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36 Theme: Maritime piracy

IIAS
International Institute for Asian Studies

NEWSLETTER

A pre-colonial language in a post-colonial world

Sheldon Pollock is a man of many interests. A Sanskritist by training, he is also concerned with history, politics and social theory, while some of his work is controversial. He spoke to Gijs Kruijtzter last December about his career, research, and the politics of writing the pre-colonial.

GK: During your career you've moved from ancient Sanskrit poetry through the Medieval to the brink of the colonial period. Can you describe some of the stages along this journey?

SP: Let me try to cut into this question by describing some of my recent projects, especially my new book, which concerns the history of Sanskrit itself. I think a lot of Sanskritists are interested in this question, since Sanskrit occupies a strange social location among the classical languages of the world, and many Sanskritists ask themselves early in their careers what exactly Sanskrit was for, who used it and how it differed from other *Kultursprachen*. In the early 1990s I became interested in precisely these questions and realized - and I think a lot of people have realized this long before I came along - that understanding the history of Sanskrit requires understanding the history of non-Sanskrit. This brought me to the study of Old Kannada.

I first began to study Kannada in Chicago, with my colleague A.K. Ramanujan, trading Kannada lessons for Sanskrit lessons, and then with scholars in Mysore, above all T. V. Venkatachala Sastry. That was a very important moment in my career, for I began to see the powerful interactions between Sanskrit and a local literary language in ways you simply cannot see if you're looking at the history of Sanskrit divorced from the history of regional languages. Some years later my editor at the University of California Press encouraged me to develop all this into a larger book project that turned into *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

The new book is a history of culture and power as expressed in the medium of Sanskrit, and what happened when Sanskrit was superseded in the course of the second millennium CE, a period I have called the 'vernacular millennium'. Given my earlier training as a classicist and belief in the value of serious comparativism, I also look at the role of Latin in the Roman Empire, the very different forms empire took in India and Italy, and the displacement of Latin and Sanskrit and their imperial embodiments through vernacular poetries and vernacular polities in the medieval period. There are absolutely stunning symmetries in every sense. It is remarkable to compare the court of King Alfred at the end of the ninth century and the relationship between that developing polity and its attitude towards the Carolingian Empire with their contemporaries in southern India, the Rashtrakutas and western Calukyas, and their cultivation of a Kannada cultural-political region. Sanskrit maintained only a kind of ghostly existence in the literary domain during the latter half of this vernacular millennium. I am well aware that as a language of scholarship it has continued into the present - I studied only in Sanskrit medium with my various teachers in India, including the great P. N. Pattabhirama Sastry - but my book will show that its displacement began long ago, and that by the middle of the second millennium, Sanskrit in many places was no longer relevant in the literary and political spheres. The real creative energies were from then on located in the *desha bhashas*, the languages of Place.

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Asia, what Asia?

Director's note

While few previously appreciated the extent of the interconnections between Europe and Asia, this all changed within hours on 26 December 2004 when a tsunami hit the shores of South and Southeast Asia, causing terrible suffering and enormous devastation. The amateur video images of the tsunami and its victims, Asians and Europeans alike, imprinted on everyone's memory the human ties binding the continents. Although the tsunami generated a worldwide charitable reflex of unprecedented proportions, the lack of effective political structures to direct relief operations reinforced negative images of Asia where 'Asian' is a pejorative label - as in 'Asian crisis', 'Asian values' or 'Asian flu'.

Be this as it may, there is also a growing tendency to view Asia in a more positive light, due in large part to impressive economic growth in China and India, and new impulses in scientific cooperation. In my previous director's note I reflected on how to establish Asia-Europe collaboration in research and education, and how European countries - instead of trumpeting unrealistic statements about Europe's future as the world's foremost knowledge-economy by 2010 - need to begin organizing a pan-European structure for scientific education and research, and to channel significant resources to secondary and tertiary education.

I do not have the illusion that my director's note is avidly read in Brussels. Nonetheless, the Secretary General of the Council of the European Union, J. Solana, admitted in January 2005 that statements about Europe being the foremost knowledge-economy by 2010 were rhetorical and unrealistic. Instead, the EU should take on the role of catalyst. According to Solana, the EU should fuel and stimulate promising new initiatives in all realms of society, including research and education.

I sincerely hope this line of thinking on the EU's role will blossom, as only then can bottom-up initiatives develop. This will take time, as it will involve a change in mentality among European civil servants, who have been trained to implement and execute (research) programmes adhering to narrow criteria. These programmes are the result of extensive lobbying in the corridors of power: the outcome, for example, of the *Sixth Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development 2002-2006*, in its almost exclusive fixation on the hard sciences and information technology, mirrors the interests of the 'powers' which have the upper hand in Brussels. The meagre amount of money ear-marked for the 'soft' sciences is spent on politically correct research following the latest trends, which are, in nature, short-term in outlook.

The voice of the human and social sciences needs to be heard. Before this can happen, we need a Euro-Asian proto-structure of education and research that can make a strong case for cooperation between Asia and Europe. This will be no easy task, though the rapidly growing research and development capacities of Asian countries make the creation of such a platform realistic. A promising initiative in this direction is the one by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for an Asian alliance of research institutes, which in combination with the European Alliance for Asian Studies could become the first step in the formation of such a proto-structure.

It is important to reinforce these initiatives but we need to, at the same time, keep on creating more favourable conditions for Asia-Europe cooperation to flourish. European secondary schools should be offering courses in Asian cultures and languages, thus acquainting pupils with Asia in their formative years. When they leave school in 2010, European universities should be offering an array of courses on Asia combined with disciplinary specializations. To attain the critical mass to achieve this objective, education and research on Asia should be co-ordinated at the pan-European level. But before we can start thinking about this, we need to take stock of existing Asian Studies in Europe, so that in the future we will not be tongue-tied when asked: 'Asia, what Asia?' ◀

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS



The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a postdoctoral 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 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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IIAS Newsletter

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Some thoughts on how knowledge on Southeast Asia came to be

Letters & Comment

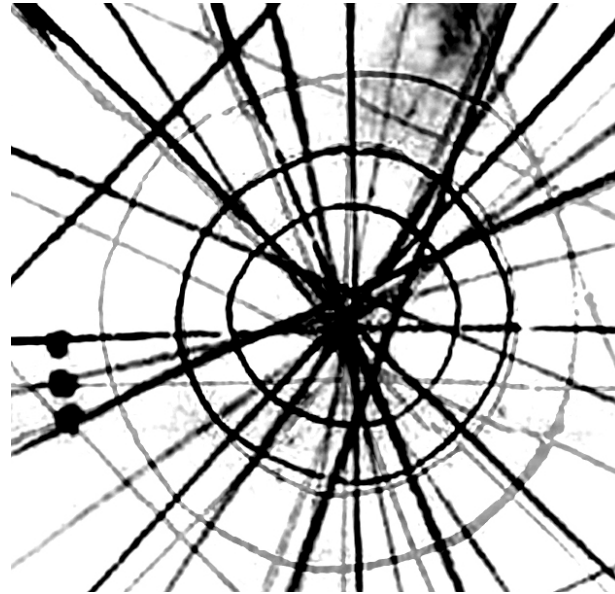
As teachers and researchers in the humanities and social sciences, we often refer to the corpus of empirical knowledge labeled 'Southeast Asian studies' but seldom reflect closely on the nature of this knowledge. As pointed out by Charles Macdonald in 'What is the use of area studies?', IAS Newsletter 35, the utility of this knowledge is not only academic in nature, but also professional and political. In response to his important and timely comments, I wish to offer some of my own thoughts on the matter.

I propose that social scientific knowledge on Southeast Asia has a clear knowledge baseline, a continuous and inter-related intellectual-cum-conceptual basis, which emerged from its own history and has, in turn, inspired the construction, organization and consumption of this knowledge. Two concepts in particular - 'plurality' and 'plural society' - have frequently been used to characterize Southeast Asia. Both are social scientific constructs that emerged from empirical studies conducted in the region.

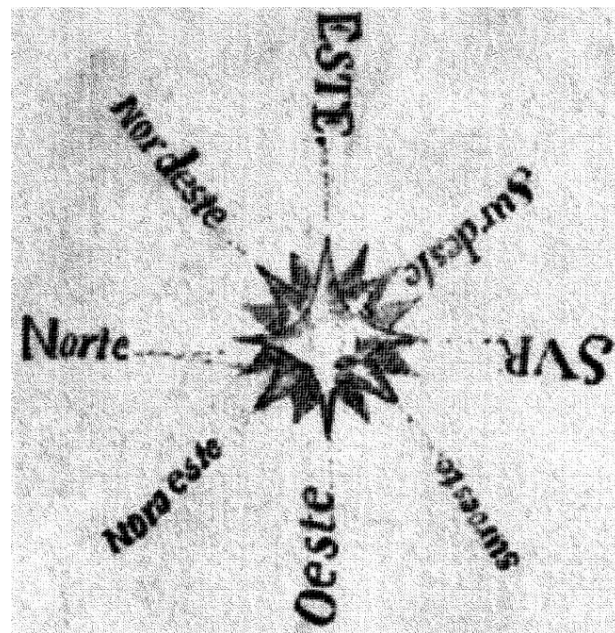
It is not difficult to show that the production of social scientific knowledge on Southeast Asia has moved along this 'plurality-plural society' continuum. When scholars research and write on pre-European Southeast Asia they are compelled to respond to the reality of Southeast Asian plurality during that period, when the region was a meeting place of world civilizations and cultures, where winds and currents converged bringing together people from all over the world pursuing 'God, gold and glory', and where groups of indigenes moved in various regional circuits seeking their fortunes. As a result, we have had, in Java, a Hindu king with an Arabic name entertaining European traders. In Champa, we had a Malay raja ruling a predominantly Buddhist populace trading with India, China and the Malay Archipelago. Even shunning orientalism, we cannot avoid writing about that period within a plurality framework, thus emphasizing the region's rich diversity and colourful traditions. In other words, the social reality of the region to a large extent dictates our analytical framework.

'Plurality' characterizes Southeast Asia before Europeans came and dismantled its flexible traditional polities, installing their systems of governance and dividing the region into a community of 'plural societies'. The latter signifies both 'coercion' and 'difference' and the introduction of large-scale migrant communities originating from various civilizations, including Chinese and Indian migrant laborers who came to the Malay world. It also signifies the introduction of knowledge, social constructs, vocabulary, idioms and institutions hitherto unknown to the indigenous population, such as maps, census, museums and ethnic categories, the introduction of a capitalistic market-oriented economy, and systematized and hegemonic bureaucratic politics.

Once colonial rule was established and the plural society installed in the region, followed later by the formation of nation-states, the analytical frame, too, changed. Analysts now had to address the reality of the plural society, and also subsequent developments generated by the existence of a community of plural societies in the region. We began to narrow our analytical frame to nation-state, ethnic group,



Map of East Asia compass detail, drawn by Shou Karota, approx. 16th century
Kano Collection, Tohoku University Library



Mapa y Plan Oriental que manifiesta la Villa de León con sus Barrios, Pueblos calles y cuadras
Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin

inter-nation-state relations, intra-nation-state problems, nationalism and so on. This gave rise to what could be called 'methodological nationalism', a way of constructing and using knowledge based mainly on the 'territoriality' of the nation-state and not on the notion that social life is a universal and borderless phenomenon - hence the creation of 'Indonesian studies', 'Philippines Studies', 'Malaysian Studies', 'Thai Studies' and so on.

With the advent of the Cold War and modernization theory, analysts further narrowed their frames of reference. They began to talk of poverty and basic needs in the rural areas of a particular nation, focusing on resistance and warfare, slums in urban areas, and economic growth of small-holder farmers. The interests of particular disciplines, such as anthropology, became narrower still when it focused on particular communities in remote areas, a particular battle in a mountain area, a failed irrigation project in a delta, or gender identity of an ethnic minority in a market town. Hence social scientific knowledge on Southeast Asia became, to borrow a Javanese term, *kratonized*, or compartmentalized.

Inevitably a substantial amount of social scientific knowledge on Southeast Asia has been generated, produced and contextualized within the plural society framework, because 'nation-state' as an analytical category matters more than, say, the plurality perception of the Penan of Central Borneo, who, like their ancestors centuries ago, move freely between Indonesia and Malaysia to eke out a living along with other tribal group and outside traders, ignoring the existence of the political boundaries. In fact, anthropologists seem to have found it convenient, for analytical, scientific and academic expedience, to separate the Indonesian Penan from those of Malaysia when, in reality, they are one and the same people.

The 'plurality-plural society continuum' is thus not only a 'knowledge baseline' but also a real-life social construct endowed with a set of ideas, vocabulary and idioms, within which people exist day-to-day in Southeast Asia. As teachers and researchers in the humanities and social sciences our primary task is to separate the reality from the social constructs, thus separating, even momentarily, 'the analytical' from 'the real'. It is not an easy task but try we must. Perhaps then we will be in a better position to understand how 'Southeast Asian studies as a form of knowledge' has been utilized beyond academia. ◀

Shamsul A.B.

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Cultural diversity and exchange within globalisation?

Culture has become one of the most common topics for discussion at international meetings. Formerly the preserve of anthropologists, it has come out of its exotic corner to mount the global stage. Even political scientists and economists have discovered culture: the former generally see it as a form of power, while the latter view it as a commodity. Literary scholars have meanwhile taken culture from its aesthetic pedestal down into the grittiest details of life. It seems that nothing now can escape the grip of culture while organizations are awakening to its significance. Culture is of course all this and much more.

Globalisation is an important factor pushing the agenda for culture: in 2004, the International Labour Organisation placed culture at the centre of its quest for participatory democracy. The World Summit on Information Society is increasingly concerned with issues of communication and the role of culture in ensuring its success. The 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity initiated discussions on how cultural diversity should be preserved, encouraged and shared while the ASEM ministerial meeting held in Beijing in December 2003 recommended the promotion of cultural diversity and exchange to reduce global conflict. ASEM also promotes the preservation of traditional and contemporary arts and encourages cultural exchange between Asia and Europe.

As an anthropologist, I remain skeptical of such approaches to cultural diversity and exchange. The notion of culture as an aspect of every day life disappears under the weight of creative achievements or civilizational orientations. Culture becomes too obvious and artificial, whereas its real power lies in its ability to disguise its effects as part of natural or traditional behaviour. Culture is neither hegemonic nor consensual. It assigns subject positions often against the interests of the subjects concerned. Women and homosexuals are invariably assigned negative values in a patriarchal culture; in return they try as best as they can to subvert these cultural values. Hence, cultures are invariably in conflict and in transformation.

A few weeks before attending the 'Asia-Europe Seminar on Cultural Diversity and Cultural Exchange in the Framework of Globalization' conference in Hanoi (September 2004), I was at a conference in Warwick on globalization (another much abused concept). Here, culture barely rated a mention, apart from an almost ritualistic abeyance. Instead, the focus was on the political and economic aspects of globalization. When I raised objections, the reply was that culture was an integral part of globalization. Culture was whatever politics or economics could not explain; a remnant of social life after its most rational aspects had been removed.

While culture was under-rated at the Warwick conference, I felt that in Hanoi culture was over-rated. In both cases culture was unproblematic. At the Warwick conference, culture disappeared under the weight of politics and economics, while at Hanoi only its more obvious and exemplary expressions were recognized. When cultural assumptions are shared as in Warwick, culture is invisible, but when confronted with difference as in Hanoi, culture is overwhelming. The paradox of culture is that while some of its expressions are only too obvious, others disappear in the routines of everyday life. The taken-for-granted elements of culture are mostly invisible to their practitioners. It is this aspect of culture that the Warwick and Hanoi conferences overlooked.

One of the ironies of disciplinary practice is that while the world has begun to take culture seriously, anthropologists have discarded it as a serious analytical category. The difficulties associated with its growing uses are a major reason why anthropologists are hesitant to employ the concept of culture for explaining contemporary social life. Others have now claimed culture, and in this overcrowded market place, non-anthropologists are often the most persuasive peddlers. ◀

Raul Perterra
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GK: Was your desire to view literature historically in *Literary Cultures in History* in any way inspired by the 'literary turn' among researchers of colonial history?

SP: No, the literary cultures book didn't come out of any methodological shift in Indian historiography, let alone from a Western literary-theoretical problematic, whether derived from Bakhtin or Derrida, both of which Indianists must find inadequate for their materials. It emerged out of a set of issues that poets and novelists and anybody who writes in South Asia has confronted for a very long time, the Indian version of the Questione della Lingua. I'll give you an example. The Kannada novelist U.R. Ananthamurthy, a friend of mine since the 1970s, did his PhD in England in the early 1960s and could have stayed to become a Salman Rushdie, *avant la lettre*, of the Anglo-Indian fiction world. Instead he decided not only to go home but to write in Kannada. This was a huge choice - a choice that in the 1960s a lot of post-colonial intellectuals were making - to sort of recapture the *deshi* literary aesthetic and to refuse English. There is an old and interesting essay on this by the poet R. Parthasarathi, another old friend, called 'Whoring after Strange Gods', written when he abandoned English poetry for Tamil. There is sometimes a certain indigenism or nativism in such gestures, which is not my political cup of tea, but Ananthamurthy has no nativism about him at all - his was a cultural-political decision.

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Twenty years later I wanted to do a project about the long history of the Ananthamurthy problem, one that in Kannada began around the time of Pampa in the tenth century: poets and writers confronting the choice of how to write, of what language to write in, of which audience to address. These were always choices. In Benedict Anderson's theory of nationalism, language diversity is a fatality. It is a sort of negative, biblical vision of language diversity as a curse. As I've argued, India has no tower of Babel myth, and in any case language diversity is a product of culture, not a product of nature. Culture does not, in any meaningful sense of the term, 'evolve'. People actively develop language diversity because it serves their aesthetic, political or spiritual purposes. When and how those choices were made is an important question behind *Literary Cultures in History*. In a place like South Asia, where you have the longest continuous multi-lingual literary history in the world, you have a very big research project. How do you begin

culture does not, in any meaningful sense of the term, evolve. People actively develop language diversity because it serves their aesthetic, political or spiritual purposes

to explore the problem of literary language choice over a two thousand-year period with dozens of languages? It seemed sensible to develop a collaborative project. I also like collaborative projects for political reasons; if we can't have a socialist world we can have socialist research projects. So for me there is real political value in collaborative work.

And you see, the Indian material is so much richer than the European, we are able to follow the history of literary culture



Sheldon Pollock

in a way that is impossible in Europe. Just look at the depth of the archive. In German or French, for example, you have almost nothing from the ninth or tenth or even eleventh century, whereas India is awash with texts from that era. To pursue this issue one second further: there are certain kinds of history that are very difficult for us to do in South Asia, since we simply don't have the archival materials. Why not do the history that we have the materials for? And the material that we have in abundance is literature. Making literature is one of the most important things that South Asians have done with their lives and they have lovingly preserved its written forms in harsh conditions for centuries. There you can really discover something about the history of South Asian sensibilities, standards of aesthetics, about language and modes of social or political identification, about the place of culture in the world of power.

GK: This nativism and what you've called the neo-orientalist view of ideas of history, how are they problematic?

SP: There are two ways to think about that. There are definitely multiple temporalities in pre-modern India and multiple ways of encoding these temporalities, as the work of Sanjay Subrahmanyam shows. I think his project of developing more sensitivity towards South Asian visions of time, of change and transformation is very important. The belief that everybody in South Asia before the coming of some western historical model thought in terms of cyclical history strikes me as completely erroneous. But that false assumption is the least of our problems. Much more crippling is the implicit argument that we cannot know anything about a people that they themselves did not know. Even if you grant for the sake of argument that all South Asians through all of time believed in cyclical history, does this mean that scholarship cannot achieve knowledge about a text or event or tradition that the people themselves did not have?

I agree that the only way to know anything about South Asia is to start with South Asia, with the categories and presuppositions and expectations that people in South Asia have had. But there is a convergence between a sort of neo-orientalism and a nativism that wants to somehow disallow a critical historical analysis of pre-colonial South Asia, because critique and history in their view were not indigenous conceptual schemes. First of all this is not true. And secondly, even if it were true, it is irrelevant to our critical project except insofar as it presents yet another problem to theorize. It is crucial for us to know, for example, that people in the past may have held a geocentric view of the cosmos. But this does not mean that in the past the earth did not go around the sun, or that we cannot know what they did not know or actively reflect on. We should be able to develop a critical historical account of culture which first of all describes the nature of the traditional views, but also probes what they couldn't see and asks why they couldn't see it. For me historicism remains an essential dimension of scholarship, even if pre-modern South Asians themselves were not historicists (though they sometimes were). But the old historicism needs to be complimented by a spirit of political - in the largest sense of the term - criticism. These are the two core components of what I would call a critical philology. Let me explain this a little further.

A core problem for me in all this - it occupies the third part of *The Language of the Gods* - remains capitalist theory, the social theory developed to explain culture and power in the era of capitalism. How to get beyond such theory, which is entirely inappropriate for thinking through non-capitalist culture and power, and what that might mean for a radically different *prac-*

tice of culture and power, are the real prize. Why do we care about the past, especially a past that some myopic observers might say is not our own? We care about the past because we care about the future. And we want to have a more humane world, where we have better choices than we had in the past. And one question that motivates me is: are there resources in the non-capitalist, non-modern, non-western world, theoretical resources in particular, that are available to us to remake our world?

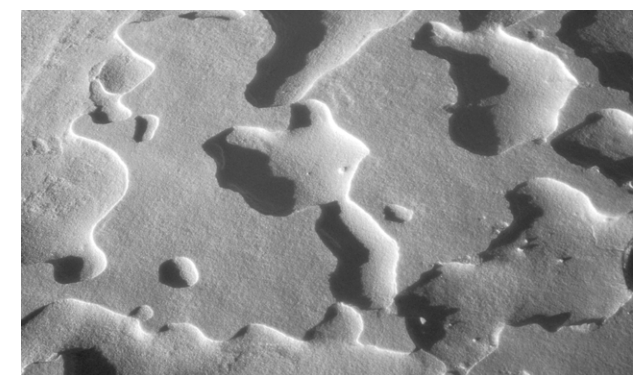
GK: There are also people who care about the past in order to stake their heritage claims, most notably Hindu nationalists, and some have associated you with them....

SP: I think you're referring to an article on the Ramayana I wrote in 1993 ('*Ramayana* and Political Imagination in India'). I feel this piece has been woefully misinterpreted by some readers. When I was traveling in India early in 1992 and arrived in Hyderabad, there were atrocities against the Muslim community and the *Ramayana* was everywhere, and I thought: I have been working on the *Ramayana* for so long, I have got to say something about the role of this text in Indian political life. And my need to understand what enabled it to function as an instrument of violence became even more desperate after the Babri Masjid was destroyed - actually twelve years ago today. So I decided to look at the long history of *Ramayana* discourse and what I saw was very upsetting. But how are you supposed to suppress that sort of information? My feeling was that it was crucial to bring that material out and to critique and defang it.

Some people were upset, especially with my criticism of a pamphlet on the uses of history brought out by Jawaharlal Nehru University scholars. When you are on the frontline of struggle I understand you have to do certain things, like denouncing the Vishwa Hindu Parishad for its 'political abuse' of his-

much more crippling is the implicit argument that we cannot know anything about a people that they themselves did not know

tory. But my feeling was this is rather naïve, all history writing is political, there is not political history on one side and transcendently true history on the other, only better political history and worse political history. My feeling was we have to write



better political history than the bad guys, and some people didn't like that criticism. To attack me for being somehow aligned with the VHP is ridiculous. Some of the most inspiring letters I received were from Muslim colleagues, from Aligarh and as far away as Malaysia, thanking me for that article, and they didn't view it as 'oh you see Muslims have been *rakshasas* for 800 years and we should continue to kill them the way Ram-candra killed Ravana'. That is an absurd interpretation of the argument. The *Ramayana* article was meant as a contribution to the critique of *Hindutva*, to the critique of the *Ramayana* as an instrument of political manipulation and to the critique of domination. And if the historical record looks bad for some people, if the pre-British past is not entirely utopian, well, that's unfortunate. But the only way you get out of the past is by confronting it.

GK: A latent question behind your new knowledge systems project is: what if colonialism hadn't happened?

SP: The project was designed in the first instance to address the great lacuna of colonial intellectual history - our profound ignorance of late pre-colonial intellectual history. You can't know what it meant for the British to invade the epistemic space of India, as my late colleague Barney Cohn once put it,



without understanding what that space was. But one of the things the project will show, I am increasingly convinced, is that forces internal to the Sanskrit scholarly tradition and social order ensured its breakdown before colonialism in its strong form even arrived. How to show an ending (no less than how to show a beginning) is a very serious empirical and epistemological problem. There is always the possibility that there will be texts we haven't found, some brilliant treatise on aesthetic theory from 1893 turning up in some village. Also, what epistemically it means for a cultural form to end needs to be specified.

The way I look at the record now, in 2004, on the basis of materials accessible to me, is that something big in Sanskrit science and scholarship happened around the beginning of the sixteenth century and something big happened around the end of the eighteenth century. You have a 300-year period



scholarly relations with India. We were able to collect several hundred manuscripts, but at every library - Bhandarkar Institute, Adyar Library, Saraswati Mahal in Tanjavur, the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, Ganganath Jha Research Institute, and worst of all, Saravasti Bhavan, Banaras - all kinds of obstacles were put in our way, and in some cases we were turned away altogether. (No one can even get into some really crucial collections, such as KSSU and MRI Darbhanga.) We have even been denied permission to print from microfilm duplicates held in the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. The reasons range from regional chauvinism to xenophobia (one librarian in Allahabad accused us of trying to steal India's cultural heritage) to what seems almost magical thinking about the loss of a manuscript's value if it is read. This project is for the greater glory of India, nobody is going to read these manuscripts if not the sort of people working on our project and the students they train. Some westerners may have been insensitive in the past, but this is 2004 and those days are gone, there has got to be some sort of open access to these materials.

GK: Why have you chosen to compare Sanskrit knowledge systems rather than say Indian Persianate knowledge systems to European systems?

SP: The project is not meant to be another exercise in Sanskrit hegemony. My longer term hope is to develop an ongoing seminar and publication series on the seventeenth century and work with scholars elsewhere, in China, for example, the Middle East, and Europe to do a kind of global intellectual history of the early modern age. But yes, it is difficult to draw in the

there is a whole world of intellectual production that both Indian scholars and western scholars have simply ignored in favor of the colonial archive, and that has something crucial to tell us about the history of modernity

Indo-Persian material because the actual number of people you can put this in the interview, I'll be delighted if I am shown to be wrong - the actual number of people working on Indo-Persian knowledge systems, such as political philosophy, historiography, or aesthetics, is almost zero. Muzaffar Alam is one of the very few, that is why he is so precious to us. You have to create a buzz, you have to show people that, while the Mughal documents are important and the Sufi and other religious texts, so are Indo-Persian moral philosophy, political thought, and literary criticism. What I hope this knowledge system project does is create a sense of possibility for work in all South Asian traditions. People will begin to see that there is a whole world of intellectual production that both Indian scholars and western scholars have simply ignored in favor of the colonial archive, and that has something crucial to tell us about the history of modernity. ◀

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forces internal to the Sanskrit scholarly tradition and social order ensured its breakdown before colonialism in its strong form even arrived

of remarkable efflorescence and then, for reasons we still have to figure out, this began to slow and then almost completely cease. It would be convenient to argue that colonialism came in and destroyed Sanskrit intellectual life but it is not clear to me that such is the case. It is demonstrably not the case in literary history. Somehow Sanskrit had become a world enclosed



on itself, which wasn't able to communicate, literarily, as effectively as the languages of Place. That may have been one of the conditions for the slow decline of Sanskrit, but I don't know how important other elements were. When Lord Minto wrote his minute on native education in 1811, he describes how 'abstract sciences' had been abandoned in India, 'political literature' neglected, and so on, and he ascribed this to the erosion of patronage systems in the recent past. It is conceivable that the breakup of certain kinds of patronage structures after the collapse of the Mughal Empire was a factor in the erosion of Sanskrit knowledge, as the coming of the Mughal peace two centuries earlier was a factor in its efflorescence. But that can't be the whole story.

GK: You said earlier that you wanted to discuss the problems the project encountered...

SP: The knowledge system project has three components. First, we want to write a book on the history of the disciplines that expressed themselves in Sanskrit in the period 1500-1800. Second, we want to make a bio-bibliographical database (I hope that we will eventually include vernacular language texts and persons and also Persian language texts and persons, to have a new and powerful research tool for the history of South Asian intellectuals). The third component was to be an online

if the historical record looks bad for some people, if the pre-British past is not entirely utopian, well, that's unfortunate. But the only way you get out of the past is by confronting it

digital archive of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts. For me that was a very important element because these materials are extremely difficult to get hold of, and can be very hard to read and understand. The idea was to make digital images, put them on our website and let scholars around the world have access to these materials. It would be a goldmine for future scholarship.

But we ran into problems with Indian libraries from the beginning, and this has been a source of profound disappointment to me, and also a sign of a serious problem in international

Neil Garcia was an ICOPHIL fellow and artist in residence at IIAS in 2004

When will it ever end-
the strangeness to write about?

The apartment I stay in
is next door to the Black Tulip:

an exclusive guesthouse
for clients into leather and chain.

In other words: bondage,
and all the gory theater it entails.

I've had half-a-mind to go visit
as next-door neighbors are supposed to,

but with pleasure and pain
I'm already fully acquainted,

and for the inflictions of felt language
I no longer have to pay.

At least, not in hard currency.
But I can imagine

how comparable they are-
writing and sadomasochistic sex:

they are both peak experiences
that blur body and spirit,

pushing one into the other's
transforming embrace.

This may be why desire's idiom
approaches the idiom of death:

to be breathless, to know passion,
to be utterly consumed.

Or perhaps, I'm only being analogical,
wishing to see kinship

from the sympathy of distance.
Perhaps, it's not as I think it is.

The metaphor of the suffering self
can be stretched just so far:

wheals and bruises on an exposed flank
are too literal to be abstracted

to a verbal device.
The burning of lashed leather

on a buttock or a thigh
is irreducibly what it is.

Drawn blood from a pricked nipple
isn't quite inspiration.

As I write this, into the courtyard
outside my window waft

muffled moaning and screams
counterpointed by the deliberate sound

of hard, rhythmic spanking.
I can see a fat belt slapping

against a rippled expanse of skin,
freckled and progressively shading

into deeper moods of red.
My mouth waters

at the remembered sensation
of a splintered finger, a stubbed toe,

the waves of dark heat cresting
from the body's midpoint

to the quickening head;
which reels and unhinges

and throbs into a flower-
a tulip blossoming

on the whiteness of the page.

Poems from Amsterdam: a cycle XXXIV

J. Neil C. Garcia

Theme introduction

Piracy and robbery in the Asian seas



Dolokana P. deon 3-III

John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer

Maritime piracy has become a focal point of media attention. Together with governments and military experts, the media tends to link maritime piracy with international terrorism as an ongoing threat in the post-Cold War era. In particular the Strait of Malacca, the strategic sea-lane linking the oil fields of the Middle East and the production economies of East Asia and beyond, is portrayed as a future battlefield.

The media, however, has a tendency to overstate the issue on the basis of insufficient evidence - data supplied by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) and its UN counterpart, the International Maritime Organization (IMO). The absence of thorough research has led to the romanticization and misunderstanding of piracy to such an extent that, in many cases, fiction has overtaken reality. This is not to underestimate the difficulty of researching pirates. As Dian H. Murray observed: 'like other groups for whom written records are

anathema, detailed information on pirates and their lives is difficult to come by'. For 'what pirate would want to keep written accounts of activities which, if the records should fall into government hands, would automatically convict them?' (2002: 257)

This does not imply that social science research on robbers and pirates is impossible; maritime piracy, unlike maritime terrorism, can be regarded as one of many 'grey-area' phenomena. Like smuggling, gambling, prostitution, the trafficking of goods and people and petty crime on land, piracy exists in more or less organized forms in contexts of diminishing human security (Chalk 1997). Maritime Southeast Asia's coastal zones are increasingly characterized by environmental degradation, illegal fishing, high unemployment, migrant labour, smuggling, crime and prostitution. Piracy in this context is truly an economic activity, be it a business concerned with the transport and distribution of commodities rather than their production.

Academic workshops on maritime piracy have repeatedly stressed the need to view contemporary maritime piracy within what has imaginatively been called the 'tapestry of maritime threats'. Social scientists still need to fully understand the knots in this tapestry. While undertaking this research, academics should bear in mind that their purpose and priorities fall under the purview of scientific research, not Southeast Asian governments or private organizations. There is a need for research on the human dimensions of maritime piracy: the pirates and their socio-economic backgrounds.

The articles compiled here address different aspects of Asian maritime piracy in historical and contemporary perspective. Three articles address piracy in the past. Robert Anthony addresses the economic and cultural significance of piracy along China's southern coast in the early modern period, a co-habitation of rulers, peasants, fisher people and 'froth of the sea', as pirates were called. In Southeast Asia, many coastal zones and their hinterlands started out as frontier societies where all kinds of illicit activities took place; coastal areas were ruled for centuries by kingdoms that thrived on trade and raiding. In her article Esther Velthoen addresses the political implications of raiding for booty and slaves in Eastern Indonesia, and Dutch colonial attempts to suppress it. Ota Atsushi focuses on the role of piracy in transforming inter-regional trade patterns in the late eighteenth century, where local raiding groups competed and cooperated with the Dutch East India Company, British country traders and Chinese merchants.

Three articles address contemporary maritime piracy. Eric Frécon defends the



necessity of studying everyday piracy out of the limelight of sensation and romanticism, and takes us on a journey to some of the pirates living in the vicinity of Singapore operating in the Strait of Malacca. Adam Young explores the interests and difficulties involved in formulating a workable international response to piracy in Southeast Asia's strategic sea-lanes, and brings the reader back to the timeless issue of poverty. Finally, Stefan Eklöf argues that piracy continues to exist precisely because it remains insignificant for the shipping industry - and for that matter, Indonesia - and concludes with a call for a broader research agenda on human insecurity in coastal areas.

