



SHENZHEN			
B Shares index			
BOE Tech	1.94	1.75	1.94 + 0.18
Bengang Steel	3.13	2.96	3.11 + 0.16
China Intl Mar	9.45	8.66	9.25 + 0.63
China Merchts	5.55	5.00	5.51 + 0.37
China Vanke	5.09		+ 0.28
Chong Chang	4.00		+ 0.31
Foshan Elec	9.00		+ 0.26
Guand El Pwr	3.96		+ 0.22
Gg Prv Exprss	3.50		+ 0.22
Shand Chenm	3.90		+ 0.22
SZ Chiwan Wh	17.60		+ 1.00
SZ Nanshan	7.10		+ 0.40
Yantai Chang	10.90		+ 0.50
B share price quote			

HONG KONG			
Hang Seng Index			
Aluminm Cp H	4.17	4.13	4.17 + 0.05
Bk East Asia	22.85	22.70	22.80 + 0.10
BOC HK	14.40	14.35	14.40 Unch.
China Pacific	14.15		Unch.
China Resources	23.65		Unch.
China Telecom	5.15		Unch.
China Mobile	29.05		Unch.
China Overseas	2.95		Unch.
China Resources	2.70		Unch.
China Resources	6.20		Unch.
China Resources	44.60		Unch.
China Resources	4.33		Unch.
China Resources	22.80		Unch.

TOKYO			
Nikkei 225 index			
Advantest	8150	7990	8110 + 110
Aeon	1658	1630	1630 + 10
Ajinomoto	1197	1188	1190 - 2
Asahi Glass	1171	1157	1164 - 1
Astellas Pharm	3880	3850	3850 + 20
Bridgestone	2160	2125	2125 - 15
Canon	5970	5860	5860 + 110
Cent Japn Ry	872b	861b	861b + 2000
Chubu Elec	2550	2535	2535 + 10
Dai Nipp Print	1726	1706	1706 + 5
Daiwa Sec	675	668	668 + 5
Denso	2500	2480	2480 + 10
Denso	2500	2480	2480 + 10

NEW YORK			
index			
Aland	2.32	2.29	2.30 + 0.02
Devits	7.05	6.95	7.00 Unch.
Group	14.60	14.40	14.40 - 0.10
Keppel Corp.	12.20	12.00	12.10 - 0.20
Neptune Orient	3.64	3.56	3.56 - 0.08
OCBC	14.10	14.00	14.00 - 0.10
Ancor	7.20	7.14	7.18 Unch.
AMP	6.66	6.57	6.63 + 0.07
ANZ Bking	22.15	21.97	22.11 + 0.15
BHP Billiton	17.33	17.15	17.15 - 0.22
CBA	38.37	37.92	38.28 + 0.33
Coles Myer	9.61	9.40	9.60 + 0.12
Foster's Group	5.45	5.38	5.39 - 0.06
Insurance Aus	6.32	6.17	6.23 + 0.03
Macquarie Bk	55.29	54.55	54.80 - 0.38
Nat Aust Bank	31.50	31.06	31.50 + 0.25
News Cp CDI B	22.20	21.82	22.12 + 0.17
Pub Broadcast	15.55	15.32	15.40 - 0.18

37 China's new pride / Publishing in Asian Studies

IIAS NEWSLETTER

International Institute for Asian Studies

Does culture matter?

Ravni Thakur

A modern airport, like in any other country, far better than our Indian ones. A lady at the visa counter in a smart blue uniform scans my face in quick movements. She chats lightly with me. 'So you are from India - your films are very popular here'. A quick smile and my passport is handed back to me. I have an onward flight to Karachi. Delhi to Lahore is fifty minutes, Lahore to Karachi, one and a half hours.

Karachi. The night air is warm, a faint tinge of sea breath. It is a city of approximately seven million, Pakistan's largest industrial town, its answer to Mumbai. Home to the Sindhis, the Muhajir Punjabis, and Pashtuns. The site of devastating violence, hard to imagine as one whizzes through the streets on to the conference site. I can only focus on the brightly coloured trucks and buses. Superb popular art. Colour erupting all over the tin. Here, the roads are better. The traffic chaos, the mixed bag of animals, three-wheelers, two-wheelers, Hyundai's (Santros) and Suzuki's (Marutis), beggars, street-hawkers, jostling for space, just the same as in India.

Clifton is the defense area and my companion Karamat Ali, an active social worker and prominent trade unionist, very active in SAARC solidarity, points out the differences in the defense colonies and the rest. 'The Pakistani army is like your Indian politicians,' he says to me, 'they grab the best deals'. We laugh as we go to visit a friend of his, it is party time. That too is just like here. Politics, books, a little Murree beer, Indo-Pak relations, Afghanistan, the role of America in the sub-continent, regionalism within Pakistan. 'Change always starts from Karachi', says the host, 'and things are better now. Zia really finished the left. Today Musharraf is facing American pressure where civil and political rights are concerned. He can't hang a Bhutto and get away with it'.

inate. Strange-looking rocks, horses ridden with flair on the beach, an ordinary middle class scene like anywhere in India or elsewhere. I drive through Clifton and on to the Bhutto residence. There is no visible presence of the Bhutto PPP domination - it is army rule. A photo of Zardari, though, hangs outside the house.

I am here to attend a conference organized by the Pakistan Institute of Labour Research. The conference is made up of a diverse set of participants from the SAARC countries, here to discuss and debate the kind of interventions civil society can make in the SAARC social charter. It is a two-day conference, the focus being on human security and making SAARC states nuclear free. NGOs, trade unions and, of course, journalists and academics from Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The issues are real: massive poverty, escalating military budgets, regionalism within nations. The key note speaker, Prof. Saith, talks about changing the way poverty is measured and making it a category of fundamental human security, measured in health, education, nutrition and leisure - anything other than the 'under one dollar paradigm' imposed on the third world. People comment on the UPA's employment-guarantee scheme in India. Just another scheme. Populism at its best. Humour the left.

