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35 Theme: Indigenous peoples' movements



NEWSLETTER

What is the use of area studies?

How do we conceptualise 'area studies'? What sort of knowledge do area specialists produce? Are area studies necessary or even useful? Are native scholars better prepared to study their native areas than their non-native counterparts? The following article is an abridged version of a keynote speech delivered at the Seventh International Conference on Philippine Studies in Leiden, the Netherlands on 18 June 2004.

by C. J-H Macdonald

The present conference is without question a typical example of area studies. Major academic institutions, foundations, and research centres in the world are labelled by the areas they study. Area studies thus have great institutional value. Not only that, area studies seem to have gained a status on par with traditionally defined disciplinary fields, like sociology, history, or linguistics.

Defining area studies

In anthropology the idea of area studies goes back to the idea of cultural areas or *Kulturkreis* popularized by German anthropologists like Frobenius, Ratzel, Shurz and Graebner. American anthropologists like Wissler and Kroeber (Kroeber 1947) applied the concept to North America and subdivided it according to ecological zones matching cultural and social traits. Attempts were made to delineate similar zones in Asia (see Rambo 2004).

Today most of us adopt a general subdivision of Asia into East, Southeast, South and Central without referring to any *Kulturkreis* theory or to the work of earlier American anthropologists. How this partition gained acceptance is a long story, but as far as East and South Asia are concerned, the role of the Chinese state and the Hindu religion are paramount, bringing a measure of unity to each zone. When it comes to Southeast Asia things become more controversial. We know that until recently a broad subdivision prevailed, at least in some

European institutions. Indonesia and the Philippines were either part of the 'Malay world' or Oceania, whereas Cambodia or Vietnam were considered to belong to a different zone altogether.

The coming together of insular and continental Southeast Asia owes a lot to factors that are not cultural but strategic in the military and political sense, beginning with the Southeast Asia command of Lord Mountbatten during WW II (1943) followed by international treaties like the ASEAN (1967). These factors have made Southeast Asia a reality and we don't question its existence as some sort of a separate entity having its own political and possibly cultural identity. Nobody will question the fact that the Philippines belong to Southeast Asia, rather than the South Pacific, although we still discuss its degree of 'Asian-ness'. But we know that under the label of Southeast Asia, there is an enormous diversity of peoples, languages, environments, social structures, world views and cultures, and we still have to agree on how to classify them and how to define their common traits, if any.

But what applies for a larger area like Southeast Asia applies also to a smaller section of the same zone. Let's look at the Philippines. As a nation state the country has a clear geographical and political identity. But from a cultural point of view this unity and/or separateness is far from clear. Therefore when we speak of Philippine studies, we talk about studies dealing with things and peoples located within the geo-

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Front page photo

General map extending from India and Ceylon to northwestern Australia by way of southern Japan, the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago (coloured engraving), by Nicholas (Claes) Jansz Visscher (1586-1652)

Eurasian research and education: a two-way flow

Director's note

The twenty-first century is often proclaimed as the century of Asia. Indeed, there are good reasons to presume that China, India and Japan will play determining roles in the economic, political and scientific developments of the future. For Asian Studies, we are convinced that the future also lies in Asia. This, however, should not deter non-Asians from studying the continent in all its facets and forms.

Future research should address Asia as part of our global community – historically as well as comparatively – from a perspective beyond that of traditional area studies, which in the past has fragmented disciplinary coherence and limited the scope and quality of research.

The most pressing reason for us to pursue Asian Studies, however, is that Europe can sustain its scientific position only through co-operation with Asian partners in multidisciplinary research and education. Disincentives for studying in Europe notwithstanding – e.g. the shortage of courses taught in English, uncertainty in the degree structure and equivalence of qualifications and the absence of a clearly defined credit-transfer system – the majority of graduate students in Europe in the exact sciences are already from Asia.

With the Bologna process, which aims to tackle the above drawbacks well underway, preconditions for the inflow of Asian students and researchers seem to have been met. But is this really so? Or is it a bureaucratic dream which is turning out to be a well-oiled machine, the main output of which is reduplicative mediocrity? The weaknesses of the European science and education systems (there are of course exceptions) are not addressed by the Bologna process.

Pan-European research and education will become feasible only when member countries of the European Union are prepared to put in perspective their chauvinistic and romantic notions of education and research as identifying features of the nation-state. Needless to say, this remains a real barrier to organizing a truly European scientific education and research culture. In a period of declining resources, a division of labour on the basis of proven excellence seems to be, for Europe, the only remedy against a decline in its research and education.

Only under these conditions can a European research and education culture flourish and link up with rapidly emerging Asian research and education infrastructures. Many Asian countries, among them China, Japan, India and South-Korea, already have many institutions offering high-quality education in the professional disciplines, which have brought to Europe's shores large pools of Asian scientists. The time that the 'trade' in education and research was a one-way flow from Europe (and America) to Asia is long past. The future lies in inter-regional research and educational linkages based on a mutual appreciation of each other's strengths and weaknesses. <

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS



The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a post-doctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Our main objective is to encourage the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia and to promote national and international cooperation in the field. The institute focuses on the humanities and social sciences and, where relevant, on their interaction with other sciences.

IIAS values dynamism and versatility in its research programmes. Post-doctoral research fellows are temporarily employed by or affiliated to IIAS, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme or on an individual basis. In its aim to disseminate broad, in-depth knowledge of Asia, the institute organizes seminars, workshops and conferences, and publishes the *IIAS Newsletter* with a circulation of 24,000.

IIAS runs a database for Asian Studies with information on researchers and research-related institutes worldwide. As an international mediator and a clearing-house for knowledge and information, IIAS is active in creating international networks and launching international cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, the institute functions as a window on Europe for non-European scholars and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

IIAS also administers the secretariat of the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance: www.asia-alliance.org) and the Secretariat General of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS: www.icassecretariat.org). Updates on the activities of the Asia Alliance and ICAS are published in the *IIAS Newsletter*. <

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Cultural rights: response to Wang Yiyan

Dear Editors,

How to define cultural rights? Wang Yiyan does not provide her own definition after raising the issue in her article 'The tyranny of taste and cultural citizenship' in *IIAS Newsletter* 34 of July 2004.

Cultural rights are clearly in the same basket as human rights when pertaining to the practice of culture in its widest sense – customs, religion, food, clothes and artistic expression, in fact everything that people regard as their own 'way' in their place of origin. To a certain extent people should have such rights in their adopted country as well, though it would be difficult to legislate. It is, however, doubtful whether one can apply the rights principle to immigrant artists, or indeed anyone who regards himself as an artist. If it were, it would smack of state-sponsored art for the sake of furthering political or socio-economic aims.

If it is true that the Chinese artists in Australia remain a closed community, that will hardly be noticed in a country harbour-

ing some two hundred different cultures, all vying for their share of public attention. But it would be a pity. Yet it cannot be true, as Wang Yiyan claims, that 'Chinese-Australian artists are largely irrelevant' to debates of what constitutes Australian art. She writes: 'The field, rather than the artists themselves, will decide whether Australian art history will write Chinese-Australian artists in or leave them out.' Only if the artists do nothing will this turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. No artist gains a place in art history without people, not just a narrow coterie of art critics, responding to their work. All it takes is to display one's work. This is not difficult in Australia where even school children exhibit their paintings at open air events.

One hopes the sample of Chinese artists interviewed by Wang Yiyan was very small. If 'The inability to speak English in Australia entails at least a partial deprivation of one's cultural rights', then the question is who should do something to remedy that situation. Opportunities to learn English are plentiful. The isolated Chinese-Australian artists may find out across the lan-

guage barrier that most Australian artists have to make a living by art-related means such as teaching and touring for subsidised projects. Cultural citizenship is an organically arrived at status. It requires hard work, persistence and a little luck.

It is very much up to Chinese-Australian artists to write themselves into Australia's art history. Although thirty years ago writers from non-English speaking backgrounds were not known in Australian literature and therefore not part of the critical debate of what Australian literature is, today all multicultural authors and their works are included in the national Australian literature database. Academics wishing to know more about Chinese writers and writings in Australia or writings about the Chinese in Australia, can find information via the AustLit Gateway: www.austlit.edu.au. A Bibliography of Australian Multicultural Writers can be accessed at: www.deakin.edu.au/library/colin/inforespol/amflc.html. ◀

Lolo Houbein, P.O. Box 321, Woodside SA 5244, Australia

Cultural rights: response to Lolo Houbein

Dear Editors,

I thank Lolo Houbein for her letter, which gives me the opportunity to clarify the major points I wished to convey in my article in *IIAS Newsletter* 34.

Houbein believes 'cultural citizenship is an organically arrived at status... It is very much up to Chinese-Australian artists to write themselves into Australia's art history'. This cannot be true. Many artists, Chinese and non-Chinese, contemporary and past, work hard but have little luck, if by luck we mean the opportunity to exhibit in major venues and gain institutional recognition and public appreciation, if not reasonable market value.

My article explored why some artists are 'luckier' than others. By borrowing Bourdieu's notion of 'rules of art' and calling them the 'tyranny of the taste', I tried to show that it is not artists who evaluate themselves, but the art field, which includes market forces, funding bodies, curators, critics, and the general audience, in addition to artists themselves participating as producers, audience and critics. Artists produce

art, but others decide who produces good art. Houbein fails to grasp this. She suggests that as long as an artist produces and shows art work in public, one can establish oneself. This may at times be the case. Artists, however, cannot be equally successful; nor can they measure their own success. Successful writers and artists in Australia with non-Anglo-Saxon 'cultural' heritages need to have the label 'multicultural' or 'ethnic' dropped, and, like it or not, they cannot remove the label themselves. Cultural citizenship may be an 'organically arrived at status', but we need to know more about the process. Houbein's dismissal of the function of the art field underestimates the crucial role of art critics, curators, art historians and arts institutions in constructing art by creating historical canons.

I do not wish to leave the impression Chinese-Australian artists isolate themselves and do not study English. Rather, I refer to the unattainability of higher socio-cultural linguistic competency in English. Not everyone, especially adults with Chinese as their mother-tongue, can achieve proficiency in English to

facilitate meaningful exchanges of abstract and artistic ideas. Houbein is right to see that cultural rights are, like human rights, difficult to legislate. But legislation is not what I argued for, although many others do, and rightly so. The importance of institutionalizing cultural rights is to establish social mechanisms that allow for cultural diversity; the aim is to broaden the narrow criteria of 'universality' in assessing artistic merit. This does not amount to 'state-sponsored art' – we are not dealing with the production but reception of art.

A multicultural society ought to establish mechanisms to enable migrants to become cultural citizens, to encourage their participation in cultural life beyond contributing their ethnic music and exotic food. Unlike the either-or situation of political citizenship, cultural and social citizenships have degrees and shades. The differences may be due to differences in individual ability and willingness, or may be the result of the social infrastructure. ◀

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插图: © 刘庆元

Dear readers,

The *IIAS Newsletter* is for you, and we value your feedback. What would you like to see more of? What has grown old and tired? We are not an exclusive club – fresh faces and young writers are welcome, wherever you are. Please drop us a line, David Hymans or Natasja Kershof, with your letters, criticisms, ideas and questions: iiasnews@let.leidenuniv.nl

In 2005, the newsletter will be leaner and more frequent. September 2005 will see our first special issue devoted to History & Memory, a sixty-year retrospect on World War II in Asia and the Pacific, guest edited by Ethan Mark. The theme for our June 2005 issue remains open: prospective guest editors, please send us your proposals.

Four more years of W. will be a joy to behold.... But life goes on. In particular, we would like to welcome to the world newsletter baby #1. With #2 arriving shortly, readers can look forward to cutting-edge, interdisciplinary editorials on diapers, daycares and babysitters across Asia. Readers who want to pre-empt this, please send letters of your own, on the relevance of area studies for instance (pp.1&4 in this issue).

Many thanks are due to theme editor Gerard Persoon for mobilizing his enthusiastic team. My gratitude to John O'Sullivan for his dedication to the past two issues, and a big welcome back to Natasja Kershof. ◀

TDH
5 November 2004

Against ersatz colonial history

Dear Readers,

I would like to have your comments on an idea that, after discussion, I have formulated as: 'De-colonising the Re-colonisation of Histories of Former European Colonies'. My concern arises from a growing uneasiness over the way contemporary Dutch and other Western historians conceive of the history of Indonesia and the impact of colonialism – almost no impact at all, certainly no basic bad influence, regarded, even, as 'natural' events. Similar things are happening in other parts of Asia, although in India the field is probably more even and contested by Indian scholars. Rearguard actions against the trend are being fought in Malaysia and possibly in the Philippines. The same pattern is evident in Africa. Colleagues there confirm attempts to 're-colonise' East and West African histories. Probably something similar is happening in Latin America too.

The analysis of the 're-colonisers' is statistics based. It derives from so-called 'facts' that 'speak for themselves' (as if facts can speak). The concepts used are shallow: globalism, creating a national economy and so on. They are worse than just shallow. They are ideological. One academic journal hails this trend in Indonesian economic history as 'growing maturity'. Drabble's recent economic history of Malaysia portrayed colonialism as 'a transition to modern economic growth'. Much of this follows the earlier Cambridge History of South East Asia. To quote a recent editorial in the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, all this 'attempts straightforwardly to sanitize – and hence to celebrate – imperialism'. None of this is the result of new evidence or enhanced scholarship, but of the general political movement towards the right in the world today. Despite the 'technical' excellence of many of these historians, it is bad history writing. Adapting a phrase of Edmund Burke from his more radical days: *The Power of New Colonial Thought has Increased, Is Increasing, and Ought to be Diminished*.

How would this be done? I suggest we use concepts like the following, derived from the insights of Andre Gunder Frank. Namely, that 'developing countries' were never undeveloped (a situation). They were underdeveloped (a process) by their relationship with the metropolitan countries. Even during colonial times a balanced and critical understanding of colonialism was not absent. The empirical recognition of colonialism for what it was an advance. Dependency and neo-Marxist theories recognise in different ways the peculiar 'twisting' effect that colonialism had on the colonised country, something that did not happen in the metropolitan countries.

I have received favourable responses to the above and am now seeking a wider hearing. The very least we can do is try to organise an international workshop to discuss the matter. If you are in general agreement with the above please send me comments/suggestions/references/proposed papers/names of other interested parties at: colhist@thai.com. ◀

Alec Gordon, Against Ersatz Colonial History, Southeast Asian Studies Center, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok 10330

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graphical boundaries of the Philippine nation but not of realities that are necessarily of an exclusively 'Philippine' or 'Filipino' nature.

Area studies versus disciplinary fields?

If area studies are not always clearly defined by the concept of area, then what of the nature of the knowledge that is encapsulated in area studies? Some would say that area studies can challenge disciplinary fields inasmuch as a study of a specific area can produce the kind of knowledge that will change the very concepts used by the disciplines. Area studies in other words will produce a type of knowledge that is of a different and higher order than just, let us say, anthropology or history. In the words of another scholar it is an experiment conducive to 'reconstruct the edifices of disciplinary theory from the bottom up' (Tachimoto 1995).

I do not fully agree with this proposition, and can explain why. In the course of my investigations, I had to deal with a number of specific and local issues like suicide, naming practices, kin terms and ritual practices. In each, I had to find concepts and guidelines that helped me better understand the phenomenon. In other words, I had to build a theory of the phenomenon, whether suicide or naming practices, and construct a hypothesis, or model. In order to do that I had to resort to ideas and concepts that are part of my intellectual toolkit which I borrowed from disciplinary fields.

the uniqueness of a group of human societies cannot be the foundation of a science because there is no science but of the general

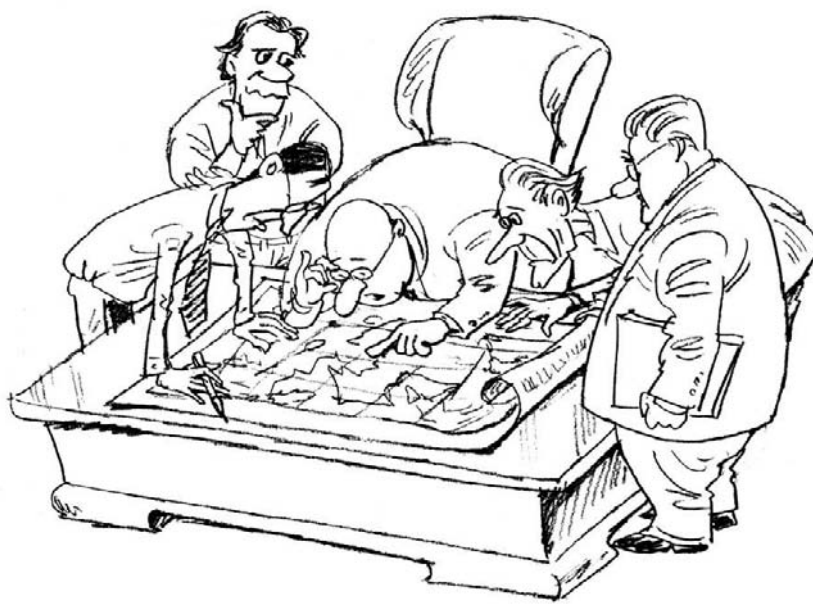
Facts do not lend themselves to explanation. One has to build it. A hypothesis or model is an organised set of concepts that leads to an explanation of a local phenomenon; the concepts are in themselves not local but are derived from anthropology, logic, cognitive studies, sociology, psychology, linguistics and other fields of study. Therefore it is wrong to say that there could be a science of area studies. The uniqueness of a group of human societies cannot be the foundation of a science because there is no science but of the general. Models and hypotheses can help you define the uniqueness of the societies you are dealing with, based on data provided by these societies, not on principles or concepts that only apply to them. A science of culture or, if you prefer, a rational and systematic investigation of cultures, is not a product of the cultures themselves.

We know that kinship systems and naming practices, to name two examples, are based on universal principles but have unique and specific applications. Or, to take the study of languages, there is no Philippine or Southeast Asian linguistics distinct from, let's say, Chinese or European linguistics; there is just one specialized field called linguistics (which has not one theory but several, while possessing principles and concepts that have universal validity). This disciplinary field once applied to Southeast Asian languages makes one able to see how each language is unique, to regroup languages in families and sub-families. Of course it is quite possible that idiosyncrasies and unique traits characteristic to a region challenge existing theories and become conducive to redefining the models or to inventing new concepts.

to define area specialization as a scientific field may indeed conceal other motives than scientific ones

In other words, area studies are the result of two processes. It is first the result of an accumulation of data, not a principled theory or a scientific investigation but an encyclopaedic kind of knowledge, drawing from various fields applied to concrete societies and situations. It is at worst a hodgepodge of bits and pieces borrowed from various disciplinary fields, at best a synthesis of conclusions and major results gained from these fields. Second, it is a by-product of an academic structure (a way the history of knowledge has proceeded) and of history in general. Area studies cannot therefore be regarded as a scientific field of study like anthropology (inasmuch as we see anthropology as a scientific field) or linguistics with their methods, queries, techniques, concepts, and so forth.

This picture is not as clear-cut as I wish it to be. One reason is that a large body of social science writing is no different



By Fan Jianping

from the stuff area studies are made of. For instance, almost any anthropological study or ethnographic description of a particular group will include some physical geography, demography, and history; and it will also try to fit the group under study into a regional perspective. Another reason is that a degree of uncertainty, lack of objectivity and confusion characterizes the conceptual framework of the social sciences and humanities. However, in spite of all their shortcomings, disciplinary fields do contain principles, perspectives and guidelines that are lacking in area studies. Disciplinary fields thus provide the ground on which area studies can be built – not the other way around.

Are area studies useful?

This negative conclusion, you will say, is unnecessarily provocative because area studies are necessary and useful. Well are they? I believe so. I believe that they are necessary because they are useful. Why? By being an 'area specialist', I broadened my interests and became more able to understand the whole area within which I was working. I became able to draw comparative views on the peoples living in different parts of the Philippines and Southeast Asia. I came to appreciate

area studies is at worst a hodgepodge of bits and pieces borrowed from various disciplinary fields, at best a synthesis of conclusions and results gained from these fields

better some of their history and culture. My ethnography gained depth and accuracy through cross-cultural examination of traits shared or rejected by other societies in the area. Also I came to write about several aspects of Southeast Asia for which my anthropological studies did not prepare me. In all these instances I gained a little more knowledge and understanding of an infinitely complex object which is the Philippines, its peoples, its history, etc.

Listening to your presentations in this conference adds to my knowledge of what I presumed to know already. An historian studying one part of the country with which I am not very familiar might explain what so puzzles me in the area where I conduct my own investigations. A political scientist studying national institutions or an urban sociologist studying street gangs in Manila might explain why certain things are the way they are in the remote frontier area where I, a social anthropologist, am doing fieldwork. All scholars investigating the same area, broadly or narrowly defined, will have important things to say to each other and a gathering like ours today is of great interest to all of us. So, although area studies are not a very well defined field of study it is clearly a common ground for mutual information and an area of utmost interest for those involved.

Native and non-native scholars

There is another aspect to the question of area studies and to their status as a field of scientific inquiry. To define area specialization as a scientific field may indeed conceal other motives than scientific ones. Some scholars working on their own native culture disclaim the possibility, even the right, for aliens to speak about it.

Proponents of the view that natives of an area or country are always in a better position than foreigners to understand any

section of this area or country are actually saying two things. One, that all cultures in the country have in common certain important traits or possess the same cultural core. Second, they are saying that to really understand it one has to be inside this cultural core. An outsider will not be able to grasp the fine points of this culture, way of life, or style of behaviour, because he is not equipped with the appropriate mental tools, tools that only a native acquires throughout his life. On the one hand they adhere to 'cultural fundamentalism'. On the other hand they adhere to extreme cultural relativism. Without delving into epistemology, I will just say that both positions contradict each other to a degree, and that each separately meets important empirical, logical and philosophical objections. Besides, ethnocentrism, as it is called, spares no one. Is a Kinh observer in a better position to observe non-Kinh ethnic behaviour in Vietnam, a Tagalog observer in a better position to observe the Palawan way of life than a European or Japanese? Not necessarily so, in my opinion.

There is finally another reason why one would claim better or even sole access to the meaning of things based on one's status as an indigenous member of the country/area being studied, and this, I am afraid, belongs to a purely nationalistic discourse. One of its aspects is to claim ownership of facts based on the idea that these facts, and the interpretations they lead to, are part of the nation and belong to nationals, not to foreigners. Facts or data, it could be said, are a valuable heirloom property, and are part of a national heritage. Data coming from the Philippines belong to Filipino people first and Filipino scholars should have some pre-emptive rights over them.

Nationalism however is a moral and political stance, not an objective approach to the facts. To confuse a moral and ideological stance with a rational view of the facts is something that alas has been encouraged in recent writings. Scholarly nationalism is understandable given the unfair and unequal treatment inflicted on nations seen as quarry from which the precious ore of data is extracted, for the sole benefit of foreign scholars who impose their own interpretations on the facts. But the intellectual implications of this nationalistic position are difficult to justify.

Let me conclude with a few short statements. Area studies are useful but their importance should not be overstated. While local scholars keep an edge over their foreign colleagues, nobody can be said to have an exclusive access to the truth, nor even to the facts themselves. Multiple personality disorder is incurable. I may regard myself primarily as a social anthropologist but my heart belongs to area studies. Anthropology is my office, but Philippine studies is my home. <

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The seventh International Conference on Philippine Studies was held in Leiden, the Netherlands from 16-19 June 2004 and drew 250 scholars, 90 from the Philippines. The 7th ICOPHIL was organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies and Prof. O.D. van den Muijzenberg. The Organizing Committee would like to thank the following sponsors, without whom the conference would not have been possible: The Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO); the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW); the Research School for Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), the Prince Claus Fund, and the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds (East Europe Fund). The Organizing Committee would also like to thank the ICOPHIL staff of Marloes Rozing, Bastiaan van de Loo and Amis Boersma for their support before, during, and after the conference.



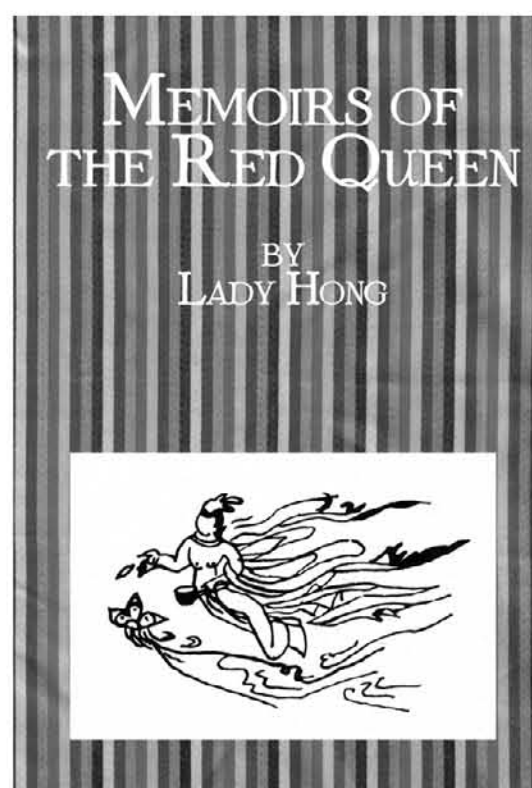
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An editorial introduction:

Indigenous peoples and rights to resources in Asia

Theme >
Introduction

Diplomats from around the world are currently discussing final revisions to the UN Draft Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to be presented at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly. It remains doubtful whether agreement will be achieved on outstanding issues – from definitions of key concepts like 'indigenous people' to the granting of particular rights. Territorial rights remain at the centre of controversy. Countries and groups of countries maintain conflicting positions on key issues while compromises are hard to achieve; the process that began more than ten years ago with the announcement of the United Nations' Decade for Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004) has yet to bear fruit.

By Gerard A. Persoon

Indigenous peoples in Asia

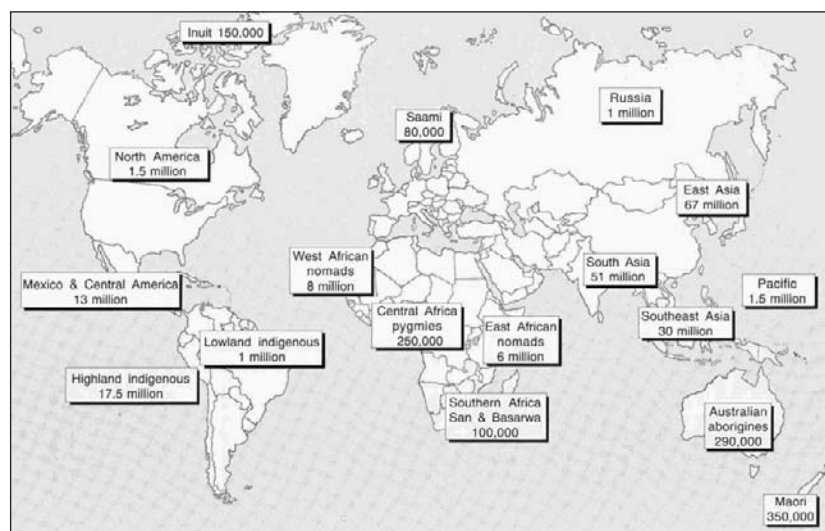
There are an estimated 300 to 350 million indigenous people in the world. About seventy per cent of them live in the Asia/Pacific region. This is surprising, as the global discourse is dominated by indigenous populations from Latin and North America, Australia and New Zealand. In the settler colonies, there exists a clear line between indigenous peoples and those who came in later waves of migration. This is not the case in much of Asia, where relative strength in numbers does not translate into greater representation at international forums. While India and China have the largest numbers of 'indigenous peoples', representatives from the Philippines, Malaysia and Bangladesh are the most vocal, claiming to speak on behalf of those whose voices remain unheard.

There is currently no agreement on the definition of 'Indigenous Peoples'. Within the UN system, many accept the working definition proposed by UN Rapporteur José Martínez Cobo and passed by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the UN Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1993, the UN Year for Indigenous Peoples. The 'Cobo-definition' states that 'indigenous communities, peoples and nations' are 'those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.'

Many indigenous or minority peoples in Asia live in border areas. They include the Bajau or sea nomads of the southern Philippines, northeastern Sulawesi and Borneo. Another group, the Orang Laut, operate in the coastal waters between Sumatra in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Inland, minority groups inhabit the border areas between Malaysia and Thailand, and the borderlands of Central Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and Northern Vietnam and China. Some years ago, political unrest led to indigenous peoples streaming across the border of what is now West Papua and Papua New Guinea. Other well-known trouble areas include the border areas between Bangladesh, India and Myanmar. Groups straddling international borders often find they have different legal statuses in different countries. Internationally, such groups often aim to be recognised as a single indigenous people with equal rights on both sides of the border.

The relationship between the right to self determination and ethnic classification remains a complicated issue within international discussion. Indigenous peoples claim the right to determine who does and who does not belong to a particular group. Even the name of a people begets controversy. Some governments claim strict authority over the number and names of cultural minorities. In Vietnam there is an official list of 53 'ethnic minorities'. In China there are officially 55 'minority nationalities'. In other countries, numbers, names and lists vary considerably over time, and depend on the source. Political and other motives lie behind these variations.

The word 'indigenous' is rarely used in official Asian circles. Only the Philippines has adopted the term in accordance with international usage. Countries employ diverse terms – national, ethnic or cultural minorities, tribal communities, aboriginals, *adivasi* in India, *Orang Asli* in Malaysia, *masyarakat teras-*



Indigenous peoples worldwide

International Workgroup on Indigenous Affairs, 2001

ing in Indonesia. Whether any of these can be translated into English as 'indigenous peoples' is a matter of great controversy. Representatives of indigenous communities prefer using the term as the international community has adopted it for the granting of rights. Many governments prefer to deny the relevance of the concept altogether. Its usage raises a host of questions: how to define indigenous versus non-indigenous? What about people of mixed descent? What kinds of differences among citizens could this lead to? Few countries in Asia do not face questions of this kind.

Environmental discourse

At present, it is largely through the environmental discourse that indigenous peoples and their supporters strive for recognition of their rights. This is no coincidence. The fact that areas of high biodiversity often overlap with the home territories of indigenous peoples is the basis for the claim that indigenous peoples are ideal stewards of the environment.

in the settler colonies, there exists a clear line between indigenous peoples and those who came in later waves of migration. This is not the case in much of Asia

Numerous groups and conservation agencies have accepted this basic idea and have formulated policy guidelines around it. They combine environmental aims with collective human rights and apply the term partnership to describe the relation. The alliance, however, is not without tension. There are clear cases of indigenous peoples not living up to environmental ideals. In such situations, which should be given priority: collective human rights or environmental concerns? Discussions on the scope and methods of so-called aboriginal whaling within the International Whaling Committee is but one example.

It is within the context of the Convention on Biological Diversity that the alliance between environmentalists and indigenous peoples is most obvious. The convention, signed by more than 180 countries, refers explicitly to the positive role of 'indigenous and local communities' in protecting biodiversity. Representatives of indigenous organizations have entered negotiations through this channel; some countries include indigenous representatives in their diplomatic delegations.

An interesting characteristic of the international discourse on indigenous peoples is that there is no clear dividing line between the developed and developing worlds. Many 'devel-

oped' nations face identical problems. Some developing countries have adopted progressive legislation, a source of inspiration for indigenous peoples in developed countries. And just as some developing countries deny the relevance of the discourse for domestic purposes (as do most African countries), so do several richer nations. This sometimes leads to alliances between countries which usually do not share positions on most topics.

Numerous scientific questions derive from this alliance between indigenous peoples and conservation agencies. Environmental scientists are interested in the style and effects of management by indigenous communities. Anthropologists study how ethnic groups organise and manifest themselves as (newly self-conscious) indigenous peoples. There are questions of representation: who speaks on behalf of whom? And from a legal point of view: is there room within constitutional and other law to differentiate one part of the population from others? What exactly do collective rights over land and resources imply for allowable modes of exploitation? What are the consequences for members of society who cannot claim to be indigenous? What are the implications for people of mixed descent?

It is no longer *de rigueur* for scientists studying indigenous peoples (mainly anthropologists) to take advocacy or care-taker roles. Though this has been the case for some time, not least due to the profession's code of ethics, other positions are possible. These range from a mixed role to almost complete scholarly detachment. Some researchers have become critical of the role of indigenous peoples' movements and their supporters, claiming that too much is based on ties of blood and territory, and that this may lead to new forms of discrimination, even ethnic cleansing. Another development is the presence of indigenous peoples in higher learning, adding a new dimension to 'native anthropology'.

In this issue of the *IIAS Newsletter* we discuss recent developments touching on the position of indigenous peoples in Asia and their role in natural resource management. Given the complexity of the subject and the enormous diversity of peoples and countries in this region, this can be no more than a glimpse into the field. <

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Indigenous peoples at the global level

Theme >
Global discourse

Representatives of indigenous peoples today articulate claims of their constituents with sophistication and effect. Although parties still disagree about how to define 'traditional knowledge' or 'prior informed consent', and the reluctance of vested interests to resolve the issues remain, this has not prevented the discussion from moving forward. This article overviews the international discourse on the position of indigenous peoples.

By Barbara Slee

Today indigenous representatives are active and respected participants in the international debate, in contrast to some years ago when attention noticeably drifted off as another indigenous representative pointed an accusing finger at the developed world to point out the injustices they have suffered. Indigenous peoples have much to offer in terms of norms and values respecting nature and its use.

The new role is substantial. Indigenous representatives have learned the rules of diplomacy and are better organised. They phrase their statements in terms more acceptable to national delegations. This does not mean that serious disagreement has vanished; the definition of indigenous peoples is one such issue. Disagreement on specific definitions, however, is viewed by some parties as an advantage: it allows for flexibility when implementing treaties according to local and national conditions. Other parties, however, continue to insist on clear-cut definitions to decide who can and cannot be called indigenous.

International Labour Organisation

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was the first international policy body to focus on indigenous rights. Convention No.107 'Concerning the Protection of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries' was adopted in 1957 to protect target populations from abuse. Unfortunately, Convention No.107 has a protective and integrative nature, regarding indigenous peoples as backward and conservative. Further, the convention was ratified by only 19 countries. Despite criticism, it was for many years the only instrument of international protection for indigenous peoples.

In 1989, the revised convention, No.169 'Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' was drafted. Convention No.169 has a more open notion of development than its predecessor; it states that indigenous peoples have the right to choose their own development priorities as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and lands. Convention No.169 also recognises the important concept of *free and prior informed consent*; indigenous peoples' right to participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of development programmes that may directly affect them. So far, the convention has been ratified by seventeen countries. Strikingly, not a single Asian country has ratified either convention (although many South American countries have committed themselves). This convention is the only legally binding instrument of international law with respect to protection of indigenous peoples and reflects common opinion on indigenous peoples' rights, but its effectiveness depends on implementation by member states.

World Bank

The World Bank was, in 1982, the first international development agency to issue a policy on indigenous peoples. Many of the viewpoints embedded in its *Operational Manual Statement* (OMS 2.34) were based on the integrative and protective approach of the first ILO convention. The statement focused on small and isolated tribal societies. A review recommended that the Bank broaden its scope to larger and more heterogeneous tribal populations, while at the same time incorporating tribal and indigenous peoples' concerns into the Bank's environment programme.

The Bank issued a revised *Operational Directive on Indigenous Peoples* (OD 4.20) in 1991. The overall objective is to ensure that the development process fosters full respect for indigenous peoples' dignity, human rights and uniqueness. It seeks to ensure that indigenous people benefit from development projects,

and to avoid or mitigate potentially adverse effects caused by Bank-assisted activities. In 1997, the Bank began revising OD 4.20. During public consultations, indigenous organisations lobbied for a stronger emphasis on indigenous land rights and the right to self-determination. The resulting draft indigenous peoples' policy (*Operational Policy 4.10*) will replace OD 4.20. Ironically, indigenous organisations consider the latest draft weaker than the existing policy as it lacks requirements for securing indigenous land and resource use, and disregards fundamental human rights.

United Nations

Since the 1980s, indigenous peoples have made advances in the human rights arena. The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is probably the most progressive document on indigenous rights formulated so far. It was passed by the UN Working

Group on Indigenous Populations and the UN Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities during the UN Year for Indigenous Peoples (1993).

The document was produced with the participation of hundreds of representatives of indigenous peoples, and their ideas and suggestions have clearly influenced its tone. The draft declaration touches on crucial issues such as self-determination, recognition of collective rights, prior informed consent, respect for indigenous culture and intellectual property, and recognition of indigenous peoples' institutions. It states that indigenous peoples have the right to restitution of lands, territories and resources taken from them without consent. If this is not possible, indigenous peoples should be appropriately compensated. In its present form, the draft declaration leaves little space for governments to decide on the specific

implementation of its provisions. The draft declaration is currently working its (troublesome) way through the UN system to the General Assembly. The outcome is expected at the end of the Decade for Indigenous Peoples.

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), negotiated under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Programme, entered into force on 29 December 1993. Since then, 187 countries have ratified it. The CBD promotes: (1) the conservation of biological diversity; (2) the sustainable use of its components; and (3) fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources. The convention works primarily through implementation of its principles and directives in national law, policy, research, and management. Annual meetings of the Conference of Parties (COP) result in decisions that provide instructions and guidance for parties on implementing the convention in their national activities. As a result of a powerful lobby, indigenous representatives have been directly involved in the CBD process since COP-4 (1998) through inter-sessional working groups which take place prior to each COP. The three working groups held so far have strengthened indigenous communities' positions in the CBD process and enhanced their dialogue with governments.

World Conservation Union and World Wildlife Fund

In 1996, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) presented their joint *Principles and Guidelines on Indigenous and Traditional Peoples and Protected Areas* (IUCN and WWF: 2000). The joint policy statement provides a basis upon which to

develop partnerships between indigenous peoples and protected-area planners and managers. This is to facilitate the establishment and management of protected areas which overlap with ancestral domains, and/or include indigenous and local communities who use these areas' resources. IUCN/WWF stress that the joint policy statement should be adapted to the particular situation, legislation and policies of each country. With regard to resettlement procedures, prior informed consent, collective rights and benefit sharing, the joint policy statement largely follows policy guidelines of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. It provides that even where collective rights have not yet been recognised by a government, the concerned communities should be guaranteed access to the resources in their natural environments.

In 1998 the European Commission and the European Council each produced documents to support indigenous peoples. The overall objective of EU policy is first, to enhance indigenous peoples' right and capacity to control their own social, economic and cultural development; and second, to enhance indigenous peoples' territorial rights and their capacity for sustainable management of biological resources.

Asian Development Bank

In 1998, much later than the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) approved its *Policy on Indigenous Peoples*, which was developed in close consultation with representatives of indigenous communities. Recognising the vulnerability of indigenous peoples in development processes, the policy requires that, with respect to development interventions the ADB supports or assists, affected indigenous peoples are at least as well off as they would have been in the absence of the intervention, or that adequate and appropriate compensation be provided. The ADB works to ensure equal opportunities for indigenous peoples, and to see that interventions affecting indigenous peoples are: (1) consistent with the needs and aspirations of affected peoples; (2) compatible with affected peoples' cultural, social and economic institutions; and (3) conceived, planned and implemented with the informed participation of affected communities. Like the ILO and World Bank, the ADB adopted the position that indigenous peoples should determine their own pace and path of development.