The guest editors hope the issue of maritime piracy will remain on the international research agenda after the imminent link with terrorism and cataclysm has faded away. <

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The front page illustration and all sketches in the theme, unless otherwise noted: Sebastien Brunel, 2004, watercolour on paper, 20x30 cm. He is based in Lyon, France. His webpage is: <http://seb.brunel.free.fr>



IIAS and the Centre for Maritime Research (MARE) at the University of Amsterdam are hosts of the programme 'Piracy and Robbery in the Asian Seas', an initiative to facilitate research, workshops and publications on piracy in Asia. Two workshops have been held to date: 'International Piracy and Robbery at Sea' at the 2nd MARE conference in Amsterdam in 2003, and 'Maritime Security, Maritime Terrorism and Piracy in Asia', co-organized by IIAS and ISEAS, in Singapore in 2004. Papers from these workshops will be published in edited volumes within the IIAS-ISEAS Series *Maritime Issues and Piracy in Asia*. The 3rd MARE conference in Amsterdam, 7-9 July 2005, will feature a panel on maritime risks including piracy. 'Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia', co-organized with the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, will take place in Shanghai, 10-12 November 2005. For more information, please visit: www.iias.nl/piracy

Piracy in early modern China

Theme >
South China

Over the centuries, piracy has captured the imagination of writers and readers alike. Described as daring adventurers, heroic rebels, or bloodthirsty villains, pirates in fact and fiction continue to fascinate people of all ages. But why should we study pirates? Are they important? Can they tell us anything about society, culture, and history?

Robert Antony

Pirates are not only interesting but significant for what they can tell us about Chinese history. Between 1520 and 1810, China witnessed an upsurge in piracy all along the southern coast from Zhejiang province to Hainan Island. This was China's golden age of piracy. During that time there were three great pirate cycles: first, the merchant-pirates of the mid-Ming dynasty from 1520 to 1575; second, the rebel-pirates of the Ming-Qing transition between 1620 and 1684; and third, the commoner-pirates of the mid-Qing dynasty from 1780 to 1810. For no less than half of those 290 years pirates dominated the seas around South China. Never before in history had piracy been so strong and enduring. While in the West the heyday of piracy was in decline by the early eight-

teenth century – the pirate population at its peak never exceeded 5,500 men – the number of pirates in China at its height was no less than 70,000. On the one hand, pirates brought havoc to many local communities and disrupted the economy; on the other, they contributed to the economic, social, and cultural development of early modern China.

overall income. Because tens of thousands of people on both sea and shore came to depend on piracy either directly or indirectly for their livelihoods, it became a self-sustaining enterprise and a significant feature of early modern China's history. Piracy was also important because it allowed marginalized fishermen, sailors, and petty entrepreneurs, who had otherwise been excluded, to participate in the wider commercial economy.

While piracy detracted from legitimate trade and profits, it nonetheless had important positive economic consequences. As the growth of legitimate commerce promoted the development of new ports, so too did pirates' illicit trade. Numerous ports and black markets sprung up along China's coast and on Taiwan to handle the trade in stolen

pirates, and seafarers in general, existed uneasily on the fringes of respectable society

goods and to service pirate ships and crews. Black markets operated as a shadow economy alongside and in competition with legitimate trade centres. Furthermore, this illegitimate trade tended to perpetuate piracy. Once pirates generated supplies of goods for sale at discount prices, buyers were attracted to the black markets that arose to handle the trade in stolen goods. Large amounts of money and goods flowed in and out of black markets, all of which were outside the control of the state and normal trading networks. The establishment of markets to specifically handle stolen merchandise was a clear indication of weakness in the structure of normal, legal markets. Pirates therefore made important contributions to the growth of trade and the reallocation of local capital.

Maritime history from the bottom up

The study of pirates is important for what it can tell us about the lives of ordinary people. The vast majority of Chinese pirates came from the discontented underclass of labouring poor, sailors and fishermen forced into piracy by poverty. They were typically single males who lacked steady employment and were constantly in debt. Most pirates were in their twenties; few were over forty. Sailors were a highly mobile work force, moving around from port to port taking whatever jobs were available. When times were hard and jobs were scarce many sailors took work aboard pirate ships as they would aboard any other ship. Piracy was a rational and viable alternative or supplement to inadequate employment and low wages. For most people it was a part-time occupation; most gang members were occasional, not professional pirates. Piracy therefore had an important function in providing work, even on a part-time basis, for countless numbers of people who could not be fully absorbed into the labour market.

Clandestine economy

Whenever piracy flourished, so too did the clandestine economy, providing tens of thousands of additional jobs to coastal residents. Like the pirates themselves, most of the individuals who traded with them were fishermen, sailors and petty entrepreneurs who engaged in both licit and illicit enterprises for survival. In many instances extra money gained from clandestine activities provided an important, even major, part of their

independently of and even overshadowed that of the government and local elites. Piracy therefore became a significant and pervasive force in South China's coastal society.

Furthermore, pirates built strongholds not only on remote islands, but in and around key commercial and political hubs such as Canton, Macao, Chaozhou, Amoy, and Fuzhou. There they defiantly set up their 'tax bureaux' to collect tribute and ransom payments and to conspire with soldiers, yamen underlings, and officials on their payrolls. The close proximity of pirate lairs to economic and political centres was clear indication of just how deeply piracy had penetrated China's maritime society.

Piracy and popular culture

Although many scholars agree that early modern China was becoming more culturally homogeneous, this was not the case among some segments of the labouring poor, whose culture was in many respects the antithesis of Confucian orthodoxy. Pirates, and seafarers in general, existed uneasily on the fringes of respectable society. They were social and cultural transgressors, who stood in marked defiance of orthodox values and standards of behaviour. Forged out of hardship, prejudice and poverty, pirates created a culture of survival based on violence, crime and vice, characterized by excessive profanity, intoxication, gambling, brawling, and sexual promiscuity. Mobile seamen carried their ideas and values from port to port and between ships. The mobility of crews helped to ensure social uniformity and a common culture among pirates and other seamen.

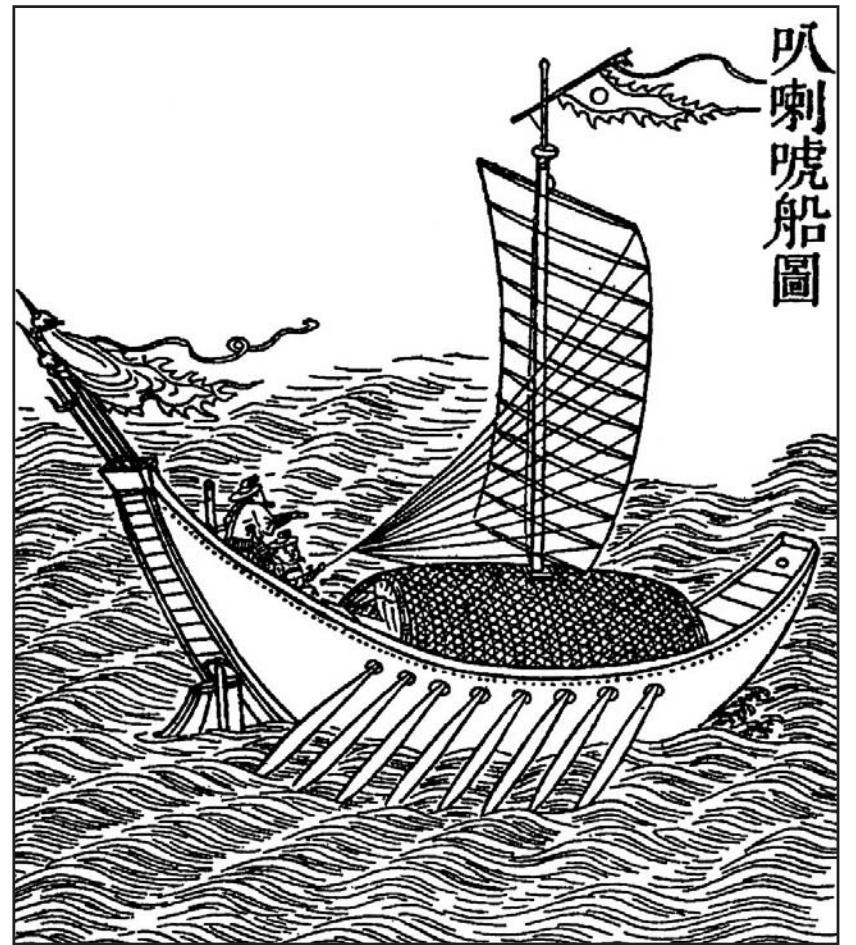
The culture of pirates and seafarers did not share the dominant Confucian values of honesty, frugality, self-restraint, and hard work, but rather espoused deception, ambition, recklessness, and getting ahead by any means. In a society that was becoming increasingly polarized, restless and contentious, poor sailors and fishermen had to devise their own lifestyles, habits, and standards of

the extortion system was highly institutionalised with registration certificates, account books, full-time bookkeepers, and collection bureaux

behaviour to survive. For many sailors, piracy was a normal, rational, and even legitimate means of maintaining minimal standards of living, perhaps a way out of poverty. Their socio-cultural world was significant because it challenged the mainstream Confucian model and offered a viable alternative for China's poor and discriminated.

The role of women

Among Chinese pirates, there were also significant numbers of women. Because many women made their homes aboard ship and worked alongside their menfolk, it was not unusual to find females among pirates. Many women had married into the pirate profession and will-



Small Pirate Junk with Sail and Oars. Source: *Gujin tushu jicheng* (1884)

Antony, Robert J. 2003. *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: the World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies. p. 109

ingly lived and died as outlaws. Several female pirates even became powerful chieftains, such as Zheng Yi Sao and Cai Qian Ma, both of whom commanded formidable pirate fleets. These and other female pirates were able to survive in a man's world by proving themselves as capable as men in battle and in their duties as sailors. Women were not merely tolerated by their male shipmates but were actually able to exercise leadership roles aboard ships.

Female pirates represented the most radical departure from dominant society and customs, defying accepted notions of womanhood, breaking with established codes of female propriety, virtue, and passivity. Unlike their counterparts on Western ships, Chinese women pirates did not have to disguise themselves as men. They lived and worked openly as women aboard ships. From the perspective of the Chinese state, such women who behaved like

well as length of time - made it a significant factor in modern China's historical development. There were not only tens of thousands of sailors and fishermen who became pirates, but at least as many or even more people on shore who aided and supported pirates, thus affecting a large portion of the coastal population. Both directly and indirectly, piracy had a great impact on the economic development of South China in the early modern period. Pirates helped open up new trading ports and markets in areas that had previously been little touched by the prevailing marketing system, thereby boosting the local economies with goods and money.

Large-scale piracy acted as a state within the state. Pirates established their own regime of military power, tax bureaux, and bureaucracy, which existed side-by-side with, but independently of, the Chinese imperial state and local elites. Pirates and seafarers created their own underworld culture of violence, crime, and vice. It was a survival culture significant because it was distinguishable from that of the dominant Confucian culture. For men and especially for women, piracy offered an important alternative way of life. <

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Sailing in dangerous waters: piracy and raiding in historical context

Theme >
Eastern Indonesia

Piracy and raiding in Southeast Asian waters has a long pedigree that time has done little to diminish. As late as 1994, memories of nineteenth century Tobelo raiders were used to frighten children into obedience in parts of central Sulawesi, Indonesia. The Tobelo, portrayed as merciless predators, were active in the nineteenth century, were one of many groups for whom piracy was an important source of livelihood in eastern Indonesia's 'geography of coasts'. This article examines how such groups functioned as part of the political system in eastern Indonesia and how this came to a temporary end with the maritime expansion of the colonial state in the nineteenth century.

Esther Velthoen

State-condoned raiding

Wandering groups of armed men were a common sight in the eastern archipelago in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were active not only during periods of regional warfare but in relatively peaceful times. Raiders were one part of a mobile population engaged in a combination of raiding, political pursuits, trading and fishing. Such groups were often associated with larger regional centres and were especially active in the peripheries where they often formed alliances with local elites and settled for longer periods.

raiding was not a sporadic, random activity but was closely related to the formation and functioning of regional spheres of influence and polities

The two main political centres in eastern Indonesia were Ternate and Bone. Their spheres of influence were based on alliances with tributaries and on ill-defined flows of traders, aristocrats, fisher-folk and raiders. In contrast to the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) ideal of a centrally managed system of political relations where peace-keeping and mediation were instrumental, this tributary system resembled a series of separately negotiated non-aggression pacts between a centre and its tributaries. Centres were unable to control the movements and actions of their subjects but were able to mount military campaigns to revenge affronts or discipline wayward tributaries, campaigns in which both raiding groups and tributaries participated.

Bone and Ternate differed in some important respects. Diasporas in both cases were instrumental to the expansion of their spheres. In the case of Ternate, aristocrats settled in eastern Sulawesi to represent the Sultan and to keep a close eye on local elites. In the case of Bone, the expansive diaspora of aristocrats and traders was not as closely linked to the main centre of power, and was accompanied by a dissemination of the Bugis language and customs beyond the area of Bone's political influence.

For regional centres, it was essential to 'manage' affairs in ways that ensured potential violence would not be directed

against themselves, and that tributaries and raiding chiefs did not form alliances against the centre. For this reason, it was necessary to direct violence outwards towards the periphery, by allowing tributaries and aristocrats with their armed followers to conduct their activities away from the centre. Eastern Sulawesi with its three small maritime polities of Buton, Tobungku and Banggai was situated between Bone and Ternate's spheres; it consequently felt the effects of raiding/trading groups from both centres and had to look to them for protection - with fluctuating success.

In 1743, a treaty was negotiated by Ternate to resolve a conflict between the two tributaries Banggai and Tobungku, so both could participate in a punitive expedition led by Ternate.

The final clause of this treaty, stipulating that the Sultan receive a share of any booty acquired, is clear evidence that he condoned such activities. Raiding was not a sporadic, random activity but was closely related to the formation and functioning of regional spheres of influence and polities.

Taming pirates

With the advent and expansion of the colonial state in the early nineteenth century, raiding was branded a criminal activity to be eliminated. The Dutch had to deal not only with piracy but with a political and economic system which included raiders and other mobile populations. Raiding was a way of levying tribute, increasing wealth and waging war that occurred on a large scale in the eastern archipelago during the last decades of the eighteenth century, at the time of Prince Nuku's war against the VOC.

In the 1820s and 1830s, several unsuccessful attempts were made to transform semi-nomadic raiding groups into sedentary fisher-folk and peasants through negotiation and the provision of land. The largest was that of Nuku's successor, Raja Jailolo, who was given land on the north coast of Seram. Here thousands of his subjects who had taken up a roaming existence during the Nuku War were to settle on a permanent basis. Lack of food and suspicion of continuing contact with active raiding chiefs brought the experiment to an abrupt end.

Two similar projects on a smaller scale were undertaken by the colonial government to resettle and pacify the Tobelo around Flores, also descendants of Nuku's followers. The first was carried out by Daeng Magassing, an aristocrat from Bonerate, a small island to the south of Sulawesi with longstanding connections to maritime raiders. He used his 'local' knowledge and status to form alliances with raiding groups and resettle them on Tanah Jampea. This tiny island to the south of Selayar had become depopulated due to frequent attacks. Here the resettled raiders were to engage in agriculture and live in peace under the protection of the Dutch. In 1830, fifteen Tobelo chiefs signed a peace treaty, reinforced by oath, with Daeng Magassing. Only three years later, however, it was evident to the colonial authorities that the project had failed and that Daeng Magassing himself was engaging in acts of piracy with supplies the Dutch had subsidised.

A second attempt to 'tame' the Tobelo was undertaken by a Dutch adventurer, Jan Nicholas Vosmaer, who opened a trading post on Sulawesi's east coast in the 1830s. He was supported by the colonial government and enjoyed the patronage of a powerful chief, Tuanna-

I-Dondang, closely linked to Magindanao raiders in northern and eastern Sulawesi. Vosmaer's trading post was to serve both as a base to draw Tobelo away from piracy, and to attract indigenous traders hitherto beyond Dutch control. Vosmaer negotiated a treaty with many of the same Tobelo chiefs as had Daeng Magassing, but his untimely death prevented this venture from succeeding. Had Vosmaer lived, it is doubtful whether he would have been able to 'tame' the pirates, since his own safety depended on his alliance with a chief who was involved in raiding networks. These early attempts to transform and settle raiders were destined to fail so long as the Dutch had only limited control over the seas and lacked the forces needed to prevent alliances between raiders and political elites.

Anti-piracy campaigns

The presence of 'pirates' was one of the main justifications cited for the maritime expansion of the colonial state that occurred in eastern Indonesia in the second half of the nineteenth century. The resettlement plans for raiders were abandoned and naval campaigns were launched against the Magindanao and Balangingi in particular, whose large seasonal fleets struck terror in coastal populations across maritime Southeast Asia. But the Dutch did not rely on the use of force alone, since it proved ineffective in

the presence of 'pirates' was one of the main justifications cited for the maritime expansion of the colonial state

areas such as eastern Sulawesi where raiding was, like its polities, small-scale and diffuse. Also, the links between local aristocracies and raiders persisted.

An unexpected side-effect of the anti-piracy campaigns in the Flores area was an increase in small-scale raiding in eastern Sulawesi. The destroyed settlements belonged to the Tobelo who provided the Magindanao with shelter and supplies on their long journeys. Now that the Magindanao were a source of danger rather than economic patronage, several Tobelo chiefs left the area in search of new overlords who could protect them against Dutch warships. Eastern Sulawesi, with its Ternaten tributaries provided such a safe-haven. These waters remained unpatrolled; the indirect link with the Dutch through Ternate provided, at least in theory, immunity against Dutch warships.

In 1846, three Tobelo chiefs and their followers arrived in Banggai where they were welcomed as allies to the Ternaten aristocrats in the midst of armed conflict with the local ruler. After the Ternatens emerged victorious, the

Tobelo chiefs raided nearby coastlines, sharing the booty with their new patrons. The pattern of alliance between political elites and raiders thus continued in a new context as a result of Dutch anti-piracy campaigns in the eastern archipelago.

The Dutch realised that suppressing small scale raiding entailed working through their existing alliances. In 1853, the Sultan of Ternate issued a decree calling all Tobelo to return to Ternate within a year or else be treated as pirates by the Dutch. More Tobelo started to drift to eastern Sulawesi to report to Ternaten representatives, but were intercepted by Dutch warships and returned to Ternate directly. In the 1870s and 1880s, anti-piracy campaigns in eastern Sulawesi were no longer conducted with European ships but with Ternaten *korak-korak* that could enter shallow coves and creeks and had the necessary flexibility to chase small craft. Local rulers and aristocrats were heavily fined if caught maintaining connections with Tobelo or other raiders. The last Tobelo raiders were transported back to Ternate from eastern Sulawesi in 1880. A direct result was the repopulation of the coasts, the revival of local trade and a boom in copra production. The waters had finally been secured for the colonial state.

Incidences of piracy abated after the 1880s. Interestingly, the next resurgence of piracy occurred in the 1950s as part of a regional rebellion against the central government that controlled most of southern Sulawesi. Many hilltop

fortresses used in defence against the Tobelo were once again re-occupied, while island populations in particular became vulnerable to tribute demands by rebel forces. The Indonesian state, just as the colonial state had done half a century earlier, established control anew over the seas through an adroit use of force and negotiation with rebel leaders. Given this history, it may be appropriate to question whether there is any connection between the present resurgence of piracy and the weakening of the centralised state with the fall of Suharto and, more to the point, if the reassertion of historical patterns requires the state to abandon its over-reliance on strong-arm tactics to negotiate anew with regional power holders? ◀

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Tobelo and Magindanao routes, bases and settlements affecting the east coast of Sulawesi in the first half of the 19th century

From 'piracy' to inter-regional trade: the Sunda Straits zone, c. 1750-1800

Theme >
Trade patterns

Incessant 'piracy' in the Sunda Straits Zone in the second half of the eighteenth century was tied to the expanding Canton trade. Bugis, Iranun, Malay, Chinese and English traders were directly or indirectly involved in the plunder of pepper, a profitable commodity to exchange for tea in Canton. Their activities accelerated the demise of the already malfunctioning Dutch East India Company trading system and the emergence of a new order in Southeast Asian trade.

Ota Atsushi

The declining Dutch trading system

Since their arrival in Java towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch attempted to establish an exclusive trading system in the Indonesian Archipelago. They concluded treaties with local rulers, often in return for military assistance, stipulating that the Dutch East India Company (VOC) would retain the right of monopoly on important export products and prohibiting all but authorized Dutch, indigenous, and Chinese merchants from their trade. Although the system was not always effective, it contributed to the VOC's collection of Southeast Asian products for the European market.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the emergence of the Canton trade began to seriously affect the Dutch trading system. As tea was becoming more and more profitable in Europe, Europeans - the English East India Company (EIC), English country traders, and the VOC, among others - enthusiastically promoted their trade in Canton, the only port in Qing China open to foreign traders.

To facilitate their trade in tea, European traders needed Southeast Asian products, which were in great demand in China. Tin, pepper and edible maritime products were, in this order, the most valuable commodities in terms of trade value; the EIC, English country and Chinese traders sought after these products in independent ports outside the Dutch trading system. In response, Riau, the capital of the kingdom of Johor, emerged as a new trade centre. Southeast Asian products were transported by local and Bugis traders to Riau in exchange for Chinese and Indian commodities, and carried by Chinese and English country traders to Canton. In contrast to the ineffective VOC monopoly system, Riau prospered by attracting traders from various regions in Asia.

the growing Canton trade and its demand for Southeast Asian products transformed the maritime trade in the Archipelago.... Demand for products 'banned' by the VOC fuelled 'piracy' and 'smuggling'

Pepper was one of the most important trade items in Riau. According to Dutch and English reports, some 5,000 to 10,000 pikul (one pikul = 61.75 kg) of pepper were traded in Riau in the 1780s. This meant that English country traders collected the greater part of their pepper in Riau. Nevertheless, important pepper-growing regions, such as Lampung, Palembang, Jambi, and Banjarmasin had already been incorporated into the

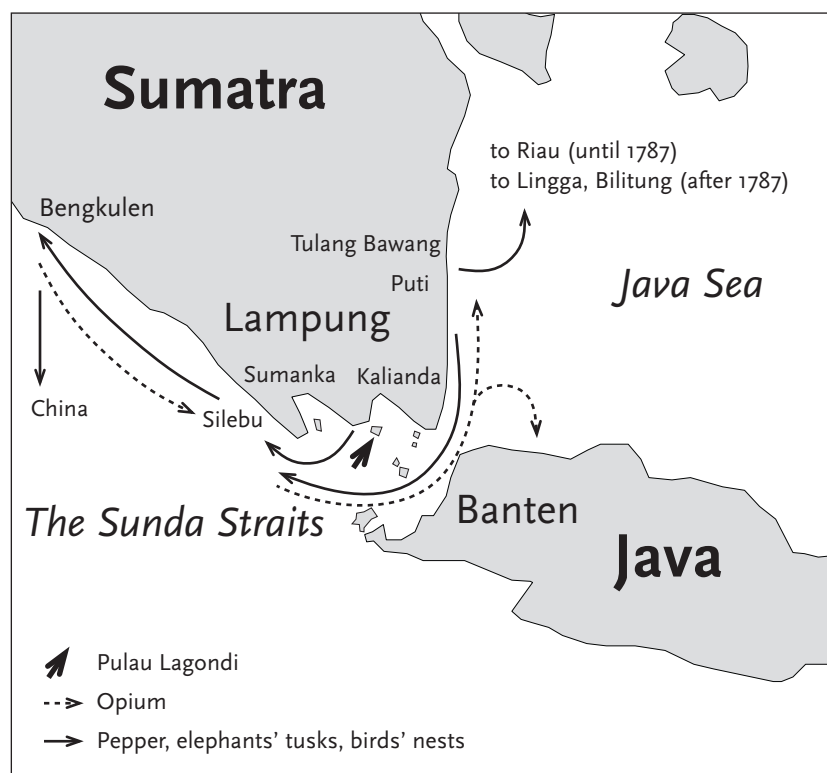
Dutch trading system. This is why a certain proportion of the pepper had to be collected by way of 'piracy' and 'smuggling'.²

Raiding

The Chinese demand for pepper made Lampung one of the most important raiding targets from the 1750s. Lampung was the largest pepper-producing region in Southeast Asia in the eighteenth century, providing about forty to eighty per cent of the pepper the VOC annually collected in Batavia. Nevertheless the region was vulnerable as neither its sovereign, the sultan of Banten, nor his overlord, the VOC, could effectively control the region due to their chronic financial and administrative problems.

tions to Lampung. Stimulated by these groups, Chinese, Bugis, Malay, and Palembang raiders also intensified their activities.

Raiders' plundering seriously impacted on the pepper trade in the Archipelago. According to a report sent by F. H. Beijnon, Commander of the VOC Banten factory to the Governor-General in Batavia on 30 September 1792, in the period from January 1791 to September 1792 - the only one for which information on the scale of raiding is available - 6,000 pikul of pepper, 4,190 Spanish Reals and 35 men lost to raiders, the result of attacks on 18 villages and 23 vessels in the Lampung and Sunda Straits regions. 6,000 pikul of pepper



Inter-regional trade in the Sunda Straits Zone in the second half of the eighteenth century

Raiding intensified from the late 1780s; two factors were behind this. First, Lingga emerged as a major base for raiding. The 1784 VOC attack on Riau and its subsequent occupation abruptly ended Riau's prosperity. Although Sultan Mahmud of Johor successfully

in twenty-one months, or some 3,400 pikul per year, equalled thirty-five to seventy per cent of the amount previously traded in Riau. It also amounted to about twenty per cent of all the pepper the VOC gained from Lampung. Thus raiding became an important channel for collecting pepper - and to a considerable extent, at the expense of VOC trade.

Although the Dutch report above mentions a relatively small number, manpower was also an important plundering target for raiders. Raiders conducted kidnappings every year, and in the largest such case, 130 people were captured in one attack. Some of the captured were sent to a market in Bilitung, probably to be resold to other regions, while others were brought to the pepper-growing region in Lampung, probably as enslaved labourers. In order to maintain their activities, raiders also plundered food, cargo ships and other necessities during their attacks on villages.

Although the Dutch continuously attempted to prevent raiding, their efforts proved ineffective. Dutch ships could not catch up with those of the raiders, as the latter could move faster with their sailing and rowing techniques. It was also difficult to find the raiders hidden in small inlets and on the many islands in the area.

A new pattern in inter-regional trade

The risky business of raiding would not have been possible without a network that exchanged the booty for money or

and English country traders were able to bring large amounts of pepper to Canton: fifty to ninety per cent of all the pepper transported by European traders.

The growing Canton trade and its demand for Southeast Asian products transformed the maritime trade in the Archipelago in the second half of the eighteenth century. Demand for products 'banned' by the VOC fuelled 'piracy' and 'smuggling' in many places, among them the Sunda Straits Zone. From the raider's booty the English obtained, among others, pepper, in

access to opium from Bengal gave the English an upper hand in competition with the Dutch

other necessary and profitable commodities. From the 1760s the increase in raiding around the Sunda Straits coincided with the development of an organized trade pattern, in which raiders' booty was exchanged for money and foreign commodities. The English were the most important buyers; a group of English traders staying in Silebu, a raiders' meeting point, bartered ammunition for pepper from the raiders. They even arranged a ship for the raiders to rob pepper from cargo ships passing near Pulau Lagondi.

Apart from direct contact around Silebu, Chinese traders based on Silebu and Pulau Lagondi usually mediated between the raiders and the English. The Chinese traders maintained regular contact with the English in Bengkulen, and exchanged their pepper for opium. Chinese intermediaries further promoted inter-regional trade: in defiance of the Dutch monopoly, they collected pepper, elephants' tusks and birds' nests along the Lampung coast, in exchange for English opium and textiles. They also brought a part of the English opium to the eastern part of Banten, where the sugar industry - mostly in the hands of Chinese sugar entrepreneurs - had developed since the early eighteenth century. In spite of their obligation to purchase opium from the VOC, sugar mill owners looked for cheaper opium from Bengkulen brought by Chinese traders.

This trade pattern benefited not only foreign traders, but local elites. Raden Intan in Kalianda, for example, sold pepper to the English, thereby demonstrating his disloyalty to the sultan of Banten and the Dutch. The English bought pepper at higher prices than the sultan of Banten had set, and brought textiles and opium for local people.

Thus the English presence in Silebu and Bengkulen led to their obtaining a large part of the plundered and secretly traded Lampung pepper. Their trading methods using various groups of raiders and traders, and their access to opium, which they brought from Bengal, gave the English an upper hand in competition with the Dutch. As a result, the EIC

exchange for opium and ammunition. This exchange formed a new trade pattern in the Sunda Straits Zone, and subsequently undermined the old Dutch trading system.

Although raiding and inter-regional trade existed in this area since older times, the trade pattern in this period was distinguished by two new factors: the role of the English in inter-regional trade and the role of Bengali opium. Since opium was further distributed in the area by the Chinese, the English and the Chinese emerged as partners. These factors became precursors to the Southeast Asian trade that the British presided over after the establishment of Singapore in 1819. Raiding and the new trade patterns in the Sunda Straits Zone in the late eighteenth century were an embryo of the new order in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia. <

Notes

1. My discussion is based on Dutch and English primary sources from the National Archives in The Hague and Jakarta, and in the British Library. Source references will be given in my forthcoming PhD dissertation.
2. Although Chinese-owned plantations in Trengganu and Brunei produced considerable amounts of pepper, it was directly brought to China by Chinese traders. Aceh's extraordinary increase of pepper production occurred only after 1800.

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Piracy in the Malacca Straits: notes from the field

Theme >
Field notes

30 September 2004, at night, 03:27N - 99:47E, Malacca Straits:

Robbers board a tug with a barge in tow. They break the windows, steal equipment and take the master and a sailor hostage, whose whereabouts remain unknown. Three days later in the same area, eight armed pirates in a fishing boat fire at another tug, damaging the wheelhouse and destroying navigation equipment. Four pirates armed with guns board the ship and steal the crew's belongings, again taking hostages.

Eric Frécon

Although the number of incidents worldwide has diminished, pirates are attacking more and more vessels in the South China Sea and in the Singapore Straits. According to the latest reports, the pirates - who can be violent and unscrupulous - focus on small, local vessels: tugs, supply ships and fishing trawlers. But who are the pirates? Why do they take such risks? And where do they come from? In order to answer these questions, one has to meet the pirates, their families, their neighbours and friends.

The pirate story in brief

In the 1980s and 90s, pirates came from many places to the Riau Archipelago, especially the city of Palembang on Sumatra. Syaful Rozy was a famous chief, a Robin Hood of the sea, who distributed the booty from plundered vessels. Thanks to him, the imam could finance the building of the mosque. From their *kampung* in the archipelago, pirates travelled to other islands in the Malacca Straits or the South China Sea. In the late 1990s and at the beginning of the millennium, the gang of Winang settled near Jemaja, in the Anambas Archipelago. There the pirates lived among local fishermen for a few months, surveying and attacking vessels. They then came back to the Riau Archipelago before joining their families in Sumatra.

The village on piles hidden in a bay between mangroves and small islands is located six kilometres south of Singapore in the Riau Archipelago, at the epicentre of modern day piracy. Since breaking his thigh bone boarding a ship, Winang's former assistant is handicapped. Today his gang attacks small vessels crossing the strait between Singapore's opulent skyscrapers and the sordid houses on piles. Although its golden age is over, the *kampung* remains one of the main pirate dens of the Malacca Straits. It seems to perpetuate a tradition - or habit - of armed robbery of ships from the Malay coast and along strategic sea lanes.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Chinese traveller Tchao Jou-Koua described in an explanatory note on *San-fo-ts'i*, the Chinese name for the Sumatran maritime power of Sriwijaya, how the local authority controlled navigation in the region: 'if a merchant ship passes through without putting into port, boats go out to attack it in accordance to a planned manoeuvre; people are ready to die (to carry out this enterprise).'¹ Later, Muslim sultanates developed along the maritime routes - until the nineteenth century, entire communities lived by pirate raids, and were armed by local authorities (see also the article by Ota Atsushi). They contributed to the development of strategic commercial warehouses in Malacca, Johor and the Riau Archipelago in the heart of the Malay Straits. Maritime guerrillas regulated regional relations, as did Barbarossa in the Mediterranean.

Guided tour into a pirate den²

Before arriving, one has to stop at Batam Island, where one is confronted by the economic crisis. In this free trade zone, the sidelined masses of the Asian boom inhabit 40,000 illegal residences. Idle people look for jobs; the atmosphere is heavy. Batam is close to exploding - the population has grown from 38,000 in 1980 to some 500,000 today.³ The island where the pirates live is very close to the coast of Batam. Here, as elsewhere in Indonesia, the market road is colourful and stalls bustle with life. Following the *muezzin's* call, merchants fry their rice in stalls for the pilots of the taxi boats and the rickshaws drivers. Apart from its gaming rooms, which remain open during the day, it looks just like any other village on piles. After the post office, at the end of the market road, we turn left and enter the den in Kampung Tanjung. The hideaway is ideal: an island amidst many others, only six kilometers from Singapore.

