 objects including rare porcelain and jewel-


Courtesy of Encounters, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

encrusted caskets made for European princes and collectors, miniature paintings, lacquer, silks, wallpapers and cashmere. It will include objects from the V&A's collections and those of individuals and museums worldwide – the Royal Collection, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Louvre, the Forbidden City and the Japanese Imperial Collection. Many of these objects have never before been exhibited in Britain.

For enquiries contact +44 20 7942 2000 or visit the website www.vam.acuk

The Living Memory Project

Finance is sought for *The Living Memory Project* to create a video archive of testimony from East Timor's former political prisoners. An estimated 10,000 people living in East Timor today were imprisoned under the Indonesian military occupation, many suffering torture. The project will collect, preserve and catalogue testimony as part of East Timor's national heritage. Interviews will build a database on the effect of imprisonment on ex-prisoners' health.

In 2003 UNESCO officials praised the idea and encouraged its expansion to a two-year, US$300,000 project, training and employing over a dozen ex-prisoners. Early this year UNESCO unexpectedly withdrew, citing lack of funds. $30,000USD is now sought to film, edit and present a pilot sample of interviews, working over three months with a five-person staff. If fifteen institutions could provide $2000 each, work could begin. Budget and staff details are available on request from theagedili@yahoo.com or Living Memory Project, P.O. Box 3952, Darwin, NT, 0801 Australia.

The end product would be an archival sample of interviews with background material, available to libraries, human rights organisations, schools, universities and the media in various formats, presentable as a small exhibition.

The author is journalist and writer Jill Jolliffe, supported by the Association of Ex-Political Prisoners of East Timor (*Associação dos ex-Prisoneiros Políticos do Timor-Leste*, ASEPPOL).

> Conferences and workshops

European Association of Southeast Asian Studies (EUROSEAS)

1-4 September 2004, Paris, France

The European Association for Southeast Asian Studies (EUROSEAS) is an association of European scholars who wish to integrate their work with that of other European Southeast Asia specialists. Members of EUROSEAS meet regularly to share expertise, publications and source materials.
The fourth EUROSEAS conference will take place 1-4 September 2004 in Paris. To view the complete list of 36 panel topics and/or register for the conference, please see the website www.afrase.org/euroseas2004/indexe.php. This website can also be reached through the EUROSEAS website www.kitlv.nl/euroseas.

Information: Manon Osseweijer
E-mail: euroseas@kitlv.nl

Indonesia in Transition

25-27 August 2004, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

The research program Indonesia in Transition analyses changes taking place in contemporary Indonesian society. Funded by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, the program brings together historians, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, geographers and economists from Indonesia and the Netherlands.
Indonesia in Transition is made up of four projects: (1) 'Rethinking Regionalism' compares attempts at regionalism in the 1950s and today. (2) 'The Making of Civil Society' focuses on debates around 'civil society', particularly in relation to Islam, ethnicity, local politics and the formation of political parties. (3) 'The Experience of Crisis' traces how people have experienced crisis in different places and periods in Indonesian history. (4) 'Indonesian Mediations' investigates the mass media's representations of violence, regional identities, Islam and gender, as well as the role of film, radio and pop music in shaping 'mediated communities'.
To date, three workshops have been held in Indonesia: in Yogyakarta in 2001, in Padang in 2002, and in Depok/Jakarta in August 2003 (co-sponsored by IIAS and IndoverBank), where researchers presented their projects' preliminary findings. The results have been published in three volumes edited by Henk Schulte Nordholt et al (2002, 2003, 2004) and are available online: www.knaw.nl/indonesia, Indonesia in Transition.
The final conference of *Indonesia in Transition* will be held 25- 27 August 2004 in the Trippenhuis at the Kloveniersburgwal in Amsterdam. On the opening day, Sidney Jones of the International Crisis Group and Daniel Sparringa from Universitas Airlangga will deliver keynote lectures on the current political situation in Indonesia. Project coordinators will then present findings of their research, to be reviewed by external discussants. The third part of the conference will feature a series of presentations by project researchers on the theme 'Key figures, portraits of tumultuous times'. A roundtable discussion will close the conference, which will put themes in a wider comparative context and discuss agendas for the future.

For further information please contact Mrs N. Jaski (nanny.jaski@bureau.knaw.nl; fax: +31206204941)

European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS)

25-29 August 2004, Heidelberg, Germany

With more than 200 papers, this will be the largest conference in Chinese Studies in European history. At least half of the 700+ EACS members are expected to participate.
Although the European Association of Chinese Studies was established in the mid-seventies, its history goes back to 1948 when the first conference of Junior Sinologues was held in England. Its membership now includes historians, linguists, economists, geographers, political scientists and sociologists.
More information about the EACS can be found on the website (http://www.soas.ac.uk/eacs/) and up-to-date information on the Heidelberg conference (http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/eacs2004/).
The Institute of Chinese Studies, University of Heidelberg, is one of the largest Sinological institutions in Germany. It hosts the *European Center for Digital Resources in Chinese Studies* (http://chinaresource.org/), the *Internet Guide for Chinese Studies* (http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/igcs/), *the European Virtual OPAC for Chinese Studies* (http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/evocs/) and *Sinological Serials in European Libraries Project* (http://www.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/sselp/).