Envoi

Despite these changes, several Asian countries still hesitate to support developments that specify an important role for indigenous and local communities. For example, Malaysia made a serious attempt to hinder the process, in Montreal, regarding the AKWE: *KON Guidelines* on 'the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessment regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities'. Malaysia suggested that it

should be the task of the government to decide what is or is not a 'sacred site'. The guidelines would then be dependent on the (not so evident) good will of the national government. At the Conference of Parties in Kuala Lumpur, both Malaysia and China attempted to emphasise the decisive role of national legislation (in contrast to international legislation) for the implementation of article 8(j) of the CBD, thereby diminishing the influence of international law and practice.

Nevertheless, Malaysia and China, together with the Philippines and India are seen as exceptions when considering the actual participation of Asian countries. At the international level, Asian delegations are much less active than, for example, African and Latin American or Caribbean groups. It seems that indigenous and local communities can make a difference by putting pressure on their governments.

Asian indigenous representatives can emulate the struggle and resulting influence of their South American counterparts. Communities need to be educated, informed, and organised at the regional and national levels with formal representatives. With assistance from professionals and researchers, representatives can participate effectively and have substantial input at the international level. With the establishment of a voluntary fund consistent with UN criteria for equal geographical representation, Asian efforts will be sufficiently supported and in time rewarded with unforeseen influence. <

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Seventh Conference of Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity

Beyond Integration: indigenous assertion in India

Theme >
India

In 2004 the Ministry for Tribal Affairs in India proposed a new 'National Policy on Scheduled Tribes', a venture that has not been undertaken since Independence. The document is still a draft; the Ministry has posted it on its homepage for feedback from interested parties.¹ The policy, the Ministry states, 'seeks to bring Scheduled Tribes into the mainstream of society through a multi-pronged approach for their all-round development'. Judging from the massive critique by tribal or indigenous peoples' organisations, much of the problem stems from this very aspiration.

By Bengt G. Karlsson

For tribal or indigenous peoples, the goal is not to be integrated into mainstream society, nor to be developed by any, however benevolent, outside agency. What they want is recognition as peoples in their own right, treatment as equal partners and control over their lands and livelihoods and, through this, the ability to develop themselves.

the government fears that recognizing the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples will strengthen ethnic separatist tendencies and jeopardize the state's territorial integrity

Several indigenous organizations have rejected the proposed national policy, arguing it is 'paternalistic and patronizing in intent as well as language' and that it avoids the most pertinent questions relating to rights to and control over ancestral lands and natural resources.² In the case of displacement, one of the most contentious issues, the Ministry's draft policy states that it 'causes much trauma to the affected people' and should be kept to a minimum, applied only when it is absolutely necessary 'in the larger interest'. These vague formulations are unacceptable to indigenous organizations who maintain that displacement should be prohibited in any circumstance unless the people in question have given their 'free and informed prior consent'.³

Right of veto

The 'larger interest' has historically implied that people in the way of large development projects are forced to give up their land in the name of progress or for 'the greater common good'. The contention is whether the new national policy makes any difference in preventing further loss of 'tribal lands'. Would those who face threats of displacement be empowered in any way to veto such proj-

ects? Although the Ministry acknowledges the seriousness of the matter – stating that as many as eight and half million tribals have been displaced up until 1990 by major development projects, reservation of forests and establishments of national parks – the policy gives no such veto rights to concerned communities. The national policy focuses rather on how the effects of future displacements can be mitigated, rec-

ommending for example that land should be compensated with land, not money – as has often been the case. In this context one would assume that the Ministry of Tribal Affairs would have something to say about providing justice to past victims of displacement. But also here, the Ministry remains silent.

Forced eviction

The Asian Centre for Human Rights' (ACHR) report on the draft national policy argues that displacement can more aptly be described as 'forced eviction'. For them, it is crucial that the government recognises international human rights laws that treat forced evictions as human rights violations.⁴ More generally, according to the ACHR there is nothing new in the proposed national policy; is it a simple continuation of the 'welfare and charity approach'. What is needed, instead, is the formulation of a new 'rights based approach'. Constitutional provisions already exist, but have not been implemented.⁵

This is the crux in the controversy around the proposed national policy. To put it bluntly, the government continues a strategy of governing the 'tribals', whereas the latter seek means for governing

themselves. Hence, tribal or indigenous peoples' aspirations can no longer be contained within the state project of integration. Tribal or indigenous organizations demand that India recognizes international developments within the field of indigenous rights, for example, that the government ratify the new ILO Convention (No. 169 from 1989) and supports the work of the United Nations to adopt the draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.

In this context, Indian tribal spokespersons claim the status of 'indigenous peoples' and have, over the last decade, increasingly started using this term and to participate in the meetings and networks of the global indigenous peoples' movement.⁶ As a result, the divide between the Indian state's 'tribal policy' and the aspirations of indigenous organizations is widening. To make sense of this assumption, some background is necessary.

Scheduled tribes and adivasi

India has a constitutionally recognized category of 'scheduled tribes' (listed tribal communities or STs), which since independence has been linked to a comprehensive programme of affirmative action. A person belonging to any of the

the tribal predicament is not uniform, though there is a widespread sense of a shared history of exploitation and marginalization, and thus of common identity

ST communities is entitled to special safeguards, for example in education and employment. In addition, there are specially designed programmes for the economic 'upliftment' of scheduled tribes, commonly described as 'tribal development' projects. Even though many of these programmes failed (money was misused and ended up in the pockets of middlemen and contractors), belonging to a ST community can, in a situation of increased competition for government jobs and admission to educational institutions, still be an advantage.

Communities also struggle to get ST status. About 8 percent of the Indian population belong to a ST community, roughly 80 million people from some 450 communities. These include small groups of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists to agricultural communities of several million. A sizeable part of these communities have also entered the urban labour force and in some cases, the middle-classes. As this suggests, the tribal predicament is not uniform, though there is a widespread sense of a shared history of exploitation and marginalization, and thus of common identity.

This is perhaps most strongly expressed in the term *adivasi*, a Sanskrit derivation

meaning 'original inhabitants', coined in the struggle against the colonial state as well as land grabbers and money-lenders from the plains. Being *adivasi*, to assert such a collective identity, is thus political. *Adivasi* is commonly used as synonymous to 'tribal', which during the last decade has increasingly become equated to 'indigenous peoples'. Even if these terms are often used interchangeably, it is important to note that they have come into usage at different points of time and for different reasons.

The perhaps most controversial aspect of this terminological homology is that those designated as tribals (STs) would then become India's indigenous peoples, a status denoting internationally recognised rights to ancestral lands and resources and, crucially, the right to self-determination. The Indian government has consistently objected to this, as have several prominent Indian intellectuals and social scientists.⁷ The government fears that recognizing the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples will strengthen ethnic separatist tendencies and jeopardize the state's territorial integrity.

For the government then, the status of scheduled tribes is an arrangement based on the particular realities of India which should not be conflated with situations in other parts of the world where the term indigenous peoples might be of relevance. Indigenous peoples' organisations in India obviously take the

opposite view, claiming that IP status applies and should be officially recognized. The politics of labelling is not without significance in the more mundane matters of daily survival. To exemplify this, I turn to India's forestlands where struggle over access and control remains a most contentious issue.

Whose forests?

During British rule most of India's forest was transformed into a state asset, under the management of the state forest department. As several recent studies have addressed, the imposition of colonial forestry, which declared forest dwellers illegal intruders on lands they naturally considered their own, triggered protests and rebellions in many parts of the country. Conflicts over the forest continue; at stake is the basic question of whom the forests rightly belong to.

The independent Indian state has continued the colonial system of forest management, and the people who live in areas previously declared reserved forests or protected areas are practically without any legal rights in/to them. People living in the forest or its vicinity – the majority of them being tribals or *adivasis* – have continuously assert-

ed the forest should be returned to them. *Adivasi* and their supporters argue that those who live in and from the forest are best equipped to manage it in a sustainable fashion, pointing to the alarming rate of deforestation in many parts of the country.

Perhaps as a concession, the government introduced in the 1990s the much discussed national programme of 'joint forest management'. The forest remains under government ownership and control, but local communities are invited to manage the forest together with forest staff and also receive a portion of the generated revenue. But beyond such measures there are no state initiatives to strengthen tribal peoples' legal status in the forest. During the last two years there have been extreme moves in the opposite direction; the Ministry of Environment and Forests has launched an operation to evict all 'encroachers' from state forests. Those who have taken possession of forestlands after 1980 are to be evicted; many of the targeted 'encroachers' are tribal peoples who have long lived there. Millions of forest dependent people fear they will lose their lands and livelihoods.

It is in situations like these that indigenous peoples' status makes sense. It would certainly be much more difficult for the Indian government to legitimise such campaigns if international standards of indigenous rights had official sanction. <

Notes

1. Available at http://www.tribal.nic.in/national_st_policy_1.html
2. See 'Adivasis Reject Draft National Policy on Tribals: Eastern Regional Assembly Opts for Alternative Adivasi Policy', press release, Ranchi 26 July 2004, and 'Position Statement of the North Eastern regional Assembly of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples organizations with Allies, on the Draft National Policy on Tribals', Dhemaji (Assam) 2-4 June 2004 (<http://www.iwgia.org/sw618.asp>).
3. 'Position Statement', op. cit., ref. 2.
4. See Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2004. *Promising Picture or Broken Future?: Commentary and recommendations on the Draft National Policy on Tribals of the Government of India*. New Delhi, pp. 63-69.
5. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
6. See B. G. Karlsson, 2003. 'Anthropology and the 'Indigenous Slot': Claims to and Debates about Indigenous Peoples' Status in India' in *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 403-423.
7. This is the subject of B. G. Karlsson and T. B. Subba, eds., *Indigeneity in India* (manuscript under review).

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Meeting in Khasi Hills, Meghalaya. Part of the campaign to strengthen so-called traditional political institutions, meaning traditional chiefs and their councils.

Indigenous rights and resource management in Philippine protected areas

Theme >
Philippines

The Philippines is hailed in Southeast Asia for being at the forefront of recognizing the rights of the country's estimated ten to twelve million indigenous people. This is embodied in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997, currently being implemented by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. Under the Act, Indigenous groups in the Cordillera and Northern Sierra Madre mountain ranges have the opportunity to gain control over how resources will be managed by claiming rights to ancestral domains, even inside protected areas.

By Padmapani Perez and Tessa Minter

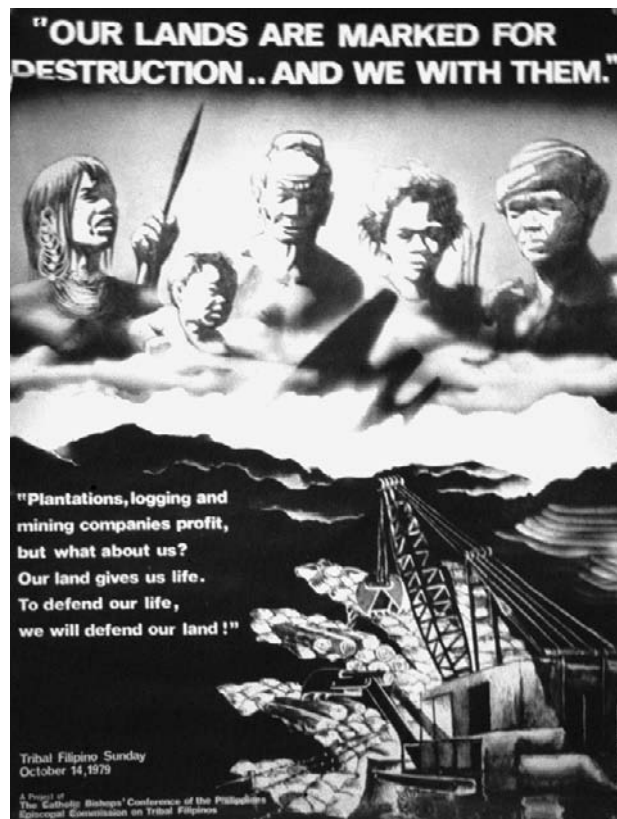
A primary aim of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act is to grant indigenous peoples collective ownership over their territories or ancestral domains. Previous laws claimed the majority of indigenous territories as state land. The National Integrated Protected Areas System, for example, recognizes indigenous peoples' prior occupation only insofar as their resource extraction remains on traditional, sustainable and subsistence levels. Another aim of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act is to ensure ancestral domains' sustainable management, setting the condition that indigenous peoples develop their ancestral domains in an environmentally sound way.

Mount Pulag, the highest peak of the Cordillera Mountain Range, and the Northern Sierra Madre Mountain Range are renowned biodiversity hotspots on the island of Luzon. Both were declared protected areas. Mount Pulag National Park (11,500 hectares) was established in 1987 and covers pine, lower montane and mossy forest. Its foothills are occupied by Ibaloy, Kalanguya and Kankanaey indigenous groups. The Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park (360,000 hectares) was established in 1997 and includes Luzon's last undisturbed lowland dipterocarp rainforest, mangroves and beach forest. The park is inhabited by one indigenous group, the Agta, and various immigrant groups. The watersheds of both protected areas are vital to lowland agricultural areas and human settlements within the parks.

Philippine protected areas are managed through Protected Area Management Boards, in which the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, local communities and other stakeholders to the parks' resources are represented. The management boards are responsible for protecting the areas' forest and aquatic resources and meet regularly to decide on park management issues.

Mount Pulag National Park

The Ibaloy, Kalanguya, and Kankanaey members of the Mount Pulag management board proclaim theirs is the most active in the Philippines. They say it is because they, the indigenous people of the Cordilleras, know how to work with the government. Government and politics in the Cordilleras is dominated by a class of educated and influential indigenous elite. While not necessarily materially wealthy, they have access to powerful networks in politics and business. However, that theirs is the most active Protected Area Management Board does not mean it is the most effective. Thus far it has been unsuccessful in preventing the continuing clearing of forested areas for commercial vegetable farming,



Courtesy of Gerard Pearson

Tribal Filipino Sunday, 14 October 1979

and the opening of farm-to-market roads within the park.

The awarding of ancestral domain titles poses a further challenge to protected area management. The ongoing implementation of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act presents the opportunity to put control of Mount Pulag back in the hands of those who claim it as ancestral domain. It is increasingly difficult to determine which claimants – from different municipalities and ethnolinguistic groups, mainly Ibaloy and Kalanguya – truly have a right to Mount Pulag. Claims are couched in terms of burial places, water sources, old swidden patches, pastoral lands, locations of ancestral homes, existence of legends attached to particular places and so on.

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It is not surprising that elders claim the same paths and areas in boundary negotiations. Quite possibly their ancestors used the same areas for similar purposes. Furthermore, the delineation of ancestral domains will entail having a title, implying the right to decide how resources will be used and how the domain will be developed. The people of Kabayan want to raise their standard of living; their natural resources are the most immediate means available.

The political elite of Kabayan has led the pursuit of the ancestral domain title, so much so that the Department of Envi-

ronment and Natural Resources fears that if the title is issued, the park will be dissolved and the leaders of the ancestral domain will take over. It is not clear how they will manage natural resources, especially as future leaders see the existence of the park as an affront to their prior occupation of Mt. Pulag.

Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park

The Agta are hunter-gatherers who traditionally obtained most of their rice, corn and other basic necessities by trading forest products with farmers. Since the 1960s, however, the non-Agta population in what is now the Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park increased rapidly, to almost five times the Agta population. The immigrants came as

logging industry employees and in search of arable land. Deforestation has brought traditional Agta livelihoods under pressure, pushing them to explore activities such as commercial lobster fishing, rattan collection, small-scale agriculture and illegal logging. Despite this transition, ends do not meet: the Agta live in extreme poverty and barely participate in mainstream Filipino society.

Government and non-government organizations alike have high hopes that the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act will counteract the Agta's predicament by

awarding them collective titles to their ancestral domains. The history of awarding land ownership rights to the Agta living within the park is long and complicated. Originally, the plans consisted of three Agta domain claims. Later, a NGO working for the combined conservation and development of the park proposed an alternative plan for many small domain claims. This plan was disregarded by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, which wants the entire park converted into one large Agta ancestral domain with an official title. Because large titles have shown poor implementation results in the past, it remains to be seen how beneficial this would be, not only for the park, but for the Agta as well.

No consensus has been reached on how to combine the granting of ancestral domain titles with sound park management. This concerns both ensuring sustainable resource management from within the indigenous user-group, and the domain's protection from outsiders. The Agta claim that given their position at the bottom of the social hierarchy, they will be unable to prevent non-Agta illegal activities. Nor have local governments, police forces and forest protection bodies put any enforcement mechanisms in place.

Another concern is the minimal role the Agta play in the park's management board. For logistical and communicative reasons, of the twelve appointed Agta board representatives, only one regularly attends meetings. The same applies to the Agta's role in the application process for recognition of their domain rights. From the start, non-Agta advocates have been pushing for the granting of Agta domain titles, rather than the Agta themselves. This has several adverse consequences. First, very few – and exclusively male – Agta are aware of the benefits an ancestral domain title could bring. Moreover, few Agta understand the application procedure for such titles. The whole instrument is conducive to abuse: in many Agta claims processed so far, names of non-existent individuals or members of the immigrant population appeared in the list of claimants.

Parallels

The awarding of ancestral domain titles within protected areas is problematic, especially where identified ancestral domains overlap with parks' strict protection zones, from which extraction is prohibited under all circumstances. It has been suggested that the Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan will harmonize the objectives of both protected areas and ancestral domain titles. Under the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, the formulation of such a plan is a requirement in applications for ancestral domain titles. The claimants themselves should draw up the plan, with officers of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples acting as facilitators. The plan should include sections on indigenous

knowledge systems and practices, a profile of the domain's natural resources, analysis of the area's development needs, and a commitment to maintain ecological balance.

In the case of Mount Pulag, the management plan for the Kabayan ancestral domain will be formulated later this year. For some of the ancestral domains in the Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park, several such plans have already been written. However, the latter have been criticized for insufficient involvement of the Agta in their formulation. Moreover, the plans harbour inconsistencies. For instance, while they prohibit logging activities, they encourage agricultural expansion by the Agta. As such they hold no guarantees for sustainable resource management.

The formulation of the Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan is a challenge in itself. Effectively bringing the plan into practice poses an even bigger challenge. Under the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, once the management plan is fine-tuned and the title has been granted, the community as a whole will be responsible for managing the domain. They are supposed to negotiate with entities that have an interest in their natural resources. It is not clear how the three different indigenous groups of the Kabayan domain will function as a unit of management, when traditionally, they did not manage resources in common, with the possible exception of water for irrigation. The case of the Agta illustrates that some communities may not yet be ready to negotiate on an equal footing with outsiders.

Sustainable management of ancestral domains within parks hinges on the effective formulation and enforcement of management plans. This will determine whether sustainable resource management can be brought about by the social change the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act aims to foster. The failure to accomplish the above will likely lead to abuse of ancestral domains by both indigenous and non-indigenous entities, resulting in loss of biodiversity and depletion of resources. Conversely, successful implementation of the Act and management plans will establish the Philippines as an example worth following. <

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The Orang Asli of Malaysia

Theme >
Malaysia

In the eyes of the government, developers and investors, the *Orang Asli* (Malaysia's indigenous peoples) are in the wrong time and place. Seen as lacking a sense of time, place or history, they are deemed backward peoples in need of assistance. In other words, they should be modernised. Their purported nomadism is unsettling to the government, which advocates their sedentarisation to resolve the 'problem' of their frequent mobility.



A Semai village located along the Tapah-Cameron Highlands Road

courtesy of author

By Alberto G. Gomes

Orang Asli land is coveted by powerful interests: for its timber and minerals, for conversion into oil palm or rubber plantations, golf courses, hydroelectric power installations, the Kuala Lumpur International Airport and development projects to benefit the Malay majority population. The reasons behind *Orang Asli* relocation or displacement are often concealed from the public eye. Instead, for the *Orang Asli*, displacement is called development. Government policies aim to draw them into 'the mainstream of society', into the 'right' place and time.

Labels

The ethnic label *Orang Asli*, meaning 'natural people' in Malay, replaced the term 'aborigines' used by the British colonial administration. *Orang Asli* refers to the indigenous peoples of Peninsular Malaysia who are not Malay Muslims, Malaysia's main ethnic group. The *Orang Asli*, together with the Malays and indigenous peoples of Sabah and Sarawak, form the category of Malaysians known as *bumiputera* ('sons of the soil') who make up 65.1 per cent of the population; the rest is of Chinese or Indian descent (<http://www.statistics.gov.my/English/pressdemo.htm>). The *Orang Asli* comprise 0.5 per cent of the population (Nicholas 2000:3) and are conventionally divided into eighteen ethno-linguistic subgroups.

Both ethno-labels – *bumiputera* and *Orang Asli* – imply indigeneity; Malays are classified as *bumiputera* but not as *Orang Asli*. In the eyes of non-Malay citizens, recognition of an aboriginal people weakens the Malay claim to indigenous status. Such views are not expressed openly, however; Malaysian law prohibits public discussion of the issue of indigenous status, which is considered seditious. Occasionally, opposition politicians raise questions about indigeneity and rights of indigenous

minorities but these are quickly stifled by the ruling party, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO). When questioned by the media, Malaysia's first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman replied, 'there is no doubt that the Malays were the indigenous peoples of this land because the original inhabitants did not have any form of civilisation compared with the Malays...and instead lived like primitives in mountains and thick jungle' (Nicholas 2000: 90).

There is no doubt that *Orang Asli* ancestors settled on the 'Malay' Peninsula long before the predecessors of contemporary Malays. However, prior settlement does not accord the descendants political privileges. The musings of the former Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, are revealing: 'Aborigines are found in Australia, Taiwan and Japan...but nowhere are they regarded as the definitive people of the country concerned. The definitive people are those who set up the first governments.... In Malaya, the Malays without doubt formed the first effective governments.... The *Orang Melayu* or Malays have always been the definitive people of the Malay Peninsula.' (Dentan et al 1997: 21-22) While the argument may explain Malay rule, it does not resolve the problem of the existence of a group of people who can be considered more indigenous than the Malays.

Assimilation

To solve this problem, the government has pursued a policy of assimilation to turn *Orang Asli* into Malay Muslims and, in the process, eradicate the category of aboriginal peoples in Malaysia. In a recent policy statement, the government announced its strategy 'to increase efforts at introducing a value system based on Islam for the integration of the *Orang Asli* with the wider society in general and Malays in particular' (Nicholas 2000: 98). Such a policy was tacitly adhered to in earlier days of government intervention; since 1993

it has been in the open. The policy not only facilitates Islamic conversion; it also prevents *Orang Asli* from converting to other religions, thus curtailing their religious freedoms. Islamic conversion would mean the *Orang Asli* would no longer have the wrong status as indigenous peoples. However, for resource managers, particularly forestry managers, many *Orang Asli* are still in the wrong place.

Forest dwellers

Evidence suggests that, in the first millennium AD, the *Orang Asli* were the primary suppliers of forest products such as rattan, bamboo, resins, ivory, and other animal parts in the maritime trade that linked Southeast Asia to markets in China, India and the Middle East (Gomes 2004: 2). Due to the settlement and encroachment of other peoples and interests onto their territories, *Orang Asli* peo-

ples are losing control of the forests. In the contest for resources, they are often on the losing side (Nicholas 2000).

During the 'opening up' of the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, forests were treated as if they were weeds to be cleared, and transformed into plantations and tin mines. After the Second World War, the *Orang Asli* and their forest abodes became strategically important in the fight against communist insurgents, who mostly operated from jungle camps. The push for economic development accelerated the conversion of forests into plantations, mines and land developments. The construction of roads and dams destroyed large tracts of forest and, with them, *Orang Asli* livelihoods. Timber became an important export bankrolling Malaysia's development.

Between logging and preservation

Paradoxically, the growing middle class produced by Malaysia's economic success began to clamour for the protection of forests and the creation of forest parks for recreation. The *Orang Asli* became an obstacle to two conflicting interests: commercial logging and forest preservation. Their 'shifting cultivation' was deemed

the government has pursued a policy of assimilation to turn Orang Asli into Malay Muslims and, in the process, eradicate the category of aboriginal peoples in Malaysia

wasteful and damaging to forests and resources. This perception was not new; in 1958, the Chief Forester blamed *Orang Asli* shifting cultivation for the destruction of valuable forest resources and recommended that 'it would be foolhardy to jeopardise the future of a nation by "preserving" a way of life for 50,000 people... when an opportunity, as a result of the Emergency, exists today to start settling them permanently'. Such sentiments have spurred the government's push to

resettle *Orang Asli* away from their forest bases and to open the land for exploitation.

The Aboriginal Peoples Act (1974) permits the *Orang Asli* to collect minor forest products but, under the Forestry Act of 1935, the Forestry Department has regulatory rights. The Act requires traders to obtain licences to purchase or trade forest products and to pay levies and taxes on commodities. By such means the Department can regulate trading and control *Orang Asli* access to the forests. While *Orang Asli* are not permitted to collect forest products from national parks, this restriction is not always enforced. As Colin Nicholas (2000: 134), Director of the NGO Centre of *Orang Asli* Concerns has observed, personnel of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks even act as middlemen in the trading of minor forest products gathered by *Orang Asli* from Taman Negara National Park.

It is more than the contest for resources that concerns government officials. In an attempt to ban tourists from visiting an *Orang Asli* community in Taman Negara, a government minister in 1997 remarked, 'Although it is natural for women of the tribe to live half naked in

the village, their photographs may give a wrong impression that Malays here are dressed in that manner' (Nicholas, 2000, p.134). One may conclude that the *Orang Asli* are not only in the wrong place and time, they are, in their marginal position, also a wrong people in Malaysia. ◀

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Orang Asli Groups and Locations

Source: Benjamin 1985

Indonesia: reformulating indigenous identity

Theme >
Indonesia

In September 2003 hundreds of people gathered on Lombok island for the second meeting of Aliansi Masyarakat Aadat Nusantara (AMAN), Indonesia's Indigenous Peoples' Organisation. Four years after the first meeting in Jakarta, it assessed progress towards recognition of indigenous peoples' rights in Indonesia. The meeting ended, just like the first one, with demands placed on the state: 'if the state does not recognize us, we shall not recognize the state'.

By Gerard A. Persoon

Indigenous or tribal peoples in Indonesia comprise more than one hundred different ethnic groups and sub-groups: hunters and gatherers in Sumatra, shifting agriculturalists in Kalimantan and present day West Papua, and dispersed maritime nomads. Together, they are estimated to number one-and-a-half million.

The term 'indigenous people' is new to Indonesia. Until recently, tribal peoples were officially called *masyarakat terasing*, or isolated community. Judging by the available documents of the Department of Social Affairs, the concepts *Orang Asli* (Original or Indigenous People) used in Malaysia, or Indigenous Tribes, *Inheemse Volksstammen*, the term used in Dutch colonial writings, was never considered.

In English translation, 'tribal' peoples or groups is a more neutral term than isolated group. Essential to the anthropological meaning of the word 'tribe' or 'tribal' is a strong degree of self-sufficiency, not only in means of existence, but in language, religion, political leadership and legal authority. A strong sense of cultural identity apart from the social mainstream is also characteristic of these peoples.

Back to the mainstream

Shortly after Indonesian independence, the Department of Social Affairs was given charge of all tribal peoples in the country. The Department focused initially on a limited number of small impoverished groups, in particular Sumatran groups such as the Kubu and the Mentawaians. Relief projects were implemented, but with limited impact. In general, tribal peoples were considered to occupy state forest land for which logging and mining concessions could be granted.

the awareness of past injustices – violation of territorial rights, forced resettlement and various kinds of repression – is fuelling a wave of ethnic identification across the country

The goal of the Indonesian government is to integrate the tribal groups into the social and cultural mainstream of the country. For a variety of reasons, it is claimed, these groups lost touch with the main currents of social, religious, political and economic change. Thus it is the obligation of the state to bring them back into the mainstream. This policy is expressed in terms of housing and settlement, modes of production, cultural expression, formal education, health care, religion and interaction with other parts of society.

Successive Indonesian governments have denied that the international discourse on indigenous peoples has any relevance to the country. Governments have avoided active participation in international forums, and have barred representatives of ethnic minorities from representing Indonesia at this level. Spokespersons from East Timor, the Moluccas or West Papua (Irian Jaya) who had found asylum elsewhere at times attended these international forums to bring the plight of their homelands to international attention. This had little impact within Indonesia, and until recently, the international community rarely took action.

External influence

Over the years, international organizations have adopted guidelines, principles and policies on the rights and position of indigenous people. Though the Indonesian government often declares them inapplicable to the country, in practice they are relevant, at least to some extent. The World Bank has altered its policy on financing transmigration projects following exposure of the consequences for tribal or indigenous peoples. The Indonesian Biodiversity Conservation Project of the Asian Development Bank could not have been implemented without indigenous peoples' involvement through local organizations. The World Wildlife Fund began to work more closely with indigenous peoples under its new statement of principles in 1996.

This is not to say that indigenous peoples in Indonesia have come to be recognised as such through international organizations. But to some degree, these organizations have imported the international discourse on indigenous peoples via their financial power and operational structures. This is crucial for what has happened in Indonesia's recent past and what is likely to happen in the near future.

AMAN (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara)

Since the fall of President Suharto in 1998, a wave of democratisation has swept the country. Political parties were founded while non-governmental organizations have blossomed in many areas. In March 1999, Jakarta witnessed a mass demonstration by indigenous peoples identifying themselves as *masyarakat adat*.¹ Hundreds of people, many in traditional outfits, were present, representing more than one hundred ethnic groups. The demonstration was supported by Western organizations, though their support was never made explicit. To many officials, the size of the demonstration came as a surprise. While high officials were invited to discuss *masyarakat adat* demands, most did not show up. The task was left to lower officials, many of whom were unprepared and lacked the authority to speak on the issues raised.

At the end of the gathering the following demands were formulated: (1) elimination of terms which denigrate indigenous people and their rights; (2) recognition of the diversity among indigenous peoples and of their rights, knowledge and skills; (3) representation in state institutions; (4) restoration of rights over land and natural resources; (5) amendment of the concept of state control in the Basic Agrarian Law and the Forestry and Mining Act; (6) discussion with the government and private sector on land and resource use; (7) social welfare programmes must not violate indigenous rights; (8) no military involvement in civil society as currently exists under the Armed Forces 'Dual Function' doctrine; (9) authorities must find a fair means to settle the issue of self-determination. It is the state's responsibility to restore the rights of indigenous peoples, violated for so long; and (10) the state must sign international agreements protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, e.g. ILO Convention 169 and participate in the formulation of the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.²

Decentralizing Indonesia

Since that first meeting the process of decentralization has effected all corners of the country. Provincial and district governments and officials are now more powerful, and receive a larger share of income generated from the exploitation of natural resources in their areas. The awareness of past injustices – violation of territorial rights, forced resettlement and various kinds of repression – is fuelling a wave of ethnic identification across the country. AMAN stimulates this by holding regional meetings and building local organizations campaigning for greater territorial rights. This is usually combined with awareness-raising of ethnic identity and the re-valuation of cultural traditions. As many indigenous peoples live in areas

Logging on Sarabua, Siberut, West Sumatra



courtesy of author

of high biodiversity, this overlap of cultural and biological diversity can be used for political purposes. Reclaiming ancestral lands within national parks, indigenous peoples point to their cultural and religious practices that contribute to sustainable resource use. If no longer practiced, efforts should be made to revitalize such traditions.

Recent developments in the swamp forests of Central Kalimantan, a high biodiversity area with one of the largest orangutan populations in Borneo, provides an interesting example. As logging operations involving both outsiders and the local Ngaju Dayak grew in scale, the local environment came under severe pressure. But partly as a result of external interest in the peat swamp forest, there are efforts to strengthen the eco-friendly image of the local population and their modes of



AMAN logo

resource use, reflected in the May 2002 Declaration of the Ecological Region of Central Kalimantan by the 'traditional Dayak chiefs and informal leaders of Central Kalimantan'. Many other communities have adopted similar strategies, realising that the discourse on indigenous rights is to some degree based on the belief that they are better stewards of the environment. At the same time, claiming a larger share of the benefits helps to compensate for the injustice of the past.

Future prospects

The modern political history of Indonesia has yet to be written, but new forms of democratisation feature prominently in contemporary developments. In the 2004 national elections, indigenous peoples' issues did not feature prominently despite AMAN's efforts to raise interest among party and presidential candidates. A complicating factor is that the ambitions of various ethnic groups and indigenous peoples still differ widely over issues such as land rights, self determination and equitable distribution of the benefits from natural resources.

Though the Indonesian indigenous peoples' movement is still politically weak, it will likely gain in strength in the near future. It is likely that the spreading international discourse on indigenous peoples will provide opportunities for ethnic groups to articulate their rights and garner support within a rapidly changing Indonesia. AMAN will act as a co-ordinating force; the movement in Indonesia will also be inspired by developments in other countries such as the Philippines. ◀

Notes

1. *Adat* is a complicated concept. It encompasses concepts such as culture, customs and systems of local justice. In some contexts it is also understood as the traditional lifestyle of a particular community. *Adat* land is usually understood as the (communal) village territory.
2. The demands were, of course, formulated in Indonesian. The central term here is *masyarakat adat*, defined by AMAN as: 'our communities whose lives are based on customary rights to certain lands which have been handed down through generations. We exert sovereignty over these lands and natural resources. Our societies and cultures are governed by customary laws and customary institutions which sustain the continuity of our communities'. In the Indonesian text the English words 'Indigenous Peoples' are used once, in relation to the UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples (AMAN 1999). In the English translation, *masyarakat adat* is translated as indigenous peoples (Down to Earth, special issue 1999)

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Minority rights and national development in the People's Republic of China

Theme >
China

As an empire-turned modern state, the Peoples' Republic of China has sought to integrate peoples within its territory under the banner of common citizenship. The subsequent state project implemented policies based on subjects' *minzu* identity. The PRC constitutionally proclaims itself 'a unitary, multi-*minzu* socialist state' – the Chinese nation (*zhonghua minzu*) comprised of the Han majority and 55 other officially recognized 'nationalities'.

By Xu Yuan

Minorities in a multi-*minzu* state

Popularised in the early twentieth century by Sun Yat-sen, the founder of republican China, the term *minzu* can variously be translated as nation, nationality, ethnic group, ethnic minority (or minority nationality) or people. The state-sponsored project of 'minzu identification' (*minzu shibie*) from 1953 to 1979 identified 55 minority *minzu* out of over 400 applicant groups seeking official status. With the identification of the Jinuo Zu in 1979, the PRC's population of 56 *minzu* was fixed; unidentified groups were placed under the umbrella of other groups.

The 55 minority *minzu* can be divided into those who once had state or state-like polities and those without such historical memories and national claims. In China's peripheral areas, more 'indigenous *minzu*' are surrounded by more 'civilized *minzu*'. All groups, including the Han majority, are constitutionally equal in their relation to the state, though they differ in many respects.

Western tradition, implies a collective right to self-determination. The issue remains politically sensitive; the assertion of nationality by any single *minzu* is forbidden.

Minzu work

Although equality, unity and mutual assistance among all *minzu* is proclaimed, there is a *de facto* inequality among groups. The colonial anthropological methodology of universal evolutionism, merged with Marxist historical materialism, was employed in the first stage of the massive state-sponsored Social Historical Investigation project (1956-1964). It slotted *minzu* into successive modes of production: primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist. The political teleology created under this Sinified evolutionary framework legitimised the state's intervention in minority peoples' livelihoods. *Minzu gongzuo* or *minzu* work employed ethnologists, historians, technologists, cadres, and thousands of others devoted to the socialist transformation of the minority subjects they studied and administered.

The immediate purpose of Social Historical Investigation was to set the stage

stigmatised as 'backward' in the 1960s and 1970s, and condemned as environmentally destructive in the 1990s.

State intervention and livelihoods

Sedentarization of indigenous minority *minzu* has long been official policy. The Kucong people, previously a group of shifting hunter-gatherers and swidden farmers in the tropical forests of Southwest China's border areas, have been subjected to government efforts to sedentarize them since the 1950s. This included their identification as a primitive branch of the sedentary Lahu Zu, the sending of army and work teams to find them in the forest, the building of residential villages, training in the frying of foods, the use of chopsticks and sedentary agricultural tools. The program enjoyed relative success in the Maoist era, for the Kucong could adjust to life in people's communes, where state cadres replaced their chiefs but left their social relations intact. Since the 1980s, however, privatisation has turned Kucong households into poor producers; many abandoned their paddy fields and returned to the forest. Until 1994, the conflicts between traditional pur-

Provincial government policies to encourage the Hezhe to adopt agriculture have yet to alleviate their poverty.

From the point of view of the state, there have been some successful examples of sedentarization. According to the media, poverty among the Jinuo Zu was eradicated in the mid-1980s through diversified crop farming. Another is the Mengpeng state-run farm in Xishuangbanna, Yunnan Province, which between 1979 and 1998 incorporated fifteen minority *minzu* communities, transforming indigenous swidden people into farm workers.

Minority rights and national development

National development has at times been promoted at the expense of minorities' human rights and interests. From the 1950s to 1970s, public funds were directed to western minority areas to balance China's regional industrial distribution. Government projects – mineral extraction infrastructure, military bases, state-run farms and rubber plantations – transformed previously self-sufficient areas into peripheral dependencies, which critics labelled a process of internal colonization. Most of these projects employed Han immigrants, and brought little benefit to minority communities, who often grew poorer through the growing difference in prices between primary and industrial goods.

The advent of reform and pragmatist 'open door' policies since 1978 have placed minorities on the playing field of the market. The return to household production – the 'responsibility' system, utilizing minorities' local social structures – has helped to diversify minority economies. Increased income has enabled some Dai family owners to employ Han workers who lost their jobs in declining state-run farms. The state and media have even expressed concern over economically successful minorities' 'loss' of subject identities and *minzu* characteristics.

The reform era reopened the PRC to the world, placing government policies under the examination of another universal discourse: human rights. The PRC proclaims it acknowledges the fundamental universality of human rights. Human rights, however, are to be applied within China's particular historical, social and economic conditions. This Chinese-style particularism, with an emphasis on collective rights, places minorities' human rights under the purview of state sovereignty. Meanwhile, through the discourse of rights to existence and development, the ghost of evolutionism still haunts the PRC. For

unsuccessful populations, the blame is often placed on minorities' cultures and the persistence of traditional values and worldviews.