The first house is the police station, a crude cabin overlook-



Umarji 2-III

ing the port with a view of the Straits. Local police are no doubt aware of the criminal activities - to get to the Straits, pirates pass under their windows. People say that a few years ago, police used to collect a tax from boats sailing around the island. Two one-engine sampans are the police's only patrol boats; the pirates have two- or three-engined speedboats. Clad in sarongs, the policemen prefer to take fresh air in front of the station or to visit the prostitutes on Pulau Babi - Pig Island - close by.

modern Malay piracy has no romantic, anarchist, utopian or religious roots.... if Joseph Conrad came back in the Malay world, he would draw his inspiration from terrorists, not idle pirates

Pirates gather on Pulau Babi before attacking vessels in the Straits. They drink and take morphine, probably to forget the danger. Boarding incidents at night are delicate, as they can count on neither a Global Positioning System nor spotlights. The backwash of the ships' propellers make climbing onto the boats perilous. This is done with the help of grappnels or large gaffs with a sickle on the end, more suitable for collecting coconuts than for boarding ships moving at 25 knots.



Belakang Pulau 2-III

At two o'clock in the morning, the pirates get back to their den at the far end of the bay. Their houses on piles, in the middle of a maze of rickety footbridges, are accessible only from the sea. Their neighbours are either smugglers or fishermen with families. During the day, pirates work as taxi-boat drivers and can move freely. Inhabitants never talk of their nocturnal activities. Crouched on his boat docked at the jetty, a sailor sporting Ray-Ban glasses draws: 'Pirates, they existed an eternity ago...' But what does 'eternity' mean in the *jam karet* - or elastic time - country? This is a kind of *omerta*, the oath of secrecy that rules triads. Pirates exist but nobody dares to talk about them. Even the village chief opts for a *laissez-faire* policy - so long as the unemployed do not rebel and heavy weapons from Aceh aren't involved. This is the price of the social peace.

Pirate gangs in the maritime suburbs of Singapore

The village chief continues to survey everybody; he asserts that there are seven bands of five to six men, like the Buton gang which his former son-in-law manages. The oldest, occupying beautiful hillside buildings, train the younger generations who play *sepak takraw* - a spectacular mix of football, volleyball and badminton - everyday until the *mahrib*, the fourth prayer after sunset. Some of them like Arif can't wait to get money and wear jerseys and shoes 'made in West'. Young idle people and poor unmarried taxi-boat drivers collaborate with external recruits. Indeed, the old chief adds: 'recently, a group came from Palembang (south of Sumatra) to be trained on the job!'. All these sea-brigands obey more experienced and charismatic pirates. Their gangs are far from the triads of Hong Kong who make off with boats, then repaint and rename them. The attacks on the waters off the den arise from petty robbery, and their weapons are worn. In the Sulu Sea, the gangs possess M-16s and bazookas; in the Riau Archipelago, one has to be content with *parang*, long Malayan knives and pistols.

The main actors of this shady play are two powerful brothers. One of them adds political shrewdness to the courage of his warrior brother. Both control the entire island - the main village, the market and the den along the bay. They act like lords in front of the inhabitants, their serfs, whom they strike when angry. They are as warlords vis-à-vis the government in Jakarta, the central power far away. The two brothers know all and enjoy political connections; pirates have to give them accounts of their activities.⁴

The visitor won't meet long or black beards in the den but sea-hooligans and the desperate poor. Modern Malay piracy has no romantic, anarchist, utopian or religious roots. After the demise of the pirate myth, people seem to be transferring their fears and fantasies to fundamentalist terrorists. If Joseph Conrad came back in the Malay world, he would draw his inspiration from the terrorists, not the idle pirates. ◀

Notes

1. Coedes, George. 1964. *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* [Hindu States of Indochina and Indonesia]. Paris: de Boccard, p. 439.
2. Two trips were necessary in 2002 and 2003 to localize the den, made possible by the stories of an old missionary and a retired pirate who now organises boxing matches in Batam. Then, the challenge consisted in entering the *kampung* where the pirates live. Fortunately, a young Indonesian, who grew up in this village on piles hidden in a bay, between mangroves and small islands, kindly acted as my guide; I had met him in a school near Batam. In the den, he introduced me to pirates, fishermen and procurers. Above all, he warned me about attempts to rob or attack me.
3. Frécon, Eric. 2005. *Jolly Roger over Southeast Asia: history of the resurgence of the sea piracy*. New Delhi: Sampark.
4. Nasrul, a fisherman from Kampung Tanjung. Interview by author, 5 February 2004. Kampung Tanjung (Riau), Indonesia.

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Local pirate gangs, strategic waterways

Theme >
International security

Indonesian piracy has moved over the last fifteen years from the remote back waters to newspaper front pages, even to international dialogues on regional security. The spotlight has focused on multi-lateral approaches to deal with the transnational nature of maritime piracy, but putting together an effective, sustained international effort to address the problem has proven difficult and controversial. In an interesting twist, one of the region's worst natural disasters may point a way forward.

Adam Young

Strategic waterways

Piracy is a problem for everyone with economic and/or strategic interests in the region, except of course the pirates. These local thugs are practicing a modernized variant of an ancient socio-economic-political system endemic to the Southeast Asian maritime region. The prominence of Indonesia in Southeast Asian piracy stems from the strategic nature of its heavily trafficked straits, including the renowned and notorious Strait of Malacca. These sea-lanes connect the oil fields of the Mid East and the production economies of the Indian Ocean with Singapore, Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul, the resources of the Indonesian Archipelago, the South China Sea, and then with all points in the Americas. This region, inclusive of the South China Sea, accounts for an enormous portion of world sea-borne trade - approximately 50,000 vessels annually transit these waters - and is strategic to the navies of the Asia-Pacific region, allowing the most direct route between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. These waterways are also highly 'strategic' for the tens of thousands of local fishing people and traders (not necessarily included in the 50,000 vessels mentioned above) that eke out a meager living from these waters. The safety of these vital sea-lanes are therefore of great concern to many parties.

Indonesia routinely accounts for the largest share of piracy in Southeast Asia, statistically the most piracy prone region in the world. The threat posed by pirates to human life and cargo has been enough to grab the attention of specialists, local media and international headlines, especially as the number of attacks dramatically increased during the 1990s and into the new millennium. Moreover, analysts speculated that the lack of security allowing piracy to flourish might also create openings for maritime terrorists, the strategic nature of the straits making them a prime target.

Piracy and terrorism

It was not unpredictable that in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the subsequent wars

these sea-lanes connect the oil fields of the Mid East and the production economies of the Indian Ocean with Singapore, Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul, the resources of the Indonesian Archipelago, the South China Sea, and then with all points in the Americas

in Afghanistan and Iraq, any potential terrorist threat would receive much greater attention. To many analysts and policy makers, the security threat posed by piracy in the straits region and the potential threat of a terrorist attack became conflated. If pirates could hijack and steal an entire vessel then why not

terrorists, or why not pirates working for terrorists? The existence of extremist groups in the region - the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, *Jemmah Islamiya* and GAM (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, Free Aceh Movement) in Indonesia, Patani separatists in Southern Thailand, and *Abu Sayyaf* in Mindanao, Philippines have made potential terrorist links with pirate groups an attractive security issue.

The 5th Tri-annual Conference on Piracy and Maritime Terrorism, held in Kuala Lumpur in June 2004 and sponsored by the International Maritime Bureau, concluded that linkages between pirate gangs and extremists were weaker than previously speculated in security literature. Brian Jenkins, a recognized expert on terrorism and a senior analyst of the Rand Corporation, acknowledged the threat of a terrorist attack but concluded: '...I don't think it is appropriate to blend the increasing problem of piracy with the potentially more dangerous consequences of terrorism'.¹ This assessment, coming from a well known US security think tank, should prove important in directing maritime security policy in the region as it will detract from the importance accorded to more aggressive initiatives focused on countering a maritime terrorist threat. Additionally, Jenkins mentioned evidence suggesting pirates to be gangs of loosely organized thugs and criminals lacking contact with organized criminal and/or terrorist networks. It is, however, unclear if the tempering of perceived terrorist-piracy conflation, and the threat posed by this conflation, will alter the security dialogue in Southeast Asia.

Approaching the problem

One of the main questions is how the immediate threat of piracy and the potential vulnerability to a maritime terrorist attack are to be addressed. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore have asserted their responsibility for the strategic sea lanes in the region, as they fall within their declared maritime jurisdictions under the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea, with Indonesia and Malaysia sharing responsibility for the Strait of Malacca. However, other countries have vital interests and legitimate concerns as well: the rest of the Associa-

tion of South East Asian Nations, the East Asian countries, the United States, and India as it develops its 'Look East' policy. All of these parties recognize the need for a multilateral solution to piracy; the difficulty lies in developing a multilateral approach that is satisfactory to most parties, and functional.

There appear to be two main tensions complicating maritime security efforts to address piracy. First is the touchy subject of Indonesian sovereignty, and any perceived slight to that sovereignty, intended or not, creating tension between Indonesia and all other concerned parties. An illustrative example is the recent request by Indonesia to have all foreign troops helping in the relief effort in Aceh out of Indonesia by the end of March 2005. Second are the broader tensions between the US and Asia; between conflicting styles of policy and what is often perceived as growing Asian regionalism, based on a foundation of multilateralism, vs. US unilateralism. The situation, painted in broad strokes, is that Indonesia and the rest of its Asian neighbors favour an Asian based multilateral approach, a commitment to consensus and non-interference in domestic issues among partners. This process is, however, slow,

best to deal with maritime security in the region. The intended message of the RMSI, apparently and unfortunately delivered to Indonesia and Malaysia through the mass media, did appear to come across, as there now appears to be a renewed commitment to multilateral security initiatives between Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Notably a series of joint

if pirates could hijack and steal an entire vessel then why not terrorists, or why not pirates working for terrorists?

patrols was initiated this year with hopes of tightening security, although there is worry that these patrols may be more for appearance, a way of appeasing the US and Singapore rather than any real commitment to a multilateral security effort.

A new opportunity?

A tragic yet potentially interesting development on the issue of piracy that may point a way forward for concerned policy makers arises from the recent earth-

multilateral aid effort organized by the United Nations has emerged out of the disaster. The aid effort can help rebuild the infrastructure of these coastal areas, secure immediate poverty alleviation, and hopefully provide stimulus for economic development, thus addressing some of the chronic poverty of these regions. Additionally, the more than 30-year-old conflict between GAM and

Indonesia has created an unstable socio-political environment, inhibiting any modest efforts at regional development. However, in the wake of the tsunamis there is the possibility that the temporary cessation of hostilities between GAM and Indonesia may mature into a more lasting peace.

While this multilateral coalition for disaster relief will only be a temporary endeavor, and much of the aid effort already seems tainted by attempts to gar-

Le Détroit de Malacca: 2000 bateaux par jour



and has yet to produce any broad commitment to actively address the problem, while marginalizing the role of the US. The US, on the other hand, is far from content with this slowly evolving, Asian-led policy effort.

Not wanting to rely on the slow and questionable deliberations of their counterparts in Asia, the US unilateralist policy machine in Washington begin to rumble over the potential terrorist threat. These gave rise to the comment by the then US Pacific fleet commander Admiral Fargo that if the security situation did not improve, US patrols might be useful. Indonesia and Malaysia, long standing opponents of any attempt to internationalize the straits and thus compromise their jurisdictions and sovereignty, immediately and predictably refuted any such notion as a possibility.

Fargo's comment was ameliorated by assurances that the US wanted a multilateral effort, leading to the unveiling of a US-led multilateral security arrangement, the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI), designed to address issues of transnational crime including piracy and terrorism. Singapore has enthusiastically signed on, but Indonesia and Malaysia remain reluctant, renewing old tensions between these three security partners on how

quake and tsunami that devastated the northern end of the Malacca Strait. Typically security concentrates on the symptoms of a problem, and this is very much the case with piracy. Both ASEAN and US initiatives focus on patrols, information sharing, hot pursuit agreements and so forth. However, the massive destruction and death resulting from the tsunamis has highlighted a direction of multilateral cooperation which appears acceptable to all parties, one that will address underlying issues of piracy as a criminal practice, a product of the environment from which it arises.

The earthquake and tsunamis leveled much of the infrastructure and killed tens of thousands of people from coastal populations, creating a near blank slate in some areas. In the immediate aftermath of the destruction there have been no reports of piracy in this northern stretch of the Strait. This can be attributed to, among other things, the possible annihilation of some pirate groups, destruction of or damage to their boats, the need of these groups to cope with the probable tragedy in their families, and the temporary cessation of hostilities between GAM and Indonesian forces.

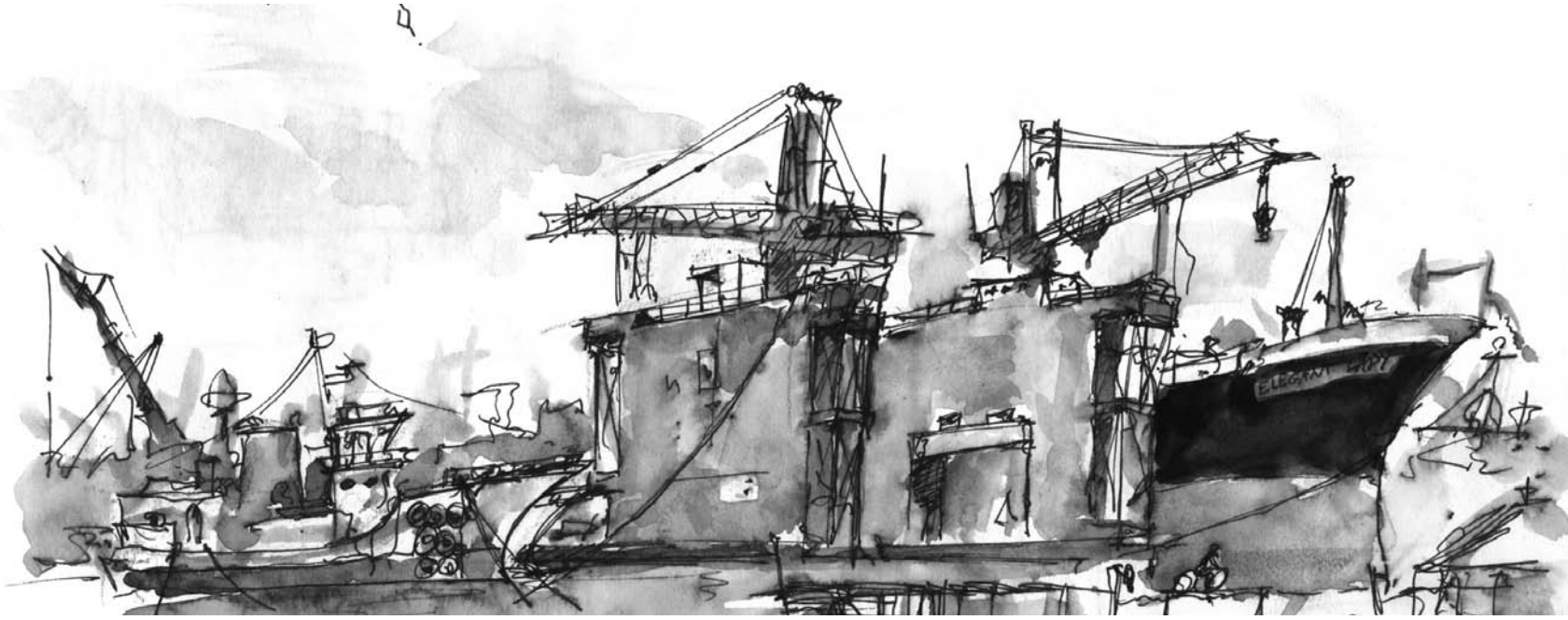
From this position there is an enormous opportunity to address one of the structural causes of piracy, i.e. poverty. A truly

ner political capital, it will hopefully direct policy makers towards a more cooperative, comprehensive approach to maritime security in Indonesia, and in Southeast Asia at large. Increased patrols, information sharing, and other security measures are important, but need to be combined with serious efforts to address the structural causes of maritime piracy. It is a shame that it takes a disaster of this magnitude to force cooperation, but it is encouraging that the catastrophe may have positive, long-term impacts on efforts to address piracy in the straits region. ◀

Note

1. Ahmad, Reme. 'Pirates and terrorists not natural allies,' *Straits Times Interactive*, 29 June 2004, (cited 5 February 2005). Available at: <http://straitstimes.com>.

Adam Young is currently a research guest at IIAS, pursuing a cross-disciplinary study on the roots of contemporary maritime piracy in Southeast Asia, and implications for regional policy. His future research plans include trying to fill the conspicuous gap in social science-based research on contemporary Southeast Asian maritime piracy.



Piracy: a critical perspective

Theme >
Discourse

Maritime piracy, especially in Southeast Asia, has recently attracted a great deal of attention in international media and among analysts. Contrary to popular impression, however, piracy is not a great or growing menace to international shipping, and as far as academic research goes, there are a range of more pressing issues that demand the attention of social scientists.

Stefan Eklöf

To the casual observer of contemporary Southeast Asia, it may seem as if piracy and the armed robbery of ships is an increasingly serious, even alarming problem for international shipping. Especially since the beginning of the 1990s, piracy seems to have returned to the region after having been all but extinct for over a century. Over the past decade, numerous articles in international news media, including *The Economist*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *Far Eastern Economic Review* have drawn attention to the problem, often with dramatic, even sinister undertones, reminiscent of the great tales of the sword-swinging buccaneers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries West Indies.

The main source of information on contemporary piracy, both qualitative and quantitative, is the Kuala Lumpur-based Piracy Reporting Centre operated by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), a unit of the International Chamber of Commerce. The Centre, first founded in 1992, has the task – in addition to assisting victims of pirate attacks and investigating authorities – of collecting, analysing and disseminating information about piratical activity. In doing so, the IMB has succeeded, both in raising awareness among ship owners of the problem, and in drawing international attention. The IMB's annual piracy report, published each January for the preceding year, usually attracts a great deal of interest from the media and generates a string of articles in newspapers around the world. The thrust of the IMB's reports – and thus of most of the media reporting – is that piracy is a serious threat to international shipping, that the problem is increasing in numbers as well as in the incidence of violence, and that the authorities of the littoral states of the most affected regions, particularly Southeast Asia, are not doing enough to suppress it.

A closer look at the IMB's figures, however, shows that the problem might not be all that alarming after all – at least not in economic terms. In 2004, the Bureau

reported 160 cases of actual and attempted attacks on ships in Southeast Asia (ICC – International Maritime Bureau 2005: 4). Many of these, however, were little more than cases of petty theft against ships in harbour, with the perpetrators typically sneaking onboard to steal some cans of paint, ropes, engine spare parts or other supplies. Excluding hijackings of commercial ships – none of which have been reported over the past two years – and tugs and barges, the IMB estimates that the average haul of an attack is around US \$5,000 (Gottschalk & Flanagan 2000: 90), making the economic cost of most piratical attacks virtually negligible for the shipping industry as a whole.

For an individual ship, moreover, there is very little risk of being attacked while transiting Southeast Asia, even if the IMB's reported figures are doubled to take account of the 40-60 per cent of all attacks which the Bureau estimates go

the combination of low risk and economic insignificance for the victims - the shipping industry and insurance companies - is an important but often unacknowledged reason why piratical activity persists

unreported. For example, in the heavily trafficked Straits of Malacca – frequently referred to as one of the most 'pirate-infested' seas of the world – the risk of a transiting ship being attacked was less than 0.1 per cent in 2003.¹

The combination of low risk and economic insignificance for the victims – that is, the shipping industry and insurance companies – is an important, but often unacknowledged, reason why piratical activity persists in Southeast Asia. There is little incentive for shipping companies to implement anti-piracy measures onboard their ships, even though many measures such as equipping the superstructure with proper locks and providing anti-piracy training for the crews would incur very little extra cost. Moreover, there is even less inter-

est from most shipping companies to cooperate with the authorities of the littoral states in curbing the problem. Representatives of the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia have long demanded that the international community and shipping companies share the costs of policing the Straits of Malacca against pirates. In spite of the support which such cost-sharing has in international law, particularly the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, it has met with little enthusiasm from most international actors involved – with the notable exception of Japan, which has funded a number of initiatives to provide training and resources to the law enforcement authorities in the region (see Bradford 2004).

Of more direct importance is the reluctance on the part of ship owners to report pirate attacks to the authorities or otherwise assist in the investigations of pirate attacks. In fact, many shipping

companies explicitly prohibit ship masters from reporting pirate attacks (Chalk 2000: 59-60). Apart from reflecting badly on the company's image, reporting a pirate attack may mean that the victim vessel is detained in harbour for investigation, while the cost of such delays may easily exceed the losses incurred by a pirate attack. Another problem for the investigating authorities is that when a group of suspected pirates are arrested, they sometimes can not be prosecuted because the witnesses – that is, the crew members of the victim ship – are not present at the trial. The reason for this may be either that the crew members are too scared or otherwise unwilling to testify, or that the shipping companies are unwilling to pay for their travel and other expenses to attend the trial, or both.

Representatives of the shipping industry have often accused the authorities of Southeast Asian countries – particularly Indonesia – of not taking the problem of piracy seriously. Well-founded as such allegations may seem, they need to be accompanied by a further question: why should they? With a coastline twice as long as the circumference of the earth, and with no more than a few dozen operating vessels to patrol its territorial waters, there are a range of more important problems for the Indonesian navy and marine police to tackle. Many of these, including the smuggling of people and goods, illegal fishing and degradation of the maritime environment due to human activity, have grown to alarming proportions in recent decades. The Indonesian government, for example, has estimated that the country loses US \$4 billion each year due to illegal fishing alone (*Suara Pembaruan*, 31 October 2002) – several times more than the estimated cost of all pirate attacks worldwide. The problem of poaching, moreover, is not only economic, but contributes to the rapid depletion of fish stocks in the region, pressing traditional small-scale fishermen to turn to bomb fishing, thereby destroying large tracts of coral reef. For Indonesia, such problems obviously pose a much greater threat to the maritime environment, human security and long-term economic development than the few hundred petty piratical attacks which each year befall international vessels in or around the country's territorial waters.

In times of scarce funding for the social sciences, academics need to carefully consider which issues to study. Piracy is certainly an interesting phenomenon worthy of academic attention, but as far as contemporary relevance goes, it is difficult to see why it should be given priority from publicly funded sources. Eliminating piracy is above all the task of various maritime law enforcement agencies, and in conducting their task they need to be assisted, not by social scientists, but by the victims of the pirate activity, including, first and foremost, the shipping industry. If, on the other hand, contemporary piracy in Southeast Asia is to be an object of study for the social sciences, it should be part of a broader research agenda, focusing not

only on piracy, but on human security and non-traditional security threats to maritime regions. Such an agenda would take its point of departure from the problems facing maritime regions and their inhabitants, addressing the impact of states and international maritime borders on economic and social activities and the interplay between human activity and the maritime environment. In that context, however, piracy may turn out to be little more than a footnote. <

Note

1. In 2004, the IMB (2005: 8-9) recorded 16 actual and 20 attempted attacks against steaming ships in the Malacca Straits. The calculation assumes that the real numbers are twice the reported, giving a total of 72 attacks, and that an average of 200 ships transited the Straits each day. This figure excludes intra-Straits traffic. See Ahmad (1997: 7)

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Opium: building block of empire

Research >
Southeast Asia

When Sidney Mintz, in his now-classic *Sweetness and Power*, began to tug at the multiple meanings, purposes, and uses of sugar in Caribbean, European and American societies, he found it to be the essential ingredient in the creation of particular regimes of power, labour, taste, and consumption. Although sugar was also a major product in parts of Southeast Asia, the product which stood at the centre of government, social, cultural and colonial relations was opium.

Anne L. Foster

Like sugar, opium initially had purposes mainly medicinal, but came to enjoy wider consumption. As consumption grew, opium did much to shape the nature and purpose of government in the colonies as well as trading practices and routes, finance the infrastructure necessary for profit from other colonial ventures, and create and reinforce social, racial and gender hierarchies which underlay the ideology of empire. By the end of the nineteenth century, opium began to be contested in ways which both foreshadowed and reflected the ways in which empire itself would be resisted.

From medicine to drug

Opium is not native to Southeast Asia; foreigners brought it with them for both their own consumption and for trade. As with the early history of opium worldwide, the initial years are shrouded in myth, but already in the seventeenth century both Chinese and Europeans brought opium to Southeast Asia. It functioned in much the same way that it did in China: as a product among the very few considered desirable by Southeast Asians, as an exchange for their goods which Europeans found irresistible (Trocki 1999). In these early decades of European sojourning in Southeast Asia, however, opium had limited appeal, primarily as a medicine. Like attempts at European rule, opium was accepted by Southeast Asians on their own terms, only partially, and in ways not compatible with the power we associate in later decades with the narcotic - or the colonial state, for that matter.

Indeed, in many ways the power of both drug and colonial state grew up together. Singapore provides the most dramatic example. A near-empty island before the British decided to make it a hub port, Singapore did not have the ready supply of inexpensive workers for the docks and the heavy work of loading and unloading ships. Imported Chinese labourers could meet the need, but opium, as Carl Trocki so persuasively argued, meant that those workers could be induced to work long hours at physically demanding jobs, in medically challenging environments, and for low pay (Trocki 1990).

Ethnic Chinese were sometimes even paid in opium, literally smoking away their chances of saving up for a better future. While Singapore relied more than other colonies on opium to tie workers to undesirable jobs, European enterprise in all the colonies faced the same labour shortage, and many turned to the same solution. Europeans facilitated provision of opium to ethnic Chinese and indigenous Southeast Asians, usually in modest quantities. These workers became addicted, but only marginally so. When they did not have work, they went into forced withdrawal. This periodic abstinence meant that many workers developed tolerance only slowly, and therefore limited their craving for ever-greater amounts of the drug.

Empires built upon opium

If opium was as necessary as forced cultivation and high taxes to draw Southeast Asians into production for export, opium also provided revenue crucial for the functioning and growth of the colonial state and its infrastructure. Singapore, as a free port with no reliable tax base, relied most heavily on the opium farms for revenue. These opium farms, or government-granted monopolies over the retail sale of opium in a certain geographical area, brought in approximately half of Singapore's revenue from the mid-nineteenth century until the first decade of the twentieth century. The other colonies earned less from their opium farms but all, with the exception of the United States in the Philippines, implemented the farm system.

With at least ten percent of revenues coming from opium, the colonial projects of modernity - whether roads, schools, irrigation canals, or public health clinics - depended on addiction. The Dutch even made administration of the sale of opium a key part of the modernizing project by creating the Opium Regie in 1894. To replace the opium farms, increasingly seen as corrupt and outside state control, the Dutch implemented a government bureaucracy to make distribution of opium to the proper people more efficient and regulated. The building which



Administrative offices of the opium factory, Weltevreden, Batavia, 1899. The building which housed the Opium Regie appears solid, respectable, and permanent, and gives the impression that Dutch rule can transform even opium consumption into a tool for modernization.

housed the Opium Regie appears solid, respectable, and permanent, and gives the impression that Dutch rule can transform even opium consumption into a tool for modernization. The Opium Regie was supposed to serve as part of a regime of tutelage, since its ranks were more open than many other parts of the civil service to Indonesians. The successes, both in providing training in self-government and in more careful regulation of who had access to opium, were at best partial. The Opium Regie was usually perceived as a second-rate career, low in prestige and ill paid. Not surprisingly, corruption continued and evasion of the opium regulations through smuggling and illicit production perhaps even increased.

Gender, resistance and the problem of opium

The economic and political implications of opium's role in the building of the colonial state have received attention from scholars such as Carl Trocki, James Rush, Chantal Descoursgatin, and Alfred McCoy. Opium also served as a marker of gendered, racial, and social hierarchies in the creation of colonial empire. Scholars, however, have typically ignored opium in the increasingly sophisticated discussions of gender and race in the construction of the ideology of empire. The anti-opium movements which grew during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide the most telling examples. The heart of their anti-opium message was that there was an

with at least ten percent of revenues coming from opium, the colonial projects of modernity - whether roads, schools, irrigation canals, or public health clinics - depended on addiction

incongruence between the increasing emphasis on a *mission civilisatrice* (or *ethicishe koers* or white man's burden, depending on which colony one was in) and the colonial state's reliance on opium revenue.

Certainly the observation was sensible, but the rhetoric then used to argue against opium consumption reveals the myri-



Malay Opium Smokers, Nineteenth Century

ad ideological constructs at the heart of the colonial state. Some of the most lurid descriptions were of the opium dens, which in this literature were not merely local places for opium smokers to stop and consume their purchase, but dens of iniquity posing grave danger to, in approximately this order, children who might live nearby or have to go there on errands or to retrieve parents; young women, mostly indigenous, who might begin by entering the den merely to smoke but whose addiction and/or poverty might lead them into illicit relationships; and then young white men who might enter a den on a lark but be quickly drawn into a spiral of addiction. These men were in danger because they had sufficient funds to consume addictive quantities of opium, and their potential addiction would lead them into behaviours which would undermine the prestige, even the authority of Europeans over ethnic Chinese and Southeast Asians. Photos of opium dens, so standard across colonies as to be nearly generic, always show languid, often feminised men, disorder and dirt, and poverty. The horror stories about degraded women are rarely reflected in the composition of photos (usually women appear only in lithographs), since in fact women rarely smoked in dens.

Only sometimes did this literature mention those who actually went to these dens in large numbers - indigenous men and, by far the largest group to go, ethnic Chinese men. Clear-

government-granted monopolies over the retail sale of opium brought in approximately half of Singapore's revenue from the mid-nineteenth century until the first decade of the twentieth

ly their habit was seen as nearly inevitable and possibly less problematic. At one level, such critiques of opium seem to mirror the paternalistic understandings colonial reformers had of the task before them. It might still be possible to 'save' the children through education and removing them from their 'natural' environment; it was important to 'protect' young women so they could bear and nurture the next generation of children; the men would be divided into two groups: those already beyond the government's reach (radical nationalists and addicts, for example) and those who would follow the government's dictates.

The imperial system in Southeast Asia rested on opium. Colonial labour markets and state budgets would not have functioned without it. Customary or accepted use of opium reinforced, reflected, but inevitably also undermined hierarchies of race and gender which provided the ideological underpinning of empire. Not surprisingly, then, Southeast Asian nationalists by the 1920s came to believe that part of their struggle to gain independence was to also end legal sales of opium, no matter how profitable those sales might be to the government. The relative success of newly independent Southeast Asian nations in prohibiting opium during the early years, through most of the region, reveals the extent which colonial rule and opium consumption were seen as intertwined by Southeast Asians. <

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Can personal names be translated?

Research >
Naming practices

In a short story entitled 'Gogol' published in *The New Yorker*, an Anglo-American author of Bengali descent tells the story of a young couple from Calcutta recently settled in Boston.¹ Upon the birth of their first child, a boy, they are required by law to give him a name. At first their surname Ganguli is used, and 'baby Ganguli' is written on his nursery tag. But later, when a clerk demands that the baby's official given name be entered in the registry, the parents are in a quandary. Eventually the father gives him the name 'Gogol,' a pet name but one that possesses powerful personal connotations for the father.

Charles J-H Macdonald

The parents call him Gogol at home. When he enters kindergarten the parents give him another name: Nikhil. It means 'he who is entire,' while the name Gogol seems undignified and unfit for public life. But the child refuses to be named Nikhil. He thinks his name is Gogol and he does not understand the change. In a funny scene with the schoolteacher, who claims that the child does not respond to Nikhil, the parents argue with her and explain that according to their custom, Gogol is only a name used at home and that Nikhil is a 'good name'.

- 'What do you mean,' asks the schoolteacher, 'a good name? You mean a middle name? A nickname?'

- 'No, no,' protest the parents, 'a good name, a school name!'

The name Gogol prevails and the boy ends up being so named at school.

As the boy grows older he becomes dissatisfied and embarrassed by his name. The name means nothing. It is the surname of a Russian author, neither Bengali nor American. It is not a 'good name', but 'a pet name-turned-good name'. It is also a surname-turned-first name. It sounds awkward, ridiculous. He is afraid girls will make fun of him.

The boy is now a freshman at Yale. He goes to the courthouse to change his name from Gogol to Nikhil, the good Indian name that his parents chose for him in the first place. But he does not feel like Nikhil. The new name does not seem right. He was Gogol for eighteen years, Nikhil is new. People who knew him as Gogol now call him Nikhil, and this makes him feel ill at ease, like an impostor. Switching names also seems incorrect, awkward, like using English with his parents and not Bengali.

In the last section of the story the father explains to the boy why he called him

Gogol. The reason involves a personal episode in the father's life prior to his son's birth. Lying among the dead after a train crash, the father owed his life to the fluttering pages of a book he held in his hand when he was found by a team of rescuers and saved from certain death. The book was by the Russian author Gogol. After hearing this story the young man is stunned, and feels ashamed. Suddenly, the sound of his pet name 'means something completely new'. End of story.

What's in a name?

Although not an ethnography per se, this tale illustrates the phenomenon of naming, the principles that underlie naming systems, the implications of names in people's lives and how they define people's identity. One aspect so entertainingly outlined in this story is the conflict and misunderstanding that arise between two different cultures, and, more deeply, the conflict that arises in the character's mind about the degree of 'fit' of a name in mental and emotional terms. The story shows the enormous personal value that a name has for both those who give it and those who wear it, and the conflicting aspects of what is private and what is public in a name. An anthropological theory of names should be able to take into account all these aspects.

If Jhumpa Lahiri's tale is taken seriously as an ethnographic account of a recurring pattern of behaviour, this is how an explanation might look: the name 'Gogol' does not fit the requirements of a Bengali 'real, complete name' (or autonym). This should be a 'good name'-type for public use, not a pet-name-type for private use. It does not meet the requirements for an American English autonym, which should be drawn from a 'closed list' of first or middle name types for public and private use. 'Gogol' sticks, however inadequate, until the subject changes it to meet the requirements of a good Bengali autonym. But this change is not accepted because the psychological and social process cannot be reversed or aborted. The autonym 'Gogol' is culturally wrong but still carries the subject's true identity. The origin of the name from the father's personal history eventually validates the name, still perceived as culturally wrong but personally correct.