The Baluch are unhappy with the Gawadar port and city project. 'We don't want Chinese condominiums' says one participant, 'we want basic security and rights for our people'. Punjabi domination is a constant theme, filtered through jokes, through bonhomie, and sometimes, outright anger. Tensions simmer under the surface, control too tight, America, China, the Taliban, all extra categories that figure under the discourse of social justice. They also talk about whether the PPP has made a deal with Musharraf. A PPP delegate points out a deal

In the daytime, the sea and the defense colony next to it dom-

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Off-shoring Asian Studies?

Director's note

The revamped Far Eastern Economic Review in its new monthly format has several advantages: its articles have become even better, and now that it is a monthly, we can keep up. Robyn Meredith's article 'The Next Wave of Offshoring' in the March 2005 issue drives home a message most people in the West turn a deaf ear to. In the near future this may no longer be possible as the message reads: you are fired!

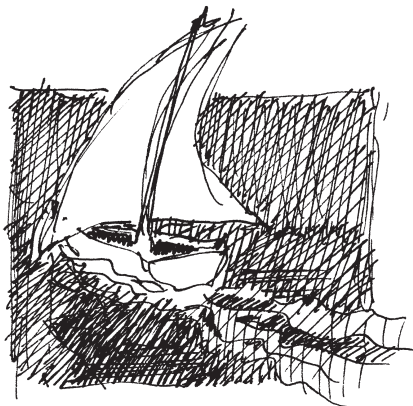
Off-shoring is the substitution of foreign for domestic labour and is one of the main effects of globalisation. Why would a company hire a \$100,000-a-year computer programmer while the same work can be done by a programmer in India or China who is equally educated, more motivated, and earns \$10,000? Off-shoring or outsourcing is by no means a new phenomenon - blue collar work has been outsourced since the 1970s. But now that it is hitting the middle class, it is attracting attention and debate.

The Lisbon goals of the European Community stating that Europe should be the world's most competitive knowledge economy by 2010 is losing momentum. One reason is that this goal remains thwarted by national research agendas. Science is inherently universal in nature; until well into the eighteenth century, only natural barriers stood in the way of cooperation. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, nationalism together with imperialism cast the humanities and social sciences into national straightjackets (the hard sciences partly escaped the nationalist encroachment due to their abstract language, which eluded the bureaucracy and thus censorship). It gave birth to national research traditions, which were increasingly embedded in conservative research institutions using the national language, a trajectory that has clearly run its course.

This is largely due to diminishing research budgets at the national level. The time when any single country, no matter its size, could support full-fledged research in all scientific domains is long past. If we look at developments in Asian studies over the past decade, we see the gradual development of institutionalised cooperation in the European Alliance for Asian Studies. But regional European Asian studies associations have remained largely unchanged: no debate has developed on the future of Asian studies in a European context, let alone at the global level. There is thus no vision - and where there is no vision, crisis lurks, a crisis which could become the midwife of change.

Instead of sitting back to watch the withering away of Asian studies in Europe, we might begin to see the development of Asian studies in a global context. Europe could tender out research to centres in India, China and other Asian countries, retaining several flexible and agile centres of excellence as their counterparts. The cost of living in many Asian countries remains relatively inexpensive; wages could be a third of what they are in Europe. Off-shoring's biggest advantage, however, would lie in the greater number of (PhD) students and scholars pursuing their studies in an Asian environment. They would bring 'home' the knowledge of Asia that Europe needs to remain competitive in the twenty-first century. <

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS



IIAS Newsletter

The *IIAS Newsletter* is a forum for authors from around the world to share commentary and opinion; short research essays; book, journal, film and website reviews; fiction and artwork; and announcements of events, projects and conferences with colleagues in academia and beyond. As the gap grows between specialist knowledge and the public discourse, we hope this newsletter can fill a science journalism niche within Asian studies. We welcome contributions from our readers. Please send your copy to the editors at: iiasnews@let.leidenuniv.nl

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

Indonesian independence

response to Jasper van de Kerkhof

Letters

Jasper van de Kerkhof's article 'Dutch enterprises in independent Indonesia: cooperation and confrontation, 1949-1958' in *IIAS Newsletter 36* begins by outlining the aims of both sides at the 1949 Round Table Conference in the Hague. Preserving economic interests was the focus of the Dutch delegation. On the Indonesian side, the general opinion was that continued Dutch supremacy in Indonesia's economy was an intolerable relic of Dutch imperialism: political sovereignty should be followed by the realization of economic independence, the 'colonial economy' followed by the establishment of a 'national economy'. This is an objective description of the stand of both sides.

The article falls short by failing to analyse the role of the army in the 'takeover' from 'Indonesianization' to the 'nationalization' of foreign enterprises. Kerkhof oversees important events that took place in that period: the 'takeovers' of foreign companies were carried out by 'workers action' followed by legalization in parliament. The new president-directors, commissars and other leading personnel of the newly nationalized enterprises were mostly military officers of the Indonesian army, made possible by the 'emergency law' then in force. The military skilfully manipulated the situation, placing as many officers as possible in positions of political, economic and financial power. The armed forces have ever since been in big business - a further realization of the concept 'Dwifungsi ABRI' or the 'twin-function of the the armed forces'.