Since the beginning of the new century, the international discourse on 'human development' – for example, the United Nations' human poverty index – is more noticeable in the PRC's official and academic discourse. It suggests that understanding of development has shifted from pure emphasis on GDP to more comprehensive concerns. The state-promoted '*minzu* economy' now champions local communities' efforts at self-reform,

minzu work employed ethnologists, historians, technologists, cadres, and thousands of others devoted to the socialist transformation of the minority subjects they studied and administered

the use of indigenous knowledge and preservation of biodiversity. Furthermore, the revised Regional Autonomy Law (2001) has begun to respect minorities' land arrangements by promising compensation to minorities whose natural resources are claimed by the state. These trends indicate a growing recognition of minorities' human rights, at least to some extent. ◀

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Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities, June 1979

Gao Quan & Yang Keshan, Renmin meishu chubanshe. From the IISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection: <http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger>

Minzu regional autonomy was stipulated in the Common Program, the provisional constitution promulgated on the eve of the PRC's foundation, and adhered to in following constitutions. Regional autonomy applied to 'minority concentrated communities' at the level of regions, prefectures and counties rather than to particular *minzu*. The qualification for minorities to establish their autonomous areas depends on their proportion of the population and their habitation patterns within specific administrative districts.

Although Chinese authorities and academia have long taken the concept of nationality for granted, equating *minzu* with nationality remains problematic. As a result of historical inter-ethnic amalgamation, China's ethnic groups are mixed and dispersed over vast areas. Nationality, whether in the modified Stalinist definition employed in the *minzu* identification project or in the

for land reform and social transformation, to bring all *minzu* communities under socialism. Minority *minzu*' ranking in the evolutionary hierarchy at times had a protective effect. Reform in communities in the 'earlier stages' was milder, with more consultations with minority elites, than the radical measures adopted among Han and 'more advanced' communities. For communities in the stage of 'feudal manorialism', such as the Dai Zu in Xishuangbanna and the Yi Zu in Liangshan, a 'peaceful, consultative' approach kept many traditional institutions relatively intact.

In many other cases the state's developmental ideology destroyed the traditional livelihood and customs of minority *minzu*. The sedentary, irrigated cultivation practised by the Han and 'more civilized' *minzu* was considered the most productive form of agriculture. In contrast, swidden forest cultivation practised by many minority peoples was

suits, state ideology and forest protection led to evictions of Kucong people from forests.

Similar situations were faced by fishing and hunting *minzu*. The Jing Zu, a coastal fishing *minzu* in Guangxi who migrated from Vietnam hundreds of years ago, were encouraged to cultivate rice on reclaimed tidal land in the 1960s. This was touted as the end of the Jing people's non-agriculture history; low grain yields on poor land and lack of agricultural knowledge, however, led to their impoverishment. For the Hezhe zu, previously a fishing and hunting people in China's northeast border area, agriculture was not systematically introduced until the 1990s. After enjoying relatively easy lives due to their marketable salmon, their traditional livelihood was undermined by competition for salmon from the growing immigrant population and an upstream dam built by Russia preventing the yearly return of fish.

Male Homosexuality in the Philippines: a short history

Research >
Gender Crossing

The folk wisdom that Filipinos are a gay-friendly people must have first been mouthed by a wide-eyed tourist one lazy orange afternoon, assaulted by the vision of flamboyant transvestites sashaying down Manila's busy sidewalks in broad daylight. Swiveling their hips from side to side, nothing seemed to threaten these chirping damsels except their heavy pancake makeup, which could run at any moment under the sweltering tropical sky.

By J. Neil C. Garcia

When visitors to the Philippines remark that Filipinos openly tolerate and/or accept homosexuality, they invariably have in mind effeminate, cross dressing men (*bakla*) swishing down streets and squealing on television programmes with flaming impunity. This is sadly misinformed. To equate Philippine society's tolerance for public displays of transvestism with wholesale approval of homosexual behavior is naive, if not downright foolish.

While cross dressing exists in the Philippines, it is allowed only in certain social classes and within certain acceptable contexts, among entertainers and *parloristas* (beauticians) for instance, and during carnivalesque celebrations and *fiestas*. In fact, Filipinos have yet to see transvestism as legitimate in 'serious' professions – male senators filibustering from the podium wrapped in elegant, two-toned pashminas, or CEOs strutting around open-air malls wearing power skirts and designer leather pumps. Second, and more importantly, cross dressing is very different from homosexuality: the one does not necessarily entail the other. Observed more closely, the two have very different stories to tell.

Tolerance

If their society was truly tolerant of (male) homosexuality, then Filipinos would see not just flaming transvestites shrieking their heads off in TV sitcoms and variety shows, but local men, sissy or otherwise, frenching and erotically manhandling each other in steamy 'gay telenovelas'. There would be as many gay pick-up bars as straight bars, and both the femmy *pa-girl* and butchy *pa-mhin* would be able to display affection in public.

At the heart of the idea of homosexuality is sex, no matter the sartorial style of the persons indulging in it. Thus, to historicize homosexuality in the Philippines, we must recognize the fundamental difference between gender and sexuality. More specifically, we need to disarticulate the presentist and commonsensical connection between gender transitive behaviors and the identities of *bakla*, *bayot*, *agi*, and *bantut* on the one hand and the discourse and reality of homosexuality as typically 'gay' same-sex orientation and/or identity on the other. The history of the former stretches into the oral past not only of the Philippines, but the whole of Southeast Asia. The latter is a more recent development, a performative instance and discursive effect of the largely American-sponsored biomedicalization of local Filipino cultures.

Gender crossing

We know from Spanish accounts of encounters between *conquistadores* and

the archipelago's various *indios* that gender crossing and transvestism were cultural features of early colonial and thus, presumably, pre-colonial communities.

Local men dressed up in women's apparel and acting like women were called, among other things, *bayoguin*, *bayok*, *agi-ngin*, *asog*, *bido* and *binabae*. They were significant not only because they crossed male and female gender lines. To the Spanish, they were astonishing, even threatening, as they were respected leaders and figures of authority. To their native communities they were *babaylan* or *catalonan*: religious functionaries and shamans, intermediaries between the visible and invisible worlds to whom even the local ruler (*datu*) deferred. They placated angry spirits, foretold the future, healed infirmities, and even reconciled warring couples and tribes.

Donning the customary clothes of women was part of a larger transformation, one that redefined their gender almost completely as female. We may more properly call them 'gender crossers' rather than cross dressers, for these men not only assumed the outward appearance and demeanor of women, but were granted social and symbolic recognition as 'somewhat-women.' They were comparable to women in every way except that they could not bear children. *Cronicas* tell us they were 'married' to men, with whom they had sexual relations. These men treated their womanish partners like concubines; being men, they had wives with whom they had their obligatory children.

despite Catholicism – with its own sacramental frocks worn by its 'men of the cloth' – and three-hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, cross dressing, effeminacy and gender transitive behavior never really disappeared in Philippine society

Gender crossers enjoyed a comparatively esteemed status in pre-colonial Philippine society simply because women enjoyed a similar status. Women were priestesses and matriarchs who divorced their husbands if they wanted, chose their children's names, owned property and accumulated wealth.

Spanish machismo

This was the state of affairs when the Spanish arrived. Over the centuries, as the status of women progressively deteriorated, gender crossing in the traditional sense became more and more difficult, with the gender crosser suffering from the ridicule and scorn which only the Spanish brand of medieval Mediterranean machismo could inflict. From being likened to a naturally occurring species of bamboo called *bayog*, the

native effeminate man (*bayoguin*) in the Tagalog-speaking regions of Luzon slowly transmogrified into *bakla*, a word that also meant 'confused' and 'cowardly.' Unlike his formerly 'destined' state, *kabaklaan* was a temporary condition away from which he might be wrested, using whatever persuasive, brutally loving means. Nonetheless, despite Catholicism – with its own sacramental frocks worn by its 'men of the cloth' – and three-hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, cross dressing, effeminacy and gender transitive behavior never really disappeared in Philippine society.

Western sexualization

The American period, in which arguably the Philippines remains, saw the expansion of the newly empowered middle class, the standardization of public education, and the promulgation and regulation of sexuality by means of academic learning and the mass media. This discursive regulation inaugurated a specific sexual consciousness, one that was incumbent upon a psychological style of reasoning hitherto unknown in the Philippines.

We can reasonably surmise, following academic accounts of how Western psychology took root in the Philippines,² that this 'sexualization' of local mentality, behavior and personality accompanied English-based education in America's newly acquired colony at the beginning of the twentieth century. The force of this imported 'psychosexual logic' has grown and become entrenched since then; present generations are subjected to levels of sexual indoctrination

unheard of in previous decades. In other words, by virtue of American colonialism and neocolonialism, Filipinos have been socialized in Western modes of gender and sexual identity formation, courtesy of a sexualization that rode on different but complementary discourses of public hygiene, psychosexual development, juvenile delinquency, health and physical education, family planning, feminist empowerment, gay and lesbian advocacy, and the corporally paranoid discourse of AIDS.

The new sexual order

The result is a deepening of sexuality's perverse implantation into the local soil, accompanied by the exorbitation of the 'homo/hetero' distinction as the organizing principle in the now heavily-freighted sexual lives of Filipinos, especially those in large urban centers where



Crispulo 'Pulong' Luna (1903-1976). A Filipino bakla or gender crosser from Paco, Manila. Luna is seen here in a native Philippine costume.

Victoria Studios, Paco, Manila. Reproduced with the kind permission of Patricia A. Callasan and family.

Westernized knowledges hold sway. Thus, the effeminate *bakla* is also the 'homosexual': a genitally male *man* whose identity is defined as a function of his sexual desire for *other men*.

Nonetheless, it's important to qualify that residual valuations of gender persist, and have simply served to modify the new sexual order. For instance, though the *bakla* has sex with the *lalake* ('real man'), for many Filipinos it is only the former who is 'homosexualized' by the activity. This means that the process of sexualization, while increasing in alacrity and perniciousness, has not been consistent. In fact, the process has been skewed towards the further minoritization of what had already been an undesirable, effeminate, 'native' identity: the *bakla*. While the terms *bakla* and homosexual are far from congruent, many Filipinos use them interchangeably because they entail the same social effect: stigmatization.

While his effeminacy and transvestic ways place him in a long line of exceptional and 'gender anomalous' beings in Philippine history, the present-day *bakla* is unlike any of his predecessors in at least one respect: he is burdened not only by his gender self-presentation, but also, and more tragically, by his 'sexual orientation', an attribute capable of defining his sense of *self*.

During the Spanish period, a religious discourse of 'unnatural acts' grouped under the rubric of sodomy was halfheartedly propagated through the confessional. Such acts were nevertheless temporary and surmountable, a weakness to which heirs to Eve's original transgression were vulnerable. Sodomy was not a discourse of identity but of acts: non-procreative, non-conjugal and 'non-missionary' acts that were committed by men with men, women with women, and men and women with animals. Even so, the gender crosser's sexual predilections for and acts with men simply attended – and did not determine – her redefined status as 'woman-

like.' This status denoted what was more properly a gendered rather than a sexualized form of social being.

By contrast, as though coping with his swishy ways in a helplessly macho culture was not enough, the *bakla* must now contend with the private demons of pathological self-loathing, primarily on account of his intrinsically 'sick' desire. Nonetheless, the pathologizing of the *bakla* into and as a homosexual has resulted in encouraging narratives of hybridity, appropriation and postcolonial resistance from 'politicized' Filipino gay writers and artists. These 'gay texts' demonstrate how the very people who have been pathologized by the American sexual regime are ironically enabled by this very stigma.

We may therefore conclude that 'gay identity' and 'gay liberation,' as Filipino gays currently understand, live and champion them, are as much the ascriptions of these histories of cross gender behavior and homosexuality as the expressions of the various freedoms and desires these selfsame histories have paradoxically conferred. ◀

Notes

1. These are culturally comparable words for 'effeminate homosexual' among the Philippines' Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilongo and Tausug ethnic communities.
2. See: Alfredo V. Lagmay, 2000. 'Western Psychology in the Philippines: Impact and Response' in *Journey of a Humanist*. Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 163-180.

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Dravidian Studies in the Netherlands Part I (1605-1690s)

Pioneers of Orientalism at the VOC

Research >
South India

Dravidian studies seemed almost non-existent in the Netherlands when I settled there eleven years ago. The renowned Czeck Dravidologist K.V.Zvelebil had just retired from Utrecht University, and his chair was abolished. Accustomed to the Soviet practice of propagating scholarly achievements abroad, and faced with the absence of such material on the Dutch Indological school but for a six-page paper by J. Gonda (1964), I decided to fill the gap. This article is the first of a three part series surveying four centuries of Dravidian Studies in the Netherlands.

By Luba Zubkova

Even a detached onlooker would soon deduce that the Dutch are a nation of doers, more apt to maintain reality than to philosophise about it. Practical incentives lie behind Dutchmen's aspirations to knowledge, a problem-solving mentality rather than dream-like idealism. The ever urgent problem being water – whether in the guise of overflowing rivers or untameable sea – scientific research in the Netherlands has often been linked to sailing and navigation.

Maritime republic

As is generally known, the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic between 1588 and 1702 was the epoch of great maritime expeditions and scientific discoveries. So it is not surprising that, as in the exact sciences, among the pioneers of what was later called Dravidian studies we find cartographers, adventurers and geographers.

After the discovery of the eastern sea route around the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1497, the Dutch public was fascinated by India's wonders. They felt especially attracted to her exotic culture when in 1605 the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) set foot on South India's Coromandel coast populated by Dravidian people.

Founded in 1602 by the wealthy middle classes to trade in the East and secure profits for its shareholders, the VOC set up trade posts and forts to purchase the world's best pepper, cinnamon, indigo and so on, and to provide the metropolis with a growing market for its manufactures. The VOC appointed governors who maintained garrisons and signed alliances with native peoples, under the supervision of the Staten-Generaal (the early Dutch parliament). The VOC, like its counterpart in the western hemisphere, the Westindische Compagnie, personified the expansive dynamics of the state economy, foreign policy and religious ideology.

By the 1640s the Dutch were entrenched on the Indian subcontinent and the Malay peninsula as well as in Indonesia. Challenging Portuguese military power in Ceylon, the VOC was soon able to control the coastal zone of the island and annex a whole string of Portuguese fortified bases around the tip of India (Israel 1995:937). From around 1660 until the 1720s the Dutch remained the leading European power in India.

Sending loaded ships to the Coromandel and then the Malabar coast of India and to Ceylon, the VOC hired Protestant priests to create a favourable moral climate in the trade posts. Some inquisitive Company servants in the 17th and 18th centuries contributed to the public

interest in India through their travelogues. Impressed by the learning of the brahmans and their views on life and death, clergyman Abraham Rogerius, who for seventeen years (1630-47) lived at Paliacatta on the Coromandel coast, wrote a book on the life, customs, faith and religious practices of Tamil brahmans (*De open-deure tot verborgen heydendom*, 1651). Rogerius was the first to mention the four Vedas, but their description, according to J. Gonda, was more in harmony with the Tamil Vaisnava hymns than Sanskrit sources (Gonda 1964:5).

Phillipus Baldaeus

Another missionary who came to Ceylon upon the conquest of Colombo by the Dutch in 1656 was Phillipus Baldaeus (1632-1672). A talented cartographer and writer, the Company appointed him a predicant responsible for converting the Tamil communities on the northern part of the island to the Dutch Reformed religion. He lived in and around Jaffna for nine years and sailed around to inspect the Dutch possessions in South India.

Baldaeus moved among the people, mastering the Tamil language in which he could preach and converse. He thought '...it is more befitting and seemly that a teacher or minister masters the language of his congregation, rather than for the congregation to learn the language of their minister' (Saparamadu 1958:XIX). Baldaeus compiled several manuscripts to be used by native proponents of Protestantism and schoolmasters, and prepared a Tamil Psalter. It was published in book form in 1755, 'the earliest vernacular book of music'

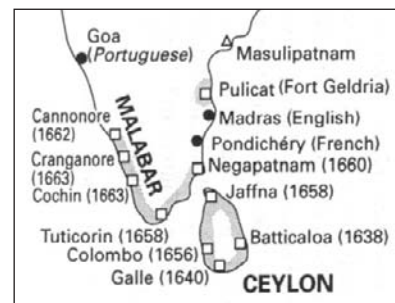
(Kesavan 1985:59). Printing was brought by the Dutch to Ceylon in the late 1720s, and the earliest Tamil work printed was a 1741 Tamil Bible by the Hollender Press of the VOC.

Baldaeus' personal observations of the life and mores of Hindus constituted a monumental work in Dutch, printed in Amsterdam in 1672. In the same year it was translated into German, and in 1703 abridged in English: *A True and Exact Description of the most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Choromandel. As also the Great Island of Ceylon and the Religion of the Heathens of the East Indies*. The book included maps, engravings illustrating the author's experiences, and a supplement entitled *Introduction to the Malabar language* which contained elements of Tamil grammar followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Tamil.

the Company's activities left no trace on South Indian life, except for gravestones with life-stories of the deceased employees, which are nowadays used by the locals for laundry

Accompanying engravings contained the complete Tamil alphabet. Explaining his reasons for learning the local language, Baldaeus praises its richness and flexibility, anticipating the attitude of the famous English proponents of Dravidian studies, R. Caldwell and G.U. Pope two centuries later.

The Description is an interesting historical document abounding with sociological, ethnological and other valuable information, though the author is biased because of his dual loyalty to the Com-



VOC Trade Posts

pany and the Reformed Church. The two loyalties were often in conflict. A predicant was a Company official with the salary of a Senior Merchant (90-100 guilders a month apart from allowances) and had considerable influence. However, he could not fully use this influence in his ecclesiastical work because the Company was grudging of additional expenses. For example, the Company

objected to Baldaeus' suggestions for improving religious education and converting the natives, and ruled that funds should be raised from fines levied in the enforcement of school rules. Phillipus Baldaeus refused to conform and was nearly accused by the Governor of dishonest financial dealings. He could not continue his linguistic studies because the Church, bound by the state, thought it a waste of time. In 1666 he decided to leave Ceylon.

VOC research

The VOC demanded from personnel a certain expertise in native speech, local culture and political intrigue, which could prove handy in trade transactions. There were more officials and missionaries working on a glossary of 'Malabaric' (Tamil/Malayalam) language and Telugu. Others produced detailed accounts of the local conditions, climate and plants, and everyday life of various Hindu castes. To name but a few: Herbert de Jager, a peasant's son and former theology student at Leiden University, indulged in comparative study of 'Malabaric', Sanskrit and High-Javanese during his ten years' stay in Coromandel; Wouter Schouten, a surgeon attached to the Dutch fleet, wrote the book *The East Indian Voyages*; Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein, Malabar Governor in 1671-77 and vice-admiral, prepared the voluminous botanical treatise *Hortus indicus Malabaricus*; while Daniel Havart, the Company's senior official and a keen observer, published in 1693 a book with the title *The rise and fall of Coromandel*.

Havart's statement of 'fall' refers to the gradual decline in moral climate at

Paleacatta (Pulicat, the VOC headquarters until 1690) and twenty other Dutch trade posts which he visited over thirteen years. The causes were involuntary idleness in the monsoon periods which led to corruption, and the Company's infamous economy drive. With profits dwindling, the VOC offered its employees shackling contracts, usually picked up by unscrupulous fortune seekers or bankrupts, thus fuelling the forbidden practice of private commerce and smuggling ('mors-handel'). 'In Coromandel you see very few men with ideals', Phillipus Baldaeus complained. There was no zeal on the part of missionaries either, as the bookish, rational Calvinism proved hard to proselytise. Epidemics of cholera, political chaos in Tamilnadu, and British expansion in the 18th century did the rest; J.A. Braam's 1818 inspection reported that Dutch possessions in India had depreciated (Peters and de la Porte 2001).

The Company's commercial activities left no trace on south Indian life, except for numerous gravestones with inscribed life-stories of the deceased employees, which are nowadays used by the locals for laundry. Research work of the Dutch pioneers was continued by the German protestant Ziegenbalg, who belonged to a Danish mission in Malabar. The books by Rogerius and Baldaeus were reclaimed as sources of first-hand knowledge and translated into other European languages. They attracted the attention of the educated public and eventually contributed to the establishment of Indological chairs in French, German and British universities in 1814, 1818 and 1833. ◀

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The book by Baldaeus: bastard title page of 1672

Digital and other divides in a developing country

Comment >
Education and development

Social reformers everywhere agree that education is part of the long-term answer to such intractable problems as gender discrimination, sexually-transmitted diseases, environmental degradation, even social and economic inequities. The following article is excerpted from the author's keynote presentation at the Seventh International Conference on Philippine Studies, delivered in Leiden, the Netherlands, on 16 June 2004.

By Edilberto C. de Jesus

The East Asian miracle, heralded by the emergence of the dragon economies, enshrined education as the key to economic development and global competitiveness. Tremendous strides in the last two decades in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), together with the sometimes extravagant claims of the ICT priesthood, bolstered the faith in education and gave hope to developing countries. Exploiting the late-starter advantage, Third World countries could perhaps use ICT to catch up with, or, in the image popular during the Ramos Administration, 'pole-vault' over wealthier nations.

Digital divide

It did not take long for reality to bite. Building the ICT infrastructure, acquiring the software, and keeping the system up to date do not come cheap. For schools and countries lacking in resources, ICT turned out to be as much a threat as a promise. In the mid-1990s, the U.S. National Telecommunications and Information Administration coined the term 'digital divide' to denote the gap between the ICT haves and have nots.

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Cost is not the only, or even the main, issue. The installation of computer hardware and internet connectivity does not instantly translate into better learning outcomes in schools. Both students and faculty must traverse a learning curve on the use of ICT. Moreover, proponents of ICT tend to underestimate the prerequisite competencies in language and math that students must acquire to learn the technology and profit from it. Despite these reservations, ICT is important, and the digital divide is something we should try to narrow. But developing countries like the Philippines must confront and overcome other divides.

Other divides

Elections have a way of exposing and sharpening divisions in society. The summary of the exit polls conducted by the Social Weather Station (SWS) called attention to persisting regional and linguistic fault lines. On national television, SWS President Mahar Mangahas commented that the Kapampangans, Cebuanos, and Ilongos defeated the Tagalogs and the Ilocanos, alluding to the regions carried with large margins by President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and Ferdinand Poe, Jr.

The Huntington Clash of Civilizations thesis, the 9/11 attack, and the invasion of Iraq have highlighted the historical Christian-Muslim divide in the Philippines and complicated negotiations

between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. The elections also exposed fissures within the Christian flock, with different sects enjoining their adherents to vote for specific candidates.

The most serious rift in Philippine society remains that between the rich and the poor. Impeached President Erap Estrada exploited this divide in his campaign for the presidency, even after his expulsion from the Palace. Pro-Estrada partisans attempted to project the clash with Arroyo allies as a class war between rich and poor.

The Rulemakers

A recent study of the legislature, *The Rulemakers: How the Wealthy and Well-Born Dominate Congress*, focuses on the political dimension of this social divide, asserting that 'a congress of well-connected and well-born multimillionaires sets the rules for a poor nation' (p. viii). Service in the legislature provides ample opportunity for amassing wealth. Legislators receive allowances (e.g. for travel, staff, consultancy contracts) free from the scrutiny of the Commission on Audit, making the Philippine parlia-

ment the only agency of the government, according to the Presidential Commission against Graft and Corruption, that is 'not accountable for the public funds it spends' (p. 144).

In addition to the public funds they receive, legislators are free to pursue professional and business interests. About half the legislators have declared business interests in real estate, but the authors of *Rulemakers* estimate as many as 70 per cent are involved in construction through nominees or dummy companies. The power to make laws and to conduct investigations 'in aid of legislation' can also be employed to advance personal and family interests. To protect accumulated wealth, it becomes convenient to keep the elective office within the family. Anticipating this danger, the 1987 Cory Constitution sought to abort the birth of political dynasties by imposing a three-term limit on legislators.

Politicians have responded by enlisting relatives to succeed them. Two-thirds of legislators in the post-Marcos congresses are members of political families. Seventy per cent are second and third generation politicians. The pattern of parents and children or spouses succeeding each other prompts the book's observation on 'the incestuousness within Congress'.

Rulemakers underlines the potentially serious divide between the elected and

the electorate. The country's system of representative democracy, it argues, is unrepresentative and, therefore, not democratic in its processes or results. During the protracted canvassing of presidential votes, Cardinal Gaudencio Rosales, Archbishop of Manila, asserted on cable television that politicians have become the most destructive force in Philippine life.

The education divide

The cleavages among the community and the fault lines in the socio-economic and political terrain place the digital divide in perspective. It is important, but other divisions pose greater dangers. The issue is how the Filipinos as a people and how the government as the instrument of the community will proceed to repair the breaks, close the wounds and reunite the country. Those who lament the failure of democracy to produce effective leaders committed to the welfare of the people tend to blame the uneducated electorate. We thus come full circle, back to the core conviction that schools provide the long-term answer to building the strong, cohesive republic to which the country aspires. What we confront in the schools, tragically, is not just a digital divide but an education divide.

The poor place a high priority on schooling because they believe that education will enable their children to escape the bondage of poverty. Government and the media, even the entertainment media, nurture this belief, promoting education as the great equalizer. And there are enough success stories showing that, through education, people can improve their lot, rise above the station into which they were born, and ensure a better future for their children.

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As early as the 1980s, however, thoughtful educators had begun to suspect that this faith was illusory³. The number of unemployed or underemployed college graduates provides a clue. The problem may stem from the limited capacity of the market to absorb graduates because of the state of the economy. But it could equally arise from the limited ability of graduates to meet the requirements of the job market.

We must close the gap at all educational levels between the elite schools and the diploma mills in both the private and public sectors. Reform must start with the basic education system, the only level that about half of the student age population will complete. If we fail to close this gap, education will create and sustain greater inequalities. Education will become the great disqualifier.

Balancing the goals of access or equity and quality in education has emerged as a major concern, both among the South-east Asian Ministers of Education Organization and the more numerous UNESCO countries. Rapid progress in the knowledge industry keeps raising the bar countries must surmount to meet quality education standards. Under conditions of resource constraints, access and quality often become competing objectives.

could give their children the benefit of eleven years of basic education.

An initiative launched by President Macapagal-Arroyo on 11 April 2004 forges a connection between education, livelihood and poverty reduction. The government has committed to giving each family falling below the poverty line a scholarship and living allowance to send one child to college or a technical-vocational school.

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In recent years, ranking in international assessments have become, like GNP and GDP, new benchmarks of development. We cannot evade the responsibility of measuring and monitoring the distance that separates us from evolving global educational standards. But our greater concern ought to be the educational divide within our own societies. Computer literacy is a desirable objective. But functional literacy and numeracy must take precedence. There are still 860 million illiterate people in the world. ICT can help in addressing their needs. But especially for countries devastated by war, famine and disease, the benefits of ICT in schools are academic and irrelevant without further external assistance.

Building an effective educational system is a long-term task requiring sustained effort and considerable financial resources. But focusing on education does offer a silver lining. Addressing problems in education does begin to resolve some of the other major divides.

This school year, the Department introduced the Bridge Program to give children entering public high schools the

These initiatives will not solve all of the problems the Philippines faces in education; they are not quick-fix solutions, not magic bullets. But they do point the education establishment in the right direction. With these initiatives, we hope to bridge the education divide and begin to address some of the other fault lines in the foundations of the republic. <

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The seventh International Conference on Philippine Studies was held in Leiden, the Netherlands from 16-19 June 2004 and drew 250 scholars, 90 from the Philippines. The 7th ICOPHIL was organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies and Prof. O.D. van den Muijzenberg. The Organizing Committee would like to thank the following sponsors, without whom the conference would not have been possible: The Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO); the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW); the Research School for Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), the Prince Claus Fund, and the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds (East Europe Fund). The Organizing Committee would also like to thank the ICOPHIL staff of Marloes Rozing, Bastiaan van de Loo and Amis Boersma for their support before, during, and after the conference.

Local Pilgrimage in Java and Madura: why is it booming?

Research >
Indonesia

Pilgrimage to the tombs of Muslim saints in Java and Madura is booming. The scale of the boom is difficult to measure and the reasons for it are not easy to discern, but its reality is undeniable. It is becoming a significant part of Indonesia's rapidly changing religious landscape. It is even important in the country's political life.

By George Quinn

Evidence of increase in pilgrim numbers is mostly anecdotal – statistics that permit comparison of numbers over extended periods are almost impossible to come by. The custodian's office at the tomb of the saint Sunan Bonang in the centre of Tuban, East Java, is one of the few that has kept some reasonably reliable figures. When I visited the tomb in July 1997 custodial staff told me that pilgrim numbers had been increasing at a rate of between 10 and 20 per cent for the previous five years, culminating in a total of 526,268 visitors in 1996. When I visited the tomb again in November 2003, staff assured me that visitor numbers had topped one million in 2002.

Other sites claim similar increases, though the figures are decidedly rubbery. In 1987 a total of 341,385 people visited the Great Mosque at Demak with its adjacent holy graves. By the year 2000 this had jumped to 606,918 people. In the same year around one and a half million people are said to have visited the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga at nearby Kadilangu. In 1997, a million visitors were claimed for the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati in Cirebon and in the same year an average of 1,000 visitors a day were coming to the tomb of Sunan Giri in Gresik. When I visited the latter two sites last year, staff assured me that visitor numbers were well above the 1997 figures.

A principal reason for these increases is that over the past three decades access to sites has improved. Roads, even to remote sites, are now sealed and often served by public transport. Many places now boast spacious parking areas, eateries and nearby losmen or hotel accommodation. In the early 1990s when I first visited Kahyangan – a magically beautiful holy place in the hills to the south of Tirtomoyo in Central Java – there was no vehicular access. Pilgrims had to walk about two kilometres along a rough, steep track to reach the site. Long-stay visitors (apart from those who were fasting during their stay) had to return along the track to a nearby village to buy food. Today a sealed road runs right to the site's entrance where there is also a parking area. Inside the site compound there is a small warung eatery as well as a bathroom and simple overnight accommodation.

Spiritual tourism

The prosperity of the Soeharto years (1967-1998) put more disposable income in people's pockets making pilgrimage journeys more affordable. At the busiest sites most pilgrims now come in chartered buses, and companies have sprung up to service the fast-growing 'spiritual tourism' industry.

There has even been an opening up of access to sites that were once restricted



Site custodians (*jurukunci*) await pilgrims at the tomb of Ki Ageng Gribig, Jatinom, Central Java

in some way. One reason for this is the take-over of many sites by government agencies which then require that the sites be equally open to all citizens. East Java's Archeological Service (*Dinas Purbakala*), for example, has a hand in the administration of five of the tombs of Java's renowned Nine Saints (*Wali Sanga*) as well as other sites as disparate as the tombs of Batoro Katong in Ponorogo, Putri Cempa in Trowulan and Ratu Ibu near Arosbaya in Madura.

More powerful still are the brute forces of commercialism. With the rise of mass pilgrimage, communities in and around pilgrimage sites are relying more and more on pilgrims as a prime source of income. Local people may work as guides, provide hospitality services or sell souvenirs. Much of a site's income comes from 'voluntary' contributions or alms (*sedekah*) sometimes aggressively demanded of pilgrims at many points in the visitation process.

Indonesia's decentralisation is placing pressure on local administrations to maximise local sources of revenue and pilgrimage sites are being targeted. Some sites now have box offices at their entrances. Visitors are required to buy entry tickets, the revenue from which may go largely, or entirely, to the local government. As part of this process some local governments are encouraging, even directly investing in, the development of holy places as tourist attractions in the hope that the sites will attract sight-seers or casual day-trippers as well as religiously motivated pilgrims.

All this notwithstanding, local pilgrimage is still driven ultimately by religious conviction and there are religious reasons for the increased interest in pilgrimage. But pilgrims are far from uniform in the rationales they give for what they do.

Closer to God...

Increasingly self-confident displays of Islamic identity and piety are undoubtedly a major factor. For many Muslims, whether followers of purist orthodoxy or

those prepared to make accommodations with local beliefs and practices, visiting the tomb of a revered saint is an act of *sunnah* piety sanctioned by tradition and explicitly urged upon Muslims by verses in the Qur'an as well as by the words of the Prophet.

The Qur'anic verse most often cited in justification of pilgrimage is Al-Mā'idah 35 which exhorts believers to seek ways and means to bring themselves closer to God. This is interpreted as permitting believers to seek *tawassul*, that is, intercession by the Prophet or by another figure 'close to God' on behalf of the believer. In order to accomplish this, pilgrims say, believers may petition God and the Prophet by way of prayers to a local saint.

On several occasions pilgrims have quoted to me the well-known and well-authenticated *hadith* from the *Sahih Muslim* in which the Prophet is reported to have said 'Visit graves, for that makes you mindful of death' (*Sahih Muslim* Book 4, number 2130). It is often said that the Shafei school of law, which dominates almost exclusively in Indonesia, classifies the visiting of graves as 'recommended' (*mandub, mustahabb*), though religious scholars in Indonesia sometimes add conditions to this recommendation.

The shrine of the messianic Prince Erukakra, Ketonggo Forest, Ngawi, East Java



The steady rise in the number of pilgrims undertaking the *hajj* to the Holy Land probably flows on into local pilgrimage. Before and after performing the *hajj* many Indonesian Muslims make visits to the tombs of local saints as part of the totality of the *hajj* experience. With a current cap of 205,000 on the number of Indonesians permitted to undertake the *hajj*, it is also possible that some pilgrims who miss out – estimated at around 30,000 during the 2003 *hajj* season – may make a local pilgrimage as a substitute for the 'real thing'. Certainly for some of the many millions of Indonesians who cannot afford to undertake the *hajj*, local pilgrimage may be a kind of *umrah* or 'lesser' pilgrimage.

... and money

Many pilgrims frequent holy places in order to plead for specific personal favours (*ngalap berkah*). They may ask for help with health problems or straitened financial circumstances, with employment, promotion, business, study, fertility, personal relationships and harvests. Very often pilgrims try to negotiate a 'transaction' or contract (*nadar, nadhar or nazar*) with a saint, vowing to 'repay' the saint in some way if a wish is granted.

There seems to be a widespread perception that economic success is never wholly a result of individual initiative or plain hard work. Wealth comes from God, or from the fecund realm of the supernatural. During the prosperous years of President Soeharto's New Order holy places were filled with pilgrims expressing gratitude for their prosperity but since 1998 Indonesia's protracted recession seems to have brought equally large numbers of pilgrims to holy places to plead for solutions to their economic problems.

For some Muslims the veneration of God, or God's saints, for self-enrichment is impious and possibly idolatrous. When I questioned one pilgrim about this he answered: 'If I did not ask God, or His saints, for the things I need, wouldn't it be an act of arrogance on my part? By asking God for wealth, good health and a beautiful wife I am doing no more than

acknowledge that God is all-powerful and the source of all things. As a good Muslim surely this is what I *should* do.'

Allied with the dead

From time immemorial Java's rulers have legitimated their authority through alliances with the dead forged at holy places. Since the presidency of inveterate pilgrim Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), this ancient practice has assumed a dramatically higher profile in Indonesia's political life. The new centre of this practice is the imposing mausoleum of Indonesia's founding President Soekarno in Blitar, East Java.

Between April and October this year, during six months of incessant electioneering, Indonesia's President Megawati Soekarnoputri made pilgrimage visits to the tomb of her father no fewer than seven times. Twice she took her vice-presidential running mate Hasyim Muzadi, and on one occasion was accompanied on a late-night visit by ex-president Abdurrahman Wahid. She paid a final visit to her father's tomb three weeks after her defeat in the second round of the election.

At least twice during the presidential campaign, Megawati's opponent Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono visited the tomb of his father in Pacitan, East Java. He also paid his respects – twice – to Sarwo Edhie Wibowo, his late father-in-law and one-time senior general in the Indonesian armed forces who lies buried in Purworejo, Central Java. Two weeks after his election victory he made a thanksgiving pilgrimage to President Soekarno's tomb in Blitar, just four days before Megawati's final visit.

When Clifford Geertz published his agenda-setting *Religion of Java* in 1960 he made no mention of the pilgrimage phenomenon. Today, it is a facet of Java's religious, social and political life that can no longer be overlooked. ◀

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Tsedenbal's Mongolia and Communist Aid Donors: a reappraisal

Research >
Mongolia

During the Cold War most Western observers saw the Mongolian Communist dictatorship headed by Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal as a puppet regime, unable and unwilling to defend the nation's interests against the Soviet Union. Following the democratic transition of 1989, this narrative became widely accepted in Mongolia as well. Recently studied Hungarian archival documents show, however, that the Mongolian Communist leadership resented foreign domination and made great efforts to pursue an independent economic policy.



© Springfield Museum of Art, Utah, USA and Bridgeman Art Library

Stalin with Tsedenbal, 1952. Oil on canvas by Charsky (fl.1952)

By Balázs Szalontai

The popular interpretation is correct to the extent that the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) was more loyal to Moscow than North Korea or North Vietnam, and Tsedenbal considered China a greater threat to his rule (and to Mongolia) than the USSR. Nevertheless, diplomatic reports prepared by the Hungarian Embassy to Ulaanbaatar reveal that Soviet-Mongolian relations were not as harmonious as the articles of *Ünen*, the Mongolian party newspaper, suggested.

Diplomats affronted

In September 1960 the Communist diplomats accredited to the Mongolian People's Republic joined forces to lodge a formal complaint against their ill-treatment at the hands of various Mongolian cadres. The Soviets, though generally satisfied, found the officials of the diplomat's shop very uncooperative. The Hungarians pointed out that the leaders of the mass organizations consistently ignored their requests for meetings. The Czechoslovak embassy was so laxly guarded that an unknown local managed to enter the ambassador's bedroom to ask for directions. The Poles noted that the officials of the telephone exchange deliberately hindered them in contacting Warsaw. Even an otherwise reserved North Vietnamese diplomat complained bitterly about the recurrent shortages of electricity and water.

The diplomats' unfamiliarity with local customs and their patronizing attitude toward 'backward' and 'lazy' Mongols played a role in their complaints. However, these incidents did not result merely from cultural differences between Mongolians and the 'fraternal'

diplomats. They had much in common with the tactics that James C. Scott described in his *Weapons of the Weak*. That is, they constituted a form of subtle insubordination aimed at getting some psychological satisfaction without running the risk of a harsh reprisal.

If this interpretation is correct, the Mongolian officials achieved their aim, for the Hungarian diplomats, deceived by the pro-Soviet public statements which the Mongolian leaders eagerly made, never suspected the nuisances reflected hostility on the part of the top leadership. They blamed the incidents on incompetent low-level officials or simply found them incomprehensible. Mongolian tactics, however, were strikingly similar to those the Albanian and North Korean dictatorships, famous for their dislike for Khrushchev's policies, used against the Soviet and East European embassies in 1953-1964. In other words, they indicated tension between Mongolia and the Communist countries, a tension that is worth analysing.