The cultural misunderstanding arises from the confrontation of two different naming systems whose elements do not correspond. In the conversation between the teacher and the father, the teacher asks: 'Is Nikhil a first name?' The father protests: 'No, it is a good name!' They are unable to understand each other since the name types are culturally-specific. A Bengali 'good name' has no equivalent in American English, and a 'first name' has no equivalent in Bengali. Bengali has three name types: pet name, good name and surname.² American English has

four: nickname, first name, middle name and surname. These name types do not match from Bengali to English and vice-versa, except for the Bengali pet name and the American nickname, which are roughly equivalent. If we look at the properties of the Bengali good name, we see the differences with the English first or middle name:

Bengali 'good name'	American 'first name' or 'middle name'
for public use only	for public and private use
autonym	part of the autonym
chosen by maternal great-grandmother	chosen by parents
usually given several years after birth	given at birth
belongs to a list of words in common use (is 'motivated,' in linguistic terms)	belongs to a special list of words used for names only ('not motivated')
name is not inherited, but sometimes shared	is often inherited, and always shared

Not only do name types differ in content and definition, they function differently. In English a nickname can be added to the first name (as in 'Sugar Ray') but a Bengali pet name substitutes the good name entirely, and the two are never used together. Whereas the English first (or given) name is always used together with the surname to form the complete name, the Bengali good name is self-contained and a fully autonomous label. In other words, names belong to systems, or relations between name types. Name types can differ enough to prevent exact translation, but what deepens cultural misunderstanding is the systematic way name types function together. As in kinship terminologies, personal names are organized according to predetermined cultural and linguistic combinations. Their use and meaning is subject to cognitive rules that bear on the definition of each name type, their number, and most importantly, their combination in each utterance and context. Once this is recognized, an anthropological study of personal names can begin.

But as this literary example illustrates, our insightful writer makes the reader privy to the mental and emotional consequences of naming. The main character struggles with his name because the mental and cognitive Bengali map does not fit the American English one. The name Gogol does not fit either - it does not even resemble a first name in English. In the story, the name of Gogol's sister is given as an example of a perfect fit. Not only is she named Sonali right away (a 'good name' that means 'she who is golden') but at home she is called Sonu, Sona, and Sonia. Sonia sticks because it sounds Ameri-

can, even European. The name is a perfect fit because it suits the Indian Bengali system, but also, through nicknaming, the American English system. The girl thus belongs to two worlds and there is no inner identity conflict.

In every language, personal names are linguistic objects and complex representations. Psychological aspects to naming are at least partly dependant on the formal rules of naming. There is another aspect to it. The name 'Gogol' is the title of Lahiri's story, but it also the title of the

story of the character's father. In other words, a name is a narration. When Gogol the son hears the story of how this particular pet name came to be he is deeply moved. Something has changed in his understanding of his own inner identity. Being named Gogol now has a history and authenticity that it had previously lacked. The subject has become 'entangled' in this particular name which has become one of the many narrative strands making up his personal identity. The name binds him to his father, and binds his father to him - an interesting psychological follow-up to a functional study of personal names.³ ◀

Notes

- Lahiri, J. 2003. 'Gogol', in *The New Yorker*, June 16 & 23 2003, pp. 171-187.
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Sisterhood in saffron: women of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti

Research >
India

In the politics of the Indian subcontinent, the principle of Hindu majoritarianism has roots in the early twentieth century. The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS, or National Volunteer Corps), founded in 1925, is now the leading disseminator of the most virulent and exclusionist version of the *Hindutva* doctrine; its strategy of establishing affiliated groups has ensured the spread of its political message to all areas of civil society. To investigate how the movement reaches out to women, I focus on the *Rashtra Sevika Samiti* all-women's affiliate, its institutional structure and discourse of the feminine which enables women to identify with and support the *Hindutva* agenda.

Namrata Ravichandra Ganneri

While traditional literature has focused on women as victims and targets of patriarchal control and violence, only marginal attention has been paid to the complicity of women in perpetuating the *Hindutva* vision and its politics. However, the involvement of women in right-wing organisations has had a long unbroken history, and challenges long-standing assumptions about women's low levels of politicisation and traditional pacifism. In particular, the quiet and enduring work of the *Rashtra Sevika Samiti* ('Samiti'), formed in 1936 and the oldest RSS affiliate, has eluded academic attention.

In the service of Hindutva

The politics behind the Samiti's inception is telling of RSS gender ideology. The group's founder Laxmibai Kelkar first approached RSS founder K.B. Hedgewar seeking the possibility for women to join the RSS, but was turned down. Instead, she was encouraged to start a separate organisation composed exclusively of women, an ideological parallel to the all-male RSS to organise and train Hindu women. Significantly, the most enduring aspect of the RSS was the creation of the 'brotherhood' - a band of dedicated and disciplined workers engaged in paramilitary training who pledged to safeguard the nation and its borders. The only feminine form allowed to intrude in the *shakhas* (local RSS branches) was the *Bharat-mata* (Mother India). Given that women have traditionally been segregated even when they entered the public sphere, a separate organisation appeared to conform to the notion of separate yet complementary (gendered) domains of concerns and activities for men and women.

Interestingly, links with the RSS are minimised in the Samiti's own account of its founding. It is said that the founder herself was inspired most by the need to train women in self-defence and self-protection. This again seems remarkable, as traditional upper-caste Hindus (the core group from which the RSS draws its members) do not celebrate women's entry into the public sphere. The protection of the 'sexual honour' of the nation's territory and its women being so integral to the nationalist project, this assertion of agency can be read as a challenge to Hindu males and their masculinity. Moreover, the fact remains that women decided to step out of 'their domain' in order to serve *Hindutva*, even if to work only with other women. The private domain thus became increasingly redefined, with the idea of 'home' extended to include the *shakha* as well, clearly subverting the theoretical and spatial division between women's and men's worlds. *Hindutva* ideology perceived no contradictions even when the Samiti women transgressed the world of the home by performing physical exercises in open spaces, as long as the overall project remained the *sangathan* (organisation) of Hindu women. However, it is clear that women themselves took the initiative to organise Hindu women in the service of the Hindu nation.

To an outsider, the RSS and the Samiti appear the same - in their salutation of the *bhagwa dhvaj* (the saffron flag regarded as the *guru*), their physical exercises and ideological training. Indeed, the Samiti replicates the hierarchical structure of the RSS: all power is vested in the *Pramukh Sanchalika* (chief director), who is appointed and holds the post for life, while a band of celibate peripatetics (the *pracharikas*) are responsible for the organisation's expansion. Samiti *shakhas* and training camps are modelled on those of the RSS, and its public face remains that of the RSS' women's wing. However, the fact that the organisation is exclusively comprised of women and its chief ideologues are women ensures that there is no straight-forward emulation. The Samiti has its own prayer and festivals, plans its own programmes, and its publication wing disseminates its own view of history and glorifies its own ideals and heroines.

Sevikas in a Mumbai
Shakha, April 2004



courtesy of author

Originating in Wardha in the state of Maharashtra, the Samiti has spread throughout India and claims a membership of one million women. The constituency remains the traditional maharashtrian Brahmin, while *shakhas* also exist in Brahmin-dominated localities. Although there have been efforts to reach out to other upwardly mobile caste groups, the social base has largely remained the same since its inception. Most women were initiated into the Samiti by their mothers, and were also married into families sympathetic to the RSS. In some cases, women enter into marriage with the condition that they be allowed to maintain their association with the Samiti after marriage. Thus Samiti membership is usually a lifelong commitment. Recruitment and participation in Samiti activities involves association with welfare schemes operated by the Samiti - girls' hostels, volunteer work in remote areas, teaching in

the involvement of women in right-wing organisations has had a long unbroken history

schools, informal teaching centres and so on. The combination of social service with organisational work is the most enduring feature of their activity, and the key to the organisation's strength: flexibility and the ability to move into different fields of activity, as well as into affiliates of the parent RSS, enabling the group to retain members from many backgrounds.

Crafting the feminine

Hindutva discourse conceptualises all women as mothers, or *matrishakti* (mother power); biological motherhood - producing sons and imbuing them with *Hindutva* ideology - is seen as Hindu women's primary function. Nevertheless, while remaining within the boundaries of the RSS worldview, Samiti women have tweaked and twisted its gender ideology to enable their own participation. Their task has been to craft an ideal of womanhood for the Hindu nation, and its departure from the parent ideology is clear to the discerning eye. Here, the feminine is eternally empowered and the discourse celebrates active womanhood. This is reflected best in the ideals of valiant womanhood that the Samiti highlights: Hindu Kshatriya queens and their idol and goddess Ashtabhuj Devi (literally, 'the devi with eight hands'), said to embody qualities of strength, intellect and wealth as well as war-like qualities, her

eight hands symbolising women's infinite capacities. Key here is the attempt to put women at the centre of the worldview and to affirm the feminine. An entire array of women from history and mythology - Vedic scholars, heroines from epics, Rajput princesses, women ascetics, brave rulers, dutiful wives and heroic mothers - are all eulogized and held up as models worthy of emulation.

More importantly, however, motherhood itself has been powerfully redefined. Even in their traditional roles, women as mothers are invested with immense potential for change. Mothers have a privileged position in fashioning the history of the Hindu Rashtra, and women as mothers, in the Samiti's discourse, seek to become true actors and agents. For instance, in the representation of the story of Shivaji (especially venerated by the RSS), it is Jijabai - Shivaji's mother, the Samiti ideal of 'enlightened motherhood' - who is credited with imbuing in Shivaji the zeal to fight Muslim rulers and found a Hindu Kingdom. While women have traditionally been accepted as the transmitters of culture, the challenge in this construction lies in the central role accorded to the mother. In this sense, traditional accounts are subverted and Jijabai becomes a larger icon than even Shivaji. Indeed, mothering features prominently in Samiti ideology as the creators of a glorious nation. The Samiti prayer sends out a similar message: women praying for strength to inspire men, but, more importantly, to act directly to transform the *Hindutva* vision into reality. Hence women's role is not confined to motherhood and 'homemaking' since the greater 'family' is ultimately the nation. Women's participation in the Samiti then becomes a practical means of turning femininity into empowered motherhood in the service of the Hindu nation.



Darshan, Gallery of Hindu Art: www.hindunet.org

Bharat-Mata

Creating identities invariably involves a dialectic of exclusions and inclusions. Creating an 'ideal' identity also papers over a variety of fractures, and homogenises cross-class and caste differences. It is well known that the threat of the 'other' is a constituent element of *Hindutva*, and in *Hindutva* discourse the feminine is constructed to include all Hindu women but exclude all others. By privileging their communal identity, this group of women transform into self-proclaimed soldiers committed to the *Hindutva* cause. <

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Social stratification in contemporary China

Research >
China

One of the most significant changes in post-reform China has been the emergence of social inequality and differentiation. In many ways, the problem is relatively new to China as the last fifty years of Communist rule enforced a strict egalitarianism both in ideological and material terms.

Ravni Thakur

While social differentiation was not completely wiped out in the preceding half-century, it was hard to specify in terms of mere wealth. The major inequality of this period existed between rural and urban areas, a differentiation artificially maintained by the stringent *Hukou* or registration system which kept the rural population out of urban areas. While the wealth of landlords and the capitalist class was immediately nationalized in 1950, small entrepreneurs and middle peasants were forced into collectivization under Mao's Commune campaigns in 1958. Until the reforms, Chinese society, especially in terms of wealth, was hardly differentiated. Studies have shown that for income differentiation, the span ranged from 30 to 560 yuan among government cadres while an official guideline set a ratio of 6:1 for top and bottom wages in all enterprises. Amongst the rural population, around 60 per cent were classified as middle peasants.

However, if the analysis of inequality is broadened to consider other forms of capital, i.e. cultural and social, the main differentiation existed between the members of the communist party and others. As Stockman points out, 'Virtually the entire population was brought within the compass of two intertwined organizational systems, those of the State and the Communist Party' (p. 189). Administrative hierarchy was established to control work organization and co-ordinate economic activities while the *danwei* (urban work unit) was the basic organization looking after the material well being of its members. Salaries were paid according to a work point system.

Here again, China's use of a strict class terminology (*jieji chengfen*) created other forms of inequality. The practice of labeling people with evaluative titles (hats or *maozi*) such as 'counter revolutionary element', intellectuals as the 'ninth stinking category', etc., created further social differentiation. Further, these bad class categories were hereditary, leading to a group of people who fell outside the rhetorical devise of 'egalitarian discourse' used by the Communist Party. This egalitarianism, at the practical level, was forced through constant political mass campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward, and of course the Cultural Revolution. Mao's continuous revolution also meant the creation of continuous enemies.

Understanding social stratification today

China has not only opened its economic doors; a breath of fresh air has swept through its academic disciplines. After years of no serious academic research - intellectuals were the ninth stinking category during the cultural revolution - some excellent research is being carried

out by Chinese and foreign scholars. Work on the issue of social stratification is one such subject. The direct result of China's economic reforms, these inequalities are both regional, within regions and are now clearly visible in the large urban metropolis. These differences are here to stay for the near future, and will impact both internal policy making and the future of China's polity. Deng legitimized this emerging inequality when he pronounced 'that some will get rich more quickly', thus tacitly accepting the idea of a trickle down effect. Today, after twenty years, this social differentiation has stabilized - understanding this emerging social differentiation in China will be intrinsic to an understanding of China as it develops.



Migrant labour in urban China

Chinese scholars themselves have been quick to identify these emerging social inequalities, as is demonstrated by the excellent issue on the subject bought out by the Academy of Social Sciences. As Li Peilin says in his introduction to the special issue: 'Very profound economic and social changes have taken place in China in the 20 years since the reform.... It is imperative to solve the social issues of the gap between the rich and the poor, environmental pollution, corruption and poverty during the economic growth and it is of utmost importance to establish a common concept of social justice under a market economy'. (p. 45)

The issue further goes on to specify the different status groups emerging in

China today. These groups are still not classified as classes and rightfully so, as the social stratification of the past twenty years is still fluid and the administrative control exercised by the Communist Party still sacrosanct. And of course, it continues to rule in the name of the working classes. Six different interest groups were identified by the authors of the special issue. These are:

1. **Workers:** defined as the group that has lost both economic and social status under the reforms. Increasing stratification within the group has been identified amongst technical workers, private sector workers and those who still remain within the state sector.

2. **Peasants:** this group is also marked by increasing stratification within their ranks and here income differentiation is enormous. While remaining registered as peasants, some have gone into small scale manufacturing enterprises and commodity trade.
3. **Cadres:** identified as an upwardly mobile group, with a lower mean age, more education and higher technical skills.
4. **Intellectuals:** stratification within this group is defined as largely ideological, i.e. those inside the system, those outside the system and those opposed to the system.
5. **Private business owners:** one of the newly emerged categories. Although no direct links have been found with

the entrepreneurial class of the 1950s, this category, after 20 years of existence, has emerged as a powerful interest group.

6. **Women:** are seen to consistently lose out in the reform process. Statistics show that women form sixty per cent of the laid-off work force and continue to get salaries far lower than that of men.

Further, differentiation amongst groups such as high income groups and a new impoverished strata are also identified. While the former includes senior cadres and private entrepreneurs, the latter consists of laid-off workers, potentially unemployed workers, retired personnel, and poor rural residents drifting in cities and towns. This is the migrant labour of urban China today. Estimates show that there are more than 100 million people in this stratum, making up 8 per cent of the total population. Another significant source of material by Chinese scholars can be found in the new series of Blue books that have been recently published on society, politics, etc. *The Blue Book of Sociology*, 2002, for example, identifies the emergence of social differentiation as one of the major challenges of the reform process. It identifies ten different groups.

Kinship and Social Status

Another perspective that has regained importance in understanding growing social stratification in China today is presented by sociologists such as Fei Xiaotong. They argue for the need to understand the huge role played by family and kinship ties in traditional China. Several researchers (e.g. Bian and Ruan) have pointed out the re-emergence of kinship ties in business networks, as well as their role in providing the social safety net that is being progressively withdrawn by the state. Family and kinship is an important criteria of upward social mobility and seems to encompass all the groups identified by the academy. Here, more informed and anthropological studies dealing with *guanxi* - a term particular to China meaning at once connections, kinship, access, and the older gift economy - also help uncover the complexity of social stratification.

Thus China today no longer represents the egalitarian and strictly structured, totalitarian social system that it once did. Even if one were to look only at the different groups being identified by Chinese sociologists, a deeper understanding of the social relations evolving within these groups is crucial. Naturally, the topic has drawn the interest of many western scholars as well. Unger, Parrish, Pieke, Croll, Davin and Davis, to name but a few, have all attempted to

understand this emerging social differentiation in China. While Croll has focused on increasing inequalities faced by women, Pieke and Parrish have focused on urban inequality. Davin has, apart from gender, examined inequalities emerging within China due to large scale rural-urban migration. This is also an area that has been identified by Ma and Day. All have testified to the fundamental structural changes occurring in Chinese society after, as Parrish says, a socialist contract society was turned into a marketing contract society.

Research on changes in post-communist East European societies also sheds light on the social changes that can result from reforms. Kornai's work is exemplary here. It stressed the way people's daily interactions changed due to the prevalence of what he calls 'vertical dependency', where rather than dependence on the self, one relied on the state and its representatives to meet one's material needs. Notions of the self and the individual were replaced by collectivized identities.

This leads us to an understanding of social difference in all its complexity, and here I want to come back to Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu has extended the notion of social differentiation to include aspects of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital. His intention was not to add to the corpus on class theory but to assess, as it were, a set of practices that structure social differentiation and ways in which social differentiation is expressed. China today presents an excellent example of the complexity of social differentiation that occurs when a society undergoes economic and structural change. Social stratification is an area that deserves to be watched closely, and not just by the state for the ramification it creates for political stability and social unrest, but also for scholars interested in social change. ◀

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This article originates from the *India-China Comparisons: State and Society* workshop held in Leiden, the Netherlands, 27-28 May 2004, organized and funded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) in Paris and IAS. Please see page 32 for an announcement of the second workshop in this series.

International supply chains and labour standards in China

Research >
China

Companies in China that export directly to Western markets or supply foreign-owned firms operating inside the country are under increasing pressure to adapt their working conditions to UN-sponsored international standards. While the impact on businesses practices is still slight, it is potentially a major development within China's labour system.

Gemma Crijns and Frans Paul van der Putten

China has become a major manufacturing base in the global economy. Many companies in the EU, North America and Australia - where the media, consumers, investors, NGOs and governments are putting increasing pressure on businesses to operate in a 'socially responsible' manner - have supply chains originating in China. Although China has stringent labour laws, many are only weakly enforced. As a result, working conditions often include long working hours, low wages and limited health and safety measures. Various systems of labour standards are currently in use by international companies; many of these are based - implicitly or explicitly - on the conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). One of the labour standard systems that has recently attracted considerable attention in China is Social Accountability 8000 (SA8000).

Social accountability

In the first half of 2004, the Chinese media featured a large number of reports on SA8000. Chinese firms and government agencies worried that Western governments were planning to ban Chinese imports that did not originate from SA8000-certified factories. This would force all Chinese export-oriented producers to adopt the system, impacting on costs and China's competitiveness as a manufacturing and export economy. As it turned out, no Western government closed its country to non-certified goods. Nevertheless, pressure from foreign buyers to verifiably raise labour standards is being felt. This particularly applies to Chinese suppliers of international brand companies in the footwear, clothing and toy sectors.

The main goal of SA8000 certification is to help companies 'maintain just and decent working conditions throughout the supply chain.'¹ Certification enables companies to guarantee commitment to working conditions that meet minimum standards based on ILO conventions. The certification system is universally applicable, regardless of geographic location, industry sector or company size. Developed in the mid-1990s, SA8000 is comprised of a set of labour standards, a management standard for labour standard implementation, a certification procedure including training and audits, the certificate, and an accreditation system for auditors. A U.S.-based organisation, Social Accountability International (SAI), is responsible for accrediting auditors, while certificates are issued to factories or workplace units, not companies. At the start of 2005, there were 572 certified facilities worldwide, of which 79 were in China.

Factories in China often learn of SA8000 through auditing firms. Prior to the



photo courtesy of Chris Gregerson, <http://www.cgstock.com/>

Welder at Work,
Zhejiang, China

media attention and the attendance of Social Accountability International representatives at a number of Chinese seminars earlier in 2004, the certification system was little known. The most frequently stated motivation for factories to seek certification is that working conditions already fulfil SA8000 requirements, due to the factory owner's desire to maintain labour standards, or because the facility was forced by its customers to conform to a particular code of conduct. Factories here adopt SA8000 as it is cheap and improves their image vis-à-vis competitors.

Western pressure

Since it is still too early to draw conclusions, we need to look at factors that will most likely impact on the system in the future. Pressure from Western export markets, which originally led to the establishment of supply chain labour standards in Western countries, is a major impetus for improving working conditions in China. At its core is the desire for Western firms to protect their corporate and brand images. Large companies with strong brands usually have their own supplier monitoring programs; for smaller firms that cannot afford their own monitoring systems, buying SA8000-certified goods may be an attractive option.

Introducing higher labour standards often means higher costs. Companies whose brands are relatively unknown are less vulnerable to attacks in the media, and it may not be cost efficient for them to invest in reputation insurance by joining an SA8000 supply chain. For most Western companies trading in Chinese-made goods, there thus appears to be no immediate cause for action. This leaves promoting SA8000 up to specific groups, including firms that promote better working conditions, and those that are themselves under pressure from customers.

Such companies are not necessarily interested in Chinese labour issues. They are interested in public concern in the West, and in responses that can deliver visible signs of short-term

improvement. Child and forced labour, and injuries and fatalities from unsafe working conditions feature prominently. Even though the SA8000 system has a broader scope, the system's success in China depends on these high-profile issues being successfully addressed.

Another factor influencing SA8000's impact in China is the population's perception of it. Competition may drive Chinese firms to adopt the certificate or to purchase only from certified factories, but for medium and small companies the costs involved may outweigh any competitive advantages. Only if demand is strong enough will these enterprises become part of SA8000 supply chains. Unless the majority of their foreign counterparts switch to SA8000, this is likely to happen only where pressure from Western markets influence the entire sector, such as medium size firms in clothing, shoes and similar product chains. However, manufacturers of cheap consumer goods tend to work with minimal profit margins; foreign pressure on Chinese suppliers to bear the cost of introducing SA8000 without raising prices will incur resistance.

SA8000 does seem to be affecting working conditions in China. In facilities that have adopted SA8000, observers have reported not so much formal improvements, but workers becoming aware of their rights. This is not easy to measure, nor does it remove immediate concerns in Western markets; it does, however, create a basis for more fundamental long-term change. This may especially be so if SA8000 emphasizes issues considered most relevant by workers themselves, and is communicated in a way that is understood in the Chinese context. For Chinese companies that are not certified, SA8000 may provide a model for managing the introduction of labour standards. As the relevance of ILO conventions grows among Chinese export-oriented firms, systems such as SA8000 based on them may become more relevant.

There are also signs that local government agencies are studying the potential of SA8000 to increase competitiveness in areas under their authority. The attitude of government authorities is key, given the close relationship between the government and economy. Beijing might more readily adopt an SA8000-like system were it backed by an international organization or group of governments, as in the case of the ISO (International Standardization Organization) system which is widely supported by Chinese government agencies.

Finally, the role played by auditing firms is relevant. Currently, they are the most important promoters of SA8000 in China. Their activities, aimed primarily at monitoring Chinese firms on behalf of Western clients, would enable the

introduction of SA8000 to more Chinese firms. Depending on the future growth of auditing firms' activities in China and their willingness to promote SA8000, their importance in implementing certification may grow.

The long road ahead

To date, the main impact of SA8000 in China does not seem to be direct improvement in working conditions in individual factories. Though in some cases, it may have raised awareness of labour rights among workers, the main impact may lie in the longer term. SA8000 helps put labour issues on the agenda of government authorities, companies, industry organisations and auditing firms, while providing a model for Chinese companies based on ILO norms.

Although the number of SA8000-certified factories is increasing, there has been no breakthrough, either in China or elsewhere. In theory, the impact of SA8000 and similar certification systems could be great. It remains important to study developments in specific contexts to give realistic assessments of the system's potential impact. <

Note

1. <http://www.sa-intl.org/sa8000/sa8000.htm> (21 February 2005).

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This report is based on interviews conducted at Tsinghua University, Renmin University, Fudan University, Social Accountability International, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Fair Wear Foundation, China Enterprise Federation, BVQI (Guangzhou), Metaltex (Guangzhou) and Philips Electronics (Shanghai). It was partly financed by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs. The authors thank all those involved.

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Dutch enterprise in independent Indonesia: cooperation and confrontation, 1949-1958

Research >
Indonesia

Indonesian independence was achieved between 1945 and 1949, but the decisive step towards economic decolonization was only taken in 1957/58, when the Indonesian government ousted the remaining Dutch and nationalized Dutch corporate assets.

Jasper van de Kerkhof

In December 1949, after four years of diplomatic and military struggle, the Dutch government finally acknowledged Indonesian independence. The protection of Dutch economic interests in Indonesia had been the focal point of the Dutch delegation at the Round Table Conference (RTC) in The Hague, which was to settle the future relationship between the former colony and colonizer. The Financial and Economic appendix to the RTC Treaty, the so-called Finec, offered 'maximum available guarantees to the continued existence of Dutch firms in Indonesia' (Baudet 1983:213). Independent Indonesia not only respected the rights, concessions and licenses extended to Dutch enterprises under Netherlands Indies law, but also pledged that their future operations would not be obstructed.

ernment exerted direct influence over business operations, such as banking, mining and transportation.

The nationalization in 1951 of Indonesia's circulation bank, the *Javasche Bank* (later renamed *Bank Indonesia*), proceeded without major difficulties and by way of adequate financial compensation (Lindblad 2004). For the Indonesian government, however, such lawful takeover of Dutch assets had two drawbacks. First, although the top positions in the nationalized firms were taken over by Indonesians, on the level immediately below the Dutch continued to form an almost impenetrable bastion. Second, the acquisition of Dutch shares rapidly depleted the Indonesian treasury. Indonesia therefore attempted to extend its control over Dutch firms without formal nationalization - at least for the immediate future. An example was

indigenous merchants and formulating criteria 'national importers' had to meet to receive import licenses. The program was directed against the 'Big Five', the principal Dutch trading houses in the archipelago. *Benteng* led to an astronomical growth in the number of Indonesian importers. However, Indonesian lack of capital and expertise led to degeneration of the system: the vast majority of Indonesian 'national importers' were so-called *Ali Baba* constructions or *importir aktentas*, indigenous Indonesian front men controlled by Chinese and Western capital. Favouritism in the allocation of import licenses further perverted the scheme, resulting in its virtual collapse in 1954/55.

Thus the first and only noteworthy attempt to promote indigenous private entrepreneurship in a foreign-dominated sector failed. At the same time, efforts towards a *modus vivendi* between the Indonesian government and Dutch enterprise met with limited success. Indonesia could not fully dispense with Dutch capital and expertise and the Dutch firms were loath to surrender their privileged positions. The breakdown of the *Benteng* program convinced the government that state direction over the 'commanding heights of the economy' was the only viable alternative.

Indonesianisasi

The 1949 Finec agreement obliged Dutch firms to 'as quickly as possible bring skilled Indonesians into executive (including top managerial) and staff positions' (Finec: article 12d). However, no time schedule was given, nor did the agreement specify the percentage of Indonesians to be promoted to leading positions.

The replacement of Dutch expatriates by locally recruited personnel was known

the inferiority of the Indonesians in their own economy was an intolerable relic of Dutch imperialism

as *indonesianisasi*. In the Dutch firms that were legitimately nationalized in the early 1950s, such as the *Javasche Bank*, the government had usually already placed Indonesians in the top positions while the expatriate Dutch staff continued to run day-to-day operations. Here, *indonesianization* took place prior to nationalization. However, *indonesianisasi* was not easily forthcoming in private Dutch firms over which the Indonesian government exerted little control. Dutch companies were reluctant to invest large sums in training schemes for their indigenous workers, since many Indonesians after graduation opted for more reputable careers in government service (Meijer 1994:354). Also, legitimate Dutch claims that the training of Indonesian employees for higher functions would take time coincided with iniquitous assertions of

Western superiority and the inaptness of Asians to lead and assume responsibility. The proportion of Indonesians in the work force of Dutch companies increased appreciably in the 1950s but, with a few notable exceptions, their advancement remained confined to the lower and intermediate levels (van de Kerkhof 2005). In Dutch corporate enterprise, genuine *indonesianisasi* had to await the expulsion of the Dutch in December 1957.

Nationalization

The final stage of the economic decolonization of Indonesia began on 3 December 1957 when members of a local labour union occupied the headquarters of the Dutch shipping company KPM in Jakarta. The activists declared that they had taken over the firm and that Indonesians would at once replace the Dutch managers. Similar takeovers of Dutch companies occurred in the following days. These dramatic events found their roots in a dispute that seemingly had little to do with Dutch enterprise in Indonesia in general, or KPM in particular. Throughout the 1950s, Indonesia had challenged Dutch sovereignty over western New Guinea, excluded from the RTC agreements and therefore still under Dutch control. The issue had increasingly soured Indonesian-Dutch relations.

When on 29 November 1957 Indonesia for the third time failed to receive United Nations backing for a resolution calling on the Dutch to negotiate over New Guinea, the Indonesian government threatened to use all methods 'short of war' to achieve its goal. The authorities deliberately encouraged popular anti-Dutch sentiment as aggression turned against Dutch citizens and property. In this tense atmosphere, KPM - the 'colonial' shipping company - became a scapegoat for Indonesian frustrations over New Guinea and the unfulfilled promise of a national economy.

The takeover of Dutch enterprise in Indonesia led to an exodus of Dutch personnel and their families. Over 50,000 Dutch and Indo-Europeans left for the Netherlands. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government tried to direct the 'spontaneous' outburst of anti-Dutch sentiment. Dutch companies were put under nominal control of local military commanders, while day-to-day operations were taken over by leading Indonesian personnel. In December 1958, the Indonesian parliament enacted the formal nationalization of all Dutch corporate assets in the archipelago - with the

exception of oil company BPM and Unilever, which were considered British enterprises. Thus with one stroke the Republic of Indonesia acquired possession of a large part of the country's productive capacity. State trusts were set up to manage the formerly Dutch companies, but lack of capital and expertise continued to be major problems. Many important industries declined after the departure of the Dutch.

Further research

Indonesia in the 1950s offers a fascinating case of the many-sided process of economic decolonization. Yet, its uniqueness should be placed within the broader perspective of roughly parallel developments in other decolonizing societies. Comparisons with, for instance, Malaysia and the Philippines would bring to light the differences and similarities with the British and American approaches towards economic decolonization and the responses in the emerging nations.

A different set of questions is related to the social and racial components of economic decolonization. Racial prejudice played an important role in the Dutch reluctance to promote Indonesians to leading positions. Equally, Indonesian views of the Dutch as 'shameless exploiters' hindered fruitful cooperation.

Finally, the takeover and nationalization of Dutch assets in 1957/58 raises further questions. There is no strong evidence that Sukarno engineered the takeover of Dutch assets, yet it is unlikely that he was completely oblivious to what was about to happen. Also, one wonders if a more gradual elimination of Dutch economic interests would not have been possible, which certainly would have had less detrimental effects on the Indonesian economy. <

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The manager of a Dutch trading firm in Jakarta, December 1957. The graffiti states: 'You must be swept from West Irian'.

Jonker, Joost, Keetie Sluyterman. 2000. *Thuis op de wereldmarkt; Nederlandse handelshuizen door de eeuwen heen*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers. p.270

There was no overwhelming Indonesian opposition to the restoration of Dutch business interests. Most Indonesian politicians grudgingly conceded that Indonesia still badly needed Dutch capital and expertise for its economic survival (Sutter 1959:662-8). There was, however, widespread feeling in Indonesia that the achievement of political sovereignty should be followed by the realization of economic independence. The continued supremacy of the Dutch and the attendant inferiority of the Indonesians in their own economy were considered an intolerable relic of Dutch imperialism. Sooner rather than later, the 'colonial economy' needed to be replaced by a 'national economy' in which Indonesians would own and control the country's productive assets and take up key economic positions.

A 'national economy'

In the early 1950s, successive Indonesian cabinets tried to give meaning to the ideal of a 'national economy' within the boundaries set by the RTC agreements. Policies aimed at cooperation with Dutch capital, and limited socialization to maximize prosperity for the Indonesian people. This occurred mainly in sectors where the Indonesian gov-

the joint venture with the Dutch airline KLM, which provided for the establishment of Garuda Indonesian Airways in 1950. The Indonesian government was co-owner but delegated management of the new company to KLM. The Dutch carrier, in turn, was to train Indonesians as technicians, managers and pilots in preparation for formal nationalization.

The strategy to increase influence over Dutch firms in vital sectors was not always successful. In 1950, negotiations broke down between the Indonesian government and the Dutch shipping company KPM - which held a virtual monopoly in the archipelago's inter-island shipping. The Indonesians wanted to create a mixed company in anticipation of future nationalization along the lines of Garuda, but KPM refused. In the event, the Indonesian government decided to set up the state shipping company Pelni that rather ineffectively competed with the Dutch shipping line until December 1957.

The most ambitious Indonesian effort to advance the 'national economy' was the *Benteng* (fortress) program launched in April 1950. Its emphasis was on reserving the import of certain goods for

Decolonization and urban labour history in Indonesia, 1930-1965

Research >
Indonesia

Conventional historiography is often regarded as the history of political elites and of large events; Indonesian historiography's dominant narrative features accounts of nationalist fervour and anti-colonialist struggle. This narrative, however, hides contradictions and overlooks different forms of compliance and accommodation to colonial rule, while local responses to decolonisation varied - as is evident in the history of urban labour, 1930-1965.