Another serious point concerns Kerkhof's dating of Indonesian independence. He writes: 'The independence of Indonesia was realized sometime between 1945 and 1949....' In fact he seems to regard the date The Hague recognized the independence of Indonesia as the date of independence. It must be noted that the RTC itself, attended by the head of the Indonesian delegation, Moh. Hatta, Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia and co-proclamator of independence, contributed to the confusion. Sukarno-Hatta proclaimed Indonesian independence on 17 August 1945. That the greater part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia was still under Japanese, British or NICA occupation at the time does not change the facts. There is no difference with American independence day, when America declared herself free from the British Crown. At that time a part of America was still under British colonial rule, but American independence is accepted in history as the date when independence was proclaimed.

On their last official visit to Indonesia during the Suharto era, Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus of the Netherlands went shopping in Singapore instead of going straight to Jakarta, to avoid being present on Indonesian independence day, 17 August. It has since been disclosed that the Queen of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was about to apologize to the Indonesian people for the things Dutch colonial rule perpetrated on Indonesia. However, the government of the Netherlands was of another opinion; it was not yet ready to look at the historical facts. It is a great pity that a Dutch scientific research institution such as IIAS does not have the courage to accept Indonesian reality. <

Ibrahim Isa dari Bijlmer
Asian Foundation for Studies, Information
and Documentation
Amsterdam, the Netherlands

response to Ibrahim Isa dari Bijlmer

The double role of the military (*dwinfungsi*) as guardian of Indonesia's territorial integrity and as a key element of the country's economic structure has indeed been a defining characteristic of independent Indonesia. The economic function of the Indonesian military had its roots in the revolutionary era (1945-49) but gained momentum after the expulsion of Dutch enterprise in 1957/58. Under Suharto's new order, the interlocking of economic and military power reached unprecedented levels. The role of the ABRI in the immediate aftermath of the takeover of Dutch firms, however, should not be exaggerated. Although the local military commanders after the workers' actions almost immediately took control of Dutch companies, day-to-day administration fell mostly on the few Indonesians who had already obtained staff positions under Dutch management. Also, a select number of Dutch managers continued to function as 'advisors' until in mid-1958 they too decided that there was no longer any future for them in Indonesia. After the takeovers and the formal nationalization of Dutch enterprise in December 1958, it became apparent that the military was the only organization with sufficient status and managerial capacity to run the expropriated Dutch firms. This, however, was a gradual process that was not completed until the early 1960s. It therefore falls outside the scope of my article.

The debate on the date of Indonesian independence reflects differences in the historiographical traditions of Indonesia and the Netherlands. The first dates Indonesian independence back to the Sukarno-Hatta *proklamasi* of 17 August 1945, whereas the latter argues that Indonesia only became independent after Dutch recognition of Indonesian sovereignty on 27 December 1949. Since the *Republic Indonesia* was party to the RTC-treaty that transferred sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia, the confusion concerning Indonesia's date of independence is understandable. In general, the international literature supports the view that Indonesia's independent history began in 1945. Decolonization, however, is more than a change of flags. It is a protracted, complex and often painful process of emancipation of the former colony and withdrawal of the former mother country. Apart from the political dimension, this process also has cultural, socio-economic and often racial dimensions.

Accepting the Sukarno-Hatta *proklamasi* as the start of Indonesia's independent history, therefore, should not obscure the fact that the Dutch continued to dispute Indonesian sovereignty throughout the Revolutionary Period. This was not a triviality, since the Dutch occupied a large proportion of Indonesian territory, especially after their two large military operations in 1947 and 1948/49. Consequently, there were *de facto* limitations to Indonesian sovereignty in the Revolutionary Period.

My article deals with Dutch enterprise in independent Indonesia in the 1950s. Their (privileged) position was defined at the RTC (1949) which led to Dutch recognition of Indonesian sovereignty. It is therefore justifiable to regard the *transfer* of sovereignty in 1949, rather than its *proclamation* in 1945, as the starting point of an analysis of Dutch enterprise in independent Indonesia. In addition, there is little point in discussing the performance of Dutch companies in Republican-controlled areas in 1945-49 as they only resumed operations *after* the territories where they were located were restored to Dutch control as a result of the two military actions. <

Jasper van de Kerkhof
International Institute for Asian Studies
Leiden, the Netherlands



Cambodians are Indigenous

In *IIAS Newsletter 35* of November 2004, p. 7, I found that UN Rapporteur Jose Martinez Cobo has proposed a definition of 'indigenous communities, peoples and nations' which holds that they 'form at present non-dominant sectors of society'. Cobo's definition seems to leave out Cambodians (Khmer). Yet Cambodians regard themselves as the original inhabitants of their country, as can be seen in their story, 'The Daughter of the Naga King' in which the king (a seven-headed cobra) drinks sea water from a gulf to create a land for the couple that would be the ancestors of the Khmer.

On the other hand, the Khmer minority in Vietnam (the Khmer Krom) would be indigenous under the Cobo definition, since their condition is the result of Vietnam's historical southward expansion at the expense of Champa and Cambodia, countries influenced by India rather than China (see: Michael G. Cotter, 'Toward a Social History of the Vietnamese Southward Movement', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1968). In reality, Khmer on either side of the Cambodia-Vietnam border are part of the same nation or ethnic group. Vietnam's expansion continues today in the form of ethnic Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia. <

Milton Takei
Eugene, Oregon, USA

Feature #37 China's new pride

In just two decades a socialist economy-turned-capitalist has increased China's international clout, first economically and now militarily and politically (van Kemenade p.5). But what will happen when the resources that fuel growth become scarce? (Amineh p.6)

At home economic growth has spawned an equally fast-growing middle class, proud of China's new power position. The Party encourages this pride and uses it to legitimize its rule. It gives rise to cultural nationalism that shows in new literature (Yue p.7), while both government and people see China as a power that has much to offer the world (Wang p.8).