Log On: Chinese women and Cyber Networks

20-21 October 2004, Hong Kong

This symposium will bring together scholars specializing in works related to Chinese women and cyber culture. It will explore how Chinese women are able to exploit and use the Internet and cyber networks for personal and social gain.
Themes include:
- Cyber culture and the construction of women's identity
- Chinese women and consumption of cyber cultures
- Cyber-network as Chinese women's social capital
- Use and Abuse of cybernetworks
- Chinese women and cyberactivism
- The symposium is organized by the Centre of Anthropological Research, University of Hong Kong.

For further information, please email:
Kuah-Pearce Khun Eng
kekuah@hkucc.hku.hk

Modern China Digital Resources

21-23 August 2004, Heidelberg, Germany

The European Center for Digital Resources in Chinese Studies has built a library of digital resources. Funding from the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Foundation has made it possible to provide broader access to these databases for students and scientists.
The center is organizing a workshop to introduce databases on modern China with hands-on sessions for each database. MA students, PhD candidates and post-docs are encouraged to apply. Participants will have time for individual research in the digital and printed resources of our library. The workshop takes place a few days before the *XV Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies*, August 25-29, 2004, and workshop participants are encouraged to extend their stay in Heidelberg.
There will be an introduction to the library of the Institute of Chinese Studies by Thomas Kampen.
Deadline for Applications: July 12, 2004
The number of participants is limited to a maximum of 8.

For more information please contact Matthias Arnold at +49 – 6221 54 7675 or arno@gw.sino.uni-heidelberg.de, or visit the China Resource homepage at www.chinaresource.org

Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations

18-21 August 2004, Shanghai, China

The Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations (HPAIR) has, since 1992, organized large student conferences in different Asian cities. HPAIR 2004, co-hosted by Fudan University, will be held in Shanghai, China on 18-21 August, at the Grand Hyatt Hotel.
HPAIR is a partnership between the students and faculty of Harvard University, an academic program and a forum of exchange to facilitate discussion on economic, political, and social issues relevant to the Asia-Pacific region.
The theme of this year's conference is *The Once and Future Asia: Expanding Horizons, Historic Transitions*.
- Workshops will focus on the following topics:
- Exploring Asia's Urban Landscapes: Tracing Their Histories and Imagining Their Futures Modernization and Identity in East Asia: Looking Back and Looking Forward
- Rivalry despite Interdependence: The Paradox of Asian Security
- The Scientific Revolution in Asia
- In Search of Civil Society in Asia
- Trial by Fire: Forging a New Legal Reality in East Asia

The HPAIR Conference extends invitation to all students at college level and beyond.
For more information see: www.hpair.org
Contact: delegates@hpair.org

Vietnam's integration into the world and state sovereignty

25 October 2004, Paris, France

Since the end of the 1980s, Vietnamese authorities have initiated domestic economic reforms and an open-door policy to the world. State authority has thus been put into question.
On the domestic level, reforms have challenged state exclusivity of competence in various strategic fields. In foreign policy, the increasing number of commitments linking the Vietnamese state to its foreign partners constitutes a limit on its sovereignty.
This conference will: (1) consider the internal and external dynamics that undermine Vietnamese state sovereignty; and (2) emphasize the state's political strategies and regulations to reinforce its authority, its internal cohesion and its position toward the external world.
The conference is organized by the Research Group on Contemporary Vietnam - Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI), Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences-Po).

European Social Science Java Network

12-15 January 2005, Java, Indonesia

The ESSJN was founded in 1987 with the aim of holding small annual workshops of social scientists and historians with an interest in the island of Java. The Network has no secretariat and its administration moves with the Workshop from one year's host to another. Workshops have been organised on a variety of subjects in several European countries.
Following a successful 13th meeting in Marseilles in 2002, the 14th workshop will be held on 12-15 January 2005 in Java, at the campuses of PERCIK in Salatiga and Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. As well as discussions on the themes 'Youth and Identity in Java' and 'Religions in Java,' an important agenda item will be making the Java Network more global, with future workshops being held outside Europe, encouraging participation by scholars from Australia, Japan and the USA.

Those interested in joining the Java Network should contact Robert Wessing at javaworkshop2004@yahoo.com.

For more information, please contact:
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