NIOD / LIPI workshop
Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 20-21 August 2004

Ratna Saptari and Erwiza Erman

The early 1940s to the early 1960s was a period of political unrest, and protests by urban workers were commonplace. Focusing on urban labour in Indonesian cities on Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi reveals how national-level politics was reformulated at the local level, and how government policies to control or deploy labour were related to debates on the creation and maintenance of a social and moral order.

Two factors in particular resulted in differing local urban experiences: their geographical location and the occupational sectors of the labouring groups. Urban areas with regular labour shortages and limited inter-regional transport networks unquestionably differed from areas with a labour surplus, close to ports and closely connected to their hinterlands. Whether there were local rebellions in an area, such as the DI/TII, *Permesta*, or whether an area was part of the Dutch-created East Indonesia Republic in the 1950s, shaped not only local political dynamics, but also political orientations towards the Indonesian nation-state.

Policy makers, whether colonial or national, treated economic sectors differently. Workers in the harbours and railways, for instance, had greater strategic significance than textile and cigarette workers. Access to social networks, and possibilities for supplementary sources of income, provided workers and labouring communities with different social and economic means of survival and struggle.

Historical accounts have often portrayed Japanese rule in Indonesia as more repressive than that of the Dutch.



Makassar Harbour: transporting rattan to Europe, c.1925

Despite this generalized narrative, collective responses and individual experiences varied. In Jakarta, Semarang, Majalaya and Surabaya, Japanese rule was mainly associated with the *romusha* (forced labour) and with economic decline to below-subsistence levels. Dockworkers in Semarang, however, felt they were more privileged than their fellow villagers. They were given clothing (albeit from gunny sacks), and food three times a day. In Balikpapan, the Japanese Army, wanting to retain oil supplies, moved the local labouring population to safer areas away from the oil refineries during Allied bombing sorties. Indicatively, local groups provided contributions to the Japanese army so they could buy fighter planes.

Revolution and nasionalisasi

Unions were politically active in the new Republic. In Tanjung Priok, hundreds of workers were involved in placing stickers with slogans of '*Milik RI*' (RI property) on equipment owned by Dutch companies. Unions also actively participated in dismantling Japanese military installations in Tanjung Priok and Semarang, and helped to take over institutions and companies which the

Japanese had created during their occupation.

However, the revolution occurred simultaneously with the re-establishment of state control by the national government. In the late 1950s, with the nationalization of foreign enterprises, the army swiftly took control of different economic sectors. Workers made redundant as a result of the departure of foreign management were referred to the new collective bargaining procedures established by the Indonesian government during nationalization. When strikes protesting against these procedures occurred, the union leaders in Tanjung Priok harbour were arrested by the local military. The mayor of Semarang placed restrictions on the Dockworkers Union, which had staged a number of strikes in 1948. In Balikpapan tensions among the unions reflected tensions between the Islamic, Nationalist and Communist political parties.

Also in Balikpapan, attacks against the Dutch expatriate community drove Shell to send Dutch personnel and their families back to the Netherlands. They were replaced by British, Americans, French and Italians; the main language used by

expatriates shifted from Dutch to English.

Nationalist rhetoric also became the rhetoric of the trade unions. Graffiti on walls, cars and Shell oil tanks included slogans such as 'the British are bandits', and 'Tengku Abdul Rahman is a puppet of the Imperialists'. As in other areas, the nationalization of foreign companies in Balikpapan was backed by the military; unlike the other areas, however, the military was not prepared to clamp down on workers' political activism since the head of the military command was also head of the workers' National Front.

'History from below' versus 'history from above'

The focus on workers' politics and their place in local histories leads us to ask how we should approach the question of a 'history from below'. Without an

understanding of 'history from above', one cannot have a sense of what influences local responses. At the same time, a history from below is beset with a number of problems. Reports of local uprisings are usually conducted by government officials and thus subject to bias. We have to critically examine colonial and post-colonial regimes' attitudes to local populations.

We also need to look more critically at how different political figures claim to represent 'the masses'. Government officials have tended to look more at political organizations and labour unions than the lives of 'ordinary people' at the margins of these organizations. Organized workers have been considered to be more threatening, particularly within the decolonization process. Because of the imbalance in the nature of written sources, researchers have paid more attention to labour unions than unorganized workers. We need to look for alternative sources to study local histories. Moving away from organized labour to look at those who work in fragmented settings is still not an easy task; researchers need to address these issues sensitively and critically. <

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This article originates from the workshop *Decolonization and Urban Labour History 1930 - 1965*, held in Yogyakarta, 20-21 August 2004. Part of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation's (NIOD) 'Indonesia Across Orders' project, the workshop was held in collaboration with Pusat Studi Sumber Daya Regional (PSDR, Centre for the Study of Regional Resources). The forthcoming edited volume will be published in Indonesian and English.
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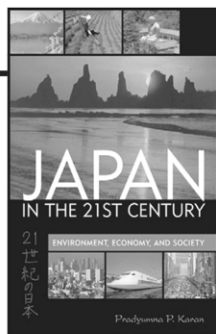
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Vedic Studies: Texts, Language and Ritual

Research >
Vedic studies

The Vedas form one of the oldest elaborate corpuses of texts in an Indo-European language, connected to a ritual system still in use. In 2003, UNESCO declared the tradition of the Vedic chant, alive in present-day India, a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

IAS workshop and book launch
Vedic Ritual and Recent Archaeological Studies
in Central Asia
12 November 2004
Leiden

- Griffiths, A. and Houben, J.E.M. eds. 2004.
Vedic Studies: Texts, Language and Ritual: proceedings of the Third International Vedic Workshop. Groningen: Egbert Forsten

J.E.M. Houben

The modern study of the Vedas has a solid history in nineteenth-century scholarship, when it stimulated developing disciplines such as linguistics, comparative religious studies and cultural anthropology. The field of Vedic studies has known periods of exciting developments, consolidation and dustiness; today important developments inside and outside Vedic studies are opening the way to new achievements.

Technological advances

Computer technology and the use of electronic texts greatly reduce the time required for the extensive searches and comparisons that form the basis for linguistic and textual research. Nowadays most Vedic scholars use computerized data collections. Some contributions at the workshop in Leiden were specifically devoted to new computer applications.

The availability of high-quality filming technology enables the recording of rituals performed in India, which to date has been little done by 'classically' orientated Indologists. The performances usually structurally correspond to ancient sources (Smith 1987); this provides us with the opportunity to analyse rituals whose basic patterns go back to the pre-Rgvedic period.

New important Vedic manuscripts have been found which, while long known by name, were only available in imperfect form. This new manuscript material concerns the *Srautasuutra* of the *Vaadhhuulas*, the *Braahma.na* of the *Jaiminiya* branch of *Saamaveda*, and, last but not least, the *Paippalaada* recension of

the *Atharvan*, the fourth Veda, rich in unexplored textual, linguistic and ritual material. Improved editions of these texts are forthcoming.

The localization debate

A fourth development consists of advances in identifying when and where the people to whom we owe the Vedas lived. The contributions by Michael Witzel, Harry Falk and Wilhelm Rau in the proceedings of the First International Vedic Workshop (Witzel 1997) are a good introduction to the subject. The debate on the localization and the possible displacements of the Vedic people dates back to the early days of Indology and is of continuing interest to both scholars and a wider audience.

Developments from outside Indology have changed the terms of the debate: the work of modern geneticists may shed light on the waves of immigration into the Indian subcontinent. Geneticists suggest these started from the

*philology is perhaps the only discipline in which
the West and India are close to accepting overlapping
basic principles*

south, via the ocean, and later came from the north. Because the Vedas constitute such an old and elaborate corpus of texts, in a language that is 'Indo-European' but which has important remains of substratum or adstratum languages, the scientific relevance for investigation into the contacts between various waves of early African emigrants meeting on the Indian subcontinent can be expected to increase.

Recently another breakthrough occurred in a different area, which in time may have an impact on Indology and Vedic studies. In 2003, for the first time, India became a creditor to the International Monetary Fund. Indian economic growth will hopefully also bring new government policies to stimulate solid scholarship in the field of Vedic and other Indological studies.

Publications

There has been no lack of interest in Vedic studies over the last twenty years, nor lack of publications catering to that interest. In view of the divergent uses of the terms 'Vedas' and 'Vedic', it is useful to point out that certain connotations are not intended in *Texts, Language and Ritual*. While the term Veda literally means 'knowledge', here it primarily refers to a group of orally transmitted texts that became canonical in the first millennium B.C.E. on the Indian subcontinent. The 'knowledge' is concerned with an intricate ritual system that is regarded to have definite implications for man and the cosmos. These canonical texts became embedded in a tradition that regards them as having indisputable authority. Justification for this authority is usually derived from either, for logicians, the divine nature of the author(s), or, for Vedic exegetes, from the absence of any author, human or divine. Traditional texts directly dealing with the canonical core texts, for

strengths and limitations, are basic to the work of Bharati Krishna Tirtha, the philological method underlies the studies presented in *Texts, Language and Ritual*. Philology may be described as the art of 'listening' to a text; Witzel defined it as 'the study of a civilization based on its texts' (1997: v). Philology has a solid background in the Western tradition of textual scholarship, and also in a more dispersed way in India (Katre 1954; Colas 2001). It is perhaps the only discipline in which the West and India are close to accepting overlapping basic principles - an important topic for future comparative research.

The researchers in this book agree on the importance of the philological method, where possible supplemented by 'Vedic fieldwork' - the study of Vedic ritualists in South Asia who continue the ritual tradition into which they were born. In addition, the study of the linguistic and ritual aspects of the Vedas requires disciplinary approaches ranging from linguistics to the social sciences.

In a recent overview of research on the oldest of the four Vedas, the *Rgveda*, Oberlies (1998, 1999 and 2001) raised crucial issues in *Religionswissenschaft*. Oberlies' work has given rise to a long due discussion on the theories and methods underlying Vedic research. Even if the value of Oberlies' approach is undeniable, Vedic studies should be explored by different disciplines, which should cooperate without being conflated.

The combination of different disciplines (by scholars who are well-grounded in at least one of them) is an important tool in overcoming a limitation of the philological method. This limitation has led to criticism of its status as a scientific discipline: reliance on the personal judgement of a critical mind, though formed over a long process of training and research, makes subjectivism inevitable. This problem exists for anyone who tries to reconstruct a past reality on the basis of limited available textual or other remains. In the words of Cavalli-Sforza (2000: VIII): 'To some, history (including evolution) is not a science, because its results cannot be repli-

cated and thus cannot be tested by the experimental method. But studying the same phenomenon from many different angles, from many disciplines, each of which supplies independent facts, has the value of largely independent repetition. This makes the multidisciplinary approach indispensable'. <

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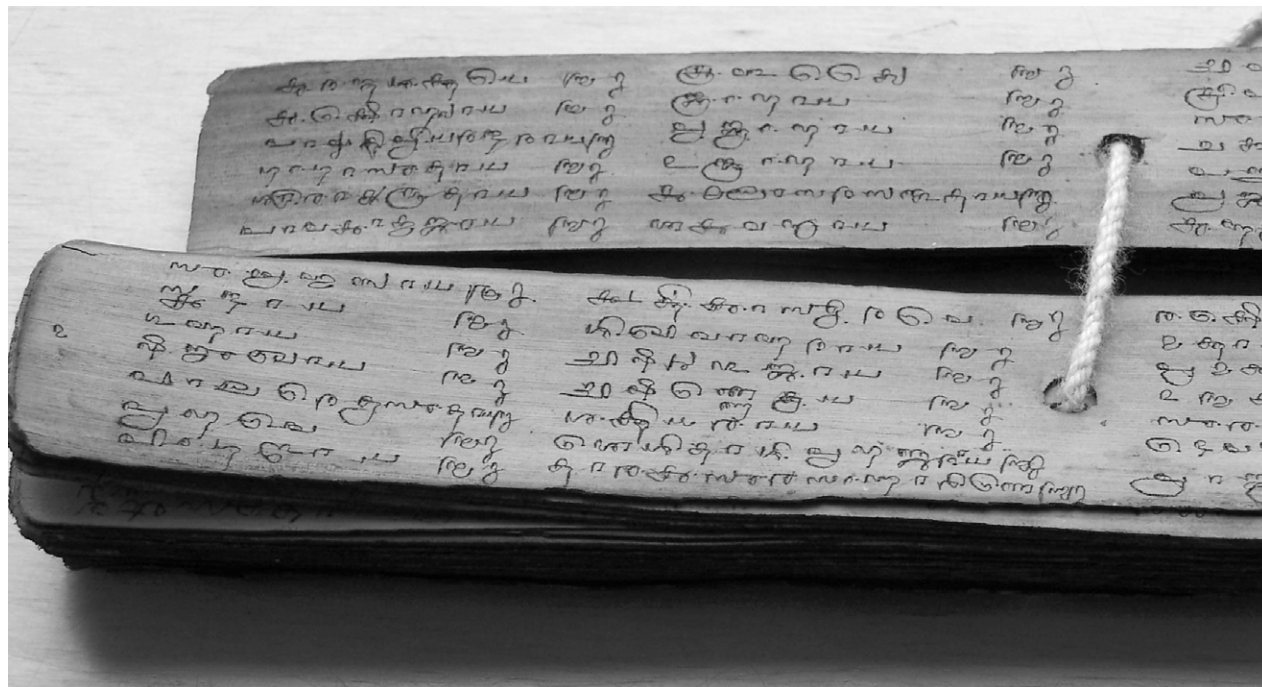
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Dravidian studies in the Netherlands part 2 (1860s-1970s): Classical India rediscovered



Subrahmanyanwaminamavali, Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript in Grantha script

Research >
Dravidian studies

Dutch curiosity about South India triggered by overseas trade expeditions faded by the end of the seventeenth century, resulting in a gap in Dravidian studies that lasted for 170 years. Meanwhile, elsewhere in Europe, research on Indian antiquity was evolving. As H.W. Bodewitz recently argued: in Britain, the winner of colonialist competition in India, Indomania gave way to either Indophobia or disinterest. In France, the defeated colonizer, initial enthusiasm waned but research, spurred by national ambition, went on. In Germany, an outsider to colonial competition in India, zealous scholars turned from romantic fascination to a more scientific approach. In the Netherlands, 'there was absolutely nothing'. (2002:11)

Luba Zubkova

A standstill and a new start

As the Dutch lost their economic stronghold in India to the British, they also lost interest in South Indian studies. The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century was in decline, and society was dominated by *rentiers* who profited by dividends from colonial company shares, 'living off the legacy of the past.' (Israel 1995:1017) Voltaire caught a glimpse of the fading glory of Dutch universities in 1737 and marvelled at their ability to attract foreign students with new ideas and methods, especially in science and medicine. Yet economic decay, general despondency and a preoccupation with national decline turned Dutch scholars and publicists away from many of the broader issues debated elsewhere, such as in France. The physico-theological approach of the early eighteenth century - combining empirical science with veneration for an omnipresent God - remained dominant in Dutch universities, while the quality of intellectual life left much to be desired.

Conservatism during this time also extended to Oriental studies, which were traditionally associated with university theology departments and did not go beyond the established field of Semitic languages. After the fall of the Republic (1808) and the consolidation of the Constitutional Monarchy, the Netherlands still lagged behind other leading European nations. Only in the mid-nineteenth century, when urban liberal burghers gained the upper hand, did the economy and culture begin to rapidly recover: a revised colonial policy in the spirit of imperialist European expansion stimulated Orientalism.

Sanskrit was the first language deemed worthy of a chair, and one was estab-

lished in 1865 at Leiden University. Hedrik Kern (1833-1917), an expert in Indo-European philology and Buddhism, was appointed the first professor of Sanskrit upon his return from the Dutch East Indies. Yet it was not until 1876 that Pieter de Jong, a farmer's son who became a professor of Arabic history, announced the official separation of Oriental studies from theology at Utrecht University. Dravidian studies, however, had to wait another century for recognition in university curricula and research.

Johan van Manen (1877-1943)

Self-taught Orientalist Johan van Manen (1877-1943) took on the responsibility of introducing ancient Indian ('Aryan') wisdom to the Dutch public (see Richardus 1989). At the age of eighteen he was carried away by the teachings of H.P.

van Manen was especially interested in Himalayan tradition and aspired to unveil the essential uniformity of sacred eastern philosophy at its two poles: Aryan (north) and Dravidian (south)

Blavatsky, founder of the theosophical movement (since 1875) following Buddhist and Brahmanic theories of pantheistic evolution and reincarnation. Believing that this movement could instigate Western respect for Asian peoples as well as enhance their self-esteem, he took to spreading theosophy in Europe and in the Dutch East Indies. In 1909 van Manen set off for Madras to work at the Theosophical Society (TS) headquarters in Adyar.

Since the first Dutch contact with TS founders in Java around 1880, theosophy was an important issue for colonial intellectuals. It provided an impetus for research in Asian philosophical sys-

tems, contributing to a revival of Buddhism and Hinduism. Back in the Netherlands, Orientalists such as J.W. Boissevain also became interested in the new intellectual trend. Some even began to associate it with the Western approach to Aryan wisdom. Kern's successor in Leiden, Indian antiquity specialist J.S. Speyer, referred to the subject of Indian philosophy mainly as 'theosophy'.

While in Adyar, van Manen studied Indian wisdom with a Tamil guru and witnessed the discovery and initial education of the future philosopher Jiddu Krishnamurti, who happened to be his teacher's son. Van Manen was especially interested in Himalayan tradition and aspired to unveil the essential uniformity of sacred eastern philosophy at its two poles: Aryan (north) and Dravidian (south). Unhappy with the TS Presi-

dent's involvement in Indian politics, he left Tamilnadu in 1916 and settled in Darjeeling. He thereafter reviewed and translated various Orientalist materials and lectured extensively, including at the Indological Kern Institute, founded in 1925 in Leiden.

For many years van Manen spent his private, modest means collecting important works of South Indian art and archaeology. Thanks to him some 350 Tibetan Buddhist scroll-paintings and Himalayan artefacts are stored at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The Kern Institute holds over 300 palm-leaf manuscripts (*ola* in Tamil) he collected between 1928 and 1931, as well

as a unique collection of 1,580 Tibetan manuscripts and block prints.

Aryan Letters at universities

In 1921, Aryan Letters, alias Indian philology, was introduced at Leiden University. Its aim was the study of Sanskrit and 'related subjects', including Indian archaeology, and the study of the Indian cultural impact on Indonesia - the country where pragmatic interest of the Netherlands lay. Curiously, the very term 'Indology' until the 1950s meant research relating to Dutch colonial possessions in Indonesia. Despite their late rediscovery of Indian cultural heritage, the Dutch distinguished themselves during the twentieth century as Europe's top researchers in the field. Among them was F.B.J. Kuiper, appointed at Leiden University in 1939, who studied the influence of non-Aryan (Dravidian) languages of ancient India on Sanskrit and attempted to identify the meaning of myths and other aspects of the Vedic religion. Kuiper's later research on innovations in spoken Tamil was taken up in the 1950s by K. de Vreese of Amsterdam University. After specializing in Sanskrit philology, De Vreese was given a new course to launch: modern Indian languages - the first time the term 'modern' was used in reference to Orientalism.

Zvelebil's Dravidology

As education and research grew in importance in the post-war period, universities received increasingly large government subsidies which they could use at their own discretion. By the mid-1960s the Dutch economy was in recovery and flourishing, and many former colonial intellectuals who had to leave Indonesia ended up at university departments of Oriental studies. The attraction of the generation's youth to the spiritual culture and art of modern India stimulated this scholarly interest, another incentive being decolonisation in Asia and the need to build international relations on a new foundation. The Dravidian south of India received much attention at that time (in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, for instance) and at Utrecht University a special Institute of Eastern Languages was founded in 1955, creating a basis for promoting Indological disciplines other than Sanskrit and Vedic studies.

In the early 1970s, the head of that institute, J. Gonda, invited exiled Czech scholar K.V. Zvelebil, who had lectured for some time in Chicago, to Utrecht. A brilliant researcher, Kamil Zvelebil was a Dravidianist by definition. In Utrecht he was active in linguistics, philology, comparative religion, cultural anthropology and literary history, introducing not only innovative subjects but methods as well. Zvelebil began with a reconstruction of a historical grammar of Tamil and became involved in phonological and morphological problems of comparative Dravidology. He organized a project on the hitherto unexplored languages of Nilgiri - the remote Blue mountain region in Tamilnadu where local tribes (the Irulas) managed to pre-

serve their linguistic and cultural identity. In addition to comparative linguistics, Zvelebil explored the disappearing skills, cultural and religious practices of the Dravidian people, as well as Tamil myths and legends (see 'Een bescheiden onderkomen' 1981:131-134).

On one occasion Zvelebil wrote that while there was no ground for setting apart Dravidian literature - Dravidian here meaning that which originated and flourished in the south of India - from other literatures of India, Tamil literature was an entirely different matter: 'There, and only there, are we able to point out a whole complex set of features (...) separating this Dravidian literature not only from other Indian literatures but from other Dravidian literatures as well.' (Zvelebil 1973:1) This thesis represents a turning point in the scholar's career (to be discussed later), when he plunged into the two millennia-old literary tradition of the Tamils, striving to reveal its richness and beauty to a Western audience.

It was due to his copious work that Dravidian studies in the Netherlands finally began to take shape, reaching its zenith in the following two decades. A prolific author, Zvelebil produced a large part of his nearly 490 publications at Utrecht University. On his retirement in 1990 he mentioned that his goal - to make the study of Dravidian languages and cultures part and parcel of Indological research - had been achieved. He said: 'When I coined the term "Dravidology", proposing to establish a legitimate field of study on a par with the field of Indology, my attempt met with incredulous reactions varying from ridicule to hostility. (...) I am happy to say that nowadays it has become fully acceptable to speak of Dravidianists and Dravidology'. (Zvelebil 1991:1) <

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Колыбельная богини Умай



Lullaby of the goddess Umay

Shalginova, Tat'yana, 2001. *Solnechniy chatkhan: Al'bom fortepiannikh p'es [Sun chatkhan: Piano pieces]*. Abakan: privately published, pp. 24-26.

Shamanism in contemporary Siberian music

Composition > Siberia

Allusions to Khakas traditional culture resonate in the music of many composers from this southern Siberian region. Other musical works, such as the musical sketches for piano that Tatiana Shalginova has been composing since 1995, draw inspiration from Khakas animism and its view of man's place in the world.

Larissa Burnakova and Liesbet Nyssen

In the 1950s, Aleksandr Kenel, a Leningrad composer who had studied the musical traditions of the Khakas region, started a Khakas composing movement with his songs, chorals and instrumental compositions. In 1970, he set the tone for generations to come with an opera based on a Khakas epic, in which he combined the structure of Western classical music, harmony, polyphonic devices and other Western composition techniques with Khakas heroic themes and melodies. Drawing on elements of traditional vocal music and Western form, this composition style lives on today through the work of composers such as Georgiy Chelborakov, Nina Kataeva, and Pavel Borgoyakov. Alongside this mainstream style, the national school since the 1980s has been developing a composition style that more substantially incorporates elements of Khakas culture, including its traditional instruments, folk songs and epics, as well as religious notions and practices.¹

Until the 1980s, most compositions at the school were consistent with the mainly vocal Khakas musical tradition - the easiest way to infuse them with a 'national flavour'. Over the last decade, however, Khakas composers such as Yuriy Kish-teev, Anatoliy Tokmashov, and Tatiana Shalginova have concentrated on composing instrumental, though still Khakas, music. Particularly interesting are their piano miniatures in which they adopt musical elements from Khakas epic tradition.² Features such as rhythm and elasticity in Kish-teev's sketches, and instrumental recitation over a long, sustained tone in Shalginova's pieces recall the nomadic past for Khakas audiences.

Shamanic inspiration

In addition to conveying her love for the land and history, Shalginova, herself a descendant of shamans, incorporates shamanic practices and the animistic worldview in her music. According to the Khakas, everything in the world is infused with spirits. This is expressed through symbols representing the spirits, and ritual practices like prayers, offerings, and shamanic sessions. In such a shamanic ritual, word, sound, and body movement fuse into a whole, its sound component incorporating drum beating, sound imitation, recitation, incantation, singing, whispering and a range of throaty sounds.

A shamanic performance reflects the shaman's journey between the visible and invisible worlds. The shaman first calls helping-spirits by beating a drum and imitating the voices of birds and wild animals. Next, in the longest and most important phase, she or he transforms into a supernatural being to travel to these other realms. Here the shaman beats the drum,

dances, and utters sounds from whispers and mumbles to deep aspirations and shouts. Finally, the shaman returns to 'reality,' and ends with a chant.

While chanting, the shaman alternates from mumbling to chant, recitation, and throat singing with exclamations. There is no strict repetition but improvisation on basic themes. As in the performance as a whole, rhythm plays a major role - flexible, with a steady beat that pulses continuously. Repeated monotonously, together with a melody based on several pitches and small intervals, it induces the trance state the shaman needs to travel and heal. A dense sound texture is formed when alternating throaty vocal techniques are added.

Shalginova uses these religious practices and notions in her music in three ways. She incorporates the entire shamanic ritual and makes the compositions unfold as condensed shamanic sessions, a concept also explored by other composers. She also uses musical elements of the shaman's song. Finally, she refers to the underlying animistic worldview through the ideas she represents in her music. Her cycle for piano 'Sun Symbol' expresses such animistic notions, besides using musical elements from epic and shamanic practices: she includes a sustained fifth stemming from the instrumental accompaniment of storytelling, and uses the hypnotic rhythms and melodic repetition of a few tones to create the mesmerising beat of a shamanic ritual. The animistic notions Shalginova expresses in this cycle are the spirits of fire, water, and wind. She depicts them by imitating the sounds of the corresponding natural elements with modern composing techniques: crackling fire, running water and whooshing wind.

Musical, miniature storytelling

Such expressions of animistic ideas abound in Shalginova's music and shape her compositions. According to Khakas tradition, the world consists of three layers: a lower layer of demonic power, a middle one with humans and animals with warm breath, and the divine world. When a shaman performs an incantation, she or he can sing themes from this middle world, as well as those on behalf of upper and under-world beings. The voices from the different realms are also musically differentiated, with beings from the middle and upper world singing in a natural style while those of the underworld sing in a non-human voice (reciting monotonously in a lower register, with shifts in voice and unexpected leaps).

In her piano compositions, Shalginova transforms this tripartite worldview into a temporal one. Consistent with the shaman's choice of voice, a composition may start melodiously (evoking the human world), followed by speech-like intonation (the underworld) and ending with a celestial hymn (the

upper world). In other miniatures such as the 'Sun Chatkhan' and 'Lullaby of the Goddess Umay', the composition creates an emotional, impressionist narrative that reflects on present reality (the middle world). This is gradually subsumed to evoke benevolent spirits and natural elements such as water and mountains. Finally, the last tones sound and fade in harmony with clear chords.

By adapting the musical features of shaman's songs and representing spirits and other notions about the world in her instrumental work, Shalginova challenges the idea of music as an autonomous aesthetic piece of art. Whether her music indeed evokes spirits and forces from the upper and under-worlds is left for the listener to decide. <

Notes

1. In Russian, the term 'national' (*natsional'niy*) refers to an ethnic group, not to a nation in the sense of nation-state.
2. For instance in Tokmashov's 'Shaman,' Shalginova's 'Shaman's dream' and Tuvan composer Khuresh-Ool's 'Shaman's way.'

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Liesbet Nyssen is a PhD student at the School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, Leiden University, writing her thesis on continuity and change in traditional Khakas music. She is Siberia specialist at the North Asia Institute Tengri and author of the forthcoming 'Traditional and Modern Khakas Conceptions of Sound and Music'. Oideion - Performing Arts Online, issue 4. www.ias.nl/oideion e.a.m.nyssen@let.leidenuniv.nl

Recovering from crisis: more than just survival?

Review >
Indonesia

Resilience and a capacity for making the best of difficult circumstances are striking characteristics of many communities in the developing world. This ability to adjust is often tested by lack of opportunity and other obstacles that are beyond the control of society's weakest members.

Elizabeth Morrell

When the Asian economic crisis hit Indonesia in 1997-98, it threatened the slow yet steady gains that had been achieved in health, education, reduced infant mortality and poverty reduction. As banks failed, businesses and factories closed, the rupiah declined in value and food prices soared, it seemed that livelihoods and the emerging social welfare programs might be critically undermined. However, statistics from the Indonesian Family Life Surveys, collected before the crisis and again in the latter half of 2000, do not show long-term negative impacts on individual, family or community welfare. Many survey respondents experienced dramatic downturns from 1997, but for most this trend had either slowed or reversed by 2000. Although not all survey respondents had regained pre-crisis living standards, some had exceeded their previous levels.

The Central Bureau of Statistics conducted the Family Life Surveys, in which data was collected from more than 30,000 people across thirteen provinces between 1993 and 2000. Individual interviews were conducted with all par-

ticipants, providing a detailed database across a range of welfare issues such as employment, household expenditure and health. Data sets with particular relevance to the economic crisis are those evaluating the social safety net programs introduced to minimise the crisis' impact. They cover four main areas - subsidized food, employment creation, access to health and educational welfare programs and assistance for small and medium sized enterprises.

The Family Life Surveys show that subsidized rice, health cards and educational scholarships were more successful in reaching their target communities than employment creation programs, which were often not established. However, not all target households received benefits, and not all recipients were poor. In one year, 38 per cent of non-poor households in the survey received subsidized rice, whereas it reached only 57 per cent of respondents classified as poor. Interviews sought information, not only about the availability of programs, but also about the selection criteria for beneficiaries, and categories of people who decided upon eligibility. Unsurprisingly, decision makers were usually village heads or other local offi-

cials. In health fields, midwives or staff in village clinics also often determined inclusion or exclusion.

Indonesian Living Standards: Before and After the Financial Crisis is one of several recent books based on Indonesian statistics, following improvements in the country's data collection and processing. These publications help to fill knowledge gaps which, for political reasons, could not be adequately examined during the Suharto period. The contributors to this publication have backgrounds in economics, population studies and policy studies and provide statistics in over 200 figures and tables, accompanied by explanatory notes and brief analysis. The authors admit the limitations of an econometric orientation, and point out unanswered questions which need further qualitative research. Despite the quantitative focus, the accompanying text contains valuable background information on employment, health, education and other social welfare issues in Indonesia.

Identifying gaps

The writers point out that the survey results present a macro-image of overall recovery which may conceal the existence

of continuing adverse impacts. For example, the tables show shifts in employment patterns between private and government sectors, self-employment and unpaid family labour, without identifying any social problems associated with those movements. Employment rates actually rose slightly between 1997 and 2000, though approximately half of this work was unpaid labour in family businesses. The number of people holding more than one job also rose. Overall, wages had recovered by 2000, though unevenly, with private sector wages still low.

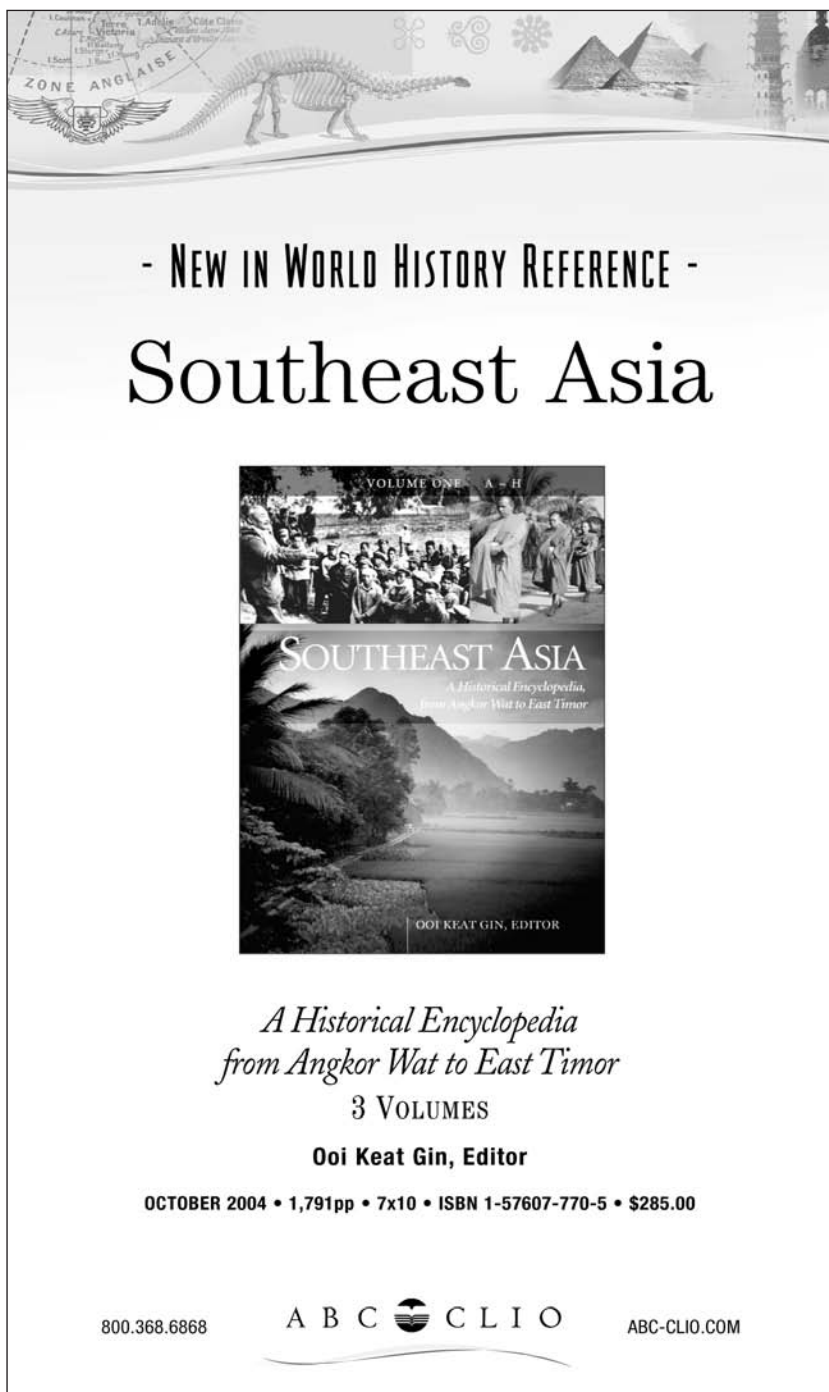
While the drought and fires of 1997-98 are acknowledged as factors exacerbating the economic downturn, the figures do not differentiate between the economic crisis and other disruptive events which occurred during the survey periods. One of these is communal violence which caused displacement and unemployment, and reduced tourism income. For a variety of reasons, many people have found alternative work in petty commodity production and trade, pedicab or motorbike-taxi driving. One common impact of this is an inability or unwillingness by local government to accommodate more informal traders and increased traffic congestion. New regulatory policies are being formulated that may initiate another employment shift, or further unemployment.