Weapons of the weak

The forms of such harassment may reveal some of the Mongolian motives. For instance, between 1960 and 1964 the Mongolian Foreign Ministry attempted to open diplomatic mail, monitor the activity of the diplomats, subject them to restrictive regulations and prevent embassies from employing locals not hand-picked by the ministry. Spying on the 'fraternal' diplomats seems to have started late in 1960, when the Hungarian Embassy described it as 'a completely new phenomenon'.¹ In 1963 the Foreign Ministry instructed diplomats not to hunt without a shooting licence, though Mongolian citizens were free to purchase guns without

licence. These measures reflected the leadership's wish to demonstrate its sovereignty, at least symbolically.

The emphasis the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) leaders laid on Mongolian sovereignty was accompanied by efforts to protect the dignity of the leadership and, by implication, of the nation. Aware that their economically underdeveloped and politically dependent country was looked down upon by leaders and diplomats of other Communist regimes, the Mongolian leaders were touchy. As a Hungarian attaché warned a Vietnamese colleague in 1959: 'since the Mongolian comrades are extremely proud and they easily take offence at trivial matters, one has to treat them with utmost care and caution.'²

On other occasions Mongolian institutions demanded disproportionately large sums for their services, a way for the regime to extract greater resources from the 'fraternal' countries whose economic assistance was considered insufficient.

Mongolia's Great Leap Forward

Anxious not to lag behind the more developed Communist countries, the MPRP leaders wanted the USSR, China and the East European countries to support the rapid industrialization of the MPR. Their plans were often quite megalomaniacal. For instance, in 1959 Luvsantserengiin Tsend informed the Hungarian Ambassador of a plan to replace the felt inside the yurts (*gers*) with plastic to be produced in Mongolia; in 1960 Damdinjavyn Maidar asked the Hungarians to construct eight- to ten-story buildings in Ulaanbaatar; and in 1961 Tsend only half-jokingly told the East German Ambassador that the MPR wanted to catch up with the GDR by the mid-1960s. In 1961 the vice-chairman of the State Planning Office flatly declared that the government considered the construction of a blast furnace in Darhan a political, rather than an economic, issue.

If donors pointed out that planned projects, like a sugar-refining factory, were incompatible with local economic and climatic conditions, the MPRP leaders did not hesitate to accuse them of being unwilling to assist Mongolia. When in 1960 the Hungarian Ambassador told Tsagaan-Lamyn Dugersuren that neon lights would not survive the Mongolian winter, Dugersuren replied: 'Look, Comrade Ambassador, we are interested in the neon lights, not why they cannot be installed. If the city council of Budapest really wants to help us, then they should rack their brains to make neon lights capable of withstanding even 50-60 degrees of frost. This would be a really fine gift.'³

Soviet dissatisfaction

The Soviet leaders criticized the regime's disastrous rural policies, such as the low prices paid to producers and the insufficient emphasis on the production of hay, pointing out that these blunders resulted in high livestock losses. These criticisms were justified as the MPRP leaders were unwilling to invest in the rural sector at the expense of industrialization.

Still, the Mongolian leadership must have understood that Soviet criticism was, at least partly, motivated by self-interest. The USSR wanted the MPR to concentrate on the export of meat and minerals, which would have perpetuated the country's over-specialization. In Sep-

tember 1960 the Soviets demanded a drastic revision of Mongolia's Third Five-year Plan, and in the summer of 1962 Khrushchev flatly rejected Tsedenbal's request for additional aid. On the latter occasion the Soviet leader, known for his peculiar diplomatic style, gave his wrist-watch to Tsedenbal, telling him that this was all what he could give to Mongolia.

While in the 1960s many Mongolian intellectuals felt that rapid modernization destroyed national traditions, the dictator and his supporters considered Mongolia's cultural heritage an essentially retarding influence. Unlike Daramyn Tömör-Ochir, Tsedenbal and

these incidents had much in common with tactics that James C. Scott described in his Weapons of the Weak. They constituted a form of subtle insubordination aimed at getting psychological satisfaction without running the risk of harsh reprisal

Still, the steps Tsedenbal and his supporters made in the field of economic and foreign policy question simplifying interpretations that depict the MPRP regime as a mindless puppet of a foreign power. While Tsedenbal's views did lack commitment to ethnic nationalism, they seem to have been similar to civic, state-centred nationalism, at least in certain respects. <

These Soviet steps aggravated the tension between the Mongolian authorities and the Communist diplomats. In the post-1963 period the intensification of the Sino-Soviet conflict helped to improve Soviet-Mongolian relations but also limited Ulaanbaatar's freedom of manoeuvre. The MPRP leaders tried to replace the constraints of Soviet-Mongolian bilateralism by participation in larger, multilateral economic and military structures. This motivation may have played a greater role in their expressed willingness to join the COMECON and the Warsaw Pact than their loyalty to Moscow. In 1964 Maidar bluntly told a visiting COMECON delegation that the machines Mongolia had received from the USSR were often outdated, an evaluation confirmed by the East European delegates.

No mindless puppet

Nationalism spurred the MPRP leadership's economic policies in the period 1959-1964, which resulted in repeated clashes with the Kremlin. The Mongolian leaders did not merely represent the country's economic interests as best as they could but preferred the creation of a full-fledged, partly autarkic economic structure over economic cooperation on the basis of mutuality.

Several MPRP leaders whose rude or demanding behaviour the Hungarian diplomats criticized, among them Maidar and Dugersuren, survived every purge of the 1959-1964 period and

his inner circle did not play upon cultural nationalism. Nor did he express an interest in pan-Mongolism or attempt to break free from the USSR as drastically as Kim Il-sung.

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The Translation of Russian Literature in Republican China

Research >
China

Which Russian writers were read in pre-Communist China? How, why and by whom were Russian books translated into Chinese? This article re-examines these seemingly settled questions, to argue that a fresh look long overdue.

By Mark Gamsa

The place of Russian literature in twentieth-century China is widely acknowledged, and receives obligatory mention in most Western studies of modern Chinese literature. Research on Russian-Chinese literary contacts in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China has concentrated on nineteenth-century and Soviet literature to produce numerous studies on the translation and reception of Alexander Pushkin and Maxim Gorky. Far less attention has been given to early twentieth-century Russian writers who did not accept the October Revolution and emigrated or stopped writing in its wake. Some of these writers were widely read and translated during the republican era; at the same time, the alleged popularity of Soviet socialist realism in China has been greatly exaggerated.

As an introduction to the subject one can still recommend Mark Shneider's book *Russkaia klassika v Kitae* (1977). Despite its obligatory conformance to the ideological agenda of the time and failure to cover much of the relevant Chinese material, this was reliable and accurate work by a Sinologist equally at home in Russian and Chinese literature. The same cannot be said about the only monograph in English, *The Russian Hero in Modern Chinese Fiction* by Ng Mau-sang (1988). Ng did not use Russian sources, and he overburdened his evidence in his attempts to demonstrate the direct influence of Russian authors on famous Chinese writers from Lu Xun to Ba Jin.

The first translations of Russian literature into classical Chinese appeared in the early 1900s. The publication in 1909 of the anthology *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* (Stories from Abroad) by the brothers Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, future giants of modern Chinese literature who at the time were still students in Japan, remained unnoticed by the reading public. An enthusiasm for Russian fiction accompanied the May Fourth movement for a new literature in the vernacular language and was reflected in a peak of translation activity in the early 1920s. As the Chinese literary scene became increasingly leftist in the late 1920s, China's most prominent translators shifted their attention towards socialist literature in the Soviet Union. This trend intensified during the Anti-Japanese War and persisted until the establishment of the People's Republic; as the promotion of the Soviet model became official policy in the 1950s, socialist fiction and the pre-revolutionary Russian classics were vigorously translated and introduced, up until the rupture in Soviet-Chinese relations in 1962.

All foreign literature came under attack in China during the Cultural Revolution. The translation of Soviet, then of classical, Russian literature was resumed only after the fall of the 'Gang of Four'. Since the late 1980s Chinese readers have been slowly renewing their acquaintance with the literature commonly (if inaccurately) known as the 'Russian Silver Age': the work of writers first introduced in China in the 1920s, but overshadowed by 'proletarian fiction' in the 1930s and never translated again after 1949.

Writers of the 'Silver Age'

An example of this process is the Chinese destiny of Leonid Andreev (1871–1919), in his last years an outspoken enemy of the Bolshevik regime and among the best-known Russian writers in the first two decades of the 20th century. Two of his stories were translated by Lu Xun in 1909. From 1917 to 1950, twenty-eight other titles (including short stories, novellas and theatre plays) appeared in Chinese translation, about a third of these becoming available in more than a single version.¹ No new translations were published in China between February 1950 and 1981, when interest in the translation and interpretation of Andreev was revived. With the rediscovery of 'Silver Age' literature, this interest is now at its peak, as many recent publications attest.

Another Lu Xun favourite, the writer Mikhail Artsybashev (1878–1927) counted thirteen titles in Chinese from 1920 to

1946. Among these, Artsybashev's most famous novel *Sanin* was translated six times, three different versions appearing within five months in 1930. Like Andreev, Artsybashev spent the last years of his life as an émigré opposed to the Soviet state; after decades of denunciation by both Soviet and Chinese literary historians, his books had to wait until the early 1990s to be published in his own country. Russian readers can now choose between half a dozen recent editions of *Sanin*, while three translations published in 2001, 2002 and 2003 are available in Chinese bookstores.² These signs of reader demand make all the more obvious the need to look back to the translation corpus of the republican period, and to recognize that previous misrepresentation of the place occupied in it by early twentieth-century Russian writers stemmed from reasons that had to do neither with these writers' original importance in the reception of Russian literature in China, nor indeed with the quality of their work.

Literary translation

A panoramic view of the translation of Russian literature in republican China may be arrived at through the detailed examination of three aspects: technique, ideology and practice. This division defines the objectives of studying 'literary translation' to encompass the textual product of the translator's work, the function of translation in the recipient culture and the position of the translator therein.

enthusiasm for Russian fiction accompanied the May Fourth movement for a new literature in the vernacular language and was reflected in a peak of translation activity in the early 1920s

Technique is to be understood as the whole range of decisions that translators make in the course of their work. Only two among the most productive translators in the republican period were able to draw directly on Russian sources: Geng Jizhi (1899–1946) and Cao Jinghua (1897–1987), specialists respectively in classical and Soviet fiction. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese translations of Russian literature were done predominantly on the basis of English texts, and to a lesser extent through other intermediary languages such as German, French and Japanese. Identifying the intermediary text is useful for distinguishing the modifications that a Russian work absorbed at each stage of its way to the Chinese reader. A comparison of the original, intermediary and Chinese versions often reveals the latter as faithful translations of texts already edited or shortened in the previous stage. Led by Lu Xun, adherents of New Literature in the 1920s tended toward high literalism while devising strategies to tackle the practical problems of re-translation. Freer versions and adaptations were produced by translators more oriented to the demands of the book market.

all foreign literature came under attack in China during the Cultural Revolution. The translation of Soviet, then of classical, Russian literature was resumed only after the fall of the 'Gang of Four'

Ideology may be broadly applied to cover the motivation for translating, as well as the choice and interpretation of foreign texts. Two kinds of sources become essential, even as the limited availability of Chinese translations and republican-era periodicals in libraries outside of China implies that the search for the first kind, in particular, will require some effort. The first are the notes, introductions and afterwords that translators frequently appended to their texts. The second are reviews, critical essays and similar publications in the contemporary press. Studying these sources to trace the reception of Russian writers by their translators and readers, and with the aim of understanding the function which translation was meant to fulfil, we may discover that our findings also shed new light on the original texts.



Cover of the story collection *The Little Angel* by Leonid Andreev (Shanghai: Guanghai shuju, 1928), in the translation of Yao Pengzi (1905–70)

Practice refers to translating as an occupation seen in its social and historical context. Typically, the work of an individual translator may be traced to a social or a family circle, to a group associated with a specific journal, or to a literary society in which translation was a common and, in that sense, collective activity. More so than literary translation from other languages, the translation of Russian literature in China should be considered against the changing political background, and the special expectations from the Soviet Union which were shared by some of the translators and parts of their reading audience. At the height of the enthusiasm for Russian fiction in the 1920s, many of the translators were leading figures of the Chinese literary scene. While, by the end of the decade, these pioneers were seeking guidance in Soviet literature, other less famous hands went on acquainting Chinese readers with those authors who did not carry the banner of the Revolution. The continuing appeal of non-socialist twentieth century Russian writing during the last two decades of the republican era is one of the many untold stories of the translation and reception of Russian literature in China. <

Notes

1. Twenty titles in all are mentioned in the pioneering chapter on Andreev in Shneider 1977.
2. The version newly published in Shenyang in 2003 is a reprint of the first Chinese translation of any Artsybashev work in the PRC period, the 1988 *Sanin* by Wang Zhi.

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For further interest:

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Theory and method in Indian intellectual history

Report >
South Asia

How suitable are the concepts, theories and methods with which we try to understand historical events and social circumstances? In western intellectual history these are issues that have been matters of ongoing discussion for decades. The seminar *Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History* addressed these issues for Indian intellectual history.

Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History
28-29 June 2004
Paris

By Saraju Rath

The seminar aimed to critically reflect on: (1) theoretical and methodological presuppositions in contemporary research based on primary sources – texts, manuscripts and inscriptions; and (2) modern theories and methods of intellectual history and of the anthropology and sociology of knowledge: to what extent are they applicable to pre-modern India, where the production, reception and transmission of texts took place in conditions and configurations that were often entirely different from those in Europe?

The seminar was based on the participants' work in diverse disciplines of the Sanskrit tradition in sixteenth to eighteenth century India. These include logic (K. Preisendanz and J. Ganeri),

medical scholarship (D. Wujastyk), grammar (J. Bronkhorst and J. Houben), astronomy (C. Minkowski), poetics (Y. Bronner, Tel Aviv, and G. Tubb), Vedic hermeneutics (L. McCrea), moral code (M. Deshpande) and political thought (S. Pollock). In this brief report, I focus on three papers.

Approaches to Indian philosophy

The papers by Preisendanz and Ganeri illustrate different approaches to Indian philosophy and its sources. Preisendanz adopted a philological, but philosophically sensitive approach, and focused on the genre in which most philosophical literature in premodern India is written: the commentary. She discussed the availability of various types of commentaries, and the implications for our understanding of the philosophical content. One may distinguish between creative works introducing new ideas (often by defending an ancient position against later attacks) and philosophically unproductive expositions. Regarding a com-

mentary as philosophically unproductive or not depends on one's view on what is philosophically important or unimportant. Just as some have regarded the whole of Western philosophy as a footnote to Plato, it has been suggested (e.g. by Otto Strauss) that the entire Navya-Nyāya literature is a mere refinement and sophistication of Gaṅgeśa's definitions, whereas others (Daniell H. Ingalls, B.K. Matilal) found the same literature innovative in logic and theory of language.

Truth and objectivity

Ganeri too discussed problems of theory and method in the study of texts in Indian logic. He argued that intellectual disciplines or 'knowledge systems' of premodern India take 'truth' to be a regulative ideal. Even the well-known traditionalism or fidelity to the tradition he sees as instrumental to the attainment of truth. Contemporary intellectual historians who examine the work of premodern Indian philosophers should address questions of motivation, objectivity and critical engagement. The rest of Ganeri's paper addressed questions of objectivity, drawing attention to Amartya Sen's elaboration of the idea of 'positional objectivity' as outlined in his article 'Interpreting India's Past' and in his latest book *Rationality and Freedom*.

Jīvānanda

Dominik Wujastyk's paper focused on the production of medical literature under the patronage of the Tanjavur court, around 1700 C.E. Tanjavur was at that time under the reign of Śāhaji, himself a prolific author in five languages (Sanskrit, Marāṭhī, Telugu, Tamil and Braj Bhasa), who founded a colony of learned Brahmins in the village of Tirvīśainallūr on the banks of the river Kāveri in South India.

The work of Vedakavi (fl. ca. 1700-1735) claims Wujastyk's special attention. Vedakavi was author of the *Jīvānandana*, a unique medical didactic drama in seven acts, first staged at the Maratha court of Śāhaji, Ekoji's son. The kingdom of disease under its king, Consumption (*yakṣman*) assails the royal capital of the body and tries to drive the Soul (*jīva*), King of the body, from his realm. For the audience, the drama probably had an added layer of reference: the military and political struggle through which Śāhaji's father Ekoji assumed power in Tanjavur.

Research on Vedakavi and other authors connected to the Tanjavur court includes claims by Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam that the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century witnessed the arrival of a certain kind of modernity in South India, manifested in a rich historiographical literature, mainly in Telugu. Wujastyk,

unconvinced by these claims, argues that these developments in Telugu history writing do not live up to Western and international standards of historiography in developing objective ways of reading the past. On the other hand, he finds Anthony Giddens' presentation of the concept of modernity (which includes a new way of dealing with history) unconvincing. It takes developments in Europe as the starting point and concludes after long deliberation that modernity is indeed a Western project.

Although it may seem a waste of time to scholars working on the rich treasury of unexplored Sanskrit sources such as manuscripts in various Indian scripts, it is important and fascinating for scholars engaged in Indological research to occasionally pause and reflect on the theoretical and methodological choices they have made. As the organizers observed, 'these issues rarely have been directly addressed by Indologists themselves, despite the fact that intellectual history, broadly conceived, constitutes their dominant disciplinary practice'. ◀

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On 28-29 June 2004, the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris hosted the Seminar 'Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History'. The Seminar was organized by S. Pollock (Chicago) and J.E.M. Houben (Paris) and was supported by the international research group Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism, Chicago, and the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden. Publication of the proceedings are envisaged.

Chinese Overseas studies coming of age

Report >
Overseas Chinese

The Fifth Conference of the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas addressed the latest trends in the field. A once parochial study has over the past decades attracted multidisciplinary interest. Studies of Chinese migration today belong among general studies on human mobility.

ISSCO V
10-14 May 2004
Elsinore, Denmark

By Mette Thunø

In the recent past, 'Overseas Chinese' studies typically addressed the local historical, legal, political and cultural status of settled ethnic Chinese communities and their difficulties in 'planting roots' in host societies. Academic interest focused on the economic and cultural transformation of established communities and the consequences for ethnic relations and national integration. These studies were often counterpoised against sociological theories of assimilation and national ideologies favouring cultural sameness and hegemony.

The recent opening of the People's Republic of China for the emigration of students, skilled and unskilled labour and processes of globalisation are fuelling Chinese migration as well as new scholarly responses to the phenomenon of Chinese global mobility. Studies – both contemporary and historical – are moving away from the culturally and ethnically particular

towards an understanding of Chinese migration as part of general global migration processes. Moreover, studies on ethnic Chinese communities in particular settings are being replaced by research that foregrounds fluidity in settlement patterns and in perceptions of belonging.

Not just migrants...

Wang Gungwu of National Singapore University argued for a qualitatively more varied conceptualisation of Chinese migration. Previous studies had focused on unskilled male migrants from south-eastern China settling and integrating in particular destination countries. Recent developments are prompting scholars to consider Chinese migration a less homogenous phenomenon.

Like their predecessors from Taiwan, increasing numbers of students from the PRC have in the past decades travelled overseas to pursue higher studies. Many do not immediately return after graduation, and find themselves contemplating migranhood. Wang argued that these overseas students only live migrant-like existences. Their understandings of home and nationality are

more flexible today – they may see themselves as living in a multipolar world rather than as migrant settlers in a new country.

A number of papers at the conference challenged conventional notions of Chinese migration as either resulting in sojourning or settlement. Theoretical frameworks making use of transnational or circulatory notions of migration and more fluid conceptions of 'home' were deemed more appropriate for overseas students and technology professionals.

... nor exceptional

Geographer Ronald Skeldon of the University of Sussex argued against the emphasis on Chinese exceptionalism in Chinese overseas studies. In the wake of globalisation, Chinese migration is and should be accepted as part of human migration in general. According to Skeldon, Chinese migration could be regarded as exceptional when only mobile, unskilled young men became marginal minorities in countries of settlement. Today, Chinese migrants, like other migrants, enter destination countries as potential citizens in multicultural societies rather

than as sojourners. Skeldon also took issue with recent assumptions of transnationalism and circulation in migration studies, arguing instead for an understanding of mobility evolving into integration and assimilation in destination countries.

Skeldon also argued that conceiving highly heterogeneous Chinese migration as 'diasporas' was deceptive, essentialising Chinese migrants into a community of Chinese overseas. This point was later taken up in a number of papers on Chinese ethnic economies and entrepreneurship. Several economists argued persuasively for an analysis of ethnic Chinese businesses as part of local and global economic structures rather than as culturally determined ethnic businesses. Others showed how Chinese entrepreneurship is increasingly contingent on economic globalisation with movement from one desti-

nation to another, rather than unskilled migration to a permanent destination of settlement.

The latest developments within the field of Chinese migration will be published in an edited volume by Mette Thunø. The volume will be based on the research presented at Copenhagen conference, and is scheduled to appear by the end of 2005. Other papers from the conference will appear in a new peer-reviewed journal – *Journal of Chinese Overseas* – soon to be published by Singapore University Press. ◀

Mette Thunø is associate professor at the Department of Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Her latest work is *Transnational Chinese: Fujianese in Europe* (Stanford University Press, 2004), co-authored with Frank Pieke, Pal Nyeri and Antonella Ceccagno.

ISSCO V was organised by Jørgen Delman, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen and Mette Thunø, University of Copenhagen. The conference was financially supported by both institutions, the Danish Research Council for Social Sciences, the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, the International Institute for Asian Studies and various private foundations. For a list of participants, the programme and presented papers please refer to the conference website: www.nias.ku.dk/issco5. ISSCO VI will convene in Beijing in 2007. Information on ISSCO and upcoming conferences is available at: www.geocities.com/issconews/

India-China Comparisons: state and society

Report >
India - China

Indian and Chinese societies seem an obvious case for comparison, but until recently there has been little intellectual interaction between Indian and Chinese scholars, while comparative works remain few and far between. The India-China Comparisons: State and Society workshop served as an orientation to the field for Indian, Chinese, French and Dutch scholars.

India-China Comparisons: State and Society
Leiden, the Netherlands
27-28 May 2004

By Peter van der Veer

India and China are the two largest societies in the world, both with ancient civilizations. Together they were the motor of the world economy until 1800 and are becoming so again. India is the world's largest democracy while China is a communist state; both have important diaspora populations. There are many other reasons and points for comparison, but European or Western modernity has to date been the implicit framework for comparative research.

When Indian and Chinese scholars engage in comparative research, they invariably look to the West – previously to Europe and increasingly to the United

States. For European scholars, the effort to master a Chinese or Indian language and to gain expertise in the study of either is already a daunting task; to begin comparing these societies seems far too ambitious. It is for such reasons that the comparison of India and China has yet to take off. Inter-Asian comparisons still need to be developed.

Civilization, nation and culture

Patricia Uberoi pointed out some of the disciplinary reasons within the social sciences for the inadequate development of comparative work, and raised the question of what should be compared. Some, like the doyen of Chinese studies in India, Tan Chung, look for deep civilizational comparisons, understandable from the viewpoint of a scholar whose father was brought to India by Rabindranath Tagore to set up Chinese studies. Puay-

Peng Ho, from the perspective of art history, and Peter van der Veer, from the perspective of anthropology, pleaded for a historically informed perspective on questions of civilization, nation and culture. Ho looked at the revolutionary changes that are taking place in Chinese art and architecture as signifiers of Chinese national identity, while van der Veer examined the historicity of the concepts of religion and secularity when applied to Indian and Chinese societies.

While these were larger theoretical questions, much of the conference was devoted to the presentation of empirical research on contemporary developments. Ravni Thakur and Satish Deshpande looked at social stratification and the role of the middle class in both countries, while A.R. Vasavi explored the crucial issue of equity in education and literacy.

Economy and civil society

The economy was another major field for comparison at the conference. Ashwani Saith, Jean-Louis Rocca, Françoise Mengin and Lu Xiaobo dealt with a spectrum of issues from macro- and micro-economic perspectives. Saith raised the crucial question whether China will face developmental questions of growing inequality and poverty long evident in India. Rocca, Mengin and Lu explored the ways in which civil society and economic activity are intertwined.

Democracy in India and China was addressed by Jaffrelot, Bhalla and Ho. Jaffrelot took a long historical perspective on Indian state-formation to explain caste politics, Bhalla looked at intellectual discussions on democracy in China, while

Ho explored the issue of NGOs, specifically in the field of green politics. Indian and Chinese foreign policy were examined by Yang Baoyun. Finally a session was devoted to the Chinese and Indian diasporas. Song Ping discussed transnational networks among Southeast Asian Chinese while Mario Rutten addressed Gujaratis in England. Xiang Biao tried to develop a comparative framework for Indian and Chinese diasporas. The conference, as a whole, was an inspiring step towards the development of India-China comparisons. ◀

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The India-China Comparisons: State and Society workshop was organized and funded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) in Paris, and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). There are plans for subsequent conferences in Delhi, Beijing and Paris.

Avoiding Harm: medical decision making and East Asian values

Report >
bioethics

Bioethicists discussing family values often refer to 'traditional' and 'secular' notions of the family. Behind these lie holistic notions of the 'Eastern family' and 'Western individualism'. These notions can affect decisions of life and death.

Fourth International Conference of Bioethics: Biotechnology, Family and Community
Chungli and Taipei, Taiwan
24-26 June 2004

By Margaret Sleeboom

In an attempt to halt the disintegration of the family as the fundamental social unit within society, a well-known physician and philosopher from Texas, Tristram Engelhardt, asserts that 'the West' sees the 'family' as a 'stumbling block to the development of the reproductive unit'. According to Engelhardt, the Western view is based on the liberalism of individual choice where technology separates the social and reproductive functions of the family. The involvement of third parties – physicians, surrogate mothers, the state, technology – has only augmented this separation. By contrast, in the East, the family is an irreducible social unit, a unit of meaning greater than its individual members. The familistic point of view emphasises family involvement in reproductive decision making: the family embodies social and moral values, and authority.

Truth telling

Intellectuals who espouse traditional 'Eastern' family forms tend to propagate them with such urgency that one suspects they no longer exist. Philosophers Alice Li and Shui-chuen Lee of Taiwan's Chong-li University advocate 'relational autonomy', where individuals are socially embodied persons. They point to problems in the individualistic use of

instrumental rationality – the extreme case of a woman who has an abortion so she can keep her vacation plans. In such cases, they argue, the family in which the woman is embedded, i.e., the husband, should have a say. The problem with this example, and nearly all others, is that we don't know the social and psychological contexts: who can decide if the 'vacation' is the real reason or a pretext, if the family situation is oppressive or not?

From a neo-Confucian perspective, physician Daniel Tsai of the National Taiwan University College of Medicine likewise argues that in East Asian bioethics, the family is central, the idea of Confucian personhood crucial. Tsai argues that the Chinese physician emulates the ideal of *junzi* (gentleman) and emphasizes in his medical practice the important advantages of not telling the patient the truth, such as protecting the patient against the shock of hearing a negative prognosis. Before entering the discussion on truth-telling, we might question how representative Confucianism is for East Asia – the diversity of East Asian views on medical practices is as great as anywhere else in the world.¹ Leaving aside the issue of East Asian representation, one may ask if we should not treat the patient with the respect reserved for a *junzi* as well. In other words, do the practices of treating the patient as a gentleman and not telling him the truth fit together in Confucianism? If so, is the implied social hierarchy desirable?

As a believer in the merits of individual choice and transparency, Stephen Wear of the University of Buffalo defends the practice of truth-telling under all circumstances. The individual should be able to decide for him or herself. Wear illustrates his argument with the example of a Taiwanese woman diagnosed with breast cancer. Her parents did not tell her and decided she should receive Chinese medicinal treatment. The cancer spread; when she returned to the hospital for help it was too late.

Tradition and harmony

Defending what she regards as the traditional Chinese family, Samantha Mei-che Pang from Hong Kong argues that, because harmony in the Chinese family is important, the family in some cases may justifiably decide for the individual – to protect the patient. Confronting the patient with his or her imminent death is too painful; it therefore becomes taboo in the patient's presumed interest. But consider the following example of a Japanese family, one that raises the issues of gender, the generation gap, and issues of institutional power. When the husband visited the hospital, he was diagnosed with cancer. He chose a course of treatment, and presented the family with the facts. His disease subsequently became the focus of family life. At around the same time, the grandmother was also diagnosed with cancer, but neither her daughter nor the physician told her the truth. As a result, her situation received little attention.

Such responses to medical diagnosis are not always the result of rational decision making, but are embedded in the workings of local medical institutions. Thus whether the grandmother would really be hurt by the truth is not discussed; whether the physician finds it medically desirable to inform the patient about his/her disease is not a central issue. Traditional habits and sanctions have institutional memories; although they change, they do not always do so in pace with social and medical developments.² A discussion on the cultural and socio-economic logic of rapidly changing societies may be necessary to take measures against the random disintegration of traditional institutions. Stephen Wear, suspicious of avoiding truth-telling but sensitive to cultural circumstances, concedes that the family should have a chance to explain the diagnosis and prospects to the patient, but only if the physician is in a position to verify it afterwards.

To conclude, the dichotomy of Eastern and Western family is not very helpful in trying to understand the diversity of family institutions anywhere. Medical paternalism was as strong in the US and Europe not so long ago. Family forms that resemble the nuclear family are ascendant in wealthy industrialized societies, East or West. A reduction in average fertility rates in combination with education and the emancipation of women usually lead to increasingly independent individuals.³ It also needs pointing out that familistic views of medical decisions and life issues are often inseparable from official ideology.

De-emphasizing individual autonomy tends to go hand in hand with invasive pressures from the state, the community and the family on the most vulnerable individuals. The question, then, remains: on what authority can we decide if the morality of the family conflicts with the interest of the individual? Finally, we could ask if it is true that strong notions of state and individual in the West have led to an impoverishment of intermediate institutions such as the family and the local community. The liberalism and socio-cultural pluralism characteristic of many modern states has created confusion, but possibly richer notions of family organization and morality as well. ◀

Notes

1. See, for example, the articles by Masahiro Morioka, Hyakudai Sakamoto, Yanguang Wang, Shui-chuen Lee and Jiayin Min in Margaret Sleeboom, ed., 2004. *Genomics in Asia: A Clash of Bioethical Interests*. London: Kegan Paul.
2. Cf. Fumio Yamazaki, 1996. *Dying in a Japanese Hospital*. Tokyo: The Japan Times, in which he describes ten cases around non-truth-telling and the reasons for the growing movement for patient autonomy and truth-telling in Japan.
3. Cf. Emiko Ochiai, 1996. *The Japanese Family System in Transition. A Sociological Analysis of Family Change Postwar Japan*. Tokyo: LTCB International Library Foundation.

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Collection of the artist

Cartographies of Fragmentation

Arts >
China

'Walls, walls, and yet again walls, form the framework of every Chinese city. They surround it, they divide it into lots and compounds, they mark more than any other structures the basic features of the Chinese communities'.

- *Osvald Siren*¹

By *Duncan Campbell*

The economic and social changes that have swept the People's Republic of China in the past two decades have been unprecedented in scale and rapidity. China, however, has undergone similar periods of accelerated growth in the past, with, arguably, similar artistic consequences. The late Ming dynasty (conventionally dated 1550-1650) was one such period. Then, as now, localized but rapid economic developments fuelled by growing commodity markets stimulated urbanization and social mobility, with new wealth undermining status relationships and accepted norms of private and public behaviour. At the same time, the commercial publishing industry both stimulated and benefited from increased literacy and educational opportunities, giving rise to a flourishing popular culture that displayed an ever greater willingness to question prevailing orthodoxies. Today, the explosion of Chinese content available electronically allows ordinary Chinese access, again within constraints, to alternative channels of knowledge and authority. In both instances, inflexible political structures proved slow to respond.

If economic and social transformations afforded greater opportunities for autonomous action on the part of the late Ming scholarly and artistic elite, they also induced in this elite intense anxieties about their status and role. These anxieties fuelled fascinating developments, as artists sought to negotiate the contradictions they faced. In his recent book Qianshen Bai speaks of the degree to which 'deformity or fragmentation' (*zhili* 支離), 'awkwardness' (*zhuo* 拙), and 'ugliness' (*chou* 醜) are characteristic of the painting and calligraphy of the late Ming period: 'Disfigured mountains and abandoned rivers (*canshan shengshui* 殘山剩水) are features of my paintings,' wrote the monk-painter Kuncan 髡殘 (1612-ca. 1675).²

The scholar and art critic Wu Hung has argued that this motif of 'fragmentation' characterizes contemporary Chinese art as well,³ and an exhibition recently mounted by Victoria University of Wellington's Adam Art Gallery, *Concrete Horizons: Contemporary Art from China* (February-May 2004) featured artistic responses to the destruction of the physical fabric of Chinese life. Curated by the gallery's director Sophie McIntyre, the exhibition engaged 'the tensions, the paradoxes, and the prevailing sense of disorientation and displacement of urban modernization'⁴ by bringing together works by seven young artists, mainly from Beijing and Shanghai, all of which seek to refract the ceaseless cycle of destruction and construction that now defines city life in China.

Bricks and mortar

Two recent works by the Beijing artist and photojournalist Wang Wei 王衛 (b. 1972), 'Temporary Space' and 'Dongba' (both 2003) highlight the plight of the floating population of *mingong* 民工 who do the dusty labour of transforming the urban landscape. Dirt-poor and disenfranchised, these men and women, ex-peasants who subsist by moving from one construction site to the next, are scapegoated by the majority of urban dwellers as being responsible for contemporary social ills. Yet, in the staged representation of 'Temporary Spaces', men photographed constructing and then dismantling a brick wall enclosing them acquire a proud and stoic heroism that harks back to the iconic 'model workers' of China's recent socialist past. With documentary grittiness, the video 'Dongba' reminds us of the dusty, back-breaking reality of these people's lives as they squat in the sun salvaging bricks from yet another site of devastation.

Wang Wei's video begins with one of the ubiquitous billboards depicting the modernized reality that will rise from the ruins.

This constructed modernity is the focus of the two works by the Shanghai-based Yang Zhenzhong 楊振忠 (b. 1968): 'Light and Easy' and 'Let's Puff', both 2002. Their intent is to reveal the ephemeral nature of the end product of this modernization rather than the heaviness of the labour. In the first, the artist holds up on his fingertip an inverted image of that icon of Chinese modernity, the New Shanghai of Pudong. In the second, a video depicting a young woman inhaling and exhaling brings intermittent life to the facing video of Nanjing Road, reminding us of the essential humanity that is the lifeblood of any city, so often forgotten by development planners. Song Dong 宋冬 (b. 1966), represented here by his work *Eating the Great Wall* (2003-04), also engages with the issue of transformation, but only once the audience has eaten away the sides of his twelve-metre-long Great Wall of wafers to reveal a bank of twelve television monitors showing continuous images of urban destruction and construction, a hand tracing the numbers of houses destroyed in a puddle of water, and a recurring question mark. Here Song Dong juxtaposes within the discourse on modernity that most problematic of China's icons, the Great Wall, and the age-old preoccupation with eating. A number of Song Dong's earlier works have in a similar manner engaged both the macrocosm and the microcosm: 'Eating the World' and 'Edible Bonsai' (both 2000).

Dial tone

The globalized forces of capitalism which breached Song Dong's Great Wall have impacted on the lives of many Chinese: the reality of increased mobility is addressed in the works of Wang Gongxin 王功新 (b. 1960) and Yin Xiuzhen 尹秀珍 (b. 1963). The rapidly changing images of Wang Gongxin's video installation *Where Are You?* (2003-4), accompanied by the ever-present, melancholic sound of the international dial tone, serve to convey the sense of displacement and permanent exile experienced by China's growing diasporic communities, as do Yin Xiuzhen's whimsical and tactile *Portable Cities* (2001), with their half-submerged maps.⁵

If these works are both clever and engaged, those of Wang Jun 王軍 (b. 1974) and Lin Tianmiao 林天苗 (b. 1961) are beautiful, dense, and troubling. Wang Jun's reassembled photographs of his friends embody a twinned sense of nostalgia and narcissism, reminding us that the focus on the self is as much a feature of this moment of Chinese artistic expression as it was in similar periods of change. Lin Tianmiao's computer generated photograph *Go?* (2001) juxtaposes the Chinese art of the landscape and the Western art of the nude in an unsettling manner. Does one enter this gently disturbing landscape



Courtesy of ShangART, Shanghai

Wang Jun, 'Great Happiness' 1998: b/w photograph, 45 x 34cm

from the left or right; does one move from top ('Heaven') to bottom ('Earth') or vice versa? The sensuality of the bodies seems displaced against the rocks in the foreground, while the bicycles' square wheels and the wrapped frames constrict movement as effectively as the bound foot of old.

Walls now define the contemporary Chinese city only through their absence; the 'disfigured mountains and abandoned rivers' of older traditions have become the demolished buildings and ruined neighbourhoods of today. In cities such as Beijing, new maps are produced each month in the vain attempt to chart the transformation; contemporary Chinese artists too have become the cartographers of this relentless and unstoppable change.

Concrete Horizons gives eloquent testimony to how contemporary Chinese artists negotiate space for themselves between the Scylla of an uncomprehending and occasionally repressive political system and the Charybdis of the temptations of the market, as successfully as their forebears did during the late Ming. Increasingly, however, they speak in a manner that is accessible to us all; one that, although specific to the particular circumstances of China, is also of universal relevance. ◀

Notes

1. Siren, Oswald, 1929. 'Chinese architecture'. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edn., vol. V, 557.
2. Qianshen Bai, 2003. *Fu Shan's World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 126.
3. Wu Hung, 1998. 'Ruins, Fragmentation, and the Chinese Modern/Post-modern'. Gao Minglu, ed., *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 59-66.
4. Sophie McIntyre, 2004. 'China Re-Constructed' in *Concrete Horizons: Contemporary Art from China*. Wellington: Adam Art Gallery, 5.
5. A number of Yin Xiuzhen's previous works, and those of her husband Song Dong, are discussed in Wu Hung, 1999. *Transience: Chinese Experimental Art at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 120-26 and 54-59 respectively.

Duncan Campbell teaches Chinese language and literature, classical and modern, at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. His research focuses on the material and literary culture of late imperial China.

Courtesy of ShangART, Shanghai



Wang Jun, 'Double Person's Game/Toy Bear' 1998: b/w photograph, 43 x 34cm

Perform : State : Interrogate

Arts >
Performance

Performance studies as a field dances between the universal and the particular, the applied and the theoretical. Theorists address human behaviour and communication, the relation between practices past and present, and argue about performance's ephemerality, the distinction between performance in technology and performance as art and the transformative possibilities of cyberculture. Most scholars are also ardent practitioners or spectators and their writings tend to be self-critical. This personal engagement lends a particularistic edge to the field. PSI conferences have thus far been occasions for the studied affirmation of core disciplinary concerns, and at the same time raucous concomitances of incompatible perspectives and styles.