The new middle class, however, has its own demands which increasingly go beyond economic consumption, creating a paradox: free market economy without political freedom, emerging civil society without freedom of press (Ho & Richardson p.9; Abels p.10). Be proud of China but don't question the power that made it possible. Is there a limit to the life span of such a paradox? <

Natasja Kershof

continued from page 1 >

could have been done eight years ago. 'American pressure today', I say. The idea is digested and shrugged off nonchalantly. America is not popular. Notions of Islam, Asia, South Asia are categories that crave an end to 'WASP' domination. But then domination, like economics, has macro and micro levels. Within countries, within states, within villages. And the two are closely intertwined.

It is a beautiful house. Mohatta Palace. Jinnah's sister lived there till her death. An art gallery now. Grand lawns, old English interiors, high ceilings, a perfect setting for paintings, decorations, embellishments. The exhibition is on 'Karachi during the British Raj'.

A large number of families, affluent, English-speaking, through the gallery - unlike India. It is Sunday and the exhibition, curated by Hasan and Hasan, is brilliantly put together. It showcases the lifestyles, the fanfare, the books, the clothes, the ambience of a city, industrial, multicultural and prosperous. The Parsees as philanthropists figure prominently as does the Aga Khan. The sheer wealth of material collected and exhibited from that time, from guns to belts and the interior of houses, deserves accolades. It is an upper class exhibition and showcases their lifestyles, how closely intertwined these were with the British. The shanties, the poor, the maids and the Indians are missing. What is not - how vibrant Karachi was, and is.

...

Lahore as a city is completely different. The first thing that strikes me when we start driving is how old and beautiful the trees are. They remind one of Delhi. It has areas like Greater Kailash and markets like South Extension. In other words, I feel completely at home. Anarkali Bazaar, my grandmother had said. Buy some cloth. I do. It is a rambling quarter, like Chandini Chowk, small narrow shops, attar, cloth, jewelry, shoes. It is all very familiar, including the bargaining, talk about rapprochement, how India and Pakistan should become friends and open borders. The place where I buy had outlets in Amritsar in the old days. But I also hear stories about Hindus who stayed behind converting and never revealing who they were. Stories about families separated for years.

The Lahore Museum is a beautiful old English building and has one of the best Gandhara collections in the sub-continent. Apparently Peshawar had one, but it was destroyed. Majestic Grecian figures, life-size. Beautiful carvings, tracing his route to enlightenment. Then there is the mosque at night, adjacent to the old fort, truly divine. The light shining off its perfect domes, ethereal. There is not a soul around and one can sense the age of Lahore. It traces its history to the mythical composite times. A friend told me myths about Luv and Kush and how in ancient times Lahore derived its name - from Luv to Luvhore and then Lahore. Nice story. Speaking of older, intermingled civilizational roots, lived today through music, costume, language and poetry. The Delhi of Ghalib and the Lahore of Ranjit Singh perhaps. Punjabi is the city's language.

I attend a wedding, that of a young woman who ran away from a forced marriage and now works with Asma Jehangir. It's also just like India, the marriage hall, the couple on the dais, the woman in a beautiful saree, photographers, socialites, celebrities. The divide is so silly, when every other part of the world is pledging regional solidarity. But then human beings are silly and we all fight. The point is can we make up?



...

I stay at the home of friends - Tahseen and his family. They are migrants from Kangra, my home region in Himachal Pradesh. The eldest brother, Prof. Azizuddin, retired from Government College Lahore. 'My contribution to Pakistan has been creating civil servants', he says with a wry grin. In reali-

ty, his father and he were active in Pakistan's labour movement and worked within the Communist Party. He was twelve when they had to leave Shahpur in Kangra. 'Pakistan never had a vibrant democracy because when it was created it lost its middle class. The majority were landlords and the rest artisans. The Hindu middle and professional class that existed in Lahore migrated to India'.

He is right. But partition is only a blot in the memory of the slowly aging, old memories, passing fragments, the violence and the language, music, kangri songs, dying out amongst the younger generation. Instead, Hindi TV serials, *saas bhi kabhie bahun thi*, *kasuati zindagi ki* are big hits with the younger and middle-aged generations. The fifteen year-old daughter sits alongside her mother to watch Star Plus. They are not surprised that all the big Indian stars are Khans. That doesn't explain the popularity of Aishwarya, a unisex fantasy - girls wanting to be like her and boys just wanting her. Just the same again.

I visit Tahseen's office. He runs one of the largest NGOs in Pakistan. They pay special attention to gender rights, democracy and peace between India and Pakistan. He has visited India several times. He belongs to the old Left and has many stories to tell about the time under Zia. He is also one of the most courteous men I have ever met. But I meet courtesy all over. When I go to do my police report, the officer there says these borders are created by the English maam. Good memories in retrieval. Through Tahseen, I meet several other NGO friends from the women's movement. 'In Pakistan we kept religion out but you used symbols like Kali as feminist symbols' says Lalla, a founder of the Women's Action Forum. I see few women in burquas, fewer than in Hyderabad. They are smart, articulate, and yes it is just as much a class society. I also meet theater and Christian NGOs. The Tsunami has just hit. Everybody is busy trying to reach friends in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. It is an interconnected world and there is a sigh of relief when no damage is reported amongst those personally known.

The People's Theatre Group that I go and visit has offices in Model Town, Lahore. They work with SAF and other aid projects to deal with gender, bonded labour, forced marriage, property rights. They work in different regions and at the village level. I see some of the films made on their work: powerful, direct, and emotive. Paolo Frere is the idol here. Social issues and community participation. Role change - the victim as aggressor and the aggressor as victim. Polarised dichotomies in gender relations, land relations, handled simply and directly. 'We work with the state because the work is more important'. So true. Except in India, we work despite the state.