On the whole, Indonesian society appears to have survived the financial crisis of 1997-98. That event has since been overshadowed by other crises which continue to test the population's ability to 'make do' through difficult situations. One attempt to address the country's many problems is the radical regional autonomy program which increases decision-making and financial responsibility at local levels. Although it was implemented after the latest Family Life Survey, the book contains a preliminary discussion of its impact on social welfare. It will be interesting to see the results of future surveys, and the team's evaluation of Indonesian living standards before and after decentralization. <

- Strauss, John et al. 2004. *Indonesian Living Standards: Before and After the Financial Crisis*. Singapore: ISEAS; Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, Yogyakarta. University of Gadjah Mada, pp 402, ISBN 981 230 168 2 (ISEAS), 0 8330 3558 4 (RAND Corporation).

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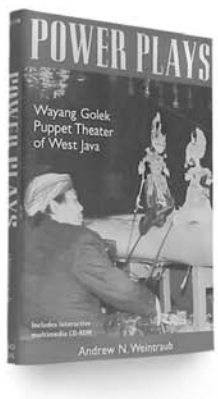
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Thailand's rice bowl: perspectives on agricultural and social change in the Chao Phraya Delta

Review >
Thailand

The tsunami of December 2004 reminded us that most people in monsoon Asia still live as they have for generations. Despite the changes and economic developments of the globalisation era, many remain dependent on fishing and agriculture. Understanding changes within these sectors and their relationship to processes such as industrialisation and urbanisation are essential to a balanced understanding of contemporary Southeast Asia.

Graeme MacRae

The basin of the Chao Praya river system in central Thailand has long been known as one of the great 'rice bowls' of monsoon Asia. In the mid-nineteenth century, visitors were amazed by the scale of production there, much of it for export. Over the past fifty years, however, rice cultivation has been transformed by new seed varieties, increased mechanisation and lower labour requirements. At the same time emigration from the main rice-growing areas, urbanisation and diversification of agriculture have led to very different patterns in the Thai rural landscape, economy and society.

The book's fifteen chapters contain literature reviews, overviews and detailed case studies, and cover topics such as ethnography, ethnicity and local government structures, with the main focus on ongoing processes of transformation. This focus is neither on Thai agriculture in general, nor on local communities, but on the natural/ecological unit of the water-

shed - appropriate given the historical and increasingly critical role of water supply and management in the region's economy. The watershed also contains Bangkok, a huge concentration of people, and industrial and commercial development that puts massive pressure on resources, giving rise to a 'critical competition between agriculture, industries and urban domestic consumption' (p.203).

Persistence and change

Two chapters on land tenure and labour in the agricultural economy form the core of the book. Both show mixed patterns of persistence and change. The first, by the editors, critically evaluates the assumption that land has been progressively concentrated into larger units and that tenancy rates have increased. They find instead a complex pattern of demographic change, migration and changing tenancy arrangements, all related to wider economic processes. The second, by Isvlanonda and Hossain, completes this picture with an analysis of the dynamics of technological change and labour, based

on comparative case studies of three villages with different water-supply characteristics. The village study by a Japanese research team addresses similar issues on a smaller scale.

Other chapters focus on a single sub-district where agriculture is increasingly the mainstay of the economy and examine aspects of agricultural diversification, paying attention to both the vulnerability of small economies and the environmental risks involved in large-scale production. Looking at the rural-urban frontier on the northern fringe of ever-expanding Bangkok, Marc Askew argues that local communities are not passive victims but active agents in processes which blur the boundaries between rural and urban environments.

The local level

Ssirirup and Kammeier, looking at agricultural diversification in the context of the interaction between government policy and farmers' decision-making, stress the need for flexible approaches that are

sensitive to local conditions. To address the relationship between local social and administrative structures and development, Shin'ichi Shigetomi (missing from the list of contributors) constructs a three-tiered model of kinship/community organisation, local administrative structures and 'development organisations'. Michael Nelson focuses on the current decentralisation of government functions and asks whether this has a real democratising effect.

The book, the product of joint research between Kasetsart University, Thailand and Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, France, emerges from a conference held in 2000. The contributors, from diverse disciplines and nationalities, include development practitioners as well as academics. *Thailand's Rice Bowl* accomplishes the traditional task of agrarian studies: detailed documentation of the various dimensions of agrarian systems in a defined, if large, area. However, any attempt to cover such a large field is bound to have gaps and weaknesses. The book could have benefited from a more thematic organisation - perhaps by grouping chapters in terms of scale of focus and/or by paying attention to purely agricultural and

wider socio-economic factors. The lack of an index is surprising and potentially problematic for serious users of such a large and comprehensive volume.

A further weakness of the volume is its cursory treatment of environmental and alternative/sustainable agricultural development issues, both of which are significant for rural development in Thailand. Given that the unit of analysis is a watershed, and in particular, a network of related economic sub-systems linked by a common water supply, this could have provided a stronger and more interesting framework for the book. There is perhaps a case for a companion volume based on water and environmental issues. <

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Guns of February: ordinary Japanese soldiers' views of the Malayan campaign and the fall of Singapore

Review >
Japan

Sixty years after its end, the Second World War still continues to fascinate the general public as well as scholarly academics. In recent years, the latter have veered away from treating this most terrible and significant of all wars purely as a military contest, towards an approach that privileges its social and cultural contexts. A component of this trend has been the effort to bring to light the experiences of the ordinary soldiers who daily put themselves 'in harm's way'.

Chandar S. Sundaram

We now have works like Fritz' *Frontsoldaten*, and Linderman's *The World Within War*, which look at the German *Landser* (conscript) and the American GI respectively. To these must be added the book under review, which is really the first attempt - Toyama and Nonnaly's *Tales by Japanese Soldiers* notwithstanding - to showcase the Japanese fighting man of World War II. The picture that emerges is both fascinating and groundbreaking.

Frei, who died before completing the book, '...wanted the world to understand the Japanese army...as human beings rather than as automatons blindly serving the Emperor, or as inhuman fighters lacking emotion and compassion for their enemies' (p. xiii). To effect this, he eschewed a comprehensive approach, focusing rather on four soldiers, involved in a significant event in the Greater East Asia war - the lightning

Japanese conquest of Malaya and Singapore. This brings an immediacy to the book, so vital when discussing soldiers' lives at 'the sharp end of war'. It also helps that the four soldiers Frei chose - Warrant Officer Arai Mitsuo of the 114th Regiment, Captain Ochi Harumi of the 11th Regiment, Major Onishi Satoru of the 2nd Field Police Unit, and Sergeant First Class Tsuchikane Tominosuke of the 4th Regiment - wrote memoirs detailing their wartime experiences. Frei, a historian of Japan, plumbed these assiduously, along with other Japanese language sources, to write this book.

Frei more than succeeds in realizing his purpose. The Japanese soldier emerges from the pages of the book as a real person, with hopes, desires, aspirations, and fears. For instance, we are told that Private Miyake Genjiro, part of the first amphibious wave hitting the beaches at Singora, upon hearing the Japanese declaration of war against the Allied powers, thought there was '...nothing more

useless than the Japanese Army' (p.6). And Warrant Officer Arai knew something big was afoot when soldiers were ordered to put some of their hair and fingernail-clippings into small red envelopes for the folks back home. These, ominously, would constitute their last remains in case they didn't make it back alive (p. 5).

Particularly interesting are the contents of the mail Japanese soldiers received. Besides the inevitable letters from girlfriends, Japanese soldiers received little 'comfort bags' which contained such things as patriotic drawings by grade-school children, '...mascots, dolls of the province, temple charms, ornamental paper, photographs, usually some food, pressed flowers, anything the folks at home thought would brighten up the spirits of their men at the front.' (p. 41) A unique feature of the comfort bag was the 'Thousand Stitch Belts': wide cloth belts on which a thousand different women had stitched a thousand red

dots. These were supposed to protect the wearer against enemy bullets. They clearly did not, but it nevertheless cheered the Japanese soldier to know that 1000 women back home had spared a bit of their time to think of him. Frei further humanizes the Japanese soldier by detailing some of the chance encounters they had with locals during their drive to Singapore. Ochi, for instance, met a bewitchingly beautiful Eurasian woman, whom he dreamed of undressing (p. 49). At Alor Star, Tsuchikane made friends with Taro, a thirteen-year-old Indian boy, who was obviously fascinated by the sight of Japanese troops drilling (p. 51). Also illuminating, given the rather high-handed way the Japanese Army was later to act, is the way their military police came down hard on men of Tsuchikane's unit caught breaking into and looting a civilian home. Particularly telling is Tsuchikane's fear that the incident '...would bring dishonour on the Imperial Guards and the disgrace would reach all the way to their villages back home' (p. 52).

Fascinating vignettes like this are peppered throughout the book, as are some

thought provoking facts. For instance, the men of Ichikawa detachment, which included Ochi, and which had been constantly on the move, had lost on average ten kilograms during the campaign. Ochi himself had gone down from 71 to 55 kilos, a daily weight loss of 340 grams.

Complete with taut battle descriptions (pp. 85-97) and photographs - the one of a tanker getting a haircut amidst palm fronds with his tank in the background is particularly apt - this is a first rate book, and should be essential reading for anyone interested in the Second World War in Southeast Asia. There could have been a few more maps, and some rigorous fact-checking - the Zero was a fighter, not a bomber (p. 37) - but these are minor quibbles, and do not detract from the overall excellence of the book. <

- Frei, Henry. 2004. *Guns of February: Ordinary Japanese Soldiers' Views of the Malayan Campaign and the Fall of Singapore, 1941-42*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press. ISBN 99 71 69 27 32

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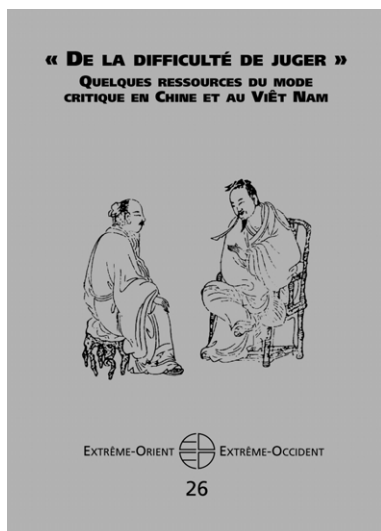
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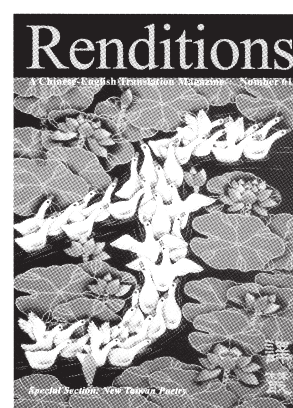
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Strange parallels: Southeast Asia in global context, c. 800-1830

Review >
Southeast Asia

Victor Lieberman's *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*, which won the prestigious 2004 World History Association Book Prize, connects a millennium of Southeast Asian history with long-term administrative, cultural, economic, demographic, even climatic developments and cycles on the Eurasian continent. This remarkable book will become one of the seminal studies on the history of pre-modern mainland Southeast Asia.

Volker Grabowsky

More than a decade ago, Anthony Reid published his two-volume study *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988 and 1993). Mainly relying on evidence from the insular world, Reid tries to demonstrate that Southeast Asia as a whole went through a rapid phase of economic development sped up by maritime trade. This upturn was followed by a decline due to European interference in the Asian trading system.

In the introductory chapter of *Strange Parallels*, Lieberman criticizes Reid's concept of a '17th century crisis' - perceptible in a deteriorating climate, falling profit margins, and competitive disadvantage due to advances by European and Chinese traders. Lieberman argues that a seventeenth century crisis may have some explanatory strength for developments in Insular Southeast Asia, but does not hold true for the mainland, which enjoyed a period of sustained territorial consolidation and economic growth throughout the seventeenth century.

Refuting the dichotomous distinction between the 'West' and the 'Rest' of the Eurasian landmass (i.e. Europe and Asia respectively), Lieberman reveals parallel long-term trends in large parts of Europe, Japan and mainland Southeast Asia. He argues that 'the combination of accelerated political integration, firearms-based warfare, broader literacy, religious textuality, vernacular literatures, wider money use, and more complex international linkages' marked the period between the mid-fifteenth to early nineteenth centuries 'as a more or less coherent period' in each region of this 'Eurasian periphery' (p.79). Island Southeast Asia, on the other hand, though sharing similar 'early modern features', had more in common with the Eurasian 'heartland', namely China, the Middle East and India. These zones, all ruled by conquest elites at the turn of the seventeenth century - Manchu, Turkish, Persian, Dutch and Iberian - did not experience growing cultural unity between elites and masses, and entered the nineteenth century politically fragmented (p.80).

For the millennium spanning the period 800-1830, Lieberman identifies four roughly synchronised cycles of political consolidation in mainland Southeast Asia, as well as in France and Russia. It is indeed striking that in all these disparate regions a period of rapid demographic growth and commercial expansion began in the tenth and eleventh centuries, followed by a general political and social crisis extending from the early thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries. The causes of crisis were, however, quite

different. In Southeast Asia, the 'charter polities' of Pagan (Burma) and Angkor (Cambodia) succumbed to a combination of foreign invasions, shifting trade relations and ecological strains to core areas (p. 242). The collapse of Kiew Rus can largely be attributed to conquest by the Mongols, while the crisis in France, it can be argued, resulted from the Black Death and military conquests by England in the Hundred Years' War.

The reader may also be stunned by the coincidence of short-lived political crises in the second half of the eighteenth century, followed by a long period of intensified administrative and cultural integration. Lieberman concludes: 'Whereas Europe as a whole in 1450 had some 500 political units, by the late nineteenth century the number was closer to 30. Between 1340 and 1820 some 23 independent Southeast Asian kingdoms collapsed into three. Each nineteenth century survivor was more effectively centralized than any local predecessor' (p.2). This last quotation shows Lieberman sometimes oversimplifies arguments to draw parallels between incompatible phenomena. The vast majority of the more than 500 political units identified by Lieberman in mid-fifteenth century Europe were German kingdoms, duchies, counties, and imperial free cities (*Reichsfreie Städte*). The German Empire at the time still possessed powerful imperial institutions that tied together its member states, the autonomy of which were probably less than that of several nineteenth century Siamese and Burmese vassal states.

As to the 'strange parallels' that link Vietnamese and Japanese history, Lieberman does not provide concrete details but leaves the reader's anxiety to the second volume of his oeuvre, to be published separately under the title *Mainland Mirrors: Russia, France, Japan, and the Islands*. One is tempted to speculate that such an analogy seems obvious due to the political, cultural and demographic expansion of Vietnam and Japan along an axis running from North to South and from South to North respectively. Whether such a comparison is the only and most suitable choice for putting pre-modern Vietnamese history into a wider Eurasian perspective remains to be substantiated.

For Southeast Asia specialists the first volume nevertheless offers many insights into the *longue durée* histories of the three parts of the mainland: the western mainland (mostly Burma), the central mainland (Siam, Laos, and Cambodia) and the eastern mainland (Vietnam). The book discusses historical developments in these three distinctive regions, characterised by agriculturally productive river basins running in a north-south direction and separated

from one another by mountain chains, in three chapters of roughly equal length. At the beginning of each chapter, Lieberman explains which regions are included in the respective 'mainlands'. Then he discusses in detail how the three parts of the mainland developed politically, economically, and culturally over a period of one millennium. The rise, consolidation or collapse of political entities are discussed chronologically and in relation to their modes of economy and trade relations; Lieberman frequently neglects ecological and climatic factors. The reader also gains a state-of-the-art overview of changes in the cultural landscape, ranging from religious dynamics to linguistic and ethnic changes.

Lieberman is a highly reputed and prolific writer of Burmese history, and it is not surprising that the chapter on Burma is by far the most convincing. It relies on decades of original research, and will serve as a standard work on pre-modern Burmese history. The sections

on Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, on the other hand, rely on the work of recognised authorities such as David Wyatt and Dhiravat na Pompejra (on Thailand), David Chandler and Charles Higham (on Cambodia) and Keith Taylor and Li Tana (on Vietnam). Lieberman thus succeeds to write balanced and highly informative chapters on the central and eastern 'mainlands' as well. In each chapter, results of the preceding ones are used to highlight political, economic, and cultural interactions among the different parts of the mainland.

While *Strange Parallels* is an extraordinary book of superb scholarship, it has its lopsidedness. In Lieberman's discussion about the Tai polities of Lan Na (Northern Thailand) and Lan Sang (Laos), for example, he has not made use of the most recent scholarship. Although important studies of Southeast Asian history written in German are quite rare, some of them should not be ignored. To give one example, for the economic history of Pagan, Lieberman relies almost entirely on Michael Aung-Thwin's work, the leading authority in this field. If he had consulted Tilman Frasch's PhD thesis *Pagan: Stadt und*

Staat (Stuttgart 1994) he probably would have qualified Aung-Thwin's theory that the decline of Pagan was spurred by excessive donations of royal land to religious institutions.

Such reservations, however, are of minor importance. Lieberman has written an impressive work of great importance in the field of Southeast Asian history. It is certain that this book will stimulate further debate among historians specialised in the region and, probably, also in world history. His work has opened a new window of approaches to Southeast Asian history, and deserves to be highly recommended. <

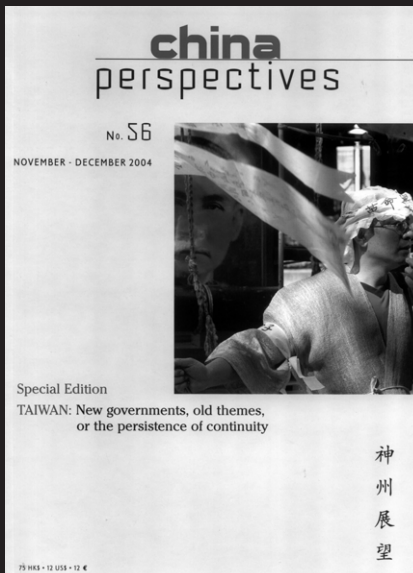
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Dr LI Runxia (China)

Affiliated fellow
Chinese poetry
 4 February - 4 April 2005

Dr RHEE Sang jik (Korea)

Affiliated fellow, sponsored by KRF
The structure of the Korean language: Phonetics, phonology 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'
 1 January 2001 - 31 December 2005

Prof. Arthur Waldron (USA)

Senior Visiting fellow
Comparative warfare in Asia, 1500-1700
 1 May - 31 July 2005

WANG Ping, MA (China)

Affiliated fellow
The Euro-Sino relations after Sept. 11 and its prospects
 15 September 2004 - 15 September 2005

WONG Leo, MA (China)

Affiliated fellow within the joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme 'The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China'
Cantonese syntax
 13 September 2004 - 13 September 2005

ASSR: Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, the Netherlands

BDK: Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai, Society for the Promotion of Buddhism, Japan

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

Asian and European perspectives on old-age vulnerability

Report >
Asia-Europe

Population ageing and old-age support are topics of growing importance to Europe and Asia. Currently one in five Europeans is 60 and over; by 2050, it will be more than one in three. Compared to Europe, most Asian populations, with the exception of Japan, are still young. However, the speed at which age-structural changes are taking place, the huge absolute size of some of Asia's elderly populations, and the comparatively low levels of aggregate wealth and formal provisions are cause for concern and have spawned a large body of research on older people in Asia. This has led to good, oftentimes comparable data on elderly support in European and Asian countries - yet few attempts have been made to draw parallels or learn from the different experiences.

RSEF/Alliance Workshop
Brawijaya University, Malang, Indonesia
8-10 July 2004

Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill and
Ruly Marianti

In response to the common challenge of understanding the impact of ageing on societies, families and individuals, an international workshop entitled *Old-Age Vulnerabilities: Asian and European Perspectives* was organised by Brawijaya University (Malang, Indonesia), in cooperation with the Universities of Oxford and Amsterdam. The aim was to initiate intellectual exchange on ageing within a theoretical framework of vulnerability by focusing specifically on disadvantaged subgroups of elderly. The reasons for this focus were threefold: vulnerable older people are of obvious humanitarian concern; by studying vulnerability, we are interested in processes of relative inclusion or exclusion, thus absolute differences in socio-economic or policy context can be set aside; and a vulnerability framework encourages debate about realistic, targeted interventions.

In studying vulnerability we seek to understand why *some* individuals are at heightened risk from bad outcomes, whilst others are apparently secure. The concept is, of course, not new. Vulnerability has a long history in studies of natural disasters, epidemiology, and famine, but has rarely been applied to the study of ageing in a systematic way. Doing so entails distinguishing the domains of exposure (or 'risk factors'), threats, coping capacities and outcomes, and examining their inter-relationships over time.

Research on vulnerability needs to clarify first what outcomes people are seeking to avoid. In other words: what is it that older people feel vulnerable to? This may be an untimely or degrading death, lack of care or social support, exclusion and poverty, dependence, institutionalisation, or loneliness. Old age can be a period of marked discontinuities, and it is often specific threats or crises, like the loss of a spouse, cessation of work, or illness episodes, which have the potential to precipitate dramatic declines in well-being unless compensatory mechanisms are in place. Understanding vulnerability therefore requires attention to the ways in which exposure to threats is shaped over the life course. For example, childlessness, affecting as many as one in four or five older people in certain Asian and European populations, may result in a lack of care and support in old age; divorce - which is common in Europe and Islamic Southeast Asia - may leave older men with small social networks and make them particularly vulnerable should illness strike. Simi-



Kubu woman, Jambi province, Indonesia

larly, life-time poverty or exclusion from the labour market may prevent the accumulation of assets, savings or pension entitlements on which to rely in old age.

But of course not all childless, divorced or poor elders are vulnerable. They are embedded in societies, communities and kin networks, and therefore intimately affected by the resources and limitations of these wider structures. For this reason the study of vulnerability always necessitates the study of people's

shared poverty remains poverty, and in situations of economic constraint, it is rarely the elderly who are regarded as a priority by families, communities and society

differential strategies and resources. Here attention to cultural and social context, which shape the normative transmission of goods between generations and genders, is crucial, as not everyone has access to the same strategies or resources.

Unusually, among the matrilineal Minangkabau of Sumatra it is men who find themselves in a vulnerable position in old age, as their entitlement to assets and support is via sisters or wives. In Europe and among better-off groups in Asia, formal welfare arrangements provided by the state or market can protect older people from destitution following retirement or from a lack of quality health care in illness. Although the importance of informal social networks among poorer segments of Asian populations has often been stressed, their capacity for mitigating risks and reducing vulnerability should not be overestimated. As several of the papers in the workshop illustrated, poor people tend to have poorer and smaller networks than their richer peers. To put it bluntly, even shared poverty remains poverty, and in situations of economic constraint, it is rarely the elderly who are regarded as a priority by families, com-

munities and society. Thus, one of the key points in discussions was the importance of formal, legally enshrined protection for vulnerable subgroups. Until now, many Asian countries have tended to provide state support to those groups who are already relatively privileged, such as civil servants or members of the formal labour market. The notion of universal benefits, widely accepted (if increasingly under threat) in Europe, is only gradually gaining currency in Asia. Indonesia, for example, recently passed

a new Social Security Law seeking the gradual expansion of protection to more vulnerable groups, including informal sector workers.

The potential of poverty to heighten exposure to threats and reduce resilience in the event of a crisis should not blind us to the importance of other sources of vulnerability in old age. Social and psychological threats to well-being in later life, like loss of autonomy, loneliness or disempowerment, loom large in older people's narratives. Thus, in urban North Sulawesi and the Netherlands alike, people fear outright dependence on others, especially where this entails reliance on distant kin or non-kin or on already over-burdened caregivers. Consequently older people work hard to 'manage' their dependence, for instance, by maintaining a degree of independence through continued work

or a switch to lighter work, by understating physical or emotional complaints, by engaging in small-scale reciprocal exchanges or by relying on age peers for some of their support.

The workshop closed with a discussion of policy suggestions on how to target vulnerable groups and prevent both the increase in the number of vulnerable older people, and the progression from vulnerability to serious harm. Participants emphasised the importance of targeting material protection, paying more attention to health and long-term care without 'medicalising' old age, rethinking legal aspects of protection and policy enforcement, and maintaining and strengthening family and community support. Whilst these points were certainly not new for those interested in vulnerability and well-being in later life, their communication by researchers (who tend to emphasise complexities) to policy makers (whose attention is not easy to win and hold) is often still far from perfect. By involving the media and organisations like Help-Age International, who are able to lobby policy makers directly, it was hoped that small but lasting contributions towards reducing vulnerability in old age may have been made. <

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The authors would like to thank the Asia-Europe Foundation and the European Alliance for Asian Studies for their generous funding for the workshop in Malang, and IIAS for invaluable help with its organisation. The full report for this workshop can be accessed at: www.asia-alliance.org. Electronic copies of the papers can be received by emailing: elisabeth.schroeder-butterfill@sant.ox.ac.uk. The journal *Ageing and Society* will be publishing a special issue arising from the workshop on the theme of *Old-Age Vulnerabilities* later this year.

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www.asia-alliance.org

China's need for soft power

Comment >
International relations

There is no doubt that China is strong in economic and military terms. It is, however, better to get what one wants through the perceived legitimacy of one's culture, ideals and policies than through force or payment. Such 'soft power' is one of the most effective ways for China to gain international acceptance, especially from Western industrialised countries.



Zhai Kun

Does China lack soft power? While this may have been so in the past, it is not today. In May 2004, Time magazine's foreign editor Joshua Cooper Ramo coined the term 'Beijing Consensus' to describe China's reform and development model, the most widely-used term in international relations last year. He argued that China is offering hope to developing countries by providing a more equitable development paradigm.¹ A quick search on the internet shows that the 'Beijing Consensus' has captured the excitement of a country where change, novelty and innovation feature regularly in journal articles, dinner table conversations and policy debates.

The Beijing Consensus is one example of China's soft power. Some of China's Southeast Asian neighbors seem to sense this strength. China was the first major power visited by President Arroyo of the Philippines, Premier Hun Sen of Cambodia and Premier Abdullah Ahmad Badawi of Malaysia when they began new terms in office. In 2001, President Arroyo told *Asia Week* that looking at Deng Xiaoping's experience could help her lead the Philippines to become a 'strong republic'. On the multilateral level, all ASEAN members, as well as Japan and Korea, agreed with China's policy on regional cooperation.

Does this mean China has enough soft power? No it does not. Aside from its economy and military, there are serious concerns on issues such as democracy and the Communist Party's (CCP) anti-corruption campaign. These two issues, vital to China's image abroad, are key components of soft

power. A better image would make it easier for China to develop peacefully, while a bad image makes cooperation with other countries more difficult. America and Europe say democracy can lead to cooperation and peace; a 'democratic China' or 'clean China' may be preferable to a 'strong China'. Democracy and transparency could also enhance the Communist Party's future legitimacy as a ruling party, though this may sound strange to Westerners. As General Secretary Hu Jintao recently said, the CCP is transforming from a revolutionary into a ruling party, and today the Chinese people look to the party with different demands. In the past they needed survival and development, now they need more rights and freedoms. The party must recognize these changes and adjust its strategy accordingly.

Towards democracy

Few countries believe China to be democratic. The American media often use the phrase 'Communist China' to set the country apart from western countries. They also criticize the Communist Party for refusing to grant more freedoms and rights, key indicators for developed countries. During a speech at Beijing's Tsinghua University in February 2002, President Bush presented a view of what American-style democracy would bring to China's future elites. Greater democracy in other Asian countries also adds to pressure on China. India, the Philippines and Malaysia all held general elections last year, but the largest impact came in September 2004 with the first ever direct presidential elections in Indonesia, the largest country in Southeast Asia with the world's largest Muslim population. Large Asian countries including

Japan, India, and Indonesia are either democratic or on the path to democracy. Will this leave China, with its 'socialist democracy', isolated in Asia?

It is worth bearing in mind that the preamble of China's Constitution states that 'the Chinese people waged many successive heroic struggles for national independence and liberation, and for democracy and freedom'. Hu Jintao reiterated in a speech in Australia's parliament that democracy is the common goal of all human beings, and that all countries should guarantee the democratic rights of its citizens. This said, China may have to create a new way to implement democracy, step by step, just as it forged its own path to economic development. China has experimented with elections in the countryside for some years now; however, with the world's largest population, holding direct elections for the top leadership would be a huge project requiring complex social transitions.

Clean hands and coffins

The CCP is also making great efforts to address corruption, which is not only a threat to the regime but a challenge to the party's legitimacy. Top party leaders are aware of how the former president of the Philippines was overthrown by the second 'People Power' revolution, how Indonesia and the Suharto family collapsed during the Asian financial crisis, and how difficult it is for Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to fight corruption in Malaysia.

In CCTV (Chinese national state television)'s recent poll of the top ten people of the year in the field of economics, first place went to

the head of the country's National Audit Office, who launched the anti-corruption campaign. As anti-corruption becomes an ever more popular theme, CCTV is airing more prime-time series on the subject. Ordinary people are watching shows like *Hail The Judge*, about a righteous judge in ancient China who kills corrupt ministers, or the more contemporary *Black Hole* and *Absolute Power*.

The Party has declared it has taken measures to fight corruption - former Premier Zhu Rongji memorably said in a speech: 'I prepared 100 coffins, 99 for corrupt officials, 1 for myself' to express his determination. But this is not enough. The Party is leading China's rise, and a deeply corrupt Party is sure to lose the authority to lead. Yet supervising the Communist Party and the government is like being both player and referee in a soccer match. China should reinforce the rights of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and especially the rights of the mass media to monitor the CCP.

What will China be like in twenty years? Will world leaders regard China as a democratic and clean power? For the Chinese government and the CCP, there is a long road ahead to translate its hard into soft power. ◀

Note

1. Cooper Ramo, Joshua. 2004. *The Beijing Consensus*. London: The Foreign Policy Center.

Zhai Kun is Director of the Southeast Asian Studies department of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations.

Shifting Paradigms in Asia-Europe Relations: translating common challenges into opportunities

The 8th Asia-Europe Young Leaders Symposium (AEYLS 8) was held in Scheveningen, the Netherlands from 29 November to 3 December 2004. Organised by the Asia-Europe Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Institute for Asian Studies, hosting the event in the Netherlands was particularly timely as it was the holder of the EU Presidency and had co-hosted the Fifth ASEM Summit in Hanoi, October 2004.

The theme, 'Shifting Paradigms in Asia-Europe Relations: Translating Common Challenges into Common Opportunities' underlined the importance of current developments within the ASEM process. The main goal set for the young leaders was to gain new perspectives on Asia-Europe relations and put forward recommendations based on the plenary lectures and separate working groups.

The symposium approached the complex academic, social and cultural relationships between the two regions in an interdisciplinary manner, bringing together the diversity of local histories, ideas, and agencies in both Europe and Asia. The symposium also aimed to move beyond dialogue, towards deeper and more practical knowledge on areas such as social welfare, financial architecture, elections and interfaith discourse. As we all know, dialogue is the basis of successful relations; sometimes, however, the process itself is discussed more than what the process should deliver. Hence the young leaders were invited not only to debate issues of importance to Asia and Europe, but to pinpoint crucial elements within the themes to enable future symposia to produce concrete steps towards a closer Asian-European partnership.

In total some 90 academics, politicians, journalists, businessmen and artists from 26 countries, including the new member states Cambodia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Czech Republic, took part in the event, comprised of plenary discussion and working group sessions. The keynote speakers were: Sastrohandoyo Wiryo (Fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Relations in Indonesia), Frank Majoor (Secretary General of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Wim van Gelder (Commissioner to the Queen of the Province of Zeeland).

For more information on AEYLS please see www.asef.org and www.ias.nl

[a d v e r t o r i a l]

Connecting Civil Society of Asia and Europe: The Barcelona Report

The recently published *Barcelona Report* is the result of an informal consultation among civil society groups on Asia-Europe relations. It is the fruit of the 'Connecting Civil Society of Asia and Europe - An Informal Consultation' conference held in Barcelona, 16-18 June 2004, jointly organised by the Asia Europe Foundation (ASEF), Casa Asia, IIAS and the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE).

Featuring an introductory message from J.E. Salarich, General Director of Foreign Policy for Asia and the Pacific (Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs) and keynote speeches by S. Pitsuwan, former Foreign Minister of Thailand and J.P. Dirske, Director General of the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, The Barcelona Report consists of **concrete recommendations** formulated by **more than 180 representatives of leading civil society organisations** from Asia and Europe over three days of intense debate and brainstorming.

The issues of mutual concern include human rights and governance, environment and urbanisation, labour and social issues, regionalisation and security issues, trade and development co-operation, migration, education, inter-cultural and interfaith dialogue.

The Barcelona Report was sent to all ASEM heads of states and governments prior to the 5th ASEM Summit in Hanoi in October 2004. It is downloadable at www.civdialogue.asef.org

To order this book, please contact IIAS.