Performance Studies International (PSi) #10
Perform : State : Interrogate
15-18 June 2004
Singapore

By Matthew Isaac Cohen

Asian theatre, dance, ritual and festivity have been important foci in performance studies since the field's emergence at the intersection of theatre and anthropology in the 1970s. Performance studies has a vital interest in issues of interculturalism and globalisation; Asia has provided test cases for theories coming from Europe, America and Australia. As an academic discipline, however, performance studies remains little known in Asia. PSi #10

art, academic discourse, and everyday life were cross-cut with dialogues on the arts of statecraft, power plays performed on global stages, the multifarious roles of states in arts and culture, and the personal responsibility of artists and scholars to interrogate the dramaturgy of hegemony and repression in work and play.

At stake at PSi #10 was the conceit of PSi's lower case 'i'. When the organisation was launched in 1995, the post-modernesque 'i' was intended to mark the paucity of non-Anglophonic academics in the organisation and to remind us, in Peggy Phelan's words, of 'the danger inherent in taking one's own "I" or "eye" as a coherent and whole perspective on performance, a term and

a host of individual papers in more general panels and sessions. An interest group that ran over four days concerned itself with 'festival cultures' internationally, but took the Singapore Arts Festival as its special focus. The conference attracted Southeast Asian performance artists who both spoke about and performed their work.

Southeast Asian presentations were characterized by a 'local density' of shared memories, common referents and languages. General discussions addressed the staging of American global imperialism, performative aspects of terrorism, the fetishization of 9/11 images in photography and performance, and the impenetrability of Anglophonic critical theory to non-native English speakers. Singaporean auteur director Ong Keng Sen explained why his intercultural theatre no longer kowtows to 'politically correct' tenets while performance studies professors from the U.S., U.K. and Australia held court and proclaimed on the state of the field. Sometimes the dialogues merged, but more often they were distinct.

Cultural nationalism, subversion, unease

The convening of a major international performance conference in Singapore can be read in cultural nationalist terms as part and parcel of the city-state's bid to establish itself as an international centre of media, design and the arts. Reportedly, S\$200 million have been earmarked by the government to remake Singapore into a 'vibrant Asian creative hub' over the next five years. Early signs of Singapore's cultural turn include the opening of Esplanade-Theatres on the Bay (October 2002); the world premiere of Robert Wilson's Indonesian dance-theatre spectacle *I La Galigo* (February 2004); and the construction of the film studio Lucasfilm Animation Singapore (announced August 2004).

The Singaporean contingent within PSi's organising committee was, from the beginning, largely composed of artists and activists associated with fringe and independent organisations such as The Substation and Theatre-Works, rather than mainstream academics or government officials. Certain elements of the conference were easily accommodated into the Singaporean state's vision of creativity and culture, while others were problematic.

Performance studies styles itself as a subversive anti-discipline, emphasizing the plasticity of the self and the mutability of social communities, with a libertarian political streak. PSi session organisers issued 'provocations' rather than briefs; presenters were dissuaded from reading papers and encouraged to improvise dialogically; facilitators brought conference delegates on city tours designed to provoke reflection on

Indonesian performance and visual artist Arahmaiani shouting out *ada apa* (what is it?) at a mute porcelain figure and dancing atop a table as the audience reads snippets from recent newspapers.



Photograph by Yuen Chee Wai

the channels of social performance that 'multicultural Singapore' uses to construct itself.

The divergence between state and scholarly cultural models came to a head when the conference's licensing permit was nearly revoked less than a week before the conference was to start. The hurried collection of passport details and travel itineraries was mandated, and the conference organisers unwillingly became extensions of the Singaporean state. Performance artists were forced to adhere to prepared texts, forbidden to perform outside designated spaces, and prohibited from touching sensitive topics or displaying nudity. W. Christiawan, having taken off his Indonesian nationalist garb of batik shirt and *peci* cap, rubbed his body with self-induced vomit, but in the sterile environment of an air-conditioned theatre nobody could

term benefits might accrue from holding a PSi conference in Asia and how Asian issues might shape future international academic discourse. By the end of the conference, it was evident that the lower case 'i' remained valid and necessary – it was far from clear whether a capital I was a desirable end goal.

The PSi conference website remains online (www.singaporepsi.org) while further regional conferences are planned. But perhaps this infrastructure for future activity would better serve imminent regional interests than overly generalized international concerns. There are many venues for debating whether American conference delegates should apologize for their country and president. There are fewer venues to deal critically with cultural ties between Asian nations and the regional pressures of globalisation.

the presence of state intervention in a conference probing issues of interrogation and the state inevitably evoked unease, suspicion, and surveillance phobia

smell his egestion or respond sympathetically. His work became an empty spectacle, drained of particularity or involvement.

Organisers joked that 'Feeling Uncomfortable' was the theme of PSi #11 (to be hosted by Brown University in 2005) and not the theme of this year's conference. But the presence of state intervention in a conference probing issues of interrogation and the state inevitably evoked unease, suspicion, and surveillance phobia.

Inexorably international?

Ray Langenbach, a Malaysia-based artist-academic and conference organizer, argued at the outset that performance studies' internationalisation was 'inexorable' and suggested that 'a decision to elevate the "i" be seen as a testament to the capacity of performance studies to enfranchise new publics or to its cultural and institutional rampancy'. Much debate occurred before and during the conference about what long-

Singapore is not an abstract meeting place of East and West, but is characterized by its own parochialisms and particularities, some of which are partially shared by its East and Southeast Asian neighbours. It is one thing to see Singaporean performance artists coping with state censorship in their work, quite another to observe the reinstatement of censorship on post-*Reformasi* Indonesian performers. The repudiation of totalising perspectives purporting to explain, represent and appropriate local theories and practices remains one imperative. The need for a disciplinary structure to facilitate performing, stating and interrogating 'Asian values', intra-regional cultural exchange, and the invention of cultural identity, with due attention to ethnographic minutiae, is another. <

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performance studies styles itself as a subversive anti-discipline, emphasizing the plasticity of the self and the mutability of social communities, with a libertarian political streak

brought Asia to the fore, recalling the field's origin while problematising the legacy of Orientalism and cultural imperialism. The organizers saw PSi #10 as an opportunity 'to bring the field of performance studies to the attention of researchers, theorists, artists and activists across diverse practices and disciplines in the "Asian" region, while introducing the current state of "Asian" performance theory and practice to researchers, theorists, artists and activists from other regions'.

The organizers compelled presenters to be reflexive, requesting papers to question how 'Asia' is constructed through cultural and social performances in the region and beyond. Discussions and interventions around the imperatives of perform, state and interrogate to do with

activity that refuses totalising activities'. Would Singapore's resolute internationalism and cosmopolitanism challenge PSi's orthographic parochialism and playful flippancy?

Local density and transnational discourse

The conference succeeded in bringing together different streams in art and academia. Few from East or South Asia were present, but PSi #10 was a major meeting for those interested in the theatres of Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, indexed in paper sessions on state censorship in Singapore and Malaysia; Malaysian youth theatre; Thai queer performance; Indonesian post-colonial theatre; puppets and masks in Indonesia and Malaysia; translation in Southeast Asian theatre and music; and



Indonesian performance artist W. Christiawan, having smeared his body with his own vomit, wraps metal wire around his shaven head.

Photograph by Yuen Chee Wai

The Fight Against Illicit Traffic in Cultural Property: the importance of case studies

Arts >
Illicit traffic

The internationalisation of the art market and the growth of tourism are fuelling the the illicit traffic of antiquities and cultural heritage around the world. At the same time, there is growing recognition of the importance of cultural property in its place of origin. Governments and professionals need to gather and exchange information on cases, whether successfully prosecuted or not – the study of precedents is crucial to the recovery of treasures and to the tracking and deterring of criminals.

By Lyndel V. Prott

The poor and the prosperous

Ramamoorthi, a landless and illiterate farm labourer, dug up an idol by accident and was found guilty of theft when he sold it for £16; Meivel, the dealer's runner, impressed the London judge as a rogue; Chandran was on bail for attempted murder and convicted of rioting with a deadly weapon; Hussain was found in possession of another six stolen idols; Nadar also had a history of dealings with stolen idols, while the dealer in London supplied a false provenance which turned out to be from his mother in Pakistan. These were among the details revealed in the English High Court in the claim by the Union of India for the return of the idol from the Bumper Development Corporation.

Such cases often reveal the workings of the illicit trade in cultural property and are of great use to those fighting this pernicious problem. The New Zealand government incurred £300,000 in costs in the Ortiz case and the Indian government £100,000, ultimately recovered, in the Bumper Case. The Bumper Case detailed some of the methods used for identification – analysis of artistic style and technique, the exact composition of the bronze, exact measurements, even the pattern of termite tracks over the surface. A spade-mark on the Maori carved wooden panels in the Ortiz case, photographed before their illicit export from New Zealand, found a precise match on the piece located in London. Both these cases alerted collectors to the criminal activity providing the international market with a seemingly endless supply of works of art and antiquities, and warned dealers that buying Maori antiquities or Hindu idols was a risky business.

Yet, guardians of cultural heritage often remain unaware of case details from neighbouring countries, though knowledge here would allow for better decisions regarding the remedy to pursue,



Detail of one of the carved wooden panels illegally exported and litigated by New Zealand in London without success in the Ortiz case



Bell from the Temple of Heaven, Beijing, taken during a British raid and restored by an officer of the Indian Army

its cost, and the likelihood of success. Case studies need not be restricted to litigation: negotiated settlements between individuals or institutions are as important, as are returns effected through cooperation between police, customs and other relevant authorities, government to government negotiations, and the work of the relevant UNESCO Committee.

Persuading

Negotiated settlements have included the country of origin agreeing to drop litigation in exchange for return. Possessors' claims to compensation, declarations that no criminal act has occurred, or the 'good faith' (or other exculpatory language) of the holder have been less successful. Nonetheless, rights to exhibit have sometimes been granted to institutions, from periods of two weeks to ten years. In some situations, longer periods are agreed, such as the renewable twenty-five years agreed by Nigeria for the Nok sculptures at the Louvre, to subsequently be housed in the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (Shyllon 2003).

Occasionally, a 'gift' of an object of comparable cultural value is handed over, sometimes by a third party, in recognition of the return of an illegally trafficked piece. United States tax law grants concessions to those who donate cultural property to charitable organizations – which, after time, return it to the country of origin.

Policing...

Some cases have been resolved by police or customs officers in the country of location seizing an object and threatening legal proceedings. To avoid costs and bad publicity, the object may be surrendered to the authorities. This has happened in the case of a Khmer stone head from Cambodia found in San Francisco and two Khmer artefacts found in Rotterdam.

Recent cases in several countries show that source countries must be able to provide timely evidence of the object's

origin – photographic evidence, museum inventories, archaeological excavation reports, or evidence of recent illegal excavations. Experts have also played key roles in identifying objects and alerting governments. Lack of expert evidence in court can lead to difficulties: Nigeria was unable to provide evidence in the Heller case, resulting in its discontinuance by Canada. Canada also had to delay its action against the holder of antique textiles from Bolivia due to difficulties in obtaining Bolivian expert evidence (Walden 1995).

... and diplomacy

Government-to-government negotiations often require some means of persuasion. Economic issues may be important. When the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970 was being negotiated, some states with major art markets where illegally exported or stolen cultural property were likely to end up dragged their heels, as their art dealers argued a convention would restrict the market and interfere with licit trade.

Where bilateral negotiations have failed, the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation has jurisdiction to deal with requests for return of cultural property between UNESCO member states. The Committee has been underused; it operates only to mediate, and cannot decide cases. Fortunately, the media are interested in its work, and continued obduracy can have consequences for foreign relations. Of the six cases which have been brought to the Committee since its inception in 1978, two have been settled, one has been resolved by litigation, one remains in litigation in a national court and two are outstanding: the Parthenon marbles (Greece v. the United Kingdom) and the Boguskoy Sphinx (Turkey v. Germany).

The number of returns in the Asian region has increased in recent years, including returns from Hong Kong to China; Japan to China; Taiwan to China; and Thailand to Cambodia. The need for cooperation is particularly evident for underwater cultural heritage. Chinese trading junks are found throughout the area – in Vietnam, Korea, off the coast of Brunei, and in Indonesia. Many of them have been 'salvaged' by treasure hunters without regard for the interests of the coastal state, the state where the ship was built (which may be identifiable only through proper archaeological excavation), and the states whose culture is represented in the cargo, the fittings or the structure of the ship.

Crooks and culture

Moral embarrassment caused by the revelation of criminal transactions also has

Marble panel, part of a mural stolen from the tenth century tomb of Wang Chuzhi, located in Xiyanchuan, Qiyang County, Hebei Province, People's Republic of China and returned to China by the US Customs Service after litigation had been commenced and negotiations with the possessor had failed.



an impact. Connections with the drug trade were revealed when stolen Greek antiquities were found by Australian customs officers packed in cocaine, showing involvement of international criminal gangs. Prosecutions highlighting the link between criminality and smuggling were crucial to the establishment of first a parliamentary, and then a governmental, committee in the United Kingdom, convincing both the government and the wider public that the reputation of the London market was endangered. A seemingly respectable conservator, Tokeley-Parry, in London, and dealer, Schultz, in New York, were convicted of criminal offences. A television exposé also showed one of the major London auction houses subverting Italian law (Watson 1997).

Some developing states have previously been unwilling to risk criticism of their heritage management by revealing the extent of looting and theft. These ideas should be dismissed. No country in the world, however wealthy and however well-organized their museum and archaeological services, has been able to completely prevent these crimes. France, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, all with state-of-the-art security measures, have suffered major losses in the last two decades. Circulating as much information as possible by way of sharing case studies will enable better international cooperation in preventing them.

Where now?

At the seminar *Illicit Traffic in Cultural Property in Southeast Asia*, held in Bangkok in March 2004, I was able to provide about twenty detailed case studies, but have long been concerned about how few incidents in the Southeast Asian region have been published in sufficient detail to provide truly helpful information. I had nothing at all for

Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore or Vietnam, while the only Indonesian cases concerned shipwrecks, despite recent concern for land sites (Napack 2003). The study of precedents can be crucial in helping states learn how to best protect their treasures, detect crime, trace criminals and understand how they operate. Enlisting the help of foreign governments and achieving returns will deter other traffickers. It was therefore gratifying that case studies were shared by Asian participants at this meeting and that we were able to work together preparing others for mutual benefit. <

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This article derives from the seminar *Illicit Traffic in Cultural Property in Southeast Asia*, held in Bangkok, 24-26 March 2004. The seminar was organised by the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand and IAS, with support from the Sustainable Heritage Development Programs, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University and the Bangkok - Ayutthaya World Heritage Area.

“Mount Peng”

It is still a long way to Mount Peng
Dreams walk on the ground, beneath clusters of windows
they flee

Huge volumes of refugees surge onto Mount Peng. In late autumn
blue-colored birds are hunted
mounted on sheet iron
on a section of trunk taken from a sapling
a—its two young footprint
have left imprints on his chest—and
a length of flame as swift as a foal

Blue-colored bird, its feathers are the first to die
and then its two eyes and then its speech

From a chilly ferry, Mount Peng
is not far
People intent on their journeys take over every
winter nest. So goes
the dream. Dreaming that the blue-colored bird
spreads its wings and flies away from the woods and even looks back
and speaks to the dream

Ling Yu
Translated by Andrea Lingenfelter

*my darling noontide, the magnolia drops her gaze, serenely dreaming
she dreams of me standing on tip-toe before her like a phantom
she makes out the can of water I hold, poison to all but her
and in her face I cannot find the slightest shred of fear
while she now senses how I loathe myself
so deeply loathe this blood, these nerves, these pores, the
look of my ears, my constricted heart; one moment she understands that
I'm plainly only a man; soon after she reminds herself that
I've lounged beside windows staring at others, or switched on lights
and passed through doors to penetrate still deeper places
and so she sheds pretending flowers, or makes the best of a
gently gusting breeze in clear skies, or a peal of thunder, to dance me
from her skin, from her uneasy heart*

Zhang Zao
Translated by Simon Patton

Yuyuan

—According to an ancient legend, Yuyuan, or the Abyss of Yu, was where the sun went when it set.

Went to Yuyuan to visit the imprisoned sun
Those wings that chafed at their lot were its
crime

Its wings furl up a corner of the darkness, bleeding
Sharp arrowheads fastened tightly to its vital parts
It says, even in my dreams it hurts
to breathe

And even if it got rid of its wings, even if
the sky could not bear
a head, dreams go on

My neck is still listening intently: the daylight
passing through dark night
calls to me

Ling Yu
Translated by Andrea Lingenfelter

Edge

Like a tomato hiding on the edge of a steelyard he is always
lying down. Something flashes past – a warning or a swallow – but he
doesn't budge, maintaining his place beside the small things.
As the second hand moves to ten on the dot,
an alarm clock heads off into the distance. A cigarette
also leaves, taking with it several pairs of misshapen blue handcuffs.
His glasses, clouds, German locks. In a word, everything that hadn't
has now left.

The emptiness gets bigger. He is even further away, but always on
some edge: edge of cog-wheels, edge of water, the very edge of
his own self. He often looks up into the sky, index finger pointed into the air,
practising a spidery, delirious calligraphy: 'Come back!'
Sure enough, all those things that lost their shape regain their original form:
the windows of a new housing estate are full of evening wind;
the moon brews a large barrel of golden beer.
The steelyard jerks violently: there, the illimitable
comes to recline beside the tomato
like a becalmed lion.

Zhang Zao
Translated by Simon Patton

Tightwire

This man knows. He gropes for titles.
There is need for naming fish and bread
When multiplied upon a mountain.

Such a dark swirl the sky is, red-banded,
Like the crested bird of castanets.
Or a señorita's skirt. We are under the folds,
Looking up at thin lines of titillation.

This man knows, and groping, proceeds
To place one disdainful fool's foot
Before the other. He repeats the process.

The dark bowl that is his universe
Assumes the properties of porcelain.
He walks on delicately and there is need
For breath, for breathlessness.

This man knows and stops, leg crossing knee.
In the very middle, where till now hanging
Under pubis of air, he stays.

Hanging. Poised on poisoned fence, essence
Dripping on his head, centered. Were the dancer
To do a cartwheel his figure would show
In the revealed arc as the hanged man. This man knows.

He stays there. He falls. And in his falling
He knows. He knows he is falling.
He is falling. He has fallen.

The cards were stacked to begin with.
How many times he has fallen. How many times
He has known the virtues of falling. How many
Mountains and dancers he has loved while falling.

Alfred A. Yuson

Envoi

When the island woke
the ship had gone.
Neither wake
nor trail of light
was seen
amid the sea's empty din.

Gathering dark
was the lover leaving
while the other slept.
Impending dark
was the lover having left.

Alfred A. Yuson

The 35th Poetry International Festival took place on 12-18 June 2004 in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. 28 poets from 20 countries attended the festival. Poetry International, in collaboration with the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) and the International Institute for Asian Studies, invited six Asian poets to the festival. Information on the programme, the poets and a full list of sponsors can be found at http://www.poetry.nl/general_new/home.php



World Poetry Circuit

1. The Poets Arrive and Shake Hands
2. The Poets Receive Their Breakfast Coupons
3. The Poets Listen to Speeches
4. The Poets Take Their Own Turns Onstage
5. The Poets Attend A Garden Reception
6. The Poets Line Up for The Prince
7. The Poets Are Taken to A Beach Resort
8. The Poets Are Caught Up in Traffic
9. The Poets Pose for A Group Shot
10. The Poets Land in the Papers
11. The Poets Escape Their Hosts
12. The Poets Are Recovered
13. The Poets Talk of War and Poverty, Love and Repression
14. The Poets Are Translated All Over the Place
15. The Poets Quarrel Among Themselves
16. The Poets Fuck One Another
17. The Poets Are Late Again for Dinner
18. The Poets Complain About Everything
19. The Poets Are Finally Given An Hour for Shopping
20. The Poets Seek Out the Last Pub
21. The Poets Exchange Books and Addresses
22. The Poets Thank Everyone with Folk Songs
23. The Poets Settle Their Hotel Bills
24. The Poets Leave for Other Countries
25. The Poets Remember, and Smile to Themselves

Alfred A. Yuson

Australia

The National Gallery of Victoria – International

180 St Kilda Road, Melbourne
T +61 3 8620 2222
enquiries@ngv.vic.gov.au
http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au

November 13 2004 – TBA

Rajput: Sons of Kings

Canada

The Royal Ontario Museum

Toronto, Ontario

Until 13 February 2005

Touched by Indigo: Chinese Blue and White Textiles and Embroidery

This exhibition explores the function and aesthetics of blue-and-white textiles and embroidery of China. Drawn from the ROM's permanent collections and loans from the Textile Museum of Canada and local private collectors, it features more than 100 objects, including clothing, home furnishings, tools and paintings from the 19th century to the present.

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

Until 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.

Hong Kong Museum of Art

Leisure and Cultural Services Department

10 Salisbury Road, Tsimshatsui

Kowloon, Hong Kong

T +852-2721 0116

enquiries@lcsd.gov.hk

www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/Arts

Until 26 December 2004

A Walk on the Path of Art – Donation of Ink Painting and Calligraphy by Mr. Lin Jiantong

Lin Jiantong (1911-1994) excelled in design,

sculpture, Western and Chinese painting and calligraphy. This exhibition features around 40 works from a donation of representative works given by his family. In addition to his acclaimed paintings of plum blossoms, the show includes calligraphy, flower paintings, and landscapes demonstrating both the legacy of traditional landscape paintings and the local colour of Hong Kong.

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

Until 31 December 2004

Historical Painting

This is an exhibition of historical paintings about the landscape of Macau in the 19th century.

Exhibition of The Little Artists

The exhibition includes 200 artworks produced during the spring 2004 art course for children.

Shanghai Art Museum

325 West Nanjing Road

Shanghai 200003

T +86-21 63274896

sh-artmuseum@mail.online.sh.cn

www.shanghaiennale.com

Until 28 November 2004

Shanghai Biennale 2004: Techniques of the Visible

This exhibition will focus on the close relationship between art, science, and technology, and in particular how art has revealed the interdependent social and political forces that produce technology and humanity. It suggests that artistic practice engaging with 'technology' is inherently placing itself within a historical continuum, where cultural metaphor becomes critical to its understanding.

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

France

Galleries nationales du Grand Palais

3, Avenue of the General-Eisenhower

75008 Paris

T +01-44 13 17 30

http://www.rmn.fr/galeriesnationalesdu

grandpalais/

Until 3 January 2005

Images of the Floating World, 17th and 18th centuries

This exhibition explores the concept of 'floating world' described by Asai Ryoi in 'Ukiyo monogatari' (1661). Conversation pieces (folding

13 February - 2 October 2005

Buddhist, Jains and Hindus in Search of the Divine Image

The Marianne and Viktor Langen Collection consists of 60 bronze and stone sculptures from India, Nepal, Tibet, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, China, and Korea dating from the 2nd to 18th century. The sculptures show the diversity of the divine image in human form. This diversity of pictorial representation in history is a continual 'search for the divine image'. This exhibition starts with the sculpture of a Kapardin Buddha dated year 31 of the Kanishka era.

Greece

Nea Ionia Exhibition Space

E.Pappa & Filellinon Street

142, 43, N. Ionia

Athens

T +30-210 2758490

http://www.monument-to-now.gr

DESTE Foundation for Contemporary Art

8 Omirou Street

Neo Psychico, 154 51

Athens

T +30-210 6729460

http://www.monument-to-now.gr

Until 31 December 2005

Monument to Now: The Dakis Joannou Collection

This exhibition of contemporary global trends showcases the works of the most influential international artists of the past decade and attempts articulate the most important recent artistic innovations. It includes works by Asian artists Zhen Chen, Liza Lou, Mariko Mori, Takashi Murakami, Shirin Neshat, and Huan Zhang; all works are drawn from the Dakis Joannou Collection, which specializes in new international art. (2 venues – see above)

Israel

The Israel Museum

Ruppim Boulevard, near Knesset

POB 71117

Jerusalem 91710

T +972-2 6708811

sb@imj.org.il

http://www.imj.org.il

Until 11 December 2004

Fusion: Design + Architecture in Japan

Fusion features works by more than thirty contemporary Japanese artists, architects, and designers from a wide spectrum of fields, ranging from architecture to fashion to product design.

Until 28 February 2005

Splendors of Imperial Japan: Meiji Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection

The exhibition showcases eighty objects displaying the exceptional artistry of the Meiji period in many media and materials including lacquer, porcelain, and bronze. Other notable pieces include significant enamel works depicting the four seasons, animals and plants; and life-size bronze figures of Japanese demons and samurai.

Japan

Mori Art Museum

Roppongi Hills Mori Tower, 6-10-1, Roppongi,

Minato-ku

Tokyo

T +03-5777 8600

http://www.moriartscenter.org/

Until 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.

Tokyo National Museum

13-9 Ueno Park, Taito-ku

Tokyo, 110-8712

T +81-3-3822 1111

www.tnm.jp

Until 28 November 2004

Treasures of Ancient China

This exhibition presents the essence of ancient Chinese culture through some 170 outstanding artefacts, with the focus on Buddhist art and recent archaeological finds.

Singapore

Gone Fishing Cafe

15 Chu Lin Road

T +6762-9901

kenny@gonefishing.com.sg

http://www.gonefishing.com.sg

Until 30 June 2005

Arffelds

This art festival of sorts asserts that art can no longer be contained in museums and galleries; it must be lived. Its goal is to breakdown the separation between art and life by placing art in a living space. Through a true interplay of art and life; the cafe's activity becomes part of the art and vice versa.

Until December 2004

Arffelds two: Blogged

Singapore-based artist Peng-Ean Khoo and American artist Bridget Watson create an environment constructed entirely of the paper documentation of their three-month online diaries to each other.

January - March 2005

Arffelds three: The Player

With the cafe's existing wall as the backdrop Lee Tet Keong will build a complete playground for the patrons to relive a second childhood, and for the younger patrons to live a piece of childhood that was unavailable to him.

April - June 2005

Arffelds four: The Fourth Cube: a grain, a blade & a drop

Peng-Ean Khoo's work will bring the viewer into a three-dimensional chapbook to demonstrate that human activity dotting space is like writing text on paper.

Singapore Art Museum

71 Bras Basah Road

Singapore 189555

T +65-6332 3222

http://www.nhb.gov.sg/SAM

Until 19 December 2004

Tan Swie Hian

The exhibition showcases about 40 recent works from this artist whose pieces reflect a profound understanding of literature and a fundamental philosophical orientation that is based on Buddhism and Asian aesthetic traditions.

Until 31 December 2004

Ju Ming 2004 Singapore • Beijing • Shanghai • Blockbuster!

In this blockbuster event, the last installation of Taiwanese artist Ju Ming's famed Taichi Arch series will be launched together with works from his Living World Series. This exhibition features more than 60 sculptures.

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/

Until 28 November 2004

Meetings with Buddha

The exhibition consists of photos from Bodhgaya, India taken by Karsti Stiege, with music composed by Johan Zachrisson.

Switzerland

Galerie Leda Fletcher Chinese Contemporary Art

4 rue du Pont-Neuf

Carouge, Switzerland

T +41-22 342 48 88

leda@ledafletcher.com

http://www.ledafletcher.com



The elephant Rinasobha (c. 1730-60), Udaipur, Rajasthan, India
opaque watercolour and gold paint on paper 21.8 x 36.2 cm

On the manifest and latent functions of the mistress

Comment >
Mistresses

The age-old institution of concubinage revived in the 1980s with the advent of bourgeois prosperity in mainland China. Successful Chinese businessmen found young and beautiful mistresses, showered them with expensive clothes and jewelry, and set them up in flats away from wives and children. Overseas investors – chiefly businessmen from Hong Kong and Taiwan – did likewise, taking advantage of their hard currency and passports to attract ambitious mainland girls.

By Yue Tao

By the 1990s, the new concubinage had become a public concern. Moral dramas about it appeared on primetime television. Words like *dakuan* ('big bill', meaning rich customer), *xiaomi* ('little honey', a homonym of 'little secretary'), and *jinsi que* ('gold-feathered bird', meaning mistress) entered common usage. Despite social disapproval, rich men and young women joined hands in concubinage.

After the Asian financial crisis and the global internet bubble, many businessmen found concubines expensive. Hong Kong and Taiwan businessmen, in particular, lost their competitive edge. But economic difficulty did not end concubinage. *Dakuan* changed their strategy and restructured the relationship. Instead of buying flats for their *xiaomi*, they rent them; instead of giving their *jinsi que* an oath of eternal love, they sign renewable contracts. Some concubines are now paid employees with a monthly salary. Their job is to entertain the *dakuan* when he is around and take care of the flat when he is not. Compared with their predecessors, who lived like queens, they are glorified maids.

It is easy to understand why men want concubines. Because of work, they are often away from home. Young, beautiful, tender concubines satisfy their basic needs and release tension. Concubines are also a symbol of success – they satisfy men's vanity and build up their confidence. For many young Chinese men, life is a struggle. They have no capital to invest in frivolous enjoyments until they are middle-aged and married with children. *Chengjia liye* (form a family, make a career) – this old saying still describes Chinese aspirations. Enjoyments like concubines are a reward for doing one's duty, but have to wait till one can afford them.

Young women who volunteer to be concubines are no fools. They take a shortcut to a dream shared by millions of other girls. How else to rapidly attain a luxurious bourgeois lifestyle? The life they live now is one that others strive for years to enjoy. Material luxury is not the only motive young women have to become concubines, however. Some concubines have higher education and a yuppie job; they would be comfortable enough without a sugar daddy. They are more ambitious – they want to set up their own business. They have every-



by Jiang Lidong

less intelligent or beautiful girls living a fancier life. They compete to be cherished by rich men, and the competition is fierce.

The relationship between men and their concubines accords with basic economics. They each have something to give and take. Wives also see advantage in the arrangement. Many Chinese women do not believe in loyal men, much less loyal rich men. A Chinese idiom says a man turns evil once he gets money. Chinese wives cannot agree more. Adultery is in men's nature; money just makes it easier. Chinese wives' strategy is to control their husband's money. They commandeer and allocate their husband's salary. Husbands get only pocket money, which precludes frivolous entertainments.

But when husbands have business thousands of kilometers away from home, such control is impossible. The balance of power tips – husbands now control the budget. Wives who cannot take control prefer concubines to promiscuity: a fixed address means fewer health risks as well as easier surveillance. Women of middle age with children do not expect to find a 'good man' to marry in case they divorce. They see their situation as

thing they need – intelligence, experience, devotion – except venture capital, which concubinage gives them access to. Concubines adore success. Binding themselves to rich businessmen, they take giant steps toward it.

Concubinage also gives nonmaterial satisfaction. Envy is not the least motive for young women to become concubines. They simply cannot stand to see other

hopeless and helpless. They depend on their husband to maintain their lifestyle and send their child to a good school. Where can they find a 'rich and good' man to replace their husband? Husbands, out of guilt or shame, do not want to abandon their family. A predictable and peaceable arrangement is the best possible solution in this intractable situation.

The year of the Chinese Revolution, an American sociologist observed that 'persistent social structures satisfy basic latent functions', and that any attempt to eliminate them without providing an alternative that fulfills these functions is 'doomed to failure'. (Merton 1968:126,135) As long as concubinage satisfies 'basic latent functions' for all concerned *faute de mieux*, it will persist. <

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Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident: reflections on twenty years of comparative scholarship

Review >
China

The journal *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* has been publishing continually for over twenty years. A unique comparative journal, it is far less known in the Anglophone world than it deserves to be.

By Lisa Raphals

Founded in 1982 under the editorship of François Jullien, *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* began with the explicit goal of opening Sinology to the human sciences and making it more widely available. This approach parallels an analogous development in classics which, as a field, was revolutionized by the introduction of structuralist and other anthropological perspectives in the 1960s and 1970s by Jean-Pierre Vernant, Marcel Detienne, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and others.

For its first ten years, the journal covered mainly literary and historical topics, focusing on problems that bore on modern China involving complex interactions with pre-modern Chinese culture. The issues were thematic, but as Jullien pointed out (14:8), a single issue can do no more than open a door for investigation. This matters because the objects of 'Sino-logical' reflection are not pre-constituted.

Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident underwent a shift ten years later. Under the editorship of Karine Chemla and François Martin, its perspective became explicitly comparative. Many of the comparative essays are by Sir Geoffrey Lloyd, who has contributed to almost every issue since. Readers familiar with his recent studies of Greek and Chinese science will find much of their groundwork in these pages. Issues were often individually edited. To illustrate the depth and variety, I will discuss three issues in detail.

From numbers, the world

Issue 16, *Sous les nombres le monde: matériaux pour l'histoire culturelle du nombre en Chine ancienne*, presents and interprets material for understanding the cultural history of the number in ancient China, covering very different perspectives on the subject. This entails a deliberate departure from the common presump-

tion that correlative cosmology and its numerological corollaries form the basis of the Chinese understanding of the nature of the number. For example, Redouane Djamouri argues in a quasi-Benvenistian manner that the formation of the Shang number system was closely connected to the grammatical function of numerals. Karine Chemla uses the 'Nine Chapters on Mathematical Procedures' (*Jiuzhang suanshu*) to reinterpret the meaning of the term 'number' (*shu*), arguing that Liu Hui's commentary deliberately used polyvalent terms in order to apply the same general procedures to both numbers and algorithms.

Alexei Volkov addresses the finiteness of numbers in Xu Yue's (+3c) *Shushu jiyi*, and examines methods of generating large numbers (like those in Archimedes' *Sand Reckoner*) and the role of counting devices in establishing general notions of number. Isabelle Robinet explores symbolic uses of number in the *Daozang* and the use of arithmetical operations to connect numbers with spatial and temporal aspects of Daoist ritual, alchemy and cosmology. John Major looks at relationships between calendrics and musical scales in *Huainanzi* 3, including a translation of the section on the calculation of the lengths of pitch-pipes and a discussion of the importance of 'cosmic boards' (*shi*) in establishing correspondences between calendric data and astronomical phenomena. Hans Ulrich Vogel considers the 'metrosophy' and 'metrolology' of *Hanshu* 21 and of Liu Xin's incorporation of symbolic correlations into standard measures. G.E.R. Lloyd provides an ulterior perspective by comparing Chinese notions of number to that of ancient Greece.

The value of the example: Chinese perspectives

A later issue, *La valeur de l'exemple, perspectives chinoises* (19), takes as its point of departure the European tendency, originating with Aristotle, to down-value the use of example as a form of argument. It subsequently presents contrasting Chinese studies revealing the importance of processes of exemplifica-

tion in various aspects of Chinese thought and social practice. Jérôme Bourgon begins with the law, and shows how practices of citing examples from the classics to support legal decisions generated legal norms and categories. Christian Lamouroux contextualizes Ouyang Xiu's idea of the historical example in relation to the *Guwen* movement and *Chunqiu* interpretation, while Anne Cheng discusses specifically Confucian notions of exemplification, including the role of the Sage as exemplar and the implications for ethical and philosophical problems of knowledge and action.

In a very different vein, Karine Chemla asks what was understood as a 'problem' in ancient Chinese mathematics. She uses the *Jiuzhang suanshu* to examine the use of general procedures to solve particular problems of the same category. Additional perspectives are provided by François Hartog and G.E.R. Lloyd. Hartog considers changing notions of 'examples' for understanding life in Greek historical writing, and argues that the notion of the past as a key to the present, for emulation, only emerged in the early fourth century, after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian war. Lloyd attempts to use 'the example of example' to demonstrate some of the pitfalls and value of comparative study in general. He links epistemological attitudes and social practices, arguing, for example, that suspicion of the authority of *exempla* went hand in hand with suspicion of authority in general. He also shows the complex use of example in mathematical proof, and compares Greek and Chinese methods of managing examples in mathematical reasoning.

Divination and rationality in ancient China

Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne (21) was an eponymous successor to Jean-Pierre Vernant's *Divination et Rationalité* (1974), which addressed the

rationality and coherence of divination and its significance in the formation of social institutions. Vernant showed how the symbolic operations of diviners imposed their rationality and legitimacy on the intellectual and social fabric of the societies in which they operated. This issue explicitly pursues Vernant's original agenda in the context of ancient China, and shows how divination affected the development of medicine, law, philosophy, politics, and the history of science. Redouane Djamouri reviews Shang bone and tortoise divination and argues that divination and writing were distinct practices that involved different kinds of artefacts and different types of rationality. Marc Kalinowski analyses the elements of predictive style in the structure of *Zuozhuan* oracular rhetoric. He argues that predictions had consistent structures and performed significant narrative functions throughout the text within a sequence of circumstance, prediction, argument, and verification. These cycles were used to render ethical judgments and to oppose the predictive wisdom of the text's authors to the failings of its narrative subjects.

Jean Levi explores the hermeneutic continuities between Warring States divinatory practice, empirical conjecture and rationalist critique. John Henderson explores the connections between exegesis of the Confucian classics (especially the *Yi* and *Chunqiu*) and the divinatory arts. Some of the Confucian classics had divinatory origins, and divination itself was considered a form of exegesis, with similar assumptions and functions to the exegesis of texts. Donald Harper explores the common milieu of physicians, diviners, astrologers, and *fangshi* specialists. He uses the *Huangdi neijing* and excavated texts from Baoshan and Shuihudi to show the evolution of iatromantic thought from a primarily exorcistic medicine to new cosmological (and mechanical) methods of hemerological diagnosis. He shows that iatromancy was an important vehicle for the introduction of correlative cosmology into medicine. Physicians imitated the rhetoric of diviners in their diagnoses, and drew on astrological, calendrical, and hemerological systems for their theory. Marc

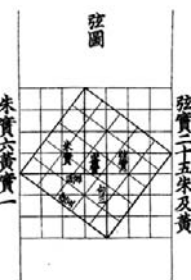
Csikszentmihalyi compares the interpretive practices of diviners and of the Qin legal codes, using debates about technical procedures and their results in both areas, while Jérôme Bourgon examines the role of divinatory schemes in the codification of Chinese law, showing how *Yi* exegesis by the School of Mysteries informed legal codification during and after the Tang Dynasty. Jean-Jacques Glassner prepares the ground for a comparative approach to Chinese and Mesopotamian divination by considering the comparative contexts for the development of writing, the roles of rulers and exorcists, and the relation of divination to modes of rationality and to the writing of history. G.E.R. Lloyd concludes by comparing the roles of Chinese and Greek divination in the development of self-conscious reflection and methods of scientific inquiry.

This brief examination shows how *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* has pioneered and maintained a felicitous approach to the problem of reconciling approaches that nowadays seem hopelessly at war. Individual contributions deal with specific texts and cultural particularities, but under an aegis that is self-consciously and deliberately comparative. In this way the journal has steered a course between the Scylla of historical and cultural particularism and the Charybdis of essentializing generalization and comparison. It merits study and emulation. <

Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident: cahiers de recherches comparatives, eds. Karine Chemla and François Martin, Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, Université de Paris VIII.