The creation of modern nation states and boundaries is not cultural, but geopolitical, territorial and religious. The micro in nationhood - fault lines stronger than historical materialism or the modes of production and imagined solidarity. Fault lines are stronger in history and language, the Hindi we speak, the Urdu they do, born out of Babur's march across India. Even the names of cities, of squares, are marked by a constant rhetoric of distrust at the state level. Lots of hope - but still one step forward, two steps back. And maybe culture does matter. <

Ravni Thakur is Reader in the Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University. ravthakur@vsnl.com

Fellowships at the International Institute for Asian Studies

IIAS invites postdoctoral researchers to apply for fellowships in Leiden or Amsterdam.

The institute focuses on the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia in the humanities and social sciences, and their interaction with other sciences. IIAS research covers South, East, Southeast and Central Asia.

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For specific information, please contact Lena Scheen or Wouter Feldberg at: iiasfellowships@let.leidenuniv.nl

Will China's rise be peaceful?

During 2003 and 2004 the talk of the town in Beijing's political, media and diplomatic circles was the 'peaceful rise of China' to superpower status. China's leadership, led by president Hu Jintao, had presented a new vision: China's rise would be different from those of Germany and Japan, whose arrival on the world stage triggered two world wars.¹ Riding the wave of globalization, China would rise through long-term economic growth, trade and investment, regional cooperation and integration, all guided by deft and peaceful diplomacy.

Willem van Kemenade

Chinese analysts say this fundamental foreign policy shift shows China has learned to act like a 'great power', with responsibilities across the region, instead of playing the century-old role of victim bullied by Japan, Russia and the West. China's most troubled relationship with Japan has improved at least in the economic realm. After more than a decade of recession and deflation, Japan's economy showed growth again in 2004 thanks to the relocation of Japanese industries to China and the huge expansion of bilateral trade. Politically, however, the relationship plummeted towards a nadir - due primarily to the insensitive policies of the Koizumi government, highlighted by the prime minister's annual pilgrimage to Yasukuni Shrine where Japan's war-dead, including war-criminals, are honoured, and controversy over Japanese denials and euphemistic portrayals in school textbooks of its wartime past. Such actions helped trigger a wave of sometimes violent anti-Japan demonstrations in China.

China, Taiwan and the United States

The Bush presidency replaced Clinton's 'strategic partnership' with China with 'strategic competition', but thanks to Colin Powell's diplomacy and the 9-11 attacks, the sting was removed from the 'competition' as China became a partner in the war on terror. The separatist policies of Taiwan's President Chen Shui-bian also caused tension between Beijing and Washington. President Bush began his first term with the most outspoken pro-Taiwan stance since Eisenhower, but by the end of 2003 he openly criticized the Taiwanese president in the presence of the Chinese premier. Taiwan had been derecognized as a state in 1979 but continued to receive limited quantities of American arms. This continued under Presidents Reagan and Clinton, but Presidents Bush I and II expanded the arms trade with Taiwan into multi-billion-dollar deals. In 1992, Bush I approved the sale of 150 F-16s in order to gain support for his re-election in Texas, home to the aircraft's maker, General Dynamics. Bush II approved the biggest arms deal ever with Taiwan, 18.3 billion USD, though the deal stagnates because Parliament, where President Chen Shui-bian's pro-independence government is in the minority, refuses to allocate the funds.

American attitudes toward China and Taiwan are inconsistent. The Department of State plays more or less by the rules, but hardliners in Congress and the Pentagon increasingly treat Taiwan as an independent state, with whom the US maintains an official military alliance. Many members of Congress, conservative Christians, rightwing think tanks and human rights organizations support keeping Taiwan under US influence, not merely to protect its democracy but as a military base for the future containment of China. Perhaps more importantly, Taiwan is among the largest customers of the US arms industry. Prominent hardliner John Tkacik of the rightwing Heritage Foundation writes:

- Taiwan is one of the top importers of US defence equipment.
- American defence industries benefit from a pay-as-you-go relationship with Taiwan, which has been America's second best customer (after Saudi Arabia) for defense equipment and services every year for the past ten years.
- Taiwan has become an important partner in financing US defense research and development.²

Two landmark events in Taiwan soured US-China relations. In July 1999, President Lee Teng-hui promulgated the so-called 'Two States Theory' which defines relations between China and Taiwan not as those between a region and its central government but as 'special relations between two sovereign states'. This bordered on declaring independence. China was furious but didn't react beyond saber-rattling and verbal threats. The second, more ominous event was the March 2000 presidential election victory of Chen Shui-bian with a mere 39 per cent of the vote. Chen had a history of militant independence activism. His views had mellowed, but his core supporters wouldn't let him go soft. China-Taiwan relations entered an era of chronic crisis.



Martial god of wealth (Guandi)
Details of woodblock print from Yangjia-ban, Shandong



James A. Flath, www.ssc.uwo.ca/history/nianhua/home.html

When George W. Bush assumed power, the US decided to overhaul its East-Asia strategy by emphasizing its relations with Asian democracies, first and foremost, Japan. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage had been working to transform Japan from a defeated, pacifist, economic superpower into a 'normal' country; i.e., a military power that would assist the US overseas military activism.