Connecting Civil Society The Barcelona Report

An Informal Consultation Featuring Recommendations from Civil Society on Asia-Europe Relations Addressed to the ASEM Leaders
Barcelona, Spain, 16-18 June 2004

EDITED BY BERTRAND FORT

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 IGNC, 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.net

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 network 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

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

> 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 has launched 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

Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

This programme focuses on the impact of East and South East Asian Energy Supply strategies on the Caspian region (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and Russia) and the Persian Gulf. The objective is to study the effects of the global geopolitics of energy security supply on the main energy consuming countries of East and Southeast Asia, China, India, Japan, and South Korea, and their national strategies of securing supply from the Caspian region and the Persian Gulf. The programme is institutionally supported by IIAS and the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP), Den Haag.

Coordinator: Dr Mehdi Parvizi Amineh
www.iias.nl/research/energy

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



Heart of Borneo

Sustainable Development and Nature Conservation

WWF-CML-IIAS- Conference
 25-28 April 2005
 Institute of Environmental Sciences (CML)
 Einsteinweg 2, Leiden

Convenor:
Dr Gerard Persoon (CML)

In 2005 WWF will launch its *Heart of Borneo Program* to co-ordinate and stimulate conservation efforts related to Borneo. A wide variety of activities will take place throughout the year, not only in Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei, but also in several countries with WWF branch offices.

Within the framework of this *Heart of Borneo Program*, the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) and the Institute of Environmental Sciences (CML) at Leiden University, in collaboration with partners in Borneo, are organizing an academic conference to discuss the present state of knowledge and expertise related to the exploitation of the island's natural wealth and resources and the efforts to conserve its biodiversity. The aim is to bring together scholars from various disciplines and to focus on (1) present trends in resource use; (2) policy contexts; (3) people and the environment; (4) land use planning; (5) international trade and transnational issues in resource use; and (6) needs for action.

Organizers:
 World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) the Netherlands, Zeist
 Institute of Environmental Sciences (CML), Leiden University, Leiden
 International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden/Amsterdam

Deadline for registration:
 15 April 2005

Registration and Information:
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ICAS 4 update: the future of Asia

The fourth International Convention of Asia Scholars will be organized by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) in Shanghai, 20-24 August 2005. At the time of writing, the ICAS 4 Organizing Committee is sending out letters of acceptance to nearly one-thousand participants. About 250 panels on topics varying from economics to politics and from anthropology to genomics have been assembled, the titles and short descriptions of which are published on the ICAS 4 website.

ICAS 4 will have as its theme 'The Future of Asia'. While previous meetings of ICAS lacked such a theme, it is clear why the organizers of ICAS 4 desired it: their backyard, Shanghai, is the future of Asia. The rise of this city over the past decade has been a story of superlatives. The skyline of the city has been transformed, now boasting some of the world's tallest buildings and longest bridges. Shanghai's unique appeal rests in its double role as a harbinger of China's future and a testing ground for the world at large. It draws inspiration from the co-habitation of Asian and Western ideas and peoples and the creative forces these engender. The landmark Shanghai Exhibition Center on Yanan Road will be the venue of ICAS 4. This communist icon, which opened its doors in 1955, is a culturally significant structure in Shanghai's historical mosaic. Initially called the China-Soviet Friendship Mansion (*Zhong-Su youhao dasha*), its name was changed to Exhibition Center in 1968. Its famous vaulted hall has been reserved for the exhibitors, supporters and visitors of ICAS 4.

ICAS Book Prizes

The ICAS Book Prizes aim to create an international focus for publications on Asia while increasing worldwide visibility. All scientific books published in 2003 and 2004 on Asian topics were 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 will consist of ff2500 for each of the books while the best PhD dissertation will be published. In all, the ICAS secretariat received forty books on a broad range of topics from 17 publishers (for more information see www.icassecretariat.org; the back page of this newsletter lists the titles). A reading committee of six members is now judging the books. On 16 June short lists will be announced on the ICAS Secretariat website. The awarding of the ICAS Book Prizes will be during the opening ceremony of ICAS 4 in Shanghai on the 20th of August, at which we hope you will all be present.

ICAS 4

Head, Supervising Committee: Wang Ronhua, President, SASS
Head, Organizing Committee: Renhwei Huang, Vice President, SASS
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Regional network for indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia

The Dutch government recently granted €1.26 million for a project to build a regional network among Southeast Asian indigenous peoples' NGOs. The project will be implemented through the Institute of Environmental Sciences at Leiden University, and its research station at Isabela State University in the Philippines. The project will be executed in collaboration with IIAS, in particular through its research activities in the field of cultural minorities.

The aim of the project is to support, safeguard, restore and protect natural livelihood resources to alleviate poverty among indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. This will be pursued through the development and strengthening of a regional network of organizations working with indigenous peoples. Action research will be an important component of the project, which will work with local, national and regional organization in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam and Thailand. In January an experienced Filipino network director was appointed, Rolando Modina. He will be assisted by Dante Aquino, who finished his dissertation on resource use among the Bugkalot (formerly known as Ilongot) in Luzon.

A first meeting is scheduled for April 2005 in the Philippines, where representatives of indigenous peoples' NGOs from across the region will exchange ideas and experiences, and identity research and training priorities. In many countries the 'development' of indigenous peoples is a complicated social problem, fraught with political sensitivities. Numerous donor agencies and national governments have struggled with this issue for a long time, and continue to do so. One of the problems they face is to find the right balance between government priorities and increasingly vocal indigenous peoples, who may choose alternative routes to the future.

It is the explicit aim of this project to listen to the voices of indigenous peoples themselves, and to support their efforts towards poverty alleviation and sustainable resource management through action research and the sharing of experiences across ethnic and other boundaries. A trust fund to finance small field projects is part of the overall program.

By facilitating this project at the campus of a university committed to the plight of indigenous peoples and the sustainable management of natural resources, we hope to bridge the gap between practitioners in development and the research community, whose results have not always reached all concerned parties. We also hope to stimulate and facilitate research activities by representatives of the indigenous communities themselves.

For more information on this project, please contact Rolando Modina, network director, at rmodina@yahoo.com or Gerard Persoon, project leader, at persoon@cml.leidenuniv.nl. The website of the joint program of Leiden University and Isabela State University is: www.CVPED.org

Gerard Persoon

Muslim authorities in twentieth century Indonesia

The IIAS project *Islam in Indonesia: the dissemination of religious authority in the 20th century* is now in its final year. This four-year co-operative research project, involving specialists from Indonesia, the Netherlands, Egypt, Australia, Canada and elsewhere, aims to study and document important changes in religious, especially Muslim, authority in Indonesia over the past century which have contributed to the shaping of contemporary nationhood. As the twentieth century has been a period of rapid social change – the result of, among other factors, spectacular rises in literacy, urbanization, economic growth and the visibility and influence of the state – the dissemination of religious authority has acquired highly dynamic and complex characteristics.

The project includes four advanced research programmes which address the most important areas of religious dissemination in Indonesia over the twentieth century and into our day, namely: 'Ulama and Fatwa: the Structures of Traditional Religious Authority', 'Tarekat: Mystical Associations', 'Dakwah Organizations and Activities in Urban Communities' and 'Education and the Dissemination and Reproduction of Religious Authority'.

As a spin-off activity to the joint research efforts, a comprehensive list of religious personalities in twentieth century Indonesian Islam, including well-known but also less important or not so well-known persons, is being compiled. The initial plan was to make a collection of short biographies, but in view of the abundance of biographical materials already available, it was decided to create a database with bibliographical references to already existing data.

The aim is to collect source materials from all over the world: monographs, articles or chapters in monographs, journal articles, pamphlets, editorials, papers for congresses, forums and seminars, translations of non-Indonesian source materials and so on. In due course, our intention is to collect other source items, including visual and audio material. In this phase of the project the work for the database is carried out in Leiden, home to the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) with its famous Indonesia collections.

At present the database is still in its formative stage. Hence, we very much welcome suggestions and submissions from your side. Disclosure on the web of the database is planned in the summer of 2005, shortly before the end of the project in September 2005. A print publication of the bibliography is also being considered.

Michael Willé
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raiswali@hotmail.com

Burma/Myanmar Update

24 March 2005
Amsterdam

With its new status as Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) member state, Burma/Myanmar is subject to heavy international pressure to improve its human rights situation

and open up its borders. Consequently the government has been forced to set a new course in its political ambitions. This IIAS Update will shed light on the latest political developments in Burma/Myanmar.

Lena Scheen / Amis Boersma
iiasfellowships@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.iias.nl

19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies

27-30 June 2006
Leiden

IIAS will be hosting the 19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, in Leiden, the Netherlands, 27-30 June 2006. Panel proposals should be submitted to the Conference Secretariat by 1 June 2005 by email in Rich Text Format (RTF) or PDF. The proposal should include a title, an abstract of 300 words, and contact information of the panel organizer (name, address, email, affiliation, and title). The Academic Advisory Committee will then review the panel proposals. Due to limited time and space available during the conference, the Advisory Committee reserves the right to combine or decline panels. The committee encourages panels open to a broad audience, and that apply a wide approach. Notices of acceptance will be sent out by August 2005 while accepted panel proposals will be listed in the IIAS Newsletter and on the conference website.

Convenor: D.H.A. Kolff
ecmsas2006@let.leidenuniv.nl

How the Balance Swung: a hundred years after the Russo-Japanese War

16 September 2005
Amsterdam

IIAS is organising a seminar on the aftermath of the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War, which had a colossal impact on the self-confidence of colonised peoples all over Asia. Issues to be discussed include the effects of Russia's defeat on the nation's domestic and foreign politics; the influence of the war on social movements in other countries in the region; and Japan's use of its victory in its relationships with the Western powers and the people in its colonies. International experts in the field will be participating in the event.

For more information please contact the IIAS Amsterdam branch:
onderzoeksgroepiias@fmg.uva.nl

Consumerism and the emerging middle class: comparative perspectives from India and China

IIAS/CASS/ICSSR/CERI/CSH
Workshop Series, Number 2
India International Centre, New Delhi
7-9 November 2005

China and India - the world's two fastest growing economies accounting for a third of the world's population - have been going through comparable processes of liberalization and globalization in the past decades. In terms of scale and historical depth, they are obvious cases for com-

parison. Economic growth in both societies has enabled large segments of the population to move from frugal to consumption-oriented lifestyles. While attention has focused on the production side of the economy - where India provides services and China manufactured goods to the global market - the consumption side of national markets has not sufficiently been addressed. With economic growth comes greater penetration of capital and improved technologies of communication; it is only recently that a globally-oriented capitalist consumer culture has truly manifesting itself in India and China - at least among the middle classes. This cultural dimension of human action has rarely been directly addressed as the core resource for production and consumption.

The conference will focus on the cultural analysis of consumption in India and China. Economic change affects the entire dream world of mass consumption, including cinema, advertising, luxury goods and their cheap copies. Consumption patterns are deeply embedded in class habits and the politics of distinction. As such, the art world and the conservation of architecture are parts of these new emergent lifestyles. Leisure and the enjoyment of life become available to new groups in society and give rise to important industries, such as tourism. Questions of authenticity and cultural reproduction are central to what Arjun Appadurai (1986) has called 'the social life of things'. Since consumption is so much fuelled by desire, it is also necessary to analyze new conceptions of gender and sexuality as integral to the conference theme. Individual sessions will address:

Cinema / Television. Asian television is in the throes of change; state-sponsored channels now compete with numerous satellite channels and new vistas of imagination. To some extent, the notion of a distinctly American (Hollywood) or Chinese or Indian cinema (Bollywood) is breaking down, as film industries around the world become integrated in ways that make them simultaneously more global and more local. Yet both India and China have survived the Hollywood onslaught with the popularity of their own films. India produces the largest number of films of any country in the world; Bollywood, in particular, is a national passion. Equally important, both countries are centres of two of the world's largest diasporas, often avid consumers of films and television from their 'home' countries. This session will examine the role of television and cinema in the formation of Indian and Chinese modernities, both within the countries, and for their diasporas. It will also redefine the televisual and cinematic experiences of Asia in an ever-changing global context.

Advertising. Contemporary advertising in India and China has reached international standards in scope and technical accomplishment. How have advertising strategies in the two countries changed over recent years? Is there increased customization to local cultures? An intensification of strategies aimed at targeting rural markets? How are consumers affected? In China, have the material standards promoted through advertising had ramifications the Party failed to foresee? How does women's entry into the workforce further change lifestyle patterns and purchasing behaviour? What does the use of 'Hinglish' in Indian advertising reflect? Is

it part of the latest attempt of empowering the youth market, aiming to make them independent consumers, defining their identities through the consumption of 'cool products'? How far do strategies such as this undermine the traditional hierarchy of family and reinforce individualism?

Tourism. India has a huge potential for tourism and now offers a variety of tours for both foreign and domestic tourists, including cultural, heritage, religious, adventure, train, rejuvenation, tribal, beach resort, even textile tours. China is already an important tourism destination in Asia, and ranks sixth in the number of arrivals in the world. It is estimated that, by 2020, China will be the world's number one tourist destination and the fourth largest nation of tourists (*Asian Info* online). Domestic tourism in China is growing vigorously and can be linked to the emergence of a new, urban middle class. This session will address issues such as Chinese perceptions of modernity and responses of ethnic minorities as they encounter state-sponsored modernization. How has television and print media transformed religious pilgrimages into a consumer experience in India? What changes occur for middle class Indians when, from believers and worshippers, they become audiences / consumers? How do such audiences relate to the sacralizing potential of mass media which offer alternative, and often individualized access to religious experience? Does it have a particular structure?

Art and Architecture. China's urban landscape has transformed over the last two

decades. Using Shanghai and New Delhi and the adjoining new, urban area of Gurgaon as case studies, participants can examine how the city has been transformed, and explore some areas of contestation associated with this transformation. How does the super new modern architecture fit with the old? How has city life changed? How are Chinese and Indians coping with this change? How does the government manage both growth and environmental issues, collective and individual interests?

Anti-consumerism. Both India and China have witnessed strong currents of anti-consumerism in their modern histories. Gandhi's emphasis on frugality, traditional crafts, and the spinning wheel was an answer to imperialist capitalism. China's communist movement condemned bourgeois values of consumption and the aesthetic values of feudalism. In both cases these resistances have their ironies, such as the development of khadi into modern chic in India and the cottage industry of Maoist memorabilia in China. These and other forms of anti-consumerism and the irony of their commodification needs further exploration.

Further sessions will address the politicisation / depoliticisation of the urban middle class and the new middle class of entrepreneurs.

Convenors: Peter van der Veer and Shoma Munshi (IIAS); Christophe Jaffrelot (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris) Patricia Uberoi and Ravi Thakur (Institute for Chinese Studies, Delhi University).

South Asian Diasporas: the creation of unfinished identities in the modern world

IIAS/ Erasmus University Rotterdam workshop
23-24 June 2005
Rotterdam

It is well known that 'twice migrant' Indians in the UK from the Caribbean and East Africa share little with each other, seemingly fragmented by their migration experiences. Outsiders (scholars, or the Indian Government) may define them as one, but they do not speak the same languages, visit the same temples or mosques, and hardly intermarry. In fact, the labels 'East African Asian' and 'Caribbean Asian' suggest these are new constructions of identity.

The main aim of the workshop is to bring together senior scholars in the field of Indian diaspora studies to discuss the potential and limits of the 'diaspora' concept. The conference will stress how different migration experiences, migrants' reception in host countries, and length of time abroad explain differences in identity formation among Indian diasporas. This approach goes against the general 'Asians in diaspora' literature, which tends to unify and homogenize migrants in terms of culture, religion, language and homeland, speaking of the Indian diaspora. The general literature uses broad 'checklists' of factors to define diasporic groups: dispersal to two or more locations; collective mythology of homeland; alienation from the host land and others.

While differences are acknowledged in terms of class, religion, gender and language, these differences are experienced in India as well. What, then, is the use of the diaspora concept if it cannot explain the socio-economic and cultural differences between Caribbean Asians, East African Asians and other South Asian migrants in London? How can the diaspora concept help us to understand changing attitudes towards India and the South Asian diaspora through generations?

Peoples in diaspora are part of global and local histories. Historians need to emphasize the dynamic processes of changing attitudes towards the homeland, host land and diasporic community. A historical and comparative approach may help us to understand some of these dynamics.

Two recent and related developments are of importance. The vast growth of mass media and the internet has in one way or another re-connected Indian diasporas with India. Bollywood videos and music are sold throughout the world; the internet now counts numerous sites where people share views, discuss politics and virtually reunite with the 'homeland'. In addition, since September 2000 the Indian government, in contrast to its earlier policy of indifference, has adopted a policy seeking stronger ties with the Indian diaspora (not diasporas).

Despite the technological and political developments, re-connection, however defined, is not an obvious and natural process. It has 'local' and 'global' meanings. People in diaspora choose to re-connect; choose what (and what not) to re-connect to. In some cases they may choose not to re-connect at all and still be 'Indian'. This occurred among Indian groups in East Africa, who initially strengthened their economic and cultural ties with India through trade relations and taking brides from the homeland. However, many Indian businessmen in East Africa today show little economic interest in India, despite the initiatives of the Indian government. On the contrary, the overall image of Indians in India among Gujarati businessmen in East Africa transformed from 'reliable family or community members' to one of 'unreliable, corrupt and, untrustworthy 'others'.

These issues raise questions related to the concept of diaspora as well as to migration and relocation issues. How was the 'Indianness' of South Asian migrants embedded in their host countries? Though many overseas Indians haven't visited India for three generations or more, they created myths, stories and opinions about it. Others visited India frequently (or just once) and shared their stories with friends and family members. What is the importance of their image of India in their local identity creation? How do local Indian communities respond to the growing importance of mass media and the internet and the new policy of the Indian Government to strengthen their ties with India? These questions are all related to the main question of this conference: how does the migration experience create new identities and/or alter old ones in the local and global process of assimilation and integration in the diasporas of South Asians?

Most scholars are aware that 'South Asian' identity is neither unchanging and primordial, nor infinitely flexible, which one may paint, fill in, or use depending on

circumstances. South Asian identity is constantly negotiated in changing contexts. This assumption holds as much in South Asia as it does in the South Asian diasporas. A historical and comparative approach may help us to understand some of these dynamics. What is the use of the diaspora concept if it tends to unify the 'diapora'? Is the diaspora 'checklist' helpful in understanding migration experiences or does it close our eyes to variation and difference? In other words, is the diaspora concept useful in our empirical research or not?

Organizers:
G. Oonk, Erasmus University Rotterdam
H. Schulte Nordholt, Erasmus University Rotterdam / University of Amsterdam / IIAS
Contact: Oonk@fhk.eur.nl

Chinese Cultures Abroad Directory

The Chinese Cultures Abroad Directory wishes to receive URLs and, if you wish, your evaluation of websites in any language by or about Overseas Chinese (however defined). Visit www2.hawaii.edu/~pollard/participation.html for details. The Directory is part of the China WWW Virtual Library and the Asian Studies WWW Virtual Library. Vincent K. Pollard pollard@hawaii.edu is the editor.

Invitation to join the Nagani Project

The *Nagani* (Red Dragon) Book Club was founded in 1937 in Rangoon, by a vanguard of Burmese independence fighters who tried to transmit international knowledge and literature into Burma. Modelled on Victor Gollancz' Left Book Club, its members included Thakin Nu, who later became the first Prime Minister of independent Burma. The purpose of the Club was to print books in Burmese language containing the essence of the contemporary international literature, history, economics, politics and science at a low price. Up to 1941, the club published more than 70 books, issued a newsletter and was popularised by a still popular song that was sung by a film star.

The current *Nagani* Project intends to study various aspects of Burma/Myanmar's intellectual and literary history. It aims to encourage and establish joint research by Burmese (and non-Burmese) individuals living both inside and outside Myanmar, and to establish a network of people concerned about Burma/Myanmar's past as well as future intellectual life and literature.

The current project, as a first step, aims to provide an overview of the *Nagani* Book Club's publications. Towards this end, we are looking to publish 'book-reports' on *Nagani* publications in English, of 8,000-12,000 words. After about 40 reports are submitted, a seminar will be held to discuss the results and decide on the foci for further investigation and research. The Singapore conference on Burma in July 2006 will provide a first opportunity for this discussion.

For more information, please contact:
Hans-Bernd Zoellner
University of Hamburg /
Asian-Africa-Institute
habezett@t-online.de

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Russell Hiang-Kheng Heng and Rahul Sen, editors
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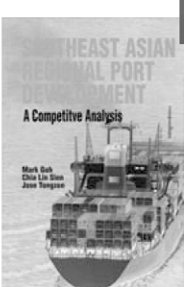
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John F Bradford
(Electronic Article from CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA
A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs
Vol. 26/3_5 (Dec 2004)
US\$6.40



CONFLATION OF PIRACY AND TERRORISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
Rectitude and Utility
Adam J Young and Mark J Valencia,
(Electronic Article from CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA
A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs
Vol. 25/2_5 (Aug 2003)
US\$6.40



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Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics

23-24 May 2005
Amsterdam

The next Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics (ABCDE) will be held in Amsterdam 23-24 May 2005. This year's conference will focus on 'Securing Development in an Unstable World?' and will be jointly organized by the World Bank, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Development Cooperation and the Ministry of Finance of the Netherlands.

Each year, the ABCDE brings prominent researchers and policymakers from around the world together with the senior leadership of the World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral agencies, to discuss major development challenges. It is usually attended by a broad audience of 500 academics and development experts.

Contact: Nina Maqami
nmaqami@worldbank.org
www.worldbank.org/abcde-europe

Naming in Asia: Local Identities and Global Change

23-24 Feb 2006
Asia Research Institute
Singapore

The cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary study of personal names is one of the most promising endeavours in the fields of history, social anthropology, sociology and linguistics. It holds the key to a number of important issues, including the definition of personal identities, the position of the individual in society, religious and cosmological representations, social change, gender and history. In Asia, a great variety of personal naming systems are present. Each bears on the way society defines personal and social identity. The colonial period and subsequent pressures of globalization are reflected in various systems of naming, typically intended to combine some link with indigenous practice (tenuous in some colonial cases), ethnic identification, legibility to government, and utility within a globalising system.

Papers are encouraged either to explore the dynamics of a particular naming system, or to pursue various thematic issues more broadly across several societies. The following topics are among those encouraged:

- Comparative study of personal names – typology of naming systems
- The politics of naming: surnaming and the state
- What is in a name: worldviews, cosmologies, representations
- Names and religious identities.
- Name-changing and religious conversion
- Names and inheritance. Do patrilineages concentrate capital?
- Structural role of naming in different societies
- Regional naming systems: global and local
- Islamic naming in Asian societies
- Names in daily use, the politics of conversation
- The linguistic structure of naming systems

The conference aims to bring together historians, anthropologists, sociologists and linguists. The regional scope of the conference is centred on Asia including Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Burma, Vietnam, China, Korea and Japan. Languages belonging to all major linguistic families present in the zone will be considered. Paper proposals including 250-word abstracts and 5-line biography should be sent to Valerie Yeo at ariyeov@nus.edu.sg by 31 March 2005. Some funding will be available for those in the Asian region, post-graduate students, and others unable to fund themselves. It is hoped that the conference will lead to an important book.

For enquiries, please contact:
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Zheng Yangwen, ARI, Singapore,
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Anthony Reid, Director, ARI,
aridir@nus.edu.sg
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/
naming.htm

Asian Expansions: the historical processes of polity expansion in Asia

12-13 May 2006
Asia Research Institute
Singapore

Many of the nation states of Asia are products of territorial expansion over time. Others, although smaller today than their largest historical scales, are also products or vestiges of territorial expansion. The expansions by which Asian polities grew, however, were diverse in nature, varied in mode and of differing lengths in process.

While historical expansion by European states and European empires has been a subject of intense research in recent decades, Asian expansions is a field which remains largely unstudied. The processes of decolonization and nation-building in Asia over the last half century have produced much nationalist history posited on a long-term 'natural' historical genealogy of contemporary polities. The mechanisms by which Asian polities have developed and expanded over time have thus generally been understudied and, in some areas, entirely ignored. Yet it is crucial to an understanding of the modern world that the evolution of Asian polities be explored not only in terms of political systems (the Northeast Asian bureaucratic forms versus the Southeast Asian 'charisma' mandalas, for example), but also in terms of expanding territories. In looking at the emergence of modern states, the autonomous Asian processes of bureaucratization and accretion need also to be compared to those of Europe. These are very major issues in terms of how the world we know has come to be, and how the problems which face many nations have come to be created.

Victor Lieberman has recently drawn attention to processes of expansion and integration which show 'strange parallels' across Eurasia, yet the Asian end of the equation remains understudied. While scholars such as Lattimore, Di Cosmo, Elvin and Purdue have investigated frontiers and expansions of the polities of China and Central Asia, comparative studies of Asian expansions are still lacking.

This workshop is intended to open a space for such comparative studies. By examining the aims, modes, mechanisms and processes of polity expansion in Asia, some generic conclusions about the nature of such expansion may well be forthcoming. Was polity expansion always accompanied by military ventures? How important was bureaucratic support for expansion? What role did environment play as an inducer of or obstacle to expansion? Was incorporation of surrounding areas into an economic network centred in the expanding polity a frequent precursor to, or perhaps a common effect, of political expansion? Was cultural affiliation a useful or desirable condition for the absorption of surrounding polities or peoples? How much active acculturation of occupied peoples did expanding polities engage in? Was control over people or territory the key concern of the rulers of historical Asian polities? How have such concerns changed? It is hoped that papers will address both specific examples of polity expansion as well as address possible patterns which might be shared with (or differ from) other examples of Asian expansions.

The issues involved in such an exploration are, admittedly, enormous and a workshop of this scale will only be a preliminary step in beginning to address some of the connections and commonalities between diverse historical processes. It is hoped, however, that by bringing attention to the need to study the history of polity expansion in Asia, new ways of understanding historical and contemporary Asia will emerge.

Paper proposals including a 400-word abstract and a short biography of the proposer should be sent to Valerie Yeo at ariyeov@nus.edu.sg by 6 April 2005. Those selected to participate will be advised within two weeks of this date and will be required to submit completed papers by April 2006.

For enquiries, please contact:
Convenors:
Geoff Wade (arigpw@nus.edu.sg)
Zheng Yangwen (arizyw@nus.edu.sg)
Bruce Lockhart (hisbl@nus.edu.sg)
Anthony Reid

Secretariat:
Valerie Yeo (ariyeov@nus.edu.sg)

Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines

The journal *Études mongoles*, founded in 1970 by Roberte Hamayon, initially focused exclusively on the Mongol world. Its following coverage of Siberia was reflected in the new title *Études mongoles et sibériennes*, delineating the contours of a cultural area in Northern Asia. This orientation, however, led to the neglect of important aspects of Mongol reality, connected with the Turks of Central Asia through language, geography, history. Other aspects of the history and culture of the Mongols link them to the Tibetans.

With the aim of better accounting for this complexity, the journal is now moving to include coverage of Central Asia and Tibet. Although one is Muslim and the other Bud-

dhist, it is not a matter of claiming to deal with Buddhism or Islam in their own right, but of studying these worlds comparatively as parts of a vast whole extending from the Arctic Sea to the Himalaya. The journal seeks to contribute to knowledge on the region's peoples and to clarify questions of interest to the scientific community. This step is conveyed in the modification of the name of the journal, which becomes *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines (EMSCAT)*. The editorial policy remains open, as before, to individual essays, monographs, and to a single theme entrusted to a guest editor. All suggestions or proposals of themes are welcome and should be sent to the editor:

Katia Buffettrille
Centre d'études mongoles et sibériennes
katia.buffettrille@ephe.sorbonne.fr

Siksacakr: peer-reviewed journal of the Center for Khmer Studies

Siksacakr welcomes articles related to Khmer and Southeast Asian Studies. Articles must be either in Khmer, English or French. Accepted articles are published in their original language and translated into Khmer. The deadline for No.8 (Spring 2006) is 21 December 2005.

A new on-line version for shorter articles comes out every six months. The deadline for the first, June 2005 issue is 30 April 2005.

Contact: Michel Rethy Antelme,
Editor-in-Chief
Manuscript to: siksacakr@khmerstudies.org

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Subscription (nos. 7 & 8): 30.50 Euros
Price per issue: 18.30 Euros

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March 2005

17 March 2005 London, United Kingdom

Protecting the Faith: Exploring the Concerns of Jain Monastic Rules
The Fifth Annual Lecture on Jainism
www.jainology.org

17-19 March 2005

Stockholm, Sweden

Japan, East Asia and the Formation of North Korea Policy
workshop
contact: Kazune Funato
japkf@hhs.se

18 March 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Zeroof en zeeroofbestrijding in Azië (19^e en 20^e eeuw)
organised by the Instituut voor Maritieme Historie and IIAS
www.historie.marine.nl

18-25 March 2005

Honolulu, USA

Natural Resources and Violent Ethnic Conflict in the Asia/Pacific Region
workshop
coordinators: Arun Swamy and Jefferson Fox
contact: Carolyn Eguchi
EguchiC@EastWestCenter.org

19-20 March 2005

Bangkok, Thailand

Gender and Southeast Asia
contact: Darunee Tantiwiranond
concourse02@yahoo.com

24 March

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

'Kinderen in het puin: Leven na de tsunami'
seminar
convenors: K. Lieten, R.H. Maliangkay, J. van Beurden

organisers: IIAS, IREWOC, Plan, Red Cross, UNICEF
contact: Roald Maliangkay
r.h.maliangkay@uva.nl

24-30 March 2005

Tokyo, Japan

Religion: Conflict and Peace
The 19th World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR)
iahr@i.u-tokyo.ac.jp
www.i.u-tokyo.ac.jp/iahr2005/

8 April 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

The challenges of the post-Soviet transition in Kazakhstan
roundtable discussion
First international conference of the Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

organized by EPA-IIAS in cooperation with the Kazakhstan Embassy in Brussels
contact: Mehdi Amineh (EPA Programme Coordinator)
m.p.amineh@uva.nl
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

11-13 April 2005

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Conference on Sustainable Building - Southeast Asia
www.cibklum.com/spouse_programme.htm

20-21 April 2005

Makati City, Philippines

Enriching the Indigenous Southeast Asian Collections in Libraries (e-iseaco)
contact: Jessica Villa
chrdf@uplinkdesigns.com

22-24 April 2005

Princeton, USA

Seventh Annual Buddhist Studies Graduate Student Conference
shyoung@princeton.edu
www.princeton.edu/~bsgsc/

25-28 April 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Into the Heart of Borneo - Resources, Conservation, Policies, Trade, and Activism
convenor: Gerard Persoon
organized by IIAS and the Leiden University Institute for Environmental Sciences (CML) sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

27 April - 1 May 2005

Montreal, Canada

Furthering the Globalization Debate: Cross Regional Comparisons
CASA 25th Anniversary Conference hosted by Canadian Asian Studies Association
<http://canadianasianstudies.concordia.ca/html/as2005.htm#haut>

29 April 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Human Rights within Sino-foreign diplomatic relations
Lecture Series: *Human Rights in China*
speaker: J. van der Made
organized by IIAS and the Department of Chinese Studies, Leiden University
contact: Amis Boersma
a.boersma@let.leidenuniv.nl

29 April - 1 May 2005

Devon, United Kingdom

Turbulence and Continuity in South East Asia
organized by the Association of South East Asian Studies, UK
aseasuk2005@exetr.ac.uk
www.ex.ac.uk/geography/research/aseasuk05/intro.html

May 2005

May 2005

Göteborg, Sweden

Nordic Gender Asia Workshop
organized by the Network for Research on Gender in Asia
<http://nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/default.htm>

10-14 May 2005

Hangzhou, China

First EU-ASEM Workshop on Sustainable Resource Management and Policy Options for Rice Ecosystems in Asia
ASEF-Alliance Workshop
convenors: Reimund Roetter (Wageningen University) and Wang Guanghuo (Zhejiang University)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

12-13 May 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

East-West Linkages: Current Trends in Environmental Studies in Asia and Europe
ASEM Meeting on Education Hub for Environmental Studies
organized by ASEF and IIAS
contact: Amis Boersma
a.boersma@let.leidenuniv.nl

18-20 May 2005

Hanoi, Vietnam

The Ninth Pacific-Asia Conference on Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining
www.jaist.ac.jp/PAKDD-05/

19-20 May 2005

Singapore

The Education of Southeast Asian Islamic Leadership
convenors: David Koh (ISEAS) and Nico J.G. Kaptein (IIAS)
organized by ISEAS
contact: Josine Stremmelaar
j.stremmelaar@let.leidenuniv.nl

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
ASEF-Alliance Workshop
convenors: Salvatore Palidda (University of Genoa, Italy) and Carl Grundy-Warr (National University of Singapore)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

19-22 May 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Courtesans in North India: Past and Present
SOAS/IIAS Panel: At the International Conference *Music and the Art of Seductions*
convenor: Lalita du Perron (SOAS, University of London, UK)
ld5@soas.ac.uk

20-22 May 2005

DeKalb, USA

First International Conference on Lao Studies
organized by the Northern Illinois University
contact: Julia Lamb
jlamb@niu.edu
www.seasite.niu.edu/lao/events/Conference2005/FICLS2.htm

20-22 May 2005

The Hague, the Netherlands

Second International Conference of the Energy Programme Asia (EPA)
convenors: Coby van de Linde and Mehdi Amineh
organized by IIAS and Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

25-27 May 2005

Singapore

States of Transgressio: Strategies of Domination, Accommodation and Resistance across Asia
organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
arigrad@nus.edu.sg
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/transgress.htm

27 May 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Criticism or Interference, the role of international NGOs
Lecture Series: *Human Rights in China*
speaker: J. van der Made
organized by IIAS and the Department of Chinese Studies, Leiden University
contact: Amis Boersma
a.boersma@let.leidenuniv.nl

June 2005

1-3 June 2005

Singapore

ASIALEX 2005: Biennial conference of the Asian Association for Lexicography
asialex@nus.edu.sg
<http://asialex.nus.edu.sg/about01.htm>