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> Appendix: Issues

1982. *Essais de poésie chinoise et comparée* [Essays on Chinese and comparative poetics]
1983. *L'idée révolutionnaire et la Chine: la question du modèle* [The idea of revolution in China: the question of models]
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1985. *Une civilisation sans théologie?* [A civilization without theology?]
1985. *Le 'réel', l' 'imaginaire' ["Real" and "Imaginary"]*
1986. *En hommage à Patrick Destenay* [Homage to Patrick Destenay]
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1988. *Effets d'ordre dans la civilisation chinoise* [Effects of order on Chinese civilization]
1989. *Parallélisme et appariement des choses* [Parallelism and the matching of things]
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1992. *Regards obliques sur l'argumentation en Chine* [A sidelong glance at argumentation in China], Karine Chemla, ed.
1993. *Le nom juste* [The right name], Karine Chemla and François Martin, eds.
1994. *Sous les nombres le monde: matériaux pour l'histoire culturelle du nombre en Chine ancienne* [From numbers, the world: materials for the cultural history of number in ancient China], Alexei Volkov, ed.
1995. *Le travail de la citation en Chine et au Japon* [How citation works in China and Japan], Karine Chemla and François Martin, eds.
1996. *Disposer pour dire, Placer pour penser, Situer pour agir: les pratiques de position en Chine* [To speak, position: To think, place: To act, set up: practice of place in China], Karine Chemla and Michael Lackner, eds.
1997. *La valeur de l'exemple, perspectives chinoises* [The value of the example: Chinese perspectives], Karine Chemla, ed.
1998. *Du divertissement dans la Chine et le Japon anciens: "Homo ludens" Extrême-Orientalis* [Entertainment in Ancient China and Japan: "Homo ludens" in the Far East], François Martin, Jacqueline Pigeot, and Karine Chemla, eds.
1999. *Divination et rationalité en Chine ancienne* [Divination and rationality in ancient China], Karine Chemla, Donald Harper, and Marc Kalinowski, eds.
2000. *L'art des jardins dans les pays sinisés: Chine, Japon, Corée, Vietnam* [The art of the garden in sinicized countries: China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam], Léon Vandermeersch, ed.
2001. *La coutume et la norme en Chine et au Japon* [Custom and norm in China and Japan], Jérôme Bourgon, ed.
2002. *L'anticalicisme en Chine* [Anticalicism in China], Vincent Goosaert, ed.
2003. *L'anthologie poétique en Chine et au Japon* [Poetic anthology in China and Japan], Jacqueline Pigeot, ed.

Androgyny in late Ming and early Qing literature

Review >
China

Zuyan Zhou explores the concept of androgyny in the fiction and drama of the late Ming and early Qing, a transitional period from about 1600 to 1750 when many of the political elite were estranged from power – by factional strife and later, under Manchu rule, by Ming-loyalist sentiment. It was a period of rapid social change, apparent in the world of gender.

By Roland Altenburger

The notion of androgyny is universally understood as the characteristic or capacity of a person, of either sex, to embody both feminine and masculine traits. In some cultures, the merging of gender elements in one person has been valued as an ideal, particularly in its approximation to a mythical state of harmonious unity. In Chinese

quasi-allegorically as value positions. *Yang* came to signify superiority or centrality, whereas a position of inferiority or marginality was considered *yin*. *Vis-à-vis* the emperor, a minister was symbolically assigned a *yin* position, despite his male sex. In literary representation, an ignored or marginalized official often assumed the feminine persona of the neglected concubine, a *yin* trope. Particularly in times of political crisis or ille-

gnous' figures. He traces the significance and configurations of 'gender deviation' in the acclaimed masterworks of the period, seeing them as mirrors of the changing social, cultural and ideological climate. His discussion spans from *Plum in a Golden Vase* to *Red Chamber Dream*, with chapters on the great lyric dramas *Peony Pavilion* and *Peach-Blossom Fan* and on the minor narrative genre of scholar-beauty romance. With such an ambitious scope, the author's textual discussion remains limited to his analytical focus. While this is appropriate for specialists, it renders the book less accessible to the general reader.

The dream of androgyny

The chapter on the *Dream* forms the focus and interpretative peak of Zhou's study. He makes an important contribution to the contested, open-ended debate on the novel's interpretation and its complex world of gender. Zhou argues that its androgynous protagonists and the oasis of androgyny provided by their secluded garden were artistic illusions, to be inevitably shattered by the patriarchy of the outside world.

Zhou's book is the first study to apply the notion of androgyny to traditional

Chinese literature, and his brilliant discussion of the *Dream* succeeds in demonstrating the interpretative potential of the concept. Nevertheless, the majority of 'androgynous' characters that Zhou analyzes might more aptly be read as cases of reversed gender. As the author admits in his conclusion, gender reversal in the works under consideration is overwhelmingly one-directional, involving female characters who adopt attributes of masculinity.

However, the reverse movement of gender crossing – men who consciously assume feminine traits, such as Jia Baoyu in the *Dream* – seem quite atypical in the period's literature. This shows the limited influence of the Zhuangzian vision of androgyny within late imperial gender thought, and the largely unquestioned dominance of the patriarchal preference for masculinity. As reversed gender characteristics served as a literary trope of quasi-allegorical significance, it would not be strange if literati, who in their works fantasized about gender reversal, subscribed to mainstream patriarchal values in their own lives.

Despite the limited validity of the concept of androgyny, Zhou Zuyan's study offers stimulating textual discussion with a wealth of observations and astute interpretations. This book is a most welcome addition to the growing body of



Woodcut of Lord Bei Jing from *Dream of Red Chamber*

in some cultures, the merging of gender elements in one person has been valued as an ideal, particularly in its approximation to a mythical state of harmonious unity

thought, this myth has been preserved in the Zhuangzian notion of cosmic chaos (*hundun*). The central tradition of Confucianism since the Han dynasty, on the other hand, construed gender in the bipolarity of *yin* and *yang*; underlying this is the hierarchical presumption of the superiority, and therefore desirability, of the *yang* or masculine side.

Feminized men

The interpretation of *yin-yang* conceptualisation is complicated by the fact that, from early on, there existed a convention of reading *yin-yang* bipolarity

gitimate government, when major groups of the establishment were excluded from power, marginalized men tended to identify or associate with representatives and imagery of femininity.

A number of the male literati of the period developed a new, seemingly more sympathetic view of femininity, though their identification with female characters was more likely a reflection of their own state of marginalization. Nevertheless, the literature of the time, as Zhou Zuyan demonstrates in his book, abounds with seemingly 'androg-

studies on gender in pre-modern Chinese literature. ◀

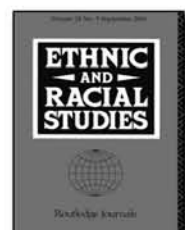
Zuyan Zhou, 2003. *Androgyny in Late Ming and Early Qing Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. ISBN: 0824825713, 324 pp.

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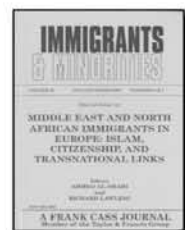


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Earlier Origins, Protracted Journey: local, regional and global pathways to independence

Review >
Southeast Asia

Decolonization in Southeast Asia unfolded unevenly, a vector of social, economic and political stimuli. In *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization*, Asian, European and American scholars have produced a readable, informative and stimulating book. Sensitive to local and world politics, none indulge in romanticised nationalist hagiography or globalist cheerleading.

By Vincent K. Pollard

The book is divided into four main sections. Conceptually, most chapters hinge on one or more of five editorial claims made in the introduction. First, decolonization 'began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'. Second, decolonization 'did not end with the formal transfer of power in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.' And as a reminder of the limits to legal formalism, nominally independent Thailand's borders and territory were squeezed by French and British imperialism in the nineteenth century, and later by Japan during World War II (pp. 27, 113, 214). Third, both 'endogenous and exogenous forces influenced' the entire course of decolonization. Fourth, these forces accelerated the seizure of power by nationalist movements 'in Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam' from European colonisers weakened militarily and economically by World War II. Fifth, far more than the UK, the Netherlands or France between 1945 and 1965, the U.S. shaped Southeast Asia's decolonization to its advantage (pp. viii-ix).

The second assertion needs qualification, however. Even formal transfers of power to former colonies did not end in the 1960s. The time frame for the devolution of sovereignty should be extended by three decades – from 1965 for the Republic of Singapore to 1984 for Brunei Darussalam and to 1999 for Timor Leste. Later, East Timor is mentioned in passing (pp. 112 and 123).

Dimensions of decolonization

Extending the arguments made in the introduction and setting the stage for the rest of the book, Paul H. Kratoska distinguishes among related decolonization processes. Kratoska claims that just as 'Southeast Asian decolonization unfolded over a long period of time, the relinquishment of European power also resulted from multiple factors' (p. 3). Jost Dülffer argues that Japan's invasion of China helped to preserve the beleaguered Communist Party of China from annihilation by the *Guomindang* (Nationalist Party). Not altogether new, the claim suggests alternate possible pathways to independence in Southeast Asia. In any case, Japan's invasion weakened the imperial powers, particularly, Britain, France and the Netherlands. In contrast, the U.S. emerged as a major player, and Portugal persisted for three more decades until Indonesia invaded Timor Leste in 1975. By defeating the colonial powers, Japan psychologically disabused colonised peoples of any notion of Caucasian invulnerability.

Attainment of political sovereignty was not matched by economic independence, however. J. Thomas Lindblad compares efforts at economic orientation by Malaya and its successor-state,

Malaysia, with the Philippines and Indonesia. Lindblad addresses the 'economic challenges, economic policies, investment climate and actual development of foreign capital commitments' of the three newly independent countries (p. 48).

Indochina and Indonesia

Introducing the second unit, Bruce M. Lockhart discusses decolonization in Indochina (Chapters 4-6). Hugues Tertrais traces decolonization before, during and after the First Indochina War (1946-1954) in Tonkin, Annam, Cochin

and led the *Partai Rakyat Brunei* (People's Party of Brunei) revolt in December 1962. With Azahari's uprising quickly suppressed, the Sultan of Brunei refused to join Malaysia. Thus, Brunei's oil field revenues were denied to the expanded aggregation of former British colonies. Meanwhile, in 1962 and 1963, President Diosdado Macapagal's assertion of a longstanding dormant claim to Sabah (North Borneo) promoted yet another vision of decolonization. In 1963, Macapagal's efforts forced a postponement of the formation of Malaysia

in the post-World War II era, the ideology of regionalism cloaked the formation of anticommunist, intergovernmental Asian organisations with the fiction that they were apolitical and independent from outside influence

China, Laos and Cambodia. Marc Frey looks at the Indonesian revolution and the fall of the Dutch empire. He shows how suppression of a communist revolt by Republic of Indonesia forces certified Sukarno's reliability, and gave the U.S. the opportunity to withdraw support from the Dutch.

British colonies

The third unit (Chapters 7-11) discusses decolonization of British colonies. Karl Hack calls for a new model to synthesize the competing 'imperial, globalization, colonial records, radical, counterinsurgency, diplomatic and nationalist' approaches (p. 121). Nicholas Tarling examines British inspired anti-communism and inter-governmental 'Asian cooperation', emphasizing British attempts to limit U.S. influence in Asia. Tan Tai Yong discusses the role of British policy and local politics in the creation of Malaysia from Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and (temporarily) Singapore in the period 1955-1961.

Since the chapter ranges a decade beyond its title's time frame, Yong might have mentioned Sheik A. M. Aza-

hari who opposed the proposed Malaysia and led the *Partai Rakyat Brunei* (People's Party of Brunei) revolt in December 1962. With Azahari's uprising quickly suppressed, the Sultan of Brunei refused to join Malaysia. Thus, Brunei's oil field revenues were denied to the expanded aggregation of former British colonies. Meanwhile, in 1962 and 1963, President Diosdado Macapagal's assertion of a longstanding dormant claim to Sabah (North Borneo) promoted yet another vision of decolonization. In 1963, Macapagal's efforts forced a postponement of the formation of Malaysia

by two and a half weeks. Yet Macapagal missed a chance to advocate a different road to decolonization for Sabah – independence from Britain, Malaysia and the Philippines. As of late 2004, none of Macapagal's successors have withdrawn the claim. In a fascinating microhistory of Malaya, Kumar Ramakrishna revises a historiography that insufficiently differentiated among the status, roles and activities of Chinese in rural Malaya during the twelve-year Emergency (1948-1960). Albert Lau reveals the contingency of constructed nationalism in the decolonization of Singapore. In the end, reluctance and rejection by Malay leaders became a driving force for decolonization in Singapore.

American involvement

In the fourth unit, Mark Philip Bradley reconsiders the American vision of post-colonial Vietnam. Robert J. McMahon discusses the role of the U.S. in Southeast Asia in the period 1945-1965. McMahon documents the racism that undercut the United States' ostensible commitment to freedom for colonised

peoples in Southeast Asia. Ronald W. Pruessen examines the shifting criteria invoked by the U.S. Department of State for supporting social movements for national independence – and encouraging them to acquiesce in *Pax Americana*. Pruessen comments, in 'John Foster Dulles's perception of the United States as the predominant manager' (p. 236), the French and Dutch were not adroit enough in shaping decolonization.

The politics of regionalism

In the post-World War II era, the ideology of regionalism cloaked the formation of anticommunist, intergovernmental Asian organisations with the fiction that they were apolitical and independent from outside influence. Kai Dreisbach surpasses promotionalist celebration of the origins of regional intergovernmental organisations in Southeast Asia. Earlier accounts of the inception of ASEAN by journalists and political scientists tended to accept promotionalist ASEAN historiography at face value and rarely considered evidence exposing covert U.S. advocacy of its formation (for example, Gordon 1963). Presenting an additional challenge to hagiographers, ASEAN's name and acronym were proposed four years before its establishment in 1967 by an American political scientist (Fifield 1963:425-426). Formed in late 1966, the South East Asian Association for Regional Cooperation shed its SEAARC acronym (pronounced 'shark'), reinventing itself more euphoniouly as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Manila Times Staff 1967:1). ASEAN strengthened anticommunist nationalist elites, complementing U.S. objectives. Although Dreisbach correctly states that newly elected President Marcos 'immediately tried to ease tensions with Malaysia' (p. 254), Marcos quickly lost enthusiasm. Reversing course within less than two years, he had commandos training to infiltrate Sabah. Indeed, according to a longtime political associate interviewed by this reviewer, Marcos was said to irritate Malaysian officials (Pollard 2004:40-42). Overall, Dreisbach's chapter is a jewel.

During the Cold War, Asian nationalists advocating decolonization chose among competing visions and strate-

gies for modernization. Agriculture and especially paddy production were crucial battlegrounds. Nick Cullather examines political, economic and technical developments driving genetically modified agriculture in Southeast Asia. While previous literature emphasizes American input, Cullather includes local elites. The introduction to this interesting chapter might have made explicit its thematic links to earlier parts of the book.

Wang Gungwu's 'Afterword: The Limits of Decolonization' briefly reflects on previous chapters. Lacking an alphabetized reference list of works cited in sixty-five densely packed pages of endnotes, the book has a helpful index. The volume will inspire other multi-level studies of decolonization and enhance reading lists in social and international history, comparative politics and political economy. <

- Marc Frey, Ronald W. Pruessen, and Tai Yong Tan, eds., 2003. *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization*. Armonk, New York and London: M. E. Sharpe. Endnotes, index. Paper ISBN 0-0-7656-1140-6

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Circumambulations in South Asian history

Review >
South Asia

As recent events in the Middle East demonstrate, warfare and economics are perennially powerful forces in the shaping of history. Commercial imperatives can demand military solutions to problems of supply and demand, while the waging of war is itself a complex economic procedure. At the same time, the militarisation of specific social groups or geographic regions can have profound effects on the evolution of cultural identities and the organisation of social life.

By Nile Green

In his *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), Dirk Kolff re-framed the military history of India with his model of the military labour market in North India which drew on an armed peasantry, and helped shape group identities ('rajput' in particular). By re-conceptualising the military world of early modern India into which Britain and its colonial competitors entered, Kolff and others have been able to re-assess the impact of colonial rule. As a tribute to Kolff on his retirement from Leiden, the fourteen essays gathered in *Circumambulations* are a fitting blend of military history, colonial engagement and related theoretical issues. Jos Gommans appropriately places Kolff within a Dutch Indological tradition and traces his intellectual genealogy therein. Co-editor Om Prakash completes the introductory section with a survey and appraisal of the contributions.

The studies begin with Jan Heesterman's essay. Heesterman argues that, paradoxically, the impact of Islam as an integrative force in the Indian Ocean world was limited in India since coastal towns lacked the urban institutions to spread Islam beyond the coastal littoral. Some readers may find that his notion of the 'typically urban imprint' of Islam smacks of the essentialist assumptions that Kolff has done so much to shatter.

European impact

The following five essays discuss the early impact of the European presence in India. Hans van Santen makes use of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) archives to argue for a greater impact of the Dutch in North India, via an examination of their dealings with a leading Gujarati entrepreneur, Virji Vohra, in the 1630s. René Barendse reflects on Kolff's work on the transition of the armed peasant to the 'modern' sepoy through examination of the role of Indian troops in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, arguing that 'not merely the British but all major European states in Asia ... turned into "military fiscal" states in the eighteenth century' (p. 70).

Mark de Lannoy and Hugo s'Jacob draw again on VOC archives to examine the machinery of bureaucracy behind two major Dutch military disasters, describing respectively the trials following the catastrophic Dutch war with Travancore in 1739 and the rationale behind the disastrous VOC expedition in Bengal in 1759. Bhaswati Bhattacharya's contribution on the eighteenth century Armenian 'adventurer' Khoja Gregory marks the transition between the military history of the colonial regimes and earlier Indian kingdoms, re-assessing Khoja Gregory's career as military ad-

Portrait of Shaistah Khan



Courtesy of the Kern Institute, Leiden University, the Netherlands

sor to the last independent nawabs of Bengal.

Warrior states

Three of the most noteworthy contributions echo Kolff's work on the pre-colonial organisation of military manpower. Simon Digby employs two new Indo-Persian sources to examine an important military episode in the often-neglected history of the Sultanate of Jawnpur. Assembling a new chronological sequence for the revolt against the Lodi rulers in 1489, Digby expands on Kolff's work by arguing that the revolt shows how 'effective military manpower could be raised from the armed peasantry of Awadh at the date of the rebellion to establish an effective administration' (p. 160).

In the following essay, Jos Gommans expands Kolff's insights into another neglected regional polity, the Bangash nawabs of Farukhabad, to present a case-study of Indian military slavery that was 'only for a relatively short time able to succeed and as such it always remained a predominantly Middle Eastern phenomenon' (p. 214). Scholars of the warrior and successor states of the eighteenth century will be intrigued by Gommans's explication of the *chela* (elite slave) system, which recounts the history of Farukhabad and examines questions of Indo-Afghan group identity. In the third essay in this section, Godard Schokker examines Braj sources on the history of Bundelkhand, using genealogical poetry to explore the self-perceptions of its rulers and shed light on their relationship with brahmins.

Dickens and Tod

Two further contributions address the careers of two of the least and best known British colonial servants in India. Echoing Edward Said's claims in

Culture and Imperialism, Dick Kooiman discusses Charles Dickens' connections and attitudes to India through the brief Indian career of his son, Walter. Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph in like manner interpret James Tod's formative colonial study of Rajasthan, using this and other sources to present Tod as a romantic nationalist entwined in the politics of John Company. Victor van Bijlert and Jan Brouwer present theoretical essays respectively addressing the impact and meaning of the idea of modernity and of modern communication media in India. The volume is concluded with Dietmar Rothermund's summary of the history of warfare in South Asia from chariot to atom bomb.

Both colonial and Indo-Muslim historians will find something of interest in this volume for which delight clearly lies in the detail, while those with less specialised interests will benefit from the more general articles. Given the prestige of the publishing house, the number of typographic errors (over three dozen) and the presence of more than one incomprehensible sentence is disappointing. On the whole, however, the editors are to be congratulated for commissioning and collecting a series of studies that complement so neatly the work of the scholar to whom they are dedicated. ◀

- Gommans, Jos and Prakash, Om, eds., 2003. *Circumambulations in South Asian History: Essays in Honour of Dirk H.A. Kolff*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, pp. 370, ISBN 90 04 13155 8 (hardback).

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Traditional Malay

It is not an every day event that a book on Malay literature sees the light. It is even more rare for such a book to appear in English. Previous works on classical Malay literature were often 'one-sided, racially prejudiced, and tended to deny the intellectual originality of indigenous Malays' (p. xiii). The current volume is an effort to redress this situation.

Review >
Southeast Asia

By Dick van der Meij

Looking at the title of the book, we see that the term 'classical' has been replaced by 'traditional', implying Malay literature is part of a continuing tradition. 'Classical' presupposes that much of this literature is 'ancient', which it is not. If we look, especially, in the field of so-called *pantuns* (short Malay verses), we see that this tradition has never ended. This was crystal clear on a recent trip I made to Riau in North Sumatra for a seminar on the revitalization of Malay culture. Many of the lectures were preceded by *pantuns*, as was the opening speech of the (Balinese) Indonesian Minister of Culture and Tourism, causing much admiration among the predominantly Malay audience.

*Golden langsat fruit peer out through the leaves
The pink rhododendron had ceased to flower
Now I have you my groomsmen stand ready
I do not need my horns the war is over.*

The attention paid to the many kinds of indigenous short verse is a welcome addition to the existing literature, which has paid scant attention to this particular type of expression. Also new in this book is the space devoted to placing Malay literature in its wider cultural context, be it Malaysia, Indonesia, or other Southeast Asian countries by referring to stories going back to the Indian classics Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the so-called Panji cycle, to substantiate its claims of inter-textuality. And in distinction to most other general works on Malay literature, the book devotes considerably more space to texts with Islamic content. The authors rightfully points to both the destructive role of Islam in the Malay literary field ('Islam has destroyed many myths which once prevailed in the Malay world and dimin-

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literature

ished the importance of still others' p. 98) and its positive role ('Islam has been more than a cultural presence; it has transformed Malay phenomenon into a wide-ranging phenomenon, which has become enormously productive and rich' p. 25).

Books presenting an overall picture of the literature of South-east Asian nations are much in need, not only for literatures in national languages, but also for literatures in indigenous non-national languages such as Javanese, Sundanese and the many other languages of this vast area. These literatures have influenced each other since time immemorial; general works would facilitate a better understanding of this fact. *Traditional Malay Literature* is a start for an important part of these literatures and as such a welcome introduction – not only for Western scholars, but for interested people in the region itself.

However, and despite its claims to the contrary, *Traditional Malay Literature* seems to be a continuation of the way this literature has been understood for a long time – an amalgam of Hindu and Arabic literature augmented by indigenous literary material. The categories used in this book do not seem very new, although the presentation is much more theoretically structured.

I am sorry to say that a few things have gone quite wrong in this book. Almost all Dutch titles mentioned in the bibliography have typographic errors. Further, many works mentioned in the book are not found in the bibliography. In an English-language book, clearly intended for non-Malay speakers, a comprehensive list of translations of Malay literary works would have been extremely useful. In the present work, many foreign editions go unmentioned in the text and are therefore not to be found in the bibliography.

*The handkerchief had a red border,
I set foot aboard your boat,
If my hand is wounded,
red blood will flow
If you break my heart no one will know.*

It is a pity that the authors have not updated the book since its previous publication in Malay in the 1990s. As a result, two voluminous works by internationally acclaimed specialists have been left out of the discussion. The first is Teuku Iskandar's *Kesusastaan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* (Classical Malay Literature through the Ages), 684 pages, Brunei Darussalam 1995; the second is V.I. Braginsky's *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal. Sejarah Sastra Melayu Dalam Abad 7-19* (The Beautiful, Meritorious, and Perfect. Malay Literature from the Seventh to the Nineteenth Century), 695 pages, Jakarta/Leiden, INIS 1998. Lack of updating has also left out the catalogues of Malay manuscripts in the library of Leiden University and other collections in the Netherlands written by Teuku Iskandar and Edwin Wieringa. For reasons unclear to me, numerous works of Braginsky have been ignored, which is a pity as his views on Malay literature add much to our understanding.

To conclude, my reservations above notwithstanding, *Traditional Malay Literature* is a welcome addition to what has been written on Malay literature to date, especially as, written in English, it can reach a wide audience. The book also shows that much work still needs to be done to come to grips with this much-neglected part of world literature. ◀

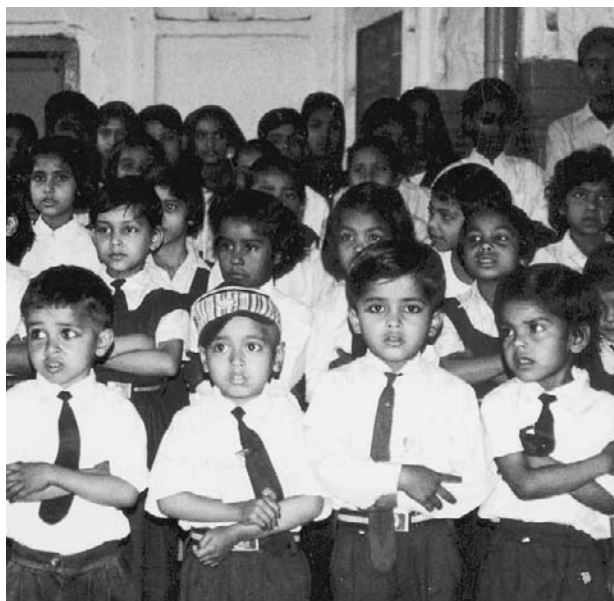
- Harun Mat Piah et al., 2002. *Traditional Malay Literature*. 2nd ed. (trans. Harry Aveling). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp564, ISBN: 983-627202-X

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Agency denied

Review >
India

Indian anthropology has long been preoccupied with the study of caste (hence Hinduism), tribe, village, family and kinship. In particular, caste and tribe have been its obsession. Padma Sarangapani's *Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village* is welcome as it moves away from the beaten path and signals a diversification of anthropology's thematic interests.



Children singing prayer song in a Jamaat-e-Islami school in Aligarh, India

By Irfan Ahmad

I picked up the book hoping it would offer more than thematic novelty. On reading, however, I was disappointed. To start, the book does not have a well-formulated hypothesis to prove, modify or dislodge. In fact, it does not have a precise question to engage. 'What is the nature of the child's construction of school knowledge' (p. 240) in a government primary school situated in Kasimpura, a village on the northern outskirts of Delhi, is a hazily broad question. What is more, the question is not situated in relation to a body of scholarly work in the anthropology of education. Instead, it is counter-posed to common sense and popular understanding, including that of government officials (pp. 10-13). Thus theoretically, the aim of the book is not very challenging. The

the notion of childhood in Kasimpur, upheld by the adult patriarchy and equally endorsed by children, is that of a transitory phase to the more durable role of adult homo economicus

chapter on the 'theoretical framework' appears as a mere appendix. It is the shortest of all, of no more than five pages.

Children's perspective

The author is concerned with 'constructing common school knowledge' of two kinds. First, what is the ethos of the school, its web of inter-relationships between teacher and pupil and the pedagogic discourse and practices that surround it? Second, what goes into the making of the school curriculum? In approaching these questions, Sarangapani declares that her interpretation of data and ethnography are biased in favour of the child's perspective (p. 15). The focus on children's perspective is theoretically informed by what she calls a 'social constructionist framework' (p. 266) where meanings children attach to various practices and ideologies are brought to the forefront of discussion rather than glossed over or pushed to the periphery of debate. The book is thus about foregrounding the agency and intentionality of humans (p. 267), in this case children.

Bada admi

The first four empirical chapters which address the first set of questions are ethnographically rich. The conclusion one draws from them is that the reason why students want to go to school, or their parents send them, is to become economically a big man, *bada admi* (chapter 3). The notion of childhood in Kasimpur, upheld by the adult patriarchy and equally endorsed by children, is that of a transitory phase to the more durable role of adult *homo economicus* (chapter 4); there is a value system shared by the school teachers as well as the local community which morally bestows the former with brutal power to discipline and control children who un-rebelliously acquiesce to them (chapter 5); the process of teaching and learning in the classrooms privileges teachers as epistemic-moral divines and renders the children passive recipients (chapter 6); and the principal mechanism of learning in the school is to cram or rote memorize the printed words in text books without bothering to comprehend them (chapter 7).

Intentionality and agency

One does not necessarily have to be a specialist to arrive at her conclusions. They are fairly obvious facts of government-run schools in north India. What is, however, interesting to ask in the light of Sarangapani's theoretical framework is: where does the intentionality and agency of the children appear in her descriptions? If children's perspective is also that of the schoolteachers and local community at large, as her fieldwork generated accounts so elaborately show,

temology of teachers/textbooks or the society at large voiced by children?

We learn that children at Kasimpura school have little agency. Their pre- or non-school cultural resources have no relevance to the school curriculum. There is no counter culture of students in the school (p. 120). They always submit to their gurus. Yet, Sarangapani promises readers to offer the viewpoints of children and highlight their agency in the construction of school knowledge. The gulf between the theory and descriptions is thus stark. One imagines that the agency of children would have become more apparent had she paid attention to the hidden curriculum and co-curricular activities of the school.¹

Another theoretical weakness is the book's unquestioned acceptance of the widely accepted categories of indigenous Hinduism-based education standing in contrast to the liberal-modernist-enlightenment view of education (pp. 176-80, 255 ff). In recent scholarship it has been argued that what passes off as an indigenous or purely Hindu worldview is indeed a construction of nineteenth century religious reform movements which in turn were deeply influenced by the conceptual vocabulary of the Western Enlightenment.² Parenthetically, one is left wondering whether the few Muslim students whom Sarangapani peripherally mentions also relate themselves to the Hinduism-based indigenous framework. If not, why has their framework, perhaps an Islamic one, not been discussed?

The book thus appeals more to a practice-oriented audience, i.e. policy makers of primary education than to 'pure' academics. This also seems to be one of the principal audiences the author seeks to address. ◀

- Sarangapani, Padma M., 2003. *Constructing School Knowledge: An Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. Pp. 308. ISBN 0-7619-9671-0 (Hb) (US), 81-7829-135-5 (Hb) (India)

Notes

1. See, for instance, Schifffauer, Werner, et al, eds., 2004. *Civil Enculturation: Nation-State, Schools and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*. New York: Berghahn Books.
2. Van der Veer, Peter, 2001. *Imperial Encounter: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade

Review >
India - China

Until recently, pre-modern and early modern China was thought to have been culturally and politically isolated outside East Asia. The Middle Kingdom, in fact, engaged with Central, South, and Southeast Asia through cultural, religious and economic ties through most of its documented history.

By Hasan Karrar

In keeping with this new emphasis in Sinology, San Tansen makes important contributions to our body of knowledge by exploring Sino-Indian relations between the years 600 and 1400. Covering a span of close to a millennium, this bold study will be of interest to scholars of China, South Asia, Central Asia, Buddhism and cross-cultural interaction in Eurasia.

Silk Road trade

Chronologically, Tansen's study begins where Liu Xinru's earlier study on ancient China and India ends. In *Ancient India and Ancient China*, Liu explored the economic and cultural relations between the two civilizations, arguing that Buddhism was crucial to the development of trade from the beginning of the Common Era to the year 600. Demonstrating that the role of foreign luxury goods was inseparable from the growing popularity of Buddhism in China, this little known study made an important contribution to the specialized literature on Silk Road trade in the pre-Tang era.

In the present study, Tansen sees Sino-Indian relations as going through two distinct phases. In the first, which lasts till the eighth century, Buddhism was an important component in Sino-Indian relations. By the ninth century, the emphasis on Buddhist transmission from India diminished, as China began to be seen as an important centre for Buddhist learning in its own right.

Mount Wutai

From the beginning to the middle of the seventh century, India was considered the centre of Buddhist learning while China suffered from what Tansen describes as a 'borderland complex'. Scores of Chinese monks made the arduous journey to India in search of scriptures and to visit the land where Buddhism originated. By the eighth century, this equilibrium began to shift. With the revival of Brahmanism, and to a lesser degree, the encroachment of Arab power on the Indian subcontinent,

from the beginning to the middle of the seventh century, India was considered the centre of Buddhist learning while China suffered from what Tansen describes as a 'borderland complex'

the role of Buddhism in India's cultural and social life declined. Simultaneously, China rapidly overcame its borderland complex with the growing popularity of Manjusari and the development of Mount Wutai as a place of pilgrimage (including pilgrims from India). No doubt the transmission of Buddhism from China to other parts of East Asia also contributed to the increasing perception of China as a genuine centre of Buddhism. With pilgrims from India and other parts of East Asia now making the journey to China, the Middle Kingdom became the centre of the Buddhist world.

State sponsorship

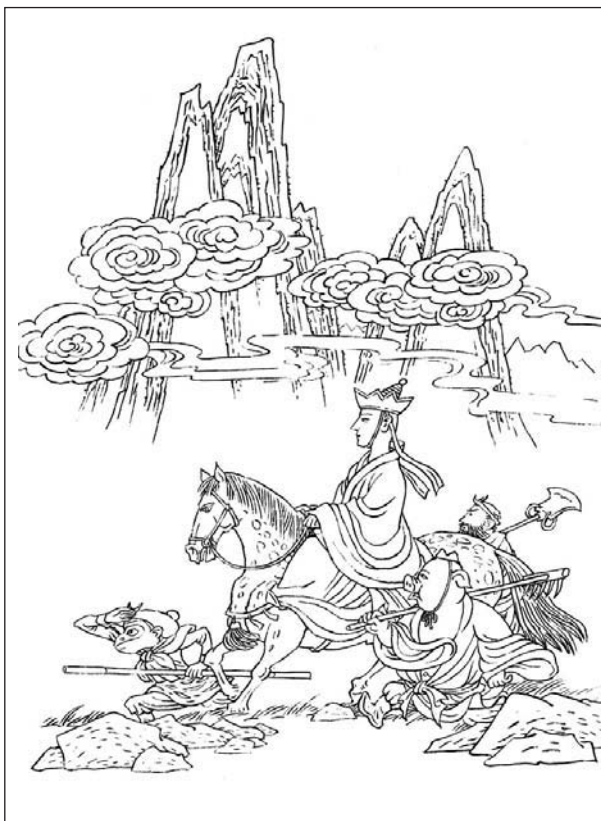
After the eighth century, Buddhism began to play a diminished role in Sino-Indian relations, though its role by no means disappeared. Now largely localized within East Asia, Buddhism survived the fall of the Tang dynasty at the beginning of the tenth century and, as Tansen convincingly demonstrates, remained influential during the Song dynasty, though this is probably more true for the Northern Song. Under the Northern Song, the state continued to sponsor the study of Buddhism and employ Sanskrit scholars. The influx of Inner Asian peoples into first, the periphery, and then into the heartland of China with the establishment of the Liao, the Jin, and the Xi Xia dynasties, ensured continuing interest in Buddhism. For a while, China was an important source of Buddhist documents for kingdoms such as the Liao. But the encircling of China by Inner Asian kingdoms was detrimental to China; besides the obvious military threat the Inner Asian kingdoms posed, the Song dynasty was now cut off from South Asia.

At this point, Tansen's historical chronology falters. The fall of the Song dynasty and the establishment of the Yuan dynasty are given little treatment even though these events fall within Tansen's timeframe. Also, during the Yuan dynasty, Buddhism, albeit Tibetan Buddhism, reached new levels of popularity in China and amongst Mongols on the steppes. More could possibly have been said about this. The nexus of Buddhism, diplomacy and trade continued, though to be fair to Tansen, it was reoriented away from its earlier Sino-Indian domain.

A world system?

Towards the end of his study Tansen attempts to place his study within a world systems perspective by drawing on the influential works of Janet Abu-Lughod and Andre Gunder Frank. In their studies, Abu-Lughod and Frank argue that the Eurasian landmass was highly interconnected through trade prior to the advent of European hege-

mony in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century. Abu-Lughod argues for the presence of a world system dating back to 1250; Frank suggests that the presence of such a world system may have its roots yet further back in history. While these scholars have pioneered in developing our understanding of cross-cultural linkages in pre-modern Eurasia, this reader is uncertain whether this discussion adds much value to Tansen's study. Eurasia was economically integrated not only from the year 1250, but from at least the beginning of the Common Era as historians of the Silk Road have long



By Fan Jianping

shown. Indeed, this comes across in Tansen's study too.

Pilgrimage to the West

Tansen's study at times suffers from unevenness when providing detail. Specialists may find not enough in certain areas, on Buddhist doctrines, for example. Non-experts may find parts of the book difficult to follow, such as the discussions on the Central Asian city-states and their role on the Silk Road. These caveats notwithstanding, most scholars will welcome Tansen's effort. Given his broad scope and his sound understanding of the issues under consideration, Tansen has made an important contribution to our understanding of cultural and political ties between China and India. This is indeed a noteworthy achievement and a significant addition to the field. <

- Sen Tansen, 2003. *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: the realignment of Sino-Indian relations 600-1400*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press and Association for Asian Studies, ISBN 0-8248-2593-4, pp 388.

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Encyclopedia of

Review >
Reference

'What is Asia?' ask the editors David Levinson and Karen Christensen in the preface of the Thomson/Gale *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*, a massive six-volume work published in 2002. Their answer: 'There is no single historical or modern feature that defines or unites all of Asia.' Still, the thirty-three nations that comprise East, Southeast, South, Central and West-Southwest Asia (including Turkey, Iran and Iraq) are covered in this work that contains over 2,600 entries, 1,300 illustrations, 90 maps and 2.2 million words.

By Hendrik E. Niemeijer

Some eight hundred scholars address economics, religion, technology, politics, education, the family, the arts, environmental issues, international relations, the development of sciences and so forth – a massive work achieved in an amazingly short time by one of the largest publishers in the USA. The encyclopedia gives plenty of space to the diversity of modern, that is, twentieth-century Asia. Sometimes this diversity is explained historically, in so far as earlier events have continuing impact. The emphasis on interactions and relationships serves as the 'defining feature of our meaning of modern'. The encyclopedia also aims 'to describe and explain Asia as Asians see and experience it', thus promising fresh insights to students and non-specialist readers.

General topics have been defined to cover the sub-regions and nations: Ethnicity, Marriage and Family, Significant People, Religion and Philosophy, Government, Politics and Law and so on. Apart from this, there are some pan-Asian articles on environmental issues, organisations such as the IMF, and pan-Asian trends such as AIDS.

Quick information

Although the encyclopedia's organizing principles are defensible, it is more eclectic than systematic or scientific. This becomes clear with the Reader's Guide within each of the volumes, which can be used together with the good, detailed index at the end of Vol. 6. Let us take a few samples. When looking under Southeast Asia, Government, Politics, and Law, Indonesia, one finds several topics not relevant to Modern Asia, for instance the Amboina Massacre of 1623. Looking (again: Southeast Asia) at Peoples, Cultures, and Society, Philippines, one only finds Godparenthood. The article on Godparenthood can be found in Vol. 2 where compadrazgo is explained. Is that all on Philippine Peoples, Cultures, and Society? No, one better goes directly to Vol. 4 where one can find a series of interesting articles on Philippine Languages and several composite articles: Philippines – Profile, Philippines – Economic System, Philippines – Education System, Philippines – History, to mention the most important. The Profile articles are to the point and helpful for getting quick information.