The re-elected Bush Administration has apparently concluded that it has performed so well in its global war on terror that it doesn't need China so badly anymore. During the first Bush term, China's economic power and diplomatic leverage had grown so astonishingly that by the end of 2004 the US was returning to its 2001 frame of mind. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice reactivated the late 1990s idea of containing China by building a Cold War-style quasi-military alliance with Asian democracies. Rice traveled to India in March to convey that America's newest foreign policy goal was to 'help India become a major world power in the 21st century'. India, she meant, should open its market to the American arms industry and join the US as a 'democratic ally' to contain 'Communist China'. Determining its own interests, New Delhi recently agreed with Beijing to settle their half-century-old border dispute and to expand economic cooperation.

China, the EU and the United States

China has a strategy to counter American containment. Chinese diplomats observed the fissures in the trans-Atlantic alliance caused by the Iraq War. Trade, investment and cultural relations between China and the European Union were already substantial, but strategic ties were lacking. Prior to the China-EU Summit in Beijing in October 2003, China issued an 'EU Policy Paper' that addressed, for the first time, strategic cooperation: 'China and the EU will maintain high-level

China has learned to act like a 'great power' instead of playing the century-old role of victim bullied by Japan, Russia and the West

military-to-military exchanges, develop and improve, step by step, a strategic security consultation mechanism, exchange more missions of military experts, and expand exchanges in respect of military officers training and defence studies. The EU should lift its ban on arms sales to China at an early date so as to remove barriers to greater bilateral cooperation on defence industry and technologies.³

China's 230 million Euro participation in Galileo, the EU's rival to the Pentagon-controlled Global Positioning System, laid the foundation for closer defence co-operation between Beijing and Brussels - a prospect that alarmed the Pentagon. Since then, China has campaigned for lifting the arms embargo imposed after the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989. Ostensibly, China doesn't want to go on a shopping spree for European arms but to remove the stigma. China's basic argument is: 'We are strategic partners! How can there be an arms embargo on a strategic partner?' For many Europeans, lifting the arms embargo is tantamount to a declaration of independence from the US. A Europe that cannot say no to the US is meaningless. But there are increasing doubts whether this is the right issue and the right moment.

Brussels underestimated the vehemence of Washington's response. US senators have threatened retaliation against the European defence industry by cutting trans-Atlantic defence cooperation, and Europe could pay a high price for missing out on new American technologies. Americans are concerned that European weapons could one day kill Americans defending Taiwan against a Chinese invasion. The US can prevent this by reining in Taiwan and its campaign for independence and thus not provoke an invasion. American policy is duplicitous: one day it incites Taiwan, the next it warns the island not to go too far.

Lifting the European arms embargo has now become more divisive within the EU. Ironically, China has exacerbated this

by adopting an 'Anti-Secession Law' that sanctions military action should Taiwan formally declare independence.⁴ The law contains nothing new and is moderate in tone, but China critics on both sides of the Atlantic have pointed to it as reason enough to maintain the embargo.

Thus China has unnecessarily overplayed its hand not only in Europe, but also in Taiwan and Japan. Pro-independence radicals in Taiwan's ruling DPP suffered a serious setback in the December 2004 legislative elections. Unable to push his independence agenda further without a majority in Parliament, Chen Shui-bian yielded to the opposition. Instead of profiting from this, Beijing passed the Anti-Secession Law, provoking a backlash abroad. However, the backlash has been largely annulled by the positive momentum created by the high profile visits of Taiwan's opposition leaders to China in April and May.

China and Japan

The United States and Japan inflamed Chinese passions over Taiwan by declaring at a meeting of foreign and defence ministers that a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question was 'a common strategic objective'.⁵ This lengthened China's list of grievances against Japan, which includes Japan's surreptitious support for Taiwanese independence and Japan's alignment with the United States. World War II issues also remain. The Chinese retaliated against Koizumi's transgressions by refusing top-level contact with him and by openly announcing its intention to block Japanese permanent membership on the UN Security Council. Chinese and Japanese media now whirl into a frenzy over any incident, whether an orgy by Japanese sex-tourists, a Chinese submarine intruding into waters between Taiwan and Japan, a World War II Japanese chemical shell exploding when unearthed, or Chinese abuse of visiting Japanese soccer fans. A dispute over East China Sea oil and gas exploration further fuels a potentially explosive situation.

Liberal Chinese intellectuals are deeply pessimistic about the future. Professor Shi Yinhong, a prominent advocate of 'new Chinese thinking' about Japan, feels that moderates have lost and hardliners are in control on both sides of the East China Sea. 'China is far from ready to accept Japan as a normal country and Japan is far from ready to accept China as an emerging superpower. The possibility of war becomes imaginable again. Only a major crisis can make both governments realize the necessity of accommodation.'⁶ ◀

Notes

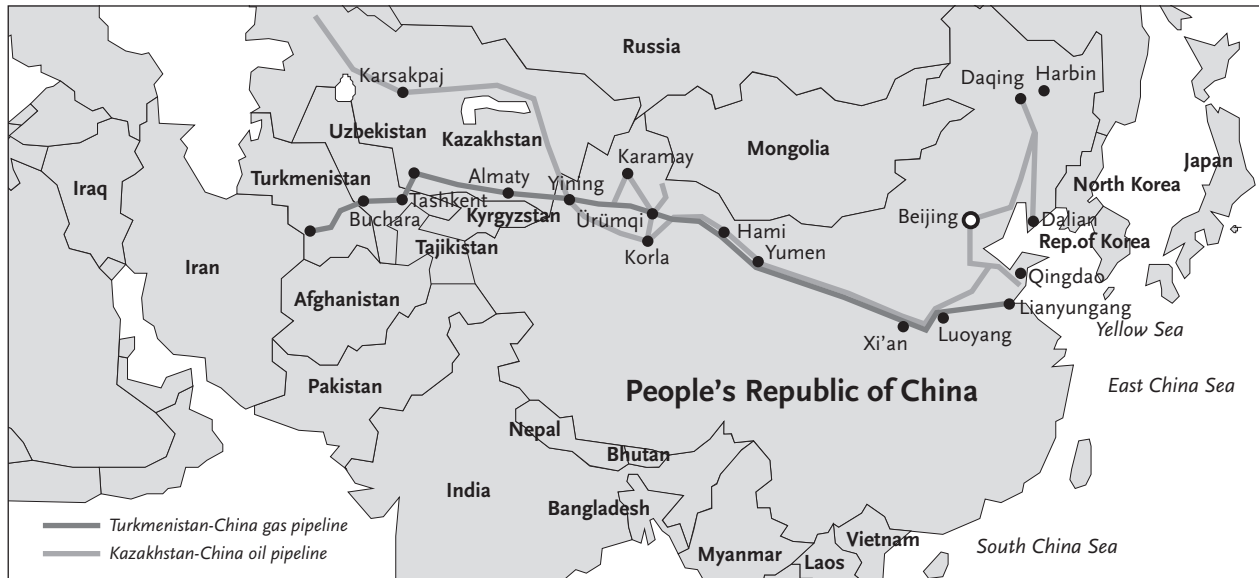
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Power and energy supply security

China has surpassed Japan to become the world's second largest oil and gas consumer. It already consumes more grain and meat, coal and steel - three out of the four basic food, energy and industrial commodities - than the US. Consuming more of the fourth, oil, is only a matter of time.



Mehdi Parvizi Amineh

China's economic growth has rapidly increased its energy needs. Coal accounts for three-quarters of its energy consumption, while oil and gas represent only one-fifth. But in 2003 total demand - 5.56 million barrels per day - far outpaced domestic production. China has been a net-importer of oil since 1993 and of crude oil since 1996. Although it is trying to increase domestic production, oil imports will grow by an estimated 960 per cent over the next two decades, comprising, by 2025, almost 70 per cent of the country's oil consumption.

How will China meet its energy needs? The world's largest oil and gas reserves are concentrated in two regions: the Persian Gulf contains approximately 65 per cent of known global oil reserves while the Caspian Sea region consisting of the five littoral states Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Russia hold approximately 45 per cent of known gas reserves. China will have to tap these sources further to secure an adequate energy supply.

Sixty per cent of China's oil imports already come from the Persian Gulf. Iran was China's second largest oil sup-

plier in 2003, providing 14 per cent of total imports, while China was Iran's main supplier of unconventional weaponry despite having signed international agreements prohibiting the proliferation of technologies that can be used for making nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Oman and Yemen are also becoming important oil-based trading partners.

Saudi Arabia is China's largest oil supplier, while China is Saudi Arabia's biggest customer. Though Saudi Arabia will soon drop out of the top five as a US oil supplier according to the *Washington Times* (16 September 2004), its growing ties to China have increased tension between the Bush Administration and the Saudis, particularly since September 11. Aware they can no longer rely on the US alone to defend their regime, the Saudis want to diversify their security policy and China appears to be an interested partner. But Chinese arms trafficking to the Persian Gulf presents a potential threat to US security. In 2002, the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, established by Congress to monitor US-Chinese relations, warned 'arms trafficking to these regimes presents an increasing threat to U.S. security interests in the Middle

East. A key driver in China's relations with terrorist-sponsoring governments is its dependence on foreign oil to fuel its economic development. This dependency is expected to increase over the coming decade'. China is aware that its short-term energy security depends on cooperation with the US. But Chinese policy-makers also realize that the US seeks a dominant position in the Persian Gulf and is trying to contain China's activities there. Persian Gulf access will join Taiwan, trade relations and human rights as the key issues in US-Chinese relations.

That is one reason why China is turning toward the Caspian Sea. It must gain access to the region's vast oil reserves to reduce its energy dependence on the Persian Gulf. And to do that, it must ensure political stability in the region's five Central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) and counter US encroachment.

Geographically, the Caspian Sea is more accessible. Russia, Central Asia, and China share the Eurasian landmass, which makes overland oil and gas pipelines attractive options for energy transport. In 1997, under the govern-

ment's 'Go West' policy, the China National Petroleum Corporation promised to invest 9.5 billion USD in pipelines and oil fields. China's national oil companies have begun to invest in Kazakhstan, the only Central Asian country that exports oil to China, amounting to one per cent of total oil imports. Kazakh oil is transported by rail, but that will change after the completion of a 1,000-kilometer pipeline from Kazakhstan's central Karaganda region to western China. From there it will cross into the Aqtobe region to the Kenqiyak oil field, where Beijing has invested about 1.3 billion USD and which China and the Kazakh state oil and gas company have been modernizing since 1997. From there the pipeline will continue to the Caspian Sea.

In 2002, China and Russia completed a feasibility study for a Sino-Russian pipeline from Angarsk to Daqing. Construction was to begin in July 2003; the Japanese were also interested and offered Russia 14.5 billion USD worth of 'subscriptions and gifts' and 8 billion to invest in the Russian Far East oil and gas projects Sakhalin 1 and 2. In June 2003, the Russian Transneft Open Joint Stock Oil Transporting Co. proposed an alternative pipeline from Angarsk to Nakhodka. The Russian Minister of Natural Resources, however, stated his preference for the Angarsk-Daqing route and President Vladimir Putin agreed, citing its strategic importance. In March 2004, Transneft proposed a new route from Taishet to Nakhodka that could be extended to Daqing.

Future geopolitical scenario

Control of the production and transport of Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea oil and gas will determine the political and economic future not only of those two regions. Oil and gas have been the world's primary source of energy, and thus power, for decades and are expected to account for approximately 70 per cent of global energy supply through 2020. According to the United States Energy Information Administration (EIA), global oil consumption will rise

from 82 million barrels per day (bbl/d) in 2004 to 100 million bbl/d in 2015 to 120 million bbl/d in 2025. Experts are concerned that global oil production will be unable to meet this rapidly rising demand. Existing resources are decreasing while newly discovered ones disappoint. Major oil consumers will have to follow more aggressive policies to satisfy their oil needs and military intervention to safeguard oil production and export will become more likely. This will have enormous implications for global peace and security.

It is not yet clear whether the three main contending powers - the US, Russia and China - see each other as rivals, allies or as combinations of the two. Russia and China claim a common interest in the Caspian Sea but until now have not acted in common. The US will use political, economic, and perhaps military pressure to expand its influence and remove any obstacles to the safe flow of oil. Russia and China are unable to compete with the US military and will avoid a direct confrontation with Washington, but they will ally with local powers to defend their regional interests. The nightmare for all three powers is an alliance of the other two; the worst-case scenario for the world would be direct confrontation. <

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Shi Yong Yearning

each piece 200cm x 120cm
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www.shanghartgallery.com



Father: Look, our international prospects for the new century are bright
Mother: We must show off our skill.
Grandmother: It must be time to struggle.
Grandfather: In the new century we must grasp after opportunity!
Son: But the road is windy.



Son: The new century after all belongs to our generation, the burden is heavy!
Grandfather: Back then, when I was about your age, I was already a red soldier.
Mother: Talk about your experiences, inflate him.
Father: Certainly there are obstacles on the road to the new century. But Grandfather, father, didn't they all come through turmoil to get here? Son, do not lose heart!
Grandmother: All these years, your grandmother has been thinking of struggle.

The new Chineseness: great leap forward or backward?

Looking backward is a major trend in Chinese fiction today - writers often set their novels in the past to reflect on Chinese history and culture. Most such novels take place sometime between the 1840s and the 1970s, when China suffered defeat, humiliation, coup d'état, warlordism, civil war, invasion, again civil war, and revolution. In this genre, Mo Yan's *Sandalwood Impalement* (Tanxiang Xing) is not only a commercial but an ideological hit, praised by critics as a 'masterpiece' of 'historical importance' that shows China can overcome Western influence thanks to 'Chinese tradition, Chinese reality, and Chinese mentality' as opposed to vapid 'universalism' and 'humanism'.

Yue Tao

Mo Yan (Don't Speak, a pen name) was born in Gaomi County, Shandong province. He quit primary school and became a farmer during the Cultural Revolution, after which he joined the People's Liberation Army and began his writing career. He gained fame by the late 1980s for his 'lavish', 'wild', 'backward' style. The filmmaker Zhang Yimo based his prize-winning movies - *Red Sorghum* (1987) and *Ju Dou* (1990) - on Mo Yan's novels, making the author well-known internationally as well as a bestseller at home. *Big Breasts, Wide Hips* (Fengru Feitun), translated into several foreign languages, won the highest national literary prize. In *Sandalwood Impalement* (2001), Mo Yan not only develops his style to the utmost, but also declares his return to Chinese tradition.

Like most writers who came of age after the Cultural Revolution, Mo Yan read foreign literature in translation. His earlier works got wide circulation in the West thanks to his 'incorrect' view of Chinese society and history; many in China, however, remarked that he pandered to perverse Western interest. Some said that he bartered China's dignity for personal fame; he even got into trouble with the PLA. But not any more. An unorthodox writer going back to his roots at peak career confirms Chinese public opinion that their civilization is matchless. Mo Yan boasts that *Sandalwood Impalement* is not translated because it is too Chinese. Chinese are ethnocentric and always have been, but confidence makes ethnocentrism strident. Confidence about the future makes Chinese candid about the past -

they can afford to be because they feel strong now.

Sandalwood Impalement is truly 'made in China'. It bustles with noise and activity like a Chinese funeral - weeping and wailing followed by loud music and a banquet. The story takes place around 1900 in a Shandong peninsula village where the Germans are building a railway through farmland. The Qing government, under pressure from Germany, is on the hunt for a rebel sect leader who kills Germans. He is finally caught and publicly impaled on a sandalwood stake.

The main characters all depend on and interfere with each other. Their interwoven family conflicts are typically Chinese; the logic is transparent to native readers. Mei Niang, the heroine, is a beautiful young woman who runs a dog meat eatery; her nickname is 'Dog Meat Beauty'. She is ambivalent toward her father, Sun Bing, a leading cat tone (maoqi) opera singer and womanizer. Her mother died when she was little, so she was brought up by her father. Due to his negligence, however, her feet were never bound, and because of her 'big' feet (she envies women with bound feet) she has to marry Xiao Jia, a simpleminded butcher she does not even like. Sun Bing hits and accidentally kills a German railway technician he sees sexually harassing his young second wife. In response, German soldiers kill his wife, children, and neighbours, so he organizes 'boxer' rebels to retaliate. He dresses up like the Song general Yue Fei (1103-1142) and believes he is possessed by Yue's spirit, making him invulnerable to blades and bullets.

Mei Niang's lover, Qian Ding, is a local bureaucrat - an elegant, learned, married man. She is passionately in love with him because he gives her everything - sex, respect, culture, psychological support, and expensive presents. Her husband tolerates (even encourages) Mei Niang's extramarital affair because it augments the family income. Qian Ding, under orders from the central government to arrest Sun Bing, does what he is told in order to keep his job. One day a stranger who claims to be Xiao Jia's father comes to Mei Niang's home. Xiao Jia adores his 'father', Zhao Jia, China's chief executioner sent by the