2-5 June 2005

Boulder, USA

Difference, Democracy, Justice: Toward an Inclusive Taiwanese Society
The 11th Annual North American Taiwan Studies Conference
www.natsc.org

3-5 June 2005

Aarhus, Denmark

The Contemporary Dramas of South Asia: economic, social, political and cultural changes/upheavals
organized by IIAS
etnolk@hum.au.dk

7-8 June 2005

Singapore

Casting Faiths: The Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia
contact: Maitrii Aung-Thwin
hlistd@nus.edu.sg
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/faiths.htm

7-8 June 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Workshop on the Syntax of the Languages spoken in Southern China
convenor: Rint Sybesma (Leiden University)
organized by IIAS
r.p.e.sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl

9-11 June 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

IACL13 - The Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the International Association for Chinese Linguistics
convenor: Rint Sybesma (Leiden University)
iach13@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.ias.nl/IACL13

16-18 June 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Between stress and tone
convenor: Bert Remijsen
contact: Bert Remijsen or Marloes Rozing
a.c.l.remijssen@let.leidenuniv.nl
m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.ias.nl/ias/agenda/best/index.html

20 June - 22 July 2005

Honolulu, USA

Southeast Asia: The Interplay of Indigenous Cultures and Outside Influences
 contact: Peter Hershock
 hershock@eastwestcenter.org

23-24 June 2005

Rotterdam, the Netherlands

The South Asian Diasporas: The creation of unfinished identities in the modern world
 convenors: G. Oonk and H. Schulte Nordholt.
 H.G.C.SchulteNordholt@uva.nl

23-25 June 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands

Communication and Media in Popular Image building about Islam and the West
 ASEF-Alliance Workshop
 convenors: Azyumardi Azra (Islamic State University Jakarta, Indonesia) and Dick van der Meij (Leiden University, the Netherlands)
 iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

23-25 June 2005

Hamburg, Germany

Orientalism and Conspiracy Workshop in Honour of Sadik al-Azm
 convenors: Arndt Graf, Schirin Fathi, Ludwig Paul
 organized by the Asia-Africa-Institute of the University of Hamburg
 contact: Arndt Graf
 arndtgraf@yahoo.de

29 June-3 July

London, United Kingdom

AEGIS Conference 2005
 organized by AEGIS European Conference on African Studies
 www.nomadit.co.uk/~aegis/

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)
 m.a.f.klamer@let.leidenuniv.nl

30 June - 2 July 2005

Ubon Rathchathani, Thailand

International Conference 'Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region'
 Organized by the Mekong Sub-region Social Research Center, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Ubon Ratchathani University
 mssrc@la.ubu.ac.th or
 mssrc_ubu@yahoo.com
 www.ubu.ac.th/~mssrc/html/

30 June - 3 July 2005

Bendigo, Australia

Ninth Biennial Conference of the Chinese Studies Association of Australia
 contact: Tracy Lee; t.lee@latrobe.edu.au
 www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/
 chinakoreacen/csa/CONFERENCE

July 2005

Perth, Australia

8th Conference of the Australian Society of Indonesian Language Educators
 www.ASILE.curtin.edu.au

3-9 July 2005

Praiano/Positano, Italy

Europe Asia Medical & Legal Conference
 contact: Jane Hewett
 conference@barweb.com.au

4-8 July 2005

Sheffield, United Kingdom

2005 Biennial Conference of the Association for Korean Studies in Europe (AKSE)
 University of Sheffield
 contact: James H. Grayson
 j.h.grayson@sheffield.ac.uk
 www.akse.uni-kiel.de/#nextconf

4-8 July 2005

London, United Kingdom

European Association of South Asian Archaeologists International Conference
 www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/asia/asnoev.html

6-8 July 2005

Marseilles, France

Pacific Challenges: Questioning concepts, rethinking conflicts
 hosted by the Centre of Research and Documentation on Oceania associated with the National Centre for Scientific Research, the University of Provence, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and the French Society of Oceanists
 www.pacific-credo.net/esfo/

7-9 July 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

People and the Sea III: New Directions in Coastal and Maritime Studies
 Third biannual conference organized by the Centre for Maritime Research (MARE) at the University of Amsterdam
 contact: Iris Monnerau
 imonnerau@marecentre.nl
 www.marecentre.nl

7-9 July 2005

Bogor, Indonesia

Final Conference of the The Dissemination of Religious Authority in 20th Century Indonesia programme
 convenors: Azyumardi Azra (UIN), Kees van Dijk (KITLV) and Nico Kaptein (Leiden University)
 contact: Josine Stremmelaar
 j.stremmelaar@let.leidenuniv.nl

8-10 July 2005

Bangkok, Thailand

Sexualities, Genders, and Rights in Asia: First International Conference of Asian Queer Studies
 apqbangkok2005@anu.edu.au
 http://bangkok2005.anu.edu.au/

9-10 July 2005

Washington D.C., USA

International Thirukkural Conference
 contact: R. Prabhakaran
 Rprabu@aol.com

11-13 July 2005

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Asian Finance Conference 2005
 organized by Faculty of Economics and Management, UPM
 asianfa2005@asianfa.com

12-15 July 2005

Depok, Jawa Barat, Indonesia

Indonesia in the Changing Global Context: Building Cooperation and Partnership?
 Fourth International Symposium of the Journal Anthropologi: Indonesia
 symposium@jai.or.id
 www.jai.or.id

13-19 July 2005

Sydney, Australia

Chinese Philosophy and Human Development in ICAS 4
 convenor: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) in cooperation with the ICAS Secretariat
 lcas4@sass.org.cn
 www.sass.org.cn/lcas4

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
 soccbh@nus.edu.sg
 www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/postwar.htm

August 2005

August, 2005

Malmö, Sweden
Second Nordic-China Women and Gender Studies Conference
 organized by NIAS, Fudan University's Nordic Centre and Malmö University
 http://nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/default.htm

5-8 August 2005

Bau-Bau, Buton, Indonesia

International Symposium 'Masyarakat Permasalahan Nusantara'
 contact: Titik Pudjiastuti
 titikpuji@yahoo.com
 La Niampe, M.Hum.
 la_niampe@plasa.com

7-12 August 2005

Honolulu, USA

Remembering Pearl Harbor: History, Memory, and Memorial
 AsiaPacificEd NEH Workshop
 Contact: Soo Boo Tan
 tans@eastwestcenter.org

15-20 August 2005

Munich, Germany

The 11th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia
 contact: Florian Mildnerberger
 sekretariat.igm@lrz.uni-muenchen.de
 https://secure.lit.ucsb.edu/archives/histsci/2004-July/000012.html

18-20 August 2005

Singapore

Maritime Asia and the Chinese Overseas (1405 - 2005)
 The Third International Conference of Institutes & Libraries for Chinese Overseas Studies
 contact: Liu Wei Ho
 weiho@nlb.gov.sg
 www.huayinet.org

20-24 August 2005

Shanghai, China

International Convention of Asia Scholars 4 - ICAS 4
 convenor: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) in cooperation with the ICAS Secretariat
 lcas4@sass.org.cn
 www.sass.org.cn/lcas4

31 August - 3 September 2005

Vienna, Austria

The 11th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies (EAJS)
 organized by European Association for Japanese Studies (EAJS) and the Department of East Asian Studies, Vienna University
 www.icassecretariat.org

September 2005

16 September 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

How the Balance Swung: A Hundred Years after the Russo-Japanese War
 organized by IIAS
 onderzoeksgroepiias@fmg.uva.nl

19-23 September 2005

Göttingen, Germany

The Stability of Tropical Rainforest Margins: Linking Ecological, Economic and Social Constraints of Land Use and Conservation
 contact: Daniel Stietenroth
 symp2005@gwdg.de
 www.storma.de/symp2005.

20-23 September 2005

Edinburgh, United Kingdom

Self and Subject: African and Asian Perspectives
 International Conference on the Study of African and Asian Cultures in the 21st Century.
 arts-ferguson-centre-enquiries@open.ac.uk
 www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson
 centre/Events/EdinburghCall4Ps.pdf

21-22 September 2005

Malta

Conference on Social Capital
 organized by the Social Capital Foundation
 www.socialcapital-foundation.org/conferences/registration.htm

21 - 24 September 2005

Bonn, Germany

Insecurity and Development: Regional Issues and Policies for an Interdependent World
 11th General Conference of EADI
 www.eadi.org/gc2005

23-24 September 2005

Malta

Conference on Economy and Community
 organized by the Social Capital Foundation
 www.socialcapital-foundation.org/conferences/registration.htm

29 September - 2 October 2005

Boston, USA

The Sixth CESS Annual Conference
 http://ces.s.fas.harvard.edu/CESS_Conference.html
 CESSconf@fas.harvard.edu

October 2005

5-8 October 2005

Delhi, India

Fifth Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW) in Asia
 www.homepages.ucl.ac.uk/~uclylara/glow05-index.htm

6-9 October 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Exploring China's musical past
Tenth International CHIME conference
 European Foundation for Chinese Music Research - CHIME
 chime@wxs.nl
 http://home.wxs.nl/~chime

26-29 October

Varberg, Sweden

Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia
 organized by NIAS and Göteborg University
 contact: Alexandra Kent
 alix.kent@swipnet.se

28-30 October 2005

Hong Kong, China

First East Asian SdS-Colloquium on the History of Linguistics
 http://home.t-online.de/home/dutz.nodus/03c-rb.htm

November 2005

7-9 November 2005

New Delhi, India

Consumerism and the Emerging Middle Class: Comparative Perspectives from India and China
 second conference of India and China Comparisons,
 IIAS/CASS/ICSSR/CERI Workshop Series
 convenors: Peter van der Veer and Shoma Munshi (IIAS) and Patricia Uberoi and Ravi Thakur (Institute for Chinese Studies, Delhi University)
 iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

9-12 November 2005

Shanghai, China

Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

ASEF-Alliance Workshop
 convenors: Li Yihai (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China) and John Kleinen (Centre for Maritime Research, the Netherlands)
 iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

30 November - 2 December 2005

Siem Riep, Cambodia

Water in Mainland Southeast Asia
 workshop
 organized by the Centre for Khmer Studies and IIAS
 contact: Wil Dijk
 w.dijk@compaqnet.nl or
 iiasfellowships@let.leidenuniv.nl

February 2006

23-24 February 2006

Singapore

Naming in Asia: Local Identities and Global Change
 organized by Asia Research Institute
 contact: Charles Macdonald, Zheng Yangwen,
 Anthony Reid
 c.macdonald@wanadoo.fr;
 arizyw@nus.edu.sg; aridir@nus.edu.sg
 www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/naming.htm

May 2006

12-13 May 2006

Singapore

Asian Expansions: the historical processes of polity expansion in Asia
 organized by Asia Research Institute
 convenors: Geoff Wade (arigpw@nus.edu.sg)
 Zheng Yangwen (arizyw@nus.edu.sg)
 Bruce Lockhart (hisbl@nus.edu.sg)
 Anthony Reid
 contact: ariyeov@nus.edu.sg

June 2006

27-30 June 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies
 organizing Committee
 convenor: D.H.A. Kolff
 Ecmsas2006@let.leidenuniv.nl

Australia

The National Gallery of Victoria - International

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

Until 5 April 2005

Rajput: Sons of Kings
Approximately 80 paintings and drawings depicting Rajput courtly life from the 17th to the 19th centuries demonstrate the stylistic variations between paintings from different Rajput courts. Created in the princely states of Rajasthan, the paintings capture the vitality of life at the Maharaja's court.

Canada

Mackenzie Art Gallery

T.C. Douglas Building, 3475 Albert Street
Regina, Saskatchewan
T +306-584 4273
www.mackenzieartgallery.sk.ca/index.shtml

Until 15 May 2005

Ceramics of Asia

This exhibition contains over 200 works selected from the Asian Art at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria's Asian ceramic collection. Focusing on Chinese, Korean and Japanese ceramics, the exhibition also includes works from Southeast Asia and the Islamic world.

The Royal Ontario Museum

100 Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C6
T +416-586 5549
www.rom.on.ca

Until 10 April 2005

Touched by Indigo: Chinese Blue and White Textiles and Embroidery

Featuring over 100 objects, 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 includes 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
www.heritagemuseum.gov.hk

Until 18 April 2005

Building hong kong - redwhiteblue

This exhibition attempts to explore all the cre-

ative possibilities of these three colours in relation to local cultural and social issues. Works by twenty local creative talents from different generations and a diversity of professions - including graphic/visual design, architecture, photography, installation and others - are featured in the show.

Until 10 June 2005

From Eastern Han to High Tang: A Journey of Transculturation

To explore the artistic and cultural changes that took place in China in this period, the National Administration for Cultural Heritage has assembled some 200 cultural relics from nearly 50 cultural institutions in 14 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, many of them important national treasures. The relics include gold and silver ware, glass ware, burial figures in pottery and wood, Buddhist sculpture, and rarely-seen wall painting and textiles.

Until 27 June 2005

Visual Dynamic - Hong Kong International Poster Triennial 2004

The role and the visual representation of posters have changed continuously over the past century to meet the changing needs of society. Over 400 outstanding international poster works are showcased in the exhibition illustrating how poster art has successfully evolved despite the onslaught of computer and internet as a revolutionized and an effective way of communication in the 21st century.

France

National Museum of Asian Art - Guimet

6 Place d'Iéna
75016 Paris
T +01-56 52 53 0
www.musee guimet.fr

22 June - 14 September 2005

Rabindranath Tagore (to be confirmed)

This exhibition, as part of the season called "the summers of modernity," is a retrospective of Rabindranath Tagore's (1861-1941) paintings. Tagore was an Indian poet who wrote over a thousand poems, novels, plays and songs that were a great influence on modern Indian literature.

Germany

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst

Universitätsstraße 100
D-50674 Cologne
T +49-221 940518 0
mok@mok.museenkoeln.de
www.smpk.de

Until 28 March 2005

Pure form - Classical Chinese Furniture

This collection of roughly 70 pieces belonging to Italy-based architect Ignazio Vok dates from the 16th to the 18th centuries and is made of exquisite hardwoods. The logic of the complex wood joints, the proportions of the structural elements, and the elegant materials create an experience of perfect and effortless harmony. The exhibition will also include selected examples of 20th century European furniture design inspired by traditional Chinese models and out-

standing paintings and woodblock illustrations from the museum's own collection.

Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Volkerkunde

Ubierring 45
50678 Cologne
T +221-33694 35
www.museenkoeln.de

Until 2 October 2005

Buddhist, Jain and Hindu 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.

Japan

Mori Art Museum

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

29 March - 19 June 2005

The Elegance of Silence

An exhibition which considers the influence of traditional East Asian aesthetics on the current generation of Asian artists. It features works by approximately thirty artists from Japan, China, Korea and Taiwan including Mariko Mori, Yoshitomo Nara, Do-Ho Suh, Xu Bing and Michael Lin. The works (including paintings, sculpture, installation art, photography, and video) illustrate the differences between the artists' national identities, histories, and traditions.

Laos

Luang Prabang

Lao People's Democratic Republic
Enquiry: France Morin
One Fifth Avenue, Suite 10A
New York, NY 10003
T +212-505 1353
fmorin5627@aol.com

Until 10 January 2006

The Quiet in the Land: Art, Spirituality, and Everyday Life

The third in the *Quiet in the Land* series will take place in Luang Prabang, Lao People's Democratic Republic from 2004 to 2006. It will consist of a series of collaborations between 35 artists and educators from Laos, the Mekong Region, and other countries, who will work with a wide range of local community members. Artists include Cai Guoqing, Mamiyong Khat-tynalath, Dinh Q. Le, Shirin Neshat, Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba, Yong Phaophanit, Shahzia Sikander, and Rirkrit Tiravanija. The project is guided by the conviction that the practice of art offers both individuals and diverse communities the potential to acknowledge for them-

selfes the dignity of the activities of everyday life; to understand more deeply the relevance of preserving and adapting their cultural heritage to the challenges they face in the 21st century; and to build the capacity for transforming their lives for the better by harnessing the undertapped power of the creative spirit.

Netherlands

Groninger Museum

Museummeiland 1
9700 ME Groningen
T +31-50 3665555
www.groninger-museum.nl/

Until 5 June 2005

Ceramics from Ming to Memphis: East meets West

In this exhibition, antique cabinet porcelain, tea and coffee services and other tableware from East Asia is compared and contrasted with post-modern ceramics from the end of the twentieth century, created by designers such as Andrea Branzi, Alessandro Mendini, and Ettore Sottsass Jr from the Italian design studio Memphis. The exhibition appears to cover two entirely different worlds, but it demonstrates just how closely related these worlds actually are. An unorthodox presentation of post-modern and traditional oriental ceramics ensures unexpected combinations that will not only challenge and stimulate visitors but also surprise them.



Part of cabinet service, porcelain with the emblem of Sichterman, China, Qianlong, approx. 1750, combined with vases by Alessandro Mendini. Title: Ambra Dolce and Alchemilla, 1993.

Kunsthal

Museumpark, Westzeedijk 34.1,
3015 AA Rotterdam
T +31-10 4400301
www.kunsthal.nl

Until 17 April

Desire of Spring: Erotic fantasies in Edo Japan

A chronological overview of erotic art from Japan including work by Kitagawa Utamaro, Katsushika Hokusai and Suzuki Haronubu. Love letters, erotic novels, witty poetry competition-sand kabuki theatre bring to life a world of geisha and courtesans, presenting a glimpse of Japan between 1600-1868.

Singapore

Asian Civilisations Museum - Empress Place

1 Empress Place

Singapore 179555
T +65-6332 7798
www.nhb.gov.sg/ACM

Until 20th April 2005

Chinese Export Silver

The Asian Civilisations Museum presents *Chinese Export Silver*, a decorative art that developed during the mid Qing dynasty (1644 - 1911) when European merchants commissioned Chinese copies of European silverware for their home markets. The collection ranges from small and intricately fashioned covered boxes and tea caddies to sophisticated large presentation trophies.

Asian Civilisations Museum - Armenian Street

39 Armenian Street
Singapore 179941
T +65-6332 3015
www.nhb.gov.sg/ACM

Until 9th May 2005

Over One Billion Served: Conceptual Photography from China

This collection of over 55 photographs documents China's shifting social landscape following the impact of ideas from the West. These include intriguing personal interpretations by several key photographers, who explore the underlying realities of rapid social and cultural change that are taking place amidst China's dramatic economic growth.

Gone Fishing Cafe

15 Chu Lin Road
T +6762-9901
kenny@gonefishing.com.sg
www.gonefishing.com.sg

Until 30 June 2005

Artfields

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 café's activity becomes part of the art and vice versa.

April - June 2005

Artfields 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.

Taiwan

Taipei Fine Arts Museum

181, Zhongshan N. Road, Sec. 3, Taipei 104
T +02-2595 7656
info@tfam.gov.tw
www.tfam.gov.tw

Until 17 April 2005

Being there: Hsu Zheyu's Solo Exhibit

Winner of the 2004 Taipei Arts Award, Zheyu Hsu, uses his lens to give new meaning to small objects found in our daily lives. His works have called on viewers to reflect on space, symbols, images, and reality. His works examine one's

'existence', and reveal both how human languages are constructed and how spaces are developed and defined.

Until 1 May 2005

Ecstasy: The Visible and Invisible Exhibition

This exhibition was chiefly designed for the visually impaired, but the needs of the general public were also taken into consideration. The exhibit creates an environment of contemporary art in which viewers must use all of their senses: sight, smell, touch, hearing, and taste. Through this unique design, the visually impaired can experience the beauty of art in a place that requires them to use all their senses, while other viewers are given the opportunity to experience arts using senses other than vision. It includes work by artists Junjie Wang, Deyu Wang, Mali Wu, Jengcai Chen and Kaihuang Chen.

Until 5 June 2005

A Retrospective of Weibor Chu's Works

Chu is viewed as a pioneer of the contemporary painting movement in the post-war era of Taiwan and continues his innovations today. Inspired by the environment around him, he utilizes Western styles to create works with Asian flavor. This solo exhibit traces the tracks of Chu's creations and delves deeply into his philosophy of art.

United Kingdom

The Museum of East Asian Art

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

Until 17 April 2005

Trade: Silk, Spices and Ceramics

Dating from the Zhou Dynasty to the present day, this exhibition introduces a variety of objects which reflect the complex history of commerce within East Asia. Retracing the footsteps of trade in China, Japan, Vietnam, Thailand, and other East Asian countries, it explores the history of the Silk Road, spice trade and maritime routes, which all played significant roles in the growth of international trade.

Until 17 April 2005

Chinese Whispers: New works by Rebecca Yue

New work by local Chinese artist Rebecca Yue includes intricate papercuts, brush paintings and examples of calligraphy, based on popular Chinese motifs as well as contemporary subjects.



Moon night, Chinese papercut
Artist: Rebecca Yue

ideas of texture and process with notions of Western conceptual art.

Honolulu Academy of Arts

900 South Beretania Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814-1495
T +1-808 532 8700
www.honoluluacademy.org

Until 24 April 2005

The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia
This show draws upon a rich variety of art and material culture from a dozen Asian countries to explore the significance of rice for the region's people. Offering objects ranging from ancient ceramics and bronzes, gilded screens and rare textiles, to contemporary paintings and popular religious posters, this impressive exhibition highlights the cultural underpinnings of the world's most important food crop—the staple that sustains nearly one-third of all mankind.

Asia Society and Museum

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

Until 5 June 2005

Edge of Desire: Recent Art in India
This exhibition offers a selection of works that encompass a variety of visual cultures, traversing the conventional divides of urban and rural, fine art and craft, high culture and popular culture. It presents 80 works of over 30 artists whose works range from “high-tech” site-specific installations to handcrafted “folk” practices. The exhibition also includes several collaborative and site-specific works that address contemporary political, social, and environmental realities in India today. Also on view at the Queens Museum of Art.

China Institute Gallery

125 East 65th Street
New York, New York
T +212-744 8181
www.chinainstitute.org

Until 4 June 2005

Providing for the Afterlife: “Brilliant Artifacts” from Shandong
Offering clues about customs concerning the afterlife during the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE - 8 CE), this exhibition features terracotta figures from a recent excavation, gilded chariot ornaments, jade face masks, bronze ritual vessels, and ceramic sculptures. All of the objects are from Shandong province in China

Queens Museum of Art

New York City Building,
Flushing Meadows Corona Park
Queens, New York
T +718-592 9700
www.queensmuseum.org

Until 5 June 2005

Fatal Love: South Asian American Art Now
As a complement to *Edge of Desire*, the Queens Museum of Art also presents *Fatal Love: South*

Asian American Art Now, a survey of the work of the most important, engaged and emotionally charged South Asian artists working in the United States. The exhibition includes contemporary photographic, print, video, web-based, and installation works by ten to twelve emerging and established American artists of South Asian descent. Featured artists include Shahzia Sikan-der, Rina Banerjee, and Prima Murthy.

Rubin Museum of Art

150 West 17th Street
New York, NY 10011
T +212-620 5000
info@rmany.org
www.rmany.org/about/index.cfm

Until 8 May 2005

Tibet: Treasures from the Roof of the World
More than 100 examples of Tibetan sculpture, paintings, and textiles, as well as beautifully crafted objects are organized into four thematic sections: History and Culture of Tibet; Ritual Objects; Paintings, Sculpture and Textiles; and Daily Life of the Tibetan Nobility. The exhibition will also include costumes, jewelry, and exquisitely crafted vessels which were used during daily as well as ceremonial activities.

MASS MoCA

1040 MASS MoCA Way
North Adams, Massachusetts 01247
T +413-662 2111
info@massmoca.org
www.massmoca.org

Until 30 November 2005

Cai Guo-Qiang: Inopportune
Installations of cars that seem to explode and tigers pierced with arrows confront viewers with the idea that the US is no longer impregnable. The car bomb is unnerving, almost impossible to conceive as a thing of beauty. Who are the leaping tigers pierced with arrows? Are they us or are they them? Cai positions himself both in the middle and outside of this dialectic in this exhibition.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Benjamin Franklin Parkway and 26th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
T +215-763 8100
www.philamuseum.org

Until 15 April 2005

Himalayan Texts and Charms
This installation showcases diverse examples of books, book covers, illuminated manuscripts, and printed charms, as well as paintings and sculptures of book-holding deities to explore the art and the power of the written word in Nepal and Tibet

Pacific Asia Museum

46 North Robles Avenue
Pasadena, California 91101
T +626-449 2742
www.pacificasiamuseum.org

Until 19 June 2005

The Art of the Japanese Sword: The Yoshihara Tradition

This exhibition highlights the work of four generations of the Yoshihara family of Japanese swordsmiths. The exhibition will follow the Yoshihara family lineage working within one of the five original traditions of sword making in Japan, and will demonstrate that the traditional samurai sword of Japan is not merely a ruthless weapon but an object of great spiritual and artistic value.

Princeton University Art Museum

Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544-1018
T +609-258 3788
www.princetonartmuseum.org

Until 25 June 2005

Recarving China's Past: Art, Archaeology and Architecture of the 'Wu Family Shrines'
This exhibition explores the architecture, artistic illustration, and material culture of the Han dynasty of China, focusing on a set of pictorial wall carvings. These stones are commonly recognized as mid-second-century funerary structures belonging to the Wu family cemetery of the Han dynasty. Fifteen scholars from various disciplines will raise significant questions about how the Wu family shrine has been identified and understood by scholars in the past and how our understanding of Han art, architecture, history, and culture may require re-evaluation.

San Diego Museum of Art

1450 El Prado, Balboa Park
San Diego, California
T +619-232 7931
www.sdmart.org

Until 1 May 2005

Tastes in Asian Art
This exhibition highlights the diverse tastes of different social groups—the imperial ruling class, scholars, warriors, and common people—and features a separate section devoted to religious art.

Asian Art Museum

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

Until 24 April 2005

Sui Jiaoguo: Mao's Nightmare
This exhibition provides a rare opportunity to view about a dozen large-scale works by one of the best-known sculptors in China today. In his sculptures the asexual Mao suit, universally worn in China during the Maoist era, is animated from within by writhing, passionate bodies, or by ancient athletes poised to launch a spear or a discus, despite being constrained in their formal attire. Sui makes the Mao suit not an element of revolutionary attire but a symbol of restriction.

Until 8 May 2005

The Kingdom of Siam: The Art of Central Thailand, 1350-1800
Featuring 87 rare works from collections in Thailand, Europe, and the US, this exhibition showcases the little known arts of the Thai

kingdom of Ayutthaya. Highlights include gold ceremonial objects from a temple crypt sealed in 1424, a full-sized temple pediment, a 12-foot-tall preaching throne, and sections of royally commissioned temple doors with inlaid mother of pearl.

Seattle Asian Art Museum

Volunteer Park, 1400 East Prospect Street
Seattle, Washington 98112-3303
T +1-206 654 3100
www.seattleartmuseum.org

Until 15 May 2005

Between Past and Future: New Photography and Video from China
The first comprehensive look at the innovative photo and video produced since the mid 1990s in China. The exhibition features 130 works by 60 Chinese artists and reflects the enthusiastic adoption of media-based art by younger Chinese artists.

Until 19 June 2005

Mountain Dreams: Contemporary Ceramics by Yoon Kwang-Cho
This is the first solo-exhibition in the United States by Yoon Kwang-Cho (born 1946), one of the master potters of his generation in Korea. The twenty-seven selected works range from large sculptural vases to daily tea and wine settings.

Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University

328 Lomita Drive and Museum Way
(off Palm Drive)
Stanford, CA 94305-5060
T +650-723 4177
http://ccva.stanford.edu//

Until 1 May 2005

On the Edge: Contemporary Chinese Artists Encounter the West
Presenting works by twelve noted contemporary Chinese artists, this exhibition aims to replace old assumptions concerning China's contemporary art with a fresh appreciation of its form and substance and of its interconnectedness with the international art world. Artists represented in the exhibition include Hong Hao, Huang Yong Ping, Qiu Zhijie, Sui Jianguo, Wang Du, Xing Danwen, Xu Bing, Yan Lei, Yin Xiuzhen, Zhang Hongtu, Zhang Huan, and Zhou Tiehai, with works in a full range of materials, including oil, airbrush, photography, resin, installation and video.

Smithsonian Freer and Sackler Galleries of Art

National Mall
Washington, DC
T +1-202 357 4880
www.asia.si.edu

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Until 24 April 2005
Iraq and China: Ceramics, Trade and Innovation
This exhibition focuses on revolutionary and enduring changes that took place in Iraqi ceramics during the 9th century as the humble character of Islamic pottery responded to a wave of luxury Chinese goods, imported by Arab and Persian merchants. A 50 foot-long boat

excavated from a harbour in Southeast China and a video presentation of photographs of the Marsh Arabs of southern Iraq, whose rich culture was virtually destroyed by Saddam Hussein complement the exhibition.

Until 25 April 2005

Perspectives: Cai Guo-Qiang - "Traveler"
Chinese artist Cai Guo-Qiang explores how past and present artistic expression is driven by contact between cultures and communication between peoples. His site-specific installation consists of a 50-foot long skeleton of a sunken Japanese fishing boat resting upon an imaginary ocean of gleaming white porcelain fragments from Dehua, China. The Sackler installation is paired with a second work in the Hirshhorn Museum focusing upon the relationship of humans with the cosmos.

Until 15 May 2005

Asian Games: The Art of Contest
This exploration of the history of games in Asia begins through the games themselves, from as early as the Bronze Age, as well as paintings and prints which depict people playing games. Featured will be children's games including materials such as dolls and toys; games of skill such as board games of *liubo*, *weiqi*, *xiangqi* and chess; games of chance in which divination and gambling feature; and physical games and contests such as archery and polo.

The Textile Museum

2320 S Street, NW
Washington, DC 20008-4088
T +202-667 0441
www.textilemuseum.org

Until 5 June 2005

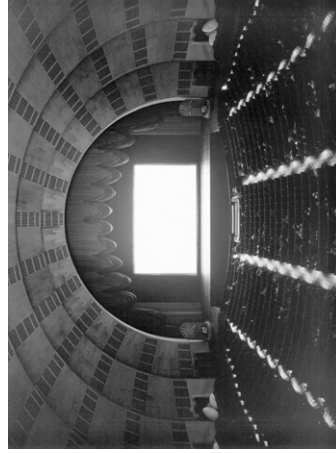
Beyond the Bags: Textiles as Containers
An exhibition exploring the diversity of plain-woven textiles from Asia to the Americas. With objects drawn from The Textile Museum's collections, it highlights the array of patterning possible by using the plain weave technique within different cultural and artistic contexts.

Ben Maltz Gallery

9045 Lincoln Boulevard
Westchester, CA 90045
T +1-310 665 6905
galleryinfo@otis.edu
www.otis.edu

Until 23 April 2005

Regeneration: Contemporary Chinese Art from China and the US
This exhibition includes some of the most exciting contemporary Chinese art being made today: artists who have been prominent in the international scene since the late 1980s, who have received international attention for their work in the last decade, and emerging artists who are currently being recognized internationally. The 26 artists reside in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, New York, and Pennsylvania. The work in this exhibition is diverse and wide-ranging, and includes drawing, installation, painting, photography, prints, sculpture, and mixed media.



Photograph (c) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Radio City Music Hall, New York, Hiroshi Sugimoto, Japanese, born in 1948, Photograph, gelatin silver print. Image: 42.2 x 54.6 cm (16 5/8 x 21 1/2 in.) Sheet: 48.9 x 60.6 cm (19 1/4 x 23 7/8 in.) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Sylvan Barnett and William Burto in memory of Yasuhiro Iguchi, 1992-472

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IIAS Newsletter 36
 March 2005
 40 pages

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Design

JB&A raster grafisch ontwerp, Delft

Printing

Wegener grafische groep, Apeldoorn

ISSN

0929-8738

Circulation

24,000

Upcoming deadlines:

Please see www.iias.nl

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ICAS Bookprizes
ICAS 4, Shanghai, 20-24 August 2005



Longlist:

Timothy P. Barnard, *Contesting Malayness. Malay Identity Across Boundaries* (Singapore: Singapore University Press 2004)

Daniel A. Bell and Hahm Chaibong, *Confucianism for the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003)

Tommy Bengston, Cameron Campbell, James Z. Lee, et al., *Life under Pressure. Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700-1900* (Cambridge / London: The MIT Press 2004)

Kingsley Bolton, *Chinese Englishes. A sociolinguistic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003)

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C.C. Chin and Karl Hack, *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Communist Party* (Singapore: Singapore University Press 2004)

Pierry-Arnaud Chouvy and Joel Meissonnier, *Yaa Baa: Production, Traffic and Consumption of Methamphetamine in Mainland Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press 2004)

Gregory C. Chow, *Knowing China* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing 2004)

Helen Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Courts of Java and Bali* (Armonk / London: M.E. Sharpe 2004)

Elisabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga. Patanjali and Western Esotericism* (London / New York: Continuum 2004)

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Anne Feldhaus, *Connected Places: Region, Pilgrimage, and Geographical Imagination in India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2003)

Barbara Harris-White, *India Working. Essays on Society and Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003)

Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India. Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004).

Allan Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Kory_sai. Floating World Culture and its Consumers in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Seattle / London: University of Washington Press 2003)

Xiaoming Huang, *The Rise and Fall of the East Asian Growth System, 1951-2000. Institutional competitiveness and rapid economic growth.* (London / New York: RoutledgeCurzon 2004)

Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea M. den Boer, *Bare Branches. The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Population* (Cambridge / London: The MIT Press 2004)

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Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, *The State of Civil Society in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003)

Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2003)

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Yongnian Zheng, *Globalization and State Transformation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004)

PhD theses:

Xiangqun Chang, *Lishang-Wanglai: Social Support Networks, Reciprocity and Creativity in a Chinese Village* (City University, London, 2004)

Wai-Yip Ho, *Understanding the Civilizing Process of Islamic Modernity: Conceptualizing Ethnographic Voices of the Muslim Diaspora* (The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2004)

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