Where is the Buddha?

If these composite articles are useful to the general reader, how useful are the articles on the main topics? Let's take another sample: Buddhism? The index promises much information on Buddhism. The articles on Buddhism (Vol. 1 pp. 333-369) cover Central Asia, China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, South Asia, and Southeast Asia (Theravada) of which – curiously enough – only Vietnam is dealt with separately. Although the articles are informative on the historical backgrounds, beliefs and practices, one learns practically nothing about Buddhism in modern China, while Myanmar and Thailand are incorporated into a general article on Buddhism in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately the section on Southeast Asia, Religion and Philosophy, Myanmar, only offers articles on Christianity, Islam and Spirit Cults. Perhaps Thailand? Under Thailand – Profile (Vol. 5 pp. 453-454) we finally find two meagre lines beginning with the sentence 'About 95 percent of the Thai people are Buddhists.' The index at the end of Vol. 6 does not bring us any closer to Buddhism in these two important Buddhist countries – a serious omission. A few lines on Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha) by another Western scholar makes us realize that this encyclopedia would have looked very different if Asian scholars had written on a topic like Buddhism. At this point, Buddhist Asia certainly does not look like Asia 'as Asians see and experience it'.

It is easy to trace omissions in an encyclopedia which is the result of a rapid and digitized business. A quick appearance on the worldwide market then prevails over scrutiny. But the

Modern Asia

publisher could easily have traced the main omissions before publication. Hopefully future editions will be more scholarly without losing its audience of non-specialist readers. The selection of topics could have been more careful, to avoid omissions and the appearance of irrelevant topics. The input of Asian scholars should also be increased.

On the desk of every policy maker

Of course there are many positive things to be said as well. One really needs to go through this encyclopedia oneself to realize that it should be on the desk of every policy maker and newspaper editor dealing with Asia. A positive point, for instance, is that space is devoted to countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan; it also recognizes the influence of Persian culture and language in Asia. The many articles on international relations are helpful to get quick overviews of tensions and conflicts and are thus useful for journalists. The work also gives ample space to modern art, paintings, literature, and languages. Quick historical overviews in tables are attractive to look at. This encyclopedia is thus more balanced than traditional encyclopedias which tended to focus on persons, events, economic matters and trade.

Back to the question: 'What is Asia?' The Editors have answered the question by saying that diversity matters a great deal. After all, Asia is a construct. They also write: 'Perhaps the one factor common to all of Asia in 2002 is contact with the West and reactions to Westernization.' To focus on this perspective would demand a different encyclopedia, one more focused on Western colonization and global interaction. Thomson/Gale has indeed decided to publish an Encyclopedia on Western Colonialism since 1450 as well (expected in 2006). ◀

- Levinson, David and Karen Christensen, eds., 2002. *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 6 Vols., pp. 3268, ISBN 0-684-80617-7 (hardcover)

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The Eurasian Space

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), officially established in 1996, is an inter-regional forum which now consists of the 25 members states of the European Union and the European Commission, the 10 member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, Japan and South Korea.

In the second volume of the IIAS/ISEAS Series, *The Eurasian Space. Far More Than Two Continents*, scholars from Asia and Europe examine the engagement between the two continents, highlighting how the ASEM process has enhanced political, economic and cultural ties between various Asian and European countries. The authors address questions such as: how does the Euro fit into East Asian monetary co-operation? How does ASEM influence the construction of East Asian identities? What is the ASEM factor in the formulation of the new Chinese foreign policy?

ASEM is wrongly a little-known process, as it plays a key role in formulating the emerging multilateralist world order of the 21st century. That is has travelled this far, and has spawned a network of interested people, research institutions and civil society organizations, holds promise for the future.

Stokhof, Wim, Paul van der Velde and Yeo Lay Hwee (eds.)

The Eurasian Space: Far More Than Two Continents
Leiden/Singapore: IIAS/ISEAS (2004), pp. 216, tables,
ISBN 981-230-255-7

The melodrama of South Korean modernity

Review >
South Korea

Three decades of urbanisation and rapid industrialisation in South Korea have generated a number of myths, including the assumption that there now exist greater opportunities for upward social mobility. A new book challenges this assumption, focusing on 'melodrama' – fictional and non-fictional stories told by and about women – to capture what traditional scholarship has left out.



Four women c. 1940, Los Angeles, from the collection of Helen Paik Chen

By Suzana Dudic

A husband and wife, he having just quit his job as a policeman, head for South Korea's coast to make a fresh start to their lives. Carrying her husband's severance pay, the wife begins chatting with a stranger at a bus station, only to discover later that her pocket book with their lifesavings is gone. The promise of a new life shattered, the couple become peddlers as their marriage breaks down, and the husband eventually leaves his wife for another woman.

The stuff of soap operas, perhaps. But according to anthropologist Nancy Abelman in *The Melodrama of Mobility: Women, Talk and Class in Contemporary South Korea*, women's real-life narratives, such as this one, are much more. Abelman argues that the 'private talk' of women offers an alternative window to look at the very public story of the country's rapid industrialisation and economic transformation since the 1960s, one which has been left out of virtually all mainstream studies on the subject.

The narrators are eight women in their fifties and sixties of different social standing, whom Abelman refers to by nicknames such as 'The Education Mother', 'Hye-min's Grandmother', 'Mrs. Pak', 'The Janitor' and 'The Moviegoer'. Women of this age group were selected because their lives have run parallel to key events in South Korea's history: Japanese occupation, war, the peninsula's partition, authoritarian regimes and opposition movements, and what anthropologists have dubbed the country's 'compressed modernity' in three decades of social, political and economic transformation.

these tales deal with aspirations to upward social mobility and dislocations of identity that occur during periods of profound social change

In Abelman's hands, these women's tales are not simply chronological 'life stories', but 'social mobility stories'. That is, they deal with ideologically-shaped expectations and aspirations to upward social mobility, and with the dislocations of identity that occur during periods of profound social change. Further, they show how the female characters in the stories, like the characters in soap operas popular among South Korea's female audiences, must learn and re-learn the 'key words' of the day as indices for advancement in a highly patriarchal society.

Personality and persimmons

Playing away the top layer of melodrama, Abelman probes deeper, beginning with the perception that a set of psychological traits describing an individual can be the source of one's social fate. Personality here is viewed as a product of (specific) family and (shared) social histories, filtered by gender. The Education Mother, for instance, the narrator of the story above

and the sister of its female protagonist, explains that the reason behind the tragedy of the lost money that set off the downward spiral of her sister's life lay neither in bad luck, nor in the malevolent intentions of a thief. Instead, it lay in the tragic flaws of her sister's 'boyish personality' and her 'impertinence and impropriety', qualities that are anathema to 'femininity' in Korean culture. Also part of the tragedy, the Education Mother continues, was her sister's rebelliousness against the 'ignorant ambition' of their mother, who privileged her daughter's policeman-suitors' *yangban* heritage, a hereditary nobility of a 'bygone era', instead of paying more attention to his 'lowly' profession.

Hye-min's Grandmother expresses differences in personality types using the metaphor of a persimmon: the person who waits for it to fall compared with the person who snatches it off the tree. She also notes the need to adapt to the 'key words' of the day: 'In this day and age... land alone will not suffice – a person has to be on the ball and impatient with things in order to succeed...' Meanwhile, the Laundress, labouring with pride at her sewing machine 'under the glare of a light bulb covered by a makeshift hat' bemoans her ill-fated marriage, but does not blame others for the fact that the selection of her partner was not her own. Adopting what Adelman calls 'a narrative perspective of selfhood', identity here is not a static construct but a dynamic one, and through the characters' experiences of work, education (especially their children's), marriage and kinship relations, changes to perceptions of class and identity can be observed. The characters can then be understood as 'social products unfurling in the vicissitudes of particular social times'.

Storytelling and scholarship

The main strength of *The Melodrama of Mobility* lies in Abelman's going beyond simply making a collage of 'women's voices' to add to the existing scholarship on three decades of South Korean history. Instead, she uses narrative to underline the need to avoid oversimplifying the changes that the country's 'development' has brought to its people. At the same time, it is Abelman the ethnographer who emerges as the book's central storyteller. She outlines how she came to meet each of the women and the nature of their relationship, and how the idea for the book emerged from observations during earlier fieldwork of 'the visceral class prejudice for farmers' manners, looks and ways of being' by the 'urban middle class'.

However, her storytelling style, paraphrasing to emphasise rather than including more direct quotations from the oral histories, ultimately drowns out the eight main Korean storytellers, and also makes the work less accessible to non-specialists. This is unfortunate, given that the book provides much substance in answering the question Abelman sets out in her introduction, about what this type of ethnography can offer to learning about South Korea's story: a means to go beyond traditional analyses of its 'developmental success' by looking at the everyday drama of its people. ◀

- Abelman, Nancy, 2003. *The Melodrama of Mobility: Women, Talk and Class in Contemporary South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 325 pp., ISBN 0-8248-2596-9.

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Social movements in India

Review >
India

The study of social movements has changed the disciplinary orientation of the social sciences in India. The present volume is a comprehensive introduction to the field, and to debates among political scientists, historians, anthropologists and sociologists.

By Manish K. Thakur

While *Social Movements in India* is a by-product of the Indian Council of Social Science Research's survey of the literature in political science, it is not confined to the works of political scientists. Within its scope are studies on social movements since the establishment of the British *Raj*.

Besides the introduction and 'conclusions and future research', the volume contains nine chapters focusing on peasant, tribal, Dalit, backward caste/class, women's, industrial working class, students', middle class, and human rights and environmental movements. The introduction traces the genesis of social movement studies over the past three decades in relation to the trajectories of social science disciplines in India. It also touches upon the problematic of 'old' and 'new' movements, though very briefly, as 'this monograph is a review of literature and not a research study and analysis of social movements in India' (p. 18).

A late entrant

The author is quite right in asserting that social movement studies crystallised on the Indian academic scene with the emergence of the new sub-

discipline of political sociology. Shah is candid in his admission that political science has been a late entrant to the field, as that it has concentrated more on the 'inner conflicts of power elites' (p. 12) than on conflicts between elites and masses. The author at times goes too far in his enthusiastic contextualisation of movement studies. For example, he blames Indian scholars' indifference to various movements to explain the near absence of social movements literature in the first few decades after independence: 'The Indian scholars who approved of the agitations for independence from foreign rule, did not approve of agitations in the post-independence period' (p. 25).

The chapters on the Dalit, women's and student movements are particularly interesting. Quoting Gail Omvedt, Shah concludes on the Dalit movements: 'The "post-Ambedkar Dalit movement" was ironically only that in the end – a movement of Dalits, challenging some of the deepest aspects of oppression and exploitation, but failing to show the way to transformation' (p. 131). Likewise, Shah invokes Epstein to characterise contemporary women's movements in India as 'more an idea than a movement' (p. 170). His comments on the

diminishing scholarly interest in student movements are particularly apt: 'since the mid-1980s, as student movements are almost absent in the university campuses, the interest of social scientists in the area is also waning' (p. 217). In addressing middle class movements, Shah questions why nativist movements emerge and sustain themselves in certain states of the Indian Union and not others.

Missing theory

In his concluding note, Shah underlines the dearth of theoretical studies on social movements in India. Indian scholars' attempts to theorise social movements have, in fact, never moved beyond typologies and classifications. The typologies offered remain too problematic to be theoretically useful. The definition of concepts, too, lacks rigour and precision. No wonder, as one witnesses in the literature the interchangeable use of 'movement', 'agitation', 'revolution', 'protest', 'social movement' and 'political movement'. Another grey area concerns methodological issues of data collection and the scale and level of observation and analysis. With the growing popularity and consolidation of the field, a formulaic treatment of social movements is discernable among the studies – certain

movements get designated mass movements on the predilections of individual researchers.

Shah has pointedly brought out the unevenness of content in the existing literature. Peasant movements, for example, have attracted much scholarly attention whereas work on working class movements lags behind. The coverage of regions also varies – peasant movements in Orissa, Gujarat, Karnataka, and Madhya Pradesh have not been adequately studied. Similarly, tribal movements in the Northeastern states, Rajasthan and Orissa have received less scholarly attention. Movements of agricultural labourers, fishermen and forest workers have yet to be systematically studied by social scientists.

Given its extensive coverage of the field, the present volume offers a dependable point of entry for undergraduates and a resource for specialists interested in reviewing critical debates without scurrying for disparate works in the field. Besides being a valuable bibliographic guide to an unwieldy field, its brevity of presentation and lucidity of style make it an ideal textbook for graduate students.

However, one is surprised to find so many proof-reading errors in an otherwise competent review of the literature:

Chakravarti becomes Chakravarthi (p. 78), Atis Dasgupta becomes Arts Dasgupta (p. 79), Henningham's 1979 paper appears in volume 16 of IESHR whereas his 1981 reference is in volume 13 of the same journal (p. 82), Mandal becomes Mandalb (p. 84), M.N. Karna becomes M.L. Karna (p.88 & p.179), S.K. Chaube becomes S.C. Chaube (p.110), 'and political' appears twice in the title against the editor's own 1975 reference (p. 145), CPI becomes CIP (p.160), and finally prawn becomes pawn (p. 257). On page 180 'modern powered industries ...in the mid-1950s of the nineteenth century', the opening sentence of Chapter 7, thoroughly confuses the reader. Surely, the production team at Sage have got to be more careful. <

Shah, Ghanshyam, 2004. *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature* (Second and Enlarged Edition). New Delhi: Sage Publications; Pp. 281, Rs. 550, ISBN 0-7619-9833-0 (hard cover).

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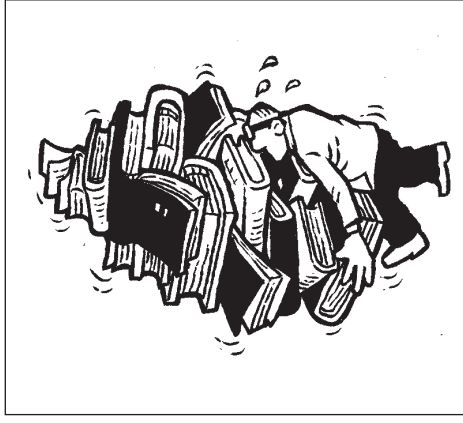
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New partner

A new research world

China gives high priority to enhancing its scientific competence. It invests large resources in scientific institutions and laboratories to foster a new, competitive generation of scientists. The aim is to make China a world-leading country in research and higher education. To achieve this, international co-operation is necessary, a fact increasingly recognised by leading research centres around the world.

Sweden is a small country with a long scientific tradition. It has recognised institutions and academies which for more than a century have been awarding the Nobel Prizes in physics, chemistry, medicine, and literature, and for more than three decades, in economics. Sweden needs new partners to maintain cutting-edge competence in strategic fields.

A plan will be launched in 2005-2006 to increase China-Sweden co-operation over the whole scientific field, including

Internationalisation as a vehicle for quality

The Swedish School of Advanced Asia-Pacific Studies

science, applied science, medicine and social and cultural research. A joint SSAAPS-Chinese Academy of Social Sciences workshop involving key social scientists on 'Economic development and its social costs' is projected for October 2005.

The Swedish School of Advanced Asia-Pacific Studies is a driving force behind the China-Sweden initiative. SSAAPS was established in 2001 to foster the strategic development of research related to Pacific Asia – the ASEAN countries, China, Japan and Korea. It emanates from Sweden's new Asia policy adopted by government and Parliament in 1999.

SSAAPS was set up by two of Sweden's major research foundations – the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education – and is linked to all major universities and research institutions in the country. The objective is to further develop Pacific Asian studies, support the best among the coming generation of scholars and promote research at the international frontline.

Research at SSAAPS

SSAAPS's PhD-fellowships are granted for four years, with a matched funding agreement with university partners. Competition is stiff – one out of ten applications are awarded. The School provides travel funds, supplementary supervision by internationally recognised scholars, intensive courses, dissertation workshops and support to publish reworked dissertations.

The School rides on a wave of a growing number of PhD degrees on Asian topics at Swedish universities. During 2001-2003, the number tripled to 80 from the previous three years. The range of disciplines has broadened and includes fields such as technology, medicine, biology, architecture and environmental research. There is also a growing Asia-interest in economics and political science.

SSAAPS's Post-doc Academy supports outstanding young researchers who have successfully completed their PhD degrees, and facilitates their placement in leading research institutes. The fellowships include resources for a compulsory one-year stay abroad at an international centre of excellence. Three to five new post-doc fellowships, granted through open, international competition, are planned for 2005-2007. Above the post-doc level, the long-term goal is to develop new research agendas at the international front-line in co-operation with leading senior scholars.

sation cannot be met by protectionism. Scholars must systematically relate to the demands, norms and examples of the international scholarly community.

This is the rationale behind SSAAPS's visiting fellows programme, research development ambitions and international publication support. It is also the reason why SSAAPS supports continued Nordic co-operation, has joined the European Alliance for Asian Studies and contributes financially to the Alliance's Asia-Europe Workshop Series in collaboration with the Asia-Europe Foundation.

It is SSAAPS's belief that the key to rejuvenate Asia-Pacific studies is to build strong relations with the new research environments growing in Asia. Like China, Singapore has the ambition to become a world-leading player in research and higher education. In addition to well-established centres such as the East Asia Institute of NUS, the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at Nanyang and the Institute of Southeast Asian studies, NUS has recently set up its Asia Research Institute and is building a new Institute of South Asian Studies. Together, these centres have the capacity to make Singapore in the coming years a world hub of Asian studies. For SSAAPS, scholarly exchange with this environment and development of joint research has high priority, as does linking-up with other fast-developing intellectual centres in the region. <

Internationalisation

SSAAPS is not a national Swedish endeavour. Asia-Pacific studies belong to the most internationalised parts of academia, where the key to academic success is internationally published and recognised research. Academic globali-

- For detailed information about SSAAPS, its programmes and Sweden's Asia policy, please see www.ssaaps.stint.se

Tommy Svensson is Director and co-ordinator of SSAAPS.

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Since its foundation in 1872 the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris* (Sciences Po) has established itself as one of the foremost universities in the social sciences in Europe. As part of its ongoing commitment to advancing scholarship concerning the study of Asia, Sciences Po inaugurated a Visiting Professorship programme in Asian Studies in 2003. This Chair is for specialists on Asia within the disciplines of political science, economics, international relations, sociology, political anthropology or contemporary history.

Applicants must either be of non-French nationality, or French nationals resident overseas. The visiting professorship is for a period of between two and six months with teaching of up to 20 hours in either English or French. The salary range is between €3,100 and €4,300 per month.

A Selection Committee will meet at the end of April 2005. Those applicants selected can teach within the next academic year, ie. from mid-October 2005 up until end May 2006.

1st March 2005, is the deadline for receiving applications to be sent to Prof. Jean-Marie Bouissou and Prof. Christophe Jaffrelot (directors of the Asia programme) CERI, 56, rue Jacob, 75006 Paris. Applications must include a complete curriculum vitae and a teaching proposal. These application files should be sent by email to: bouissou@ceri-sciences-po.org and jaffrelot@ceri-sciences-po.org

The administration of the Sciences Po Asia Chair is in the hands of the Asia-Europe Centre. Those applicants selected by the Academic Board should contact its director, Dr David Camroux, Asia-Europe Centre/CERI, 56, rue Jacob 75006 Paris (david.camroux@sciences-po.fr)

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The Public Sector in Urban Housing and Regeneration: converging and diverging experiences in Asia and Europe

ASEF >
Urban planning

Housing is a key contributor to urban revitalisation or decay. Slum clearance and regeneration, the displacement of the urban poor and social minorities, the replacement of low-rise, densely occupied streets with high-rise estates and environmental limitations on development – these issues are faced by Europe and Asia alike.

Annual ASEF / Alliance Asia-Europe
Workshop Series
12-14 July 2004
Beijing, China

By Anne Power, Bingqin Li and
Hyun-bang Shin

To address problems of urban decay and revitalisation, the public sector has to adopt new policies and practices. A fundamental challenge for the public sector is to recognise its limits and constraints, and to mobilise under-used resources. Researchers envisage a redefined role for the public sector, as an 'enabler' for the recipients of public services who have too often been regarded by policy-makers and practitioners in developing countries as passive objects. A key goal is to give people more choice and control over what happens.

Sustainable urban growth is a critical issue today, especially in rapidly urbanising, densely populated countries such as China and India. The rapid concentration of the population in urban areas and the need to provide facilities and housing raise the issue of how to contain urban expansion while minimising envi-

ronmental impacts and the wasteful use of land and energy. This necessitates redefining the role of the public sector in housing policy and administration.

The primary purpose of the workshop was to bridge conversations between researchers and practitioners in Europe and Asia to enhance understanding and identify best practices. To what extent should the public sector intervene in housing development? What lessons can be drawn from public sector intervention in East Asia and Europe? Who are the other key actors and providers of housing? To what extent do social, economic, political and cultural factors account for specific housing experiences in each country? What dynamics are driving different patterns in different parts of the world? Is urban housing policy becoming more fragmented, even more chaotic, than before? Why are the urban poor the target of so much policy debate and action? Can they influence policy outcomes and practices? Will social segregation and exclusion accelerate under global pressures, or reduce as the 'globe shrinks'? Are urban pressures declining in Europe through de-concentration and

rising in Asia due to urbanisation? Is there evidence of polarization? How do urban pressures affect the sustainability of urban development? What are the tasks for the public sector? How have environmental issues brought together public sectors from different countries and how may they interact with each other in the future?

Participants from twelve European and Asian countries attended the workshop in Beijing. Eighteen papers were presented on three main themes: 'Urbanisation and Housing Pressures', 'Urban Housing Provision and Polarisation' and 'How Cities Manage Urban Renewal'. The issues were discussed in-depth, with due recognition of the limits and constraints of the public sector and the importance of non-state initiatives in mobilising resources and improving governance. The summary points from discussion during the workshop are compiled by John Hills:

Diversity

- National housing and urban patterns vary a great deal: there is no inevitable evolution towards a common pattern; nor can one simply transplant lessons

from one country to another. Poverty within particular cities is varied in the kinds of people affected and location within the city (France, China).

- Homogenous, uniform housing has been a failure. Allowing people variety and individualisation is not a reflection of selfishness (Denmark). Cities are meant to be diverse.
- Deprived neighbourhoods and their residents are coming to be seen as a resource, not just a 'problem' (France). Coping with the complexity of regenerating poor neighbourhoods is difficult (managing 'conflicting co-operation'). It requires particular skills from those doing so, that are rather rare (France, Italy). It also requires 'capacity building' in the skills of residents and local workers (Denmark, UK, Hong Kong).

Conflicts

- The income levels to which the government gives housing assistance are often very high, particularly if tied to owner-occupation and above-average standards. This reinforces existing inequalities ('a double portion of good fortune') rather than meeting the greatest needs (China).
- There are conflicts between the goals of resident participation in regeneration and the interests of powerful groups pushing through something different. In extreme cases this can involve coercion and violence (Korea).
- More generally, there is a choice between clearance of low quality housing and displacement of residents and renewal and upgrading of existing housing (Germany and elsewhere).
- The competition to become the most successful global city can lead to high social costs in a 'World Cup' for cities, which only one can win. Policies can lead to a combination of 'fortress towers' in 'hot spots' and 'cold places' (even in suburban owner-occupied apartment blocks), with extreme contrasts between them (Japan).

Inheritance

- People and their housing needs can change fast, but buildings change slowly, and government policies even more slowly (Germany). As a result governments and populations spend many years living with the decisions and mistakes of the past.
- Cities may contain precious physical and cultural heritage. But neighbourhoods also contain a 'social heritage' of social contacts, networks and social capital ('close neighbours are better than distant relatives'). This asset is very fragile and easy to destroy through displacement and dispersal of communities.

The European Alliance for Asian Studies

Workshop Series

The members of the European Alliance for Asian Studies are convinced that the humanities and social sciences are crucial to building long-term cooperative relations between Asian and European partners. Their study brings insight into each others' political, social and economic concepts, and to the way parties cope with issues of common interest.

The Alliance is very fortunate to have found the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in Singapore to jointly stimulate cooperation in the field. ASEF's objective is 'to enhance better mutual understanding between Asia and Europe through greater intellectual, cultural and people-to-people exchanges'. In its intellectual exchange programme, ASEF stimulates academic discourse through, amongst its other activities, the ASEF/Alliance Asia-Europe Workshop Series. Through this series, ASEF demonstrates its long-term commitment to joint research (and education) as key elements in the (cultural) rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

Since its inception, the Asia-Europe Workshop Series has surpassed the initial goals of its sponsors to stimulate innovative research on Asia-Europe relations and to strengthen existing ties between researchers and institutions. With the third round up and running, the need was felt to step up the momentum and announce the Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2005/2006. The deadline for applications is February 2005. For details please see the announcement on this page and www.asia-alliance.org or www.aews.asef.org.

- The costs of displacing communities and of losing existing buildings should be included in measuring the costs and benefits of alternative approaches to city renewal. ◀

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'Enabling Role of the Public Sector in Urban Housing and Regeneration: converging and diverging experiences in Asia and Europe' was held 12- 14 July 2004 in Beijing as part of the Annual ASEF/Alliance Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2003/04. The workshop was organised by Anne Power and Tuan Yang from the Centre for Social Policy Studies at the China Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and was funded by the Asia-Europe Foundation and the European Alliance for Asian Studies. For further information, please see the workshop's website: <http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/iws/Publications> are forthcoming.

15 November 2004 – 15 March 2005

IIAS hosts several categories of post-doctoral researchers (fellows). Their sponsorship contributes to the institute's aim of enhancing expertise and encouraging the exploration of 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 thus offers universities and research institutes the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of its resident fellows, who are invited to present lectures, participate in seminars, and cooperate in research programmes. IIAS fellowship applications can be submitted at any time.

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Asian states and rent seeking

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Research fellow, within the ASSR/IIAS/WOTRO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia'

1 September 2004 – 31 August 2007

Dr Rully Marianti (Indonesia)

Affiliated fellow
Elderly women in Pakistan

1 June 2004 – 31 May 2005

Dr Isabelle Omians (UK)

Gonda fellow
When it is good to be bad: Sexual initiation into Tantric Buddhism

1 September - 1 December 2004

Dr Prasanna Kumar Patra (India)

Research guest, within the ASSR/IIAS/NWO programme 'Socio-Genetic Marginalization in Asia'

5 November 2004 – 5 February 2005

Dr Kim Plofker (United States)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by NWO
Mathematics in India, 500 BCE – 1800 CE, with special emphasis on its relationship with Islamic mathematics (750 – 1800 CE)

9 September 2004 – 9 September 2006

Prof. Om Prakash (India)

Senior visiting fellow
The trading world of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800

1 May – 31 July 2005

Dr Saraju Rath (India)

Research fellow, sponsored by Gonda Foundation
Catalogue collection Sanskrit texts

5 January 2004 – 5 June 2006

Dr Satya Shrestha-Schipper (Nepal)

Affiliated fellow
Migrating from the hills in the Himalayas: The impacts on the social organization of the Jumli (Western Nepal)

1 March 2004 – 1 December 2004

Dr Priyadarshini Vijaisri (India)

Research guest
Outcaste sacred prostitute and post colonial modernity: Sexuality, community and state in South India, 1947 – 2000

1 March – 31 May 2005

Southeast Asia

Supaporn Ariyasajisukul, 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 Gregg Bankoff (UK)

Affiliated fellow
Cultures of coping: Community and natural hazard in the Philippines

1 September 2004 – 31 August 2007

Jajat Burhanudin, MA (Indonesia)

PhD student within the programme '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

Dr Helen Creese (Australia)

Affiliated fellow
Literary history of Bali

15 November – 20 December 2004

Muhammad Dahlan, MA (Indonesia)

PhD student within the programme '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

Dr Kristian Morville (Denmark)

Affiliated fellow within the programme 'Islam in Indonesia'

German minds, Medina hearts. A fieldwork based research project on connections between religion, modernity and democracy in Indonesia

1 February – 28 April 2005

Noorhaidi, MA (Indonesia)

PhD student within the framework of the project 'Islam in Indonesia'

The jihad paramilitary force: Islam and identity in the era of transition in Indonesia

1 April 2001 – 30 April 2005

Prof. Alexander Ogloblin (Russia)

Senior visiting fellow
Nominalisations, imperative and irrealis in old Javanese

5 January – 15 February 2005

Dr Portia Reyes (Philippines)

Affiliated fellow
The Filipinization of history: An exploration into the contemporary indigenization of Southeast Asian historiography

10 August 2004 – 10 August 2005

Dr Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill (UK)

Affiliated fellow
Old-age vulnerability and social networks in Southeast Asia

1 May 2004 – 30 April 2005

Dr William Southworth (UK)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by NWO
Huanwang and Panduranga: The coastal states of Champa in central Vietnam c. 750-875 AD

5 October 2004 – 5 October 2005

Arief Subhan, MA (Indonesia)

PhD student within the programme 'Islam in Indonesia'

The changing role of the Indonesian Madrasah and the dissemination of Muslim authority

15 June 2001 – 15 June 2005

Dr Andreas Ufen (Germany)

Affiliated fellow
Islam and democracy in Southeast Asia. Political Islam, cleavages and democratization in Indonesia and Malaysia

1 March – 31 March 2005

Dr Jacqueline Vel (the Netherlands)

Affiliated fellow
Uma politics: Adat in action on Sumba (Indonesia)

1 September 2004 – 31 August 2005

Prof. Ben White (the Netherlands, UK)

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam
Affiliated fellow, KNAW programme: 'Indonesian Society in Transition'

Coping with crises in Indonesia

25 September 2001 – 31 December 2004

Prof. Md Salleh Yaapar (Malaysia)

Professional fellow, holder of the European Chair of Malay Studies
Pantun and Pantunum: A study in Malay-European literary relations

5 February 2003 – 5 February 2005

Adam Young, MA (USA)

Research guest
Roots of Contemporary Maritime "Piracy" in Southeast Asia

10 January 2004 – 10 April 2004

East Asia

LI BOYA, BA (PR 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 LI Runxia (PR China)

Affiliated fellow
Chinese poetry

1 February 2005 – 31 March 2005

Willem van Kemenade (the Netherlands)

Affiliated fellow
The US-China-Europe triangle

1 January 2004 – 31 December 2004

Dr Peter King (Australia)

Affiliated fellow
Historical consciousness and the future of modern China and Japan

28 February 2005 – 1 March 2006

Dr RHEE Sang jik (Korea)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by KRF
The structure of the Korean language: Phonetics, morphology and morphology

1 September 2003 – 1 September 2005

SIO Joanna, BA (China)

PhD student within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS Research Programme 'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'

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Lucienne van Valen, MA

Research guest
The matter of Chinese painting

18 October 2004 – 10 February 2005

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Affiliated fellow
The Euro-Sino relations after Sept. 11 and its prospects

15 September 2004 – 15 September 2005

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Affiliated fellow within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme 'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'

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* ASSR: Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, the Netherlands

* CNWS: School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, the Netherlands

* IDPAD: Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development

* KNAW: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences

* KRF: Korea Research Foundation, Korea

* NIOD: Netherlands Institute for War Documentation

* NSC: National Science Council, Taiwan

* NWO: Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research

* WOTRO: Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research

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

A N N O U N C E M E N T



Leiden, the Netherlands
22-25 February 2005

IIAS Masterclass on
Modern Research Techniques
in Asian Archaeology:

Southeast Asia: A Centre of Ancient Urbanism?

Lecturer:

Prof. John Miksic (*Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore*)

The main theme of this masterclass will be the study of ancient urban sites. Prof. Miksic will discuss strategies for fieldwork, and techniques for survey and excavation, which he and his students have used on ancient city sites in Java, Singapore, Burma, and Cambodia. Attention will be given to two specific techniques, Energy Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence (EDXRF) of ceramics, glass, and metals, and Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) of human skeletal materials. In addition, he will touch upon the link between research design and theory building.

Local Organizer:

IIAS in cooperation with the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University

Featured speakers:

Dr Ian Glover (*University College London, UK*)
Dr Bion Griffin (*University of Hawai'i, USA*)
Dr Pierre-Yves Manguin (*L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris, France*)

IIAS invites last year Master's and PhD students from the Netherlands, Europe and Asia to apply. Students are expected to provide a description of their research interests and to prepare data and questions received from the organizers one month prior to the masterclass. To guarantee quality and the exchange of knowledge, the number of participants will be limited.

Accepted students may participate free of charge. Post-doctoral scholars and professional archaeologists may participate by registering and paying a fee of € 50.

For further information:

www.iias.nl/ancienturbanism

Deadline for registration:

1 December 2004

Registration and Information:

International Institute for Asian Studies
Marloes Rozing, MA
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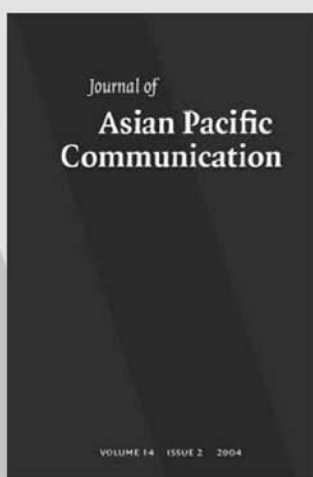
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Projects and events

> Projects and events

ICAS Book Prizes call for readers

The International Convention of Asia Scholars' book prizes 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 € 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.icas-secretariat.org). The deadline for submissions is **31 December 2004**.

We are currently searching for senior scholars to participate in the reading committees. Those interested, please contact Paul van der Velde:
p.van.der.velde@let.leidenuniv.nl

For more information:

ICAS Secretariat
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
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icas@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.icassecretariat.org

12th Gonda Lecture by Sheldon Pollock: *The Ends of Man at the End of Premodernity*

The 12th Gonda lecture will be held on **3 December 2004** at the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam. Sheldon Pollock will examine literary, political and social-ethical theory – central to defining the 'life-goals' of pleasure, power, and moral order – of scholars in Varanasi in the last century before the coming of European modernity. Pollock's first aim is to understand the nature of this knowledge in relation to the histories of the disciplines of which they were part, within the specificities of seventeenth-century thought. A second aim is to measure the distance between the Indian episteme and its European peer,

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The conference aims to promote closer relations between young Asian historians and their Indonesian counterparts. It is hoped that cooperation will be strengthened between young Indonesian historians from institutions in Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Bandung, Den Pasar, Makassar, Padang, Medan and Ambon and their colleagues from India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Taiwan, China, Japan, South Africa and the Netherlands.

For more information see www.tanap.net or email: h.e.niemeijer@let.leidenuniv.nl
Conference organizer: Bambang Purwanto: b.purwanto@mailcity.com

Book launch: *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*

The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (University of Chicago Press. pp.1800, 3 vols., ISBN 0-226-73817-5) catalogues and describes all existing texts within the Taoist Canon. It sets out the contents of the *Daozang* chronologically: the first volume ranges from antiquity through the Middle Ages; the second spans the modern period. Introductions throughout these first two volumes outline the evolution of Taoism and its spiritual heritage. The third volume offers biographical sketches of frequently mentioned Taoists, multiple indexes, and an extensive bibliography. The book launch will take place on **14 January 2005** at the L'École française d'Extrême Orient (L'EFEO), Paris, France. For further information please contact Franciscus Verellen (EFEO) verellen@efeo.fr or Marloes Rozing (IIAS) m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

Asia-Europe Colloquy on Universities of Tomorrow

The Asia-Europe Colloquy on Universities of Tomorrow will be held **16-19 February 2005** in Luxemburg. The Colloquy will address the relationships between universities and society, markets and economy, trends in the international system and technological advancements, and their possible implications for universities in the 21st century. The aim of the conference is two-fold: to foster inter-regional dialogue on the major trends and chal-

lenges confronting universities and institutions of higher learning in Asia and Europe, and to explore prospects for closer co-operation between universities. The conference is organized by ASEF and the University of Luxembourg, and receives support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Keynote speakers from Asia and Europe will discuss: different images of universities of the future; understanding the challenges for universities and institutions of higher learning; case studies on responses and strategies to address challenges; impetus for and barriers to innovation in higher education; and synergies between universities and economy/society. On the third day of the conference, workshops will address critical issues for universities in Asia and Europe in the face of current trends and future challenges.

For more information please visit the website: <http://www.aeh.asef.org/> or contact Bastiaan van de Loo, Co-ordinator, ASEM Education Hub: bastiaan@asef.org

Kuttu Festival 2005



The Kattaikkuttu Sangam is organizing a five-night long theatre festival in Punnjarasantankal Village (near Kanchipuram, Tamilnadu, South India) on **1-6 March 2005**. The Kuttu Festival 2005 will offer a rare opportunity to experience a myriad of known and unknown theatre genres in a traditional village setting.

The Festival programme combines an unconventional mixture of tradition, ritual and contemporaneity. All four South Indian states will be represented by important theatre traditions: Kathakali (Kerala), Yakshagana (Karnataka), Vitinatakam (Andhra Pradesh) and Kattaikkuttu (Tamilnadu). The Festival programme will include a contemporary dance performance by Attakalari from Bangalore, Brigitte Revelli's modern marionette theatre from Kerala and a Bharata Natyam performance by the Dhananjayans from Chennai.

The first slot of every Festival night (9 to 10:30 P.M.) will be devoted to performances for/by children. The second slot (10:30 to 12 P.M.) showcases special productions. Performances after 12 P.M. feature select-

ed episodes from the Mahabharata performed in different theatre genres. Some of the Kattaikkuttu performances of the Festival will coincide with the rituals of the Paratam (Mahabharata) Festival to take place simultaneously at the Draupadi Temple of Punnjarasantankal.

For more information please email us: kuttu_festival@vsnl.net or visit: www.kattaikkuttu.org/festival2005

STORMA: linking ecological and socio-economic constraints of land use and conservation

Tropical rainforests are disappearing at an alarming rate, causing unprecedented losses in biodiversity. Rainforests are also important carbon sinks. Despite the recognition of the value of these and other public goods provided by tropical rainforests, the rainforests of Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America continue to be threatened by human encroachment.

The analysis of policies and socio-economic and ecological determinants that stabilize or threaten tropical forest margins demands a holistic, interdisciplinary scientific approach. Such an approach has been adopted by the research program *Stability of Rainforest Margins in Indonesia* (STORMA). Funded by the German Research Council, the program since 2000 is jointly run by the Universities of Göttingen and Kassel in Germany, and the Agricultural University of Bogor and the University of Palu in Indonesia.

The symposium organized for **19-22 September 2005** at the Georg-August-University of Göttingen, Germany, will feature three interconnected thematic foci for interdisciplinary research. These focus on the changes in the extent and intensity of agricultural and forest land use in tropical forest margins, and their implications for rural development and for conservation of biodiversity, soils and water:

- Sustainable management of agro forestry systems
- Ecological and socio-economic impacts of different forest use intensities
- Integrated spatial modelling of land use in tropical forest margins

For further information please contact: Daniel Stietenroth, Coordinator STORMA, Email: symp2005@gwdg.de <http://www.storma.de/symp2005>

NIOD study extended to Bersiap Period

The Dutch Government and representatives of the Indies Dutch Community in the Netherlands agreed in December 2000 on the necessity of an in-depth historical study on the effects of decolonization on the Indies Dutch Community over the period 1930-1960. After long negotiations, the study was awarded to the Netherlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD), the Dutch Institute for World War II research, in 2001.

Not long thereafter the Indies Dutch community discovered that an essential part of the agreement had not been implemented: detailed research on the damage and losses suffered by the Indies Dutch during the Bersiap-period in Indonesia, September-December 1945. The Indisch Platform (IP), representing the Indies Dutch community, protested and a new series of talks began with the government. Indies Dutch organizations like the Kinderen uit de Japane Bezetting en Bersiap (KJBB) also petitioned the Dutch Parliament. Under pressure from Parliament, Indies Dutch organizations, and researchers within the NIOD project, the responsible Ministry decided on 14 June 2004 to extend the NIOD research project to include the Bersiap period.

The decision met unanimous approval within the Indies Dutch community and the IP, which expressed its expectation that justice would now be done for the Dutch survivors of the Bersiap period, at least by documenting exactly what happened in Java in those turbulent months in the autumn of 1945.

In a remembrance speech on 14 August at the Monument of the Indies War in the hall of the old Lower Chamber of Parliament, the Chamber's representative, MP Jan Rijpstra, expressed his sympathy for the Indies Dutch community and IP campaign to include the Bersiap period in the NIOD study. He revealed that among the political parties in Parliament, there was general sympathy for the position of the IP, and welcomed the decision of the State Secretary to extend the study, the financial consequences of such an extension notwithstanding.

For more information, please see the NIOD website: <http://www.niod.nl/> or contact Herman Th. Bussemaker: h.bussemaker@planet.nl



Data Input at ITTM, Kalimpong, 2004

Barbara Gerke

Tibetan Medical Texts: Data Input Project International Trust for Traditional Medicine Kalimpong, India

To contribute to the study, translation and preservation of classical Tibetan medical texts, ITTM, a public-charitable Trust in the North-Eastern Himalayas has been preparing electronic versions of key Tibetan medical works, covering the period from the 9th to 19th centuries CE. This is an ongoing project, financed by the contributions of visiting scholars. It began in March 1999 and was initially sponsored by the Asian Classic Input Project (ACIP), New York.

The project generates income for Tibetan refugee women in Kalimpong, trained at ITTM. Since July 2000, Diki Choden Bhutia and Chaying Lhamo have been working full-time. All texts are typed in twice, then compared electronically and checked again for typing errors. The key medical text *The Four Medical Tantras* (Tib. *rgyud bzhi*) has yet to be fully translated and published in English. The corpus of Tibetan medical texts is enormous; translation of the main works will require decades. Original texts are unindexed; electronic searches will enhance the accessibility of Tibetan medical literature.

Please visit www.ittm.org for details on ITTM projects and a summary of the works available in the database. We aim to present the data online and on CD-ROM as soon as corrections are completed. We are also actively searching for further funding. For details please contact Barbara Gerke at ITTM: info@ittm.org or barbara.gerke@anthropology.oxford.ac.uk

People interested in contributing to the *Tibetological Collections & Archives Series*, please contact Henk Blezer, Leiden University, h.w.a.blezer@let.leidenuniv.nl

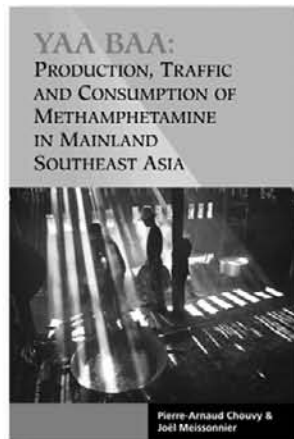
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New Global Workforces and Virtual Workplaces: Connections, Culture, and Control

The National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, India, is organising an international conference on 'New Global Workforces and Virtual Workplaces: Connections, Culture, and Control', on 12-13 August 2005. The conference, funded by the Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development, aims to bring together scholars from different countries (especially in Asia) researching new forms of work and categories of global workers emerging in the 'new' economy, specifically in the information technology (IT) and IT Enabled Services (ITES) sectors.

The organisers invite papers that are based on original research and that fall into any of the sub-themes listed below, or which raise related issues: (1) sourcing and social structuring of the new global workforce; (2) corporate culture in the new global workplace; (3) work culture and the work process; (4) skills, deskilling and threat of obsolescence, (5) disciplinary regimes and resistance; (6) work, culture and identity; (7) mobility and social security; (8) ancillary services for the processing of 'new economy' workers; (9) class, consumption and urban social transformations; and (10) nations, borders, and cross-border flows

Those interested in attending may write to the address below for details. Tentative titles and abstracts should be submitted by **1 December 2004**. Travel and accommodation for authors of accepted papers will be covered by the organisers.

Carol Upadhyia (Sociology and Social Anthropology)
National Institute of Advanced Studies
Indian Institute of Science Campus
Bangalore 560 012 India
cupadhyia@vsnl.com
niasssa@yahoo.co.in

1st European Conference on Korean Linguistics (ECKL)

The 1st European Conference on Korean Linguistics (ECKL) will be held in Leiden, The Netherlands, on 3-5 February 2005. Abstracts are invited for 20-minute pre-

sentations (plus 10 minutes for discussion) on any aspect of Korean linguistics. Beside the main conference, there is a workshop on 'the Altaic Hypothesis: Korean in relation to other Altaic languages'. Abstracts for this workshop are also invited (20-minute presentation plus 10 minutes discussion).

Invited speakers include S.J. Chang, Seoul National University (Syntax and semantics); M. Kenstowicz, MIT (Phonology); Y. Heo, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Korean language teaching abroad) and B.I. Sung, Seoul National University (Workshop on the Altaic Hypothesis). Submissions are limited to one individual and one joint abstract per author. All abstracts should be in English, and submitted as e-mail attachments in PDF or MS-Word format. Please specify 'Abstract' in the subject field of the message, and include in the message the author's affiliation and area of linguistics (syntax, phonology, morphology, phonetics, language-teaching, etc.). Abstracts should be a maximum of 350 words, with an optional additional page containing examples and references. The submission deadline is **10 December 2004**. Notice of acceptance will be made on 5 January 2005. A limited number of grants will be available to support the participation of linguists who have no or limited access to institutional or departmental funding sources in their home country.

For more information, please visit: <http://www.ias.nl> or e-mail: m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl, eckl@let.leidenuniv.nl

Indonesia in the Changing Global Context: building cooperation and partnership?

The 4th International Symposium of the Journal *Antropologi Indonesia* will be held 12-15 July 2005 at the University of Indonesia, Depok. Rebuilding Indonesia as a nation of 'unity in diversity' is an ongoing question. Advances in technology, the instantaneous flow of information, enrichment of ideas, concepts, science, progress in education, health care and community development are interwoven with economic, power, and other interests within complex networks of institutions across state boundaries. This web of relations may have significant implications for the nation's efforts

to cooperate and enter partnerships with foreign counterparts.

The symposium will discuss, analyse and examine these questions on the basis of empirical evidence drawn from various facets of people's lives in Indonesia, its relation to the region and global entities. Abstracts (300 words) should be submitted to the Organizing Committee by **15 December 2004**. Please also send a copy of the abstract to your panel coordinator. Please contact the Organizing Committee at symposium@jai.or.id or visit <http://www.jai.or.id> for more information, or download the booklet at: http://www.jai.or.id/events/sympo/4th_dpk/jai.si4.info.pdf

Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region

The Faculty of Liberal Arts at Ubon Ratchathani University, Thailand in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation, is organizing an international conference on *Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*, 16-20 February 2005 in Ubon Ratchathani. The conference will bring together scholars researching transboundary issues in the GMS to review and share theoretical frameworks and research results, identify knowledge gaps and enrich public knowledge on transborder issues including their trends, causes and consequences.

The conference invites papers for panels dealing with nine sub-themes including: the sex trade; gender and sexuality; labour migration; health and HIV/AIDS; natural resources, environmental management and challenges; regional relations and cooperation; tourism development and its consequences; human rights issues regarding ethnic groups and trafficking in women and children; and cultural studies (Diaspora, ethnicity, media and identity).

The deadline for abstracts (300 words) is **15 December 2004**. Full papers should be submitted on **15 January 2005**. Abstracts and full papers should be sent by email to Surasom Krisnachuta, Mekong Sub-region Social Research Center (MSSRC), Faculty of Liberal Arts, Ubon Ratchathani University: mssrc@la.ubu.ac.th and mssrc_ubu@yahoo.com.

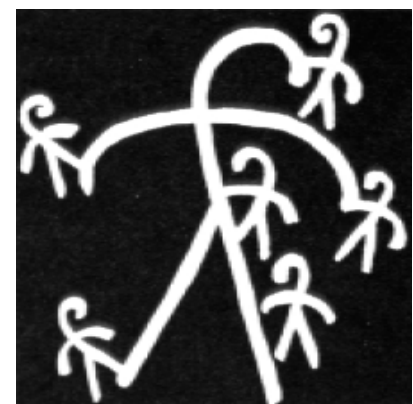
All accepted papers will appear in the conference proceedings in CD format together

with a printed collection of all abstracts. More information can be found at: <http://www.ubu.ac.th/~mssrc/html/index.php>

Self and Subject: African and Asian Perspectives

The Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies at The Open University, U.K is organizing a conference on the Study of African and Asian Cultures in the 21st Century on 20-23 September 2005 in Edinburgh, Scotland. The conference seeks to foreground recent reflections on the status of the individual subject through a questioning of different disciplinary approaches. It asks how the recognition that individual lives are formed in increasingly complex 'multi-cultural' and 'transnational' contexts demands new methodologies for re-thinking the subject within and across disciplinary boundaries.

Papers are invited from literary theorists, historians, anthropologists, philosophers, art historians and other specialists of Africa and Asia who have an interest in such domains as life histories, post-colonial literature, autobiography, visual representation, material culture, aesthetics, the media, ethnicity, ethnography, migra-



Courtesy of Ferguson Centre website (<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/Events/EdinburghCallPs.pdf>)

tion and diaspora studies, and the politics of identity. The conference will be divided into eight panels, each of which is organised around a particular theme. Contributors are asked to include explicit reflection concerning their methodological assumptions and innovations, and to indicate to which panel they wish to contribute.

Abstracts (max. 300 words) should be sent by **31 December 2004** by email to: arts-ferguson-centre-enquiries@open.ac.uk. The conference will be in English. For a full list of panel themes please visit the website: <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/Events/EdinburghCall4Ps.pdf>

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The Netherlands

Assistant Professor of
CHINESE LITERATURE

The Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures seeks applicants for an assistant professor in medieval Chinese literature (Six Dynasties to Yuan). This tenure-track position begins September 16, 2005. Duties include teaching large undergraduate survey courses in early and medieval Chinese literature, classical and modern Chinese, graduate seminars, as well as advising and mentoring graduate students. Required are a Ph.D. in an appropriate discipline, native or near-native fluency in Mandarin and English, a strong commitment to excellence in scholarship, and dedication to undergraduate and graduate teaching. To apply, please send a statement of research and teaching interests, a CV, and three letters of recommendation to: Chinese Search Committee, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, 1248 University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1248. Applications will be reviewed from December 15, 2004 until the position is filled. AA/EO/ADA Employer committed to cultural diversity.

Words in Asian Cultural Contexts

The theme of ASIALEX 2005, 1-3 June 2005 in Singapore, is *Words in Asian Cultural Contexts*. The conference will examine the functions and representations of words, and will bring together scholars of language, linguistics and literature in an interdisciplinary forum. We encourage papers focusing on a wider understanding of the word, including Asian contexts in which cultural and textual hybridity is the norm. The following strands will be covered: lexicology and lexicography; sociolinguistics and language pedagogy; information and communications technology; and literary, cultural and postcolonial studies.

We invite presentations in the form of papers, posters or symposiums. The time allotted for each paper presentation is 30 minutes. A poster session will also be held at the conference. The symposium will be 100 minutes (e.g. 4-5 short papers plus discussion). We invite abstracts (max. 250 words) for papers, posters and symposiums. All presentations should be given in English. We invite you to submit your abstract on-line as soon as possible and no later than **31 December 2004**. Selected papers and abstracts will be published in the conference proceedings. Please see our website: <http://asialex.nus.edu.sg/call4ppo1.htm>

Southeast Asian tradition-based contemporary performance

Southeast Asian performing art traditions have long offered non-traditional artists and art promoters fodder for quotation, appropriation, abduction, and repackaging. The last decades have seen the emergence of new relations between Southeast Asian traditional and contemporary performing arts, to be discussed in this panel under the rubric of *Southeast Asian tradition-based contemporary performance*.

Suggested areas to be considered by presenters include: questions of ownership arising when contemporary practitioners (foreign or local) repackaged tradition for contemporary audiences; contrasts and similarities between European and Southeast Asian modernist appropriations of Southeast Asian tradition with contemporary tradition-based work; standards for judging and criticising tradition-based contemporary performance; differences between tradition-based new music, theatre and dance created in Diaspora contexts and in the homelands; the politics, economics and legal issues in the production of tradition-based contemporary performance; traditional and non-traditional aesthetics and criticism of tradition-based contemporary performance; tradition-based contemporary performance in television and film; tradition-based contemporary performance and artistic exchange in national, ASEAN and global contexts; forms of ambivalence, resistance and antipathy to tradition-based artistic work; the reception of tradition-based contemporary work by Southeast Asian audiences outside cosmopolitan, urbane scenes. Presentations can take the form of academic papers, lecture-demonstrations, videos, or possibly performances.

The panel is being organised as part of the ASEASUK conference, *Turbulence and Continuity in South East Asia*, University of

Exeter, UK, 29 April – 1 May 2005. All abstracts to be sent prior to 1 January 2005 to Matthew Isaac Cohen: M.Cohen@tfts.arts.gla.ac.uk or Laura Noszlopy: noszlopy@hotmail.com. For further information: ASEASUK homepage <http://web.soas.ac.uk/aseasuk/>

The education of Southeast Asian Islamic leadership

A conference on the education of Southeast Asian Islamic leadership will take place on 19-20 May 2005 in Singapore. The aim is to study the education of Islamic leaders in Southeast Asia, who play an ever-growing role in the administration of their societies. The conference is organized by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS).

Participants are requested to submit papers on one or more of the following questions: (1) Which centres of Islamic learning (Middle East, South East Asia, Europe, North America) have Islamic leaders of Southeast Asia chosen for their training, and what motivated their choices? What did these Islamic leaders study? (2) What were their socio-economic and political profiles? Is there a relation between these profiles and their choice of educational institution, study and eventual career? (3) How did the career of these Islamic leaders take shape following their studies? By what means did they impact on their religion, and on the public sphere? What is the relationship between their studies and how they operate in the public sphere?

Papers on individuals and institutional developments are welcome. The conference will consist of four sessions: (1) educational institutions in the Middle East; (2) educational institutions in Southeast Asia; (3) educational institutions in Europe and North America; (4) comparative analysis. David Koh (ISEAS) and Nico J.G. Kaptein (IIAS) are the conveners. Those interested in participating are requested to submit a working title and a short abstract no later than **15 January 2005** to Josine Stremmelaar, IIAS: J.Stremmelaar@let.leidenuniv.nl

International Association for Chinese Linguistics (IACL13)

The thirteenth IACL annual conference on Chinese linguistics will be held on 9-11 June 2005 at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Only members of the Association are eligible to participate. Membership is open to all scholars and students with an interest consistent with the objectives of the Association.

Abstracts of papers on any topic in Chinese linguistics are welcome. Abstracts should be one page only, written in Chinese, English or Dutch. The presentations are allotted 25 minutes, excluding 5 minutes for discussion. The deadline for submissions is **15 January 2005**. Notification of acceptance/rejection will be made on 1 March 2005 (by e-mail only). Submission by e-mail is not possible. Send three anonymous copies and one with full name, affiliation, full postal address and e-mail to the address below. The registration fee is Euro 55. Preregistration is not required. Registration will follow auto-

matically after your abstract has been accepted. For those who intend to come without presenting a paper, it will be appreciated if you inform the organizing committee in advance.

For further information, please visit: <http://www.iias.nl/IACL13/> Lisa Cheng/Rint Sybesma Leiden University, Department of Linguistics P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands

People and the Sea III: New Directions in Coastal and Maritime Studies

The Centre for Maritime Research (MARE), University of Amsterdam announces its third biannual conference, *People and the Sea III: New Directions in Coastal and Maritime Studies*. The conference will take place on 7-9 July 2005 in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The four major themes of the conference are: Fisheries; Integrated coastal zone development; Maritime work worlds and; Maritime risks and vulnerability.

There will be a special sub-theme on small-scale fisheries. Daniel Pauly of the University of British Columbia will be the keynote speaker, with a presentation on the interface between the natural and social sciences in fisheries management. Day two will feature the third lecture in MARE's Tropical Maritime Lecture Series by Professor Antonio Diegues of the University of São Paulo. Day three will be closed with a panel debate on key issues relating to work in maritime areas. Panels will be 1.5 hours each and should contain three paper presentations. All panel proposals and paper and poster abstracts must be submitted electronically along with the conference pre-registration form available on the conference website: www.marecentre.nl. The deadline for panel and abstract submission is **15 January 2005**. Queries may be directed to Iris Monnereau: i.monnereau@marecentre.nl

Water in Mainland Southeast Asia

Rivers, lakes, and coastal zones are of great importance to all aspects of life in mainland Southeast Asia. A cross-disciplinary workshop on the many aspects of water, organized by the Centre for Khmer

Studies (CKS), Siem Reap, Cambodia, and the International Institute for Asian Studies is planned to take place in Siem Reap, Cambodia, in November 2005. The workshop will focus on three sub-themes on the role of water in people's livelihoods: (1) trade and commerce – local and foreign trade, transport, port cities; (2) natural resource use and management – rice cultivation, fisheries, water quality, environmental changes; and (3) socio-cultural life – rites of passages, traditional medicine, religion.

The organizing committee invites scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds (history, economics, political science, anthropology, environmental sciences) to submit abstracts for the workshop. Papers transcending national boundaries are strongly encouraged. The proceedings of the workshop will be published. The deadline for the submission of abstracts is **1 January 2005**. Abstracts should not exceed 250 words and a CV should be included.

Please send your abstract or queries to Wil Dijk, IIAS affiliated fellow: w.o.dijk@let.leidenuniv.nl

CHIME: exploring China's musical past

Two themes will feature in the 10th international CHIME meeting, which will be held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands on 6-9 October 2005, in conjunction with a major festival of Chinese music: 1) Exploring China's musical past (the reconstruction and reinvention of recent and older genres of music in China); 2) Audiovisual materials of recent fieldwork on (any kind of) music in China or among Chinese-speaking communities. The meeting will be held at the KIT Theatre (the Royal Tropical Institute), and is organized in cooperation with the Music Department of the University of Amsterdam and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). We welcome papers focusing on concrete examples -within the wider (contextual and musical) implications of the main theme. For the theme on recent fieldwork, we welcome scholarly presentations of audiovisual materials in any genre or area of Chinese music. Abstracts of up to 300 words for individual (20-minute) papers are welcome and should be sent by fax or e-mail to the Programme Committee at chime@wxs.nl, fax: +31-71-5123183.



Folk musicians in Southern Jiangsu, China
Courtesy of CHIME website (<http://home.wxs.nl/~chime>)

Panel proposals (for three or four speakers) are also welcome, in which case we ask for a short description of the panel topic as well as individual abstracts by panel participants. Abstracts must arrive by **15 April 2005**. Possibilities exist for early acceptance for those who need to rely on this for grant applications. News on the meeting, possibilities for pre-registration and booking accommodation are available on the CHIME website: <http://home.wxs.nl/~chime>

Erratum

The editors regret that the captions did not match the illustrations in the article *Tibetan Treasures in Leiden: Progress Report on the Metamorfoze Project* by Kalsang Norbu Gurung and Tharphen Lingsang on page 25 of *IIAS Newsletter #34*:



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



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

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JUST PUBLISHED

Native Anthropology
The Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony
by Takami Kuwayama
Publ. 2004, 184 pp.
ISBN 1876843764, paperback, £19.99



Visions of Japan
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by Kendall H. Brown
Publ. 2004, 152 pp., 100 colour illus.
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ISBN 1929280238, paperback, £18.99

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Sustainable Development in Vietnam
ed. by Melanie Beresford & Angie Ngoc Tran
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Dec 2004, 160 pp., maps & illustrations
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Buddhist Art
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Nov. 2004, 208 pp., richly illustrated
ISBN 9810507348, paperback, £32.99

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ISBN 8791114748, paperback, £18.99

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November 2004

18 November 2004
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Nepal Update: Mao in the Mountains: Violence and Ideology in Nepal and Northeast India
 Convenor: Satya Shrestha
 Organizers: ASIA and the IAS Branch Office
 Email: asianstudies@fmg.uva.nl / iias@fmg.uva.nl

18-19 November 2004
Madrid, Spain
Asia Update on Energy, Security and Environment
 Information: Centro de Estudios de Asia Oriental Autonomous University of Madrid
 Email: ceao@uam.es
 Website: www.asia-alliance.org

18-19 November 2004
Canberra, Australia
An Update on the Political Economy of Myanmar/Burma
 Speakers: Ron May and Trevor Wilson
 Contact: Trevor Wilson +61 02 6125 0569 or Bey Raser +61 2 6125 4790
 Website: http://rspas.anu.edu.au/polisoc/

22-23 November 2004
Singapore
The Asian Congress of Storytellers 2004
 Organizers: National Book Development Council of Singapore
 Email: joyce@nbdc.org.sg
 Website: http://www.nbdc.org.sg/

22-26 November 2004
Chiang Mai, Thailand
First Asian Space Conference
 Organized back to back with the 25th Annual Asian Conference on Remote Sensing (ACRS).
 Organizers: The International Institute for Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation (ITC, the Netherlands), the Geo-Information and Space Technology Development Agency (GISTDA, Thailand) and IIAS
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
 Website: www.gisdevelopment.net/iaars/acrs

23 & 25 November 2004
Paris, France (23) & Madrid, Spain (25)
Regional Stability and East Asia
 An European Alliance for Asian Studies Conference
 Information: European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)
 Email: C.horekens@eias.org
 Website: www.asia-alliance.org

25-26 November 2004
Singapore
Vietnam Update 2004: Strategic and Foreign Relations
 Organizers: Australian National University

9-10 December 2004

Leiden, the Netherlands
Media and the Making of History in Post-Soeharto Indonesia
 Convenor: Patricia Spyer (Leiden University)
 Email: spyer@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

12-15 December 2004
Calcutta, India
The postcolonial city at the IUAES Inter-Congress Mega-Urbanization, Multi-Ethnic Society, Human Rights and Development
 Convenor: Freek Colombijn
 Email: f.colombijn@fsw.vu.nl

13 December 2004
Leiden, the Netherlands
Gaotang: The lost Goddess of love and beauty in ancient China
 Lecture by Ye Shuxian (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)
 Contact: Mineke Schipper
 Email: w.j.j.schipper@let.leidenuniv.nl

14-15 December 2004
London, UK
Gender, Myth, and Mythmaking
 Organized by SOAS
 Contact: Sian Hawthorne
 Email: sh79@soas.ac.uk
 Website: www.soas.ac.uk/Religions/gender_myth/home.html

17-19 December 2004
Strasbourg and Colmar, France
Bodily Experience in Performing Art
 6th Symposium of the French Society for Japanese Studies (SFEJ) and ordinary sessions
 Email: s.graff@ceja-japon.com
 Website: http://sfej.asso.fr

18-20 December 2004
Jakarta, Indonesia
Urban Transport Policy in ASEAN: Lessons from European Experience
 An ASEF-Asia Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Nick Marler (University of Leeds, UK) and Ellen Tangkudung (University of Indonesia)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

January 2005
4-6 January
Dhaka, Bangladesh
37th Bengal Studies Conference
 Email: stamford@aitbd.net
 Website: http://www.bengal-studies-conference.org/support/contact.htm

9-15 January 2005
Kannur, India
Portuguese Factories, Fortresses and Settlements

in India with special reference to Cannanore
 Email: ksmtry@sancharnet.in
 Website: irish-meshar.org.

10-12 January 2005
Siem Reap, Cambodia
Contemporary Research on Pre-Angkor Cambodia
 Email: communication@khmerstudies.org
 Website: http://www.khmerstudies.org/events/preangkor.htm

10-14 January 2005
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Embracing a Common Asian Past
 4th TANAP conference
 Contact: H.E. Nemeijer
 Email: h.e.niemeijer@let.leidenuniv.nl
 Website: www.tanap.net

12-15 January 2005
Manila, the Philippines
Migrations in Asia and Europe in Contemporary Times: Exploring Transnationalism, Multiple Linkages and Development
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Ton van Naerssen (University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands) and Marla Asis (Scalabrini Migration Center, Philippines)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

14 January 2005
Paris, France
The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang
 Book launch
 Organized by the L'École française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO) and IIAS
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

14-16 January 2005
Lexington (KY), USA
Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies
 Contact: Paige Johnson Tan
 Email: tanp@uncw.edu
 Website: http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/Confos/program.html

20-23 January 2005
Prague, Czech Republic
Graduate Thesis Workshop: Women and Gender in Chinese Studies
 Organizer: Olga Lomová
 Email: Stana.vomackova@ff.cuni.cz
 Website: http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=141006

27-30 January 2005
Delhi, India
Cultural and Religious Mosaic of South and Southeast Asia: Conflict and Consensus

through the Ages

The Inaugural Conference of South and Southeast Asian Association for the Study of Religion, co-hosted by the IAHR
 Convenor: Amarijwa Lochan,
 Email: secretariat@sseasr.org
 Website: http://216.198.241.183/iahr/about.html

February 2005
3-5 February 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
First European Conference on Korean Linguistics (ECKL)
 Sponsors: IIAS and the Korea Research Foundation
 Convenor: Sang Jik Rhee (IIAS)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
 Website: www.iias.nl/iias/agenda/eckl.htm

4-5 February 2005
Berkeley (CA), USA
Commodities, Old, New, and Natural: Producing People and 'Resources' in Southeast Asia
 22nd Annual Conference of the Center for Southeast Asia Studies, UC Berkeley,
 Email: cseas@berkeley.edu
 Website: http://ias.berkeley.edu/cseas

11-12 February 2005
Berkeley, California
20th Annual South Asia Conference
 Email: csasas@uclink.berkeley.edu
 Website: http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/conference.html

16-19 February 2005
Luxemburg, Luxembourg
Asia-Europe Colloquy on Universities of Tomorrow
 Organized by ASEF and the University of Luxembourg, and receives support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.
 Contact: Bastiaan van de Loo, Co-ordinator, ASEM Education Hub
 Email: bastiaan@asef.org
 Website: http://www.aeh.asef.org/

16-20 February 2005
Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand
Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region
 Contact: Surasom Krisnachuta
 Email: msrsrc@la.ubu.ac.th
 Website: http://web.ubu.ac.th/home/jubon/accom_e.htm

21-25 February 2005
Pondicherry, India
Forms and Uses of the Commentary in the Indian World
 Contact: Nalini Balbir
 Email: commentary@ifindia.org

22-25 February 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands
Southeast Asia: A Centre of Ancient Urbanism?
 First IIAS Masterclass on Modern Research Techniques in Asian Archaeology
 Lecturer: John Miksic (Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University Singapore)
 Email: m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl
 Website: www.iias.nl/au_masterclass.htm

26 February 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
Archeology Roundtable: Current issues in Asian archaeology
 Organized by the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University and IIAS
 Convenor: Maarten Jansen (Leiden University)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

March 2005

8-10 March 2005
Singapore
Hubs, Harbours and Deltas in South-East Asia: Multidisciplinary and Intercultural Perspectives from Asia and Europe
 Contact: Lee Hock Guan
 Email: hockguan@iseas.edu.sg
 Website: http://www.iseas.edu.sg/seminars.html

10-12 March 2005
Edinburgh, UK
Comparing Sports Policy, Sports Investment and Regional Development Initiatives in the Hosting of Sports Events in East Asia and Europe
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: John Horne (University of Edinburgh, UK) and Hirose Ichir_ (Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

12-15 March 2005
Hong Kong, China
The Third International Conference on Missionary Linguistics
 Contact: Gregory James
 Email: lgjames@ust.hk
 Website: http://www.hf.uio.no/kri/ospromil/index.html

17-19 March 2005
Stockholm, Sweden
Workshop: Japan, East Asia and the Formation of North Korea Policy
 Contact: Kazune Funato
 Email: japk@hhs.se

19-20 March 2005
Bangkok, Thailand
Gender and Southeast Asia
 Contact: Darunee Tantiwiranond

Email: concourse02@yahoo.com
 Website: http://www.geocities.com/warig/conference2005.htm

Website: http://www.ex.ac.uk/geography/research/aseasuk05/intro.html

Website: http://asialex.nus.edu.sg/about01.htm

Contact: Jane Hewett
 Email: conference@barweb.com.au
 Website: http://www.docguide.com/crc.nsf/congresses/7F3B1F78C89D452C85256E7E00151ADE

Organizers: NIAS, Fudan University's Nordic Centre and Malmö University
 Website: http://nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/default.htm

Ninth Conference
 Email: escas9th@vela.flg.uj.edu.pl

24-30 March 2005
Tokyo, Japan
 The 19th World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR)
 Email: iaahr@i.u-tokyo.ac.jp
 Website: http://www.i.u-tokyo.ac.jp/iahr2005/

10-14 May 2005
Hangzhou, China
 First EU-ASEM Workshop on Sustainable Resource Management and Policy Options for Rice Ecosystems in Asia
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Reimund Roetter (Wageningen University) and Wang Guanghuo (Zhejiang University)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

7-8 June 2005
Singapore
 Casting Faiths: The Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia
 Contact: Maitrii Aung-Thwin
 Email: histdd@nus.edu.sg
 hismvat@nus.edu.sg
 Website: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/faiths.htm

12-13 August 2005
Bangalore, India
 New Global Workforces and Virtual Workplaces: Connections, Culture, and Control
 Contact: Carol Upadhy, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore
 Email: cupadhy@vsnl.com

15-20 August 2005
Munich, Germany
 The 11th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia
 Contact: Florian Mildenberger
 Email: sekretariat.igm@lrz.uni-muenchen.de
 Website: https://secure.lit.ucsb.edu/archives/histsci/2004-july/000012.html

19-22 September 2005
Göttingen, Germany
 The Stability of Tropical Rainforest Margins: Linking Ecological, Economic and Social Constraints of Land Use and Conservation
 Contact: Daniel Stietenroth
 Email: symp2005@gwdg.de
 Website: http://www.storma.de/symp2005.

31 March – 3 April 2005
Chicago, USA
 Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting
 Website: http://www.aasianst.org/annmtg.htm

19-20 May 2005
Singapore
 The Education of Islamic Leadership in Southeast Asia: National, Regional and International
 Convenors: David Koh, Institute for Southeast Asia Studies (ISEAS) and Nico J.G. Kaptein (IIAS)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

9-11 June 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
 IACL3 - The Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the International Association for Chinese Linguistics
 Convenor: Rint Sybesma (Leiden University)
 Email: iachl3@let.leidenuniv.nl

15-20 August 2005
Munich, Germany
 The 11th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia
 Contact: Florian Mildenberger
 Email: sekretariat.igm@lrz.uni-muenchen.de
 Website: https://secure.lit.ucsb.edu/archives/histsci/2004-july/000012.html

18-20 August 2005
Singapore
 The Third International Conference of Institutes & Libraries for Chinese Overseas Studies
 Theme: Maritime Asia and the Chinese Overseas (1405 - 2005)
 Contact: Liu Wei Ho
 Email: weiho@nlb.gov.sg
 Website: http://www.huayinet.org

20-23 September 2005
Edinburgh, Scotland
 Self and Subject: African and Asian Perspectives
 International conference on the Study of African and Asian Cultures in the 21st Century.
 Email: arts-ferguson-centre-enquiries@open.ac.uk
 Website: http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/Events/EdinburghCall4Ps.pdf

Organizer: Northern Illinois University
 Email: thaiconf@niu.edu.
 Website: http://www.niu.edu/thaiconf/

20-21 May 2005
Gothenburg, Sweden
 Nordic Gender Asia Workshop
 Organized by the Network for Research on Gender in Asia
 Website: http://nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/default.htm

23-25 June 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
 Communication and Media in popular image building about Islam and the West
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Azyumardi Azra (Islamic State University Jakarta, Indonesia) and Dick van der Meij (Leiden University, the Netherlands)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

8-10 July 2005
Bangkok, Thailand
 Sexualities, Genders, and Rights in Asia: 1st International Conference of Asian Queer Studies
 Email: apqbangkok2005@anu.edu.au
 Website: http://bangkok2005.anu.edu.au/

9-10 July 2005
Washington D.C., USA
 International Thrukkural Conference
 Contact: R. Prabhakaran
 Email: rprabu@aol.com

5-8 October 2005
Delhi, India
 5th Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW) in Asia
 Website: http://www.homepages.ucl.ac.uk/~uclyara/glow05_index.htm

11-13 April 2005
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
 Conference on Sustainable Building – Southeast Asia
 Website: http://www.cibklutm.com/spouse_programme.htm

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
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Salvatore Palidda (University of Genoa, Italy) and Carl Grundy-Warr (National University of Singapore)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

23-26 June 2005
Bangkok, Thailand
 Sanskrit in Asia: Unity in Diversity
 Contact: Conference Secretariat
 Email: sanskritstudies@speedpost.net
 Website: http://www.ssc.su.ac.th

14-15 July 2005
Singapore
 Paths Not Taken: The False Spring of Political Pluralism in Postwar Singapore
 Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
 Outside Singapore contact:
 Carl A. Trocki - c.trocki@qut.edu.au
 Singapore participants contact:
 Chua Beng Huat - socbhh@nus.edu.sg
 Website: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/postwar.htm

28-30 October 2005
Hong Kong, China
 1st East Asian SdS- Colloquium on the History of Linguistics
 Website: http://home.t-online.de/home/dutz.nodus/03c-rb.htm

6-9 October 2005
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
 10th International CHIME conference: Exploring China's musical past
 Convenor: European Foundation for Chinese Music Research - CHIME
 Email: chime@wxs.nl
 Website: http://home.wxs.nl/~chime

22-24 April 2005
Princeton, New Jersey, USA
 7th Annual Buddhist Studies Graduate Student Conference
 Contact: shyong@princeton.edu
 Website: http://www.princeton.edu/~bsgsc/

20-22 May 2005
DeKalb (Illinois), USA
 First International Conference on Lao Studies
 Organizer: Northern Illinois University
 Contact: Julia Lamb
 Email: jlamb@niu.edu
 Website: http://www.seasite.niu.edu/lao/events/Conference2005/FICLS2.htm

30 June – 1 July 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
 Fourth International East Nusantara Linguistics Conference
 Convenors: Marian Klamer (Leiden University) and Michael Ewing (University of Melbourne)
 Email: m.a.f.klamer@let.leidenuniv.nl

14-15 July 2005
Singapore
 The Arab Hadramis in Southeast Asia: Identity Management or Assimilation?
 Contact: Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk
 Email: abushouk@iit.edu.my

28-30 October 2005
Hong Kong, China
 1st East Asian SdS- Colloquium on the History of Linguistics
 Website: http://home.t-online.de/home/dutz.nodus/03c-rb.htm

November 2005
Shanghai, China
 Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives
 An ASEF Alliance Workshop
 Convenors: Li Yihai (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China) and John Kleinen (Centre for Maritime Research, the Netherlands)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

27 April – 1 May 2005
Montreal, Canada
 Furthering the Globalization Debate: Cross Regional Comparisons
 CASA 25th Anniversary Conference hosted by the Canadian Asian Studies Association
 Website: http://canadianasianstudies.concordia.ca/htm/asz005.htm#haut

30 June – 3 July 2005
Bendigo, Australia
 9th Biennial Conference of the Chinese Studies Association of Australia
 Contact: Tracy Lee
 Email: t.lee@latrobe.edu.au
 Website: http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/chinakoreacen/csaa/CONFERENCE

14-15 July 2005
Singapore
 Paths Not Taken: The False Spring of Political Pluralism in Postwar Singapore
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 Outside Singapore contact:
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 Website: http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/postwar.htm

27-28 August 2005
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
 The Arab Hadramis in Southeast Asia: Identity Management or Assimilation?
 Contact: Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk
 Email: abushouk@iit.edu.my

31 August - 3 September 2005
Vienna, Austria
 The 11th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies (EASJ)
 Organizers: the European Association for Japanese Studies (EASJ) and the Department of East Asian Studies, Vienna University
 Website: http://www.icassecretariat.org/

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 Convenors: Li Yihai (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China) and John Kleinen (Centre for Maritime Research, the Netherlands)
 Email: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

29 April – 1 May 2005
Devon, UK
 Turbulence and Continuity in South East Asia
 Organized by the Association of South East Asian Studies, UK
 Email: aseasuk2005@exeter.ac.uk

1-3 June 2005
Singapore
 ASIALEX 2005: Biennial conference of the Asian Association for Lexicography
 Email: asialex@nus.edu.sg

30 June – 1 July 2005
Leiden, the Netherlands
 Fourth International East Nusantara Linguistics Conference
 Convenors: Marian Klamer (Leiden University) and Michael Ewing (University of Melbourne)
 Email: m.a.f.klamer@let.leidenuniv.nl

23-24 July 2005
Rotterdam, the Netherlands
 The South Asian Diaspora: The Creation of Unfinished Identities in the Modern World
 Email: Oonk@fhk.eur.nl
 Website: http://www.iias.nl/gateway/news/agasia/getrecord.php?EventID=1539

28-30 October 2005
Hong Kong, China
 1st East Asian SdS- Colloquium on the History of Linguistics
 Website: http://home.t-online.de/home/dutz.nodus/03c-rb.htm

20-23 September 2005
Edinburgh, Scotland
 Self and Subject: African and Asian Perspectives
 International conference on the Study of African and Asian Cultures in the 21st Century.
 Email: arts-ferguson-centre-enquiries@open.ac.uk
 Website: http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/Events/EdinburghCall4Ps.pdf

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Singapore: ISEAS/IIAS, 2004. 333 pp., ISBN 981-230-206-9 (sb) and ISBN 981-230-208-5 (hb)

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London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon/IIAS Asian Studies Series, 2004. 256 pp., ISBN 070071586x (hb)

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A Grammar of Wambule: Grammar, Lexicon, Texts and Cultural Survey of a Kiranto Tribe of Eastern Nepal

Leiden and Boston: Brill's Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region, 2004. 900 pp., ISBN 9004138315-2004 (hb)

Antons, Christoph (ed.)

Law and Development in East and Southeast Asia

London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon/IIAS Asian Studies Series, 2003. 387 pp., ISBN 0-7007-1321-2 (hb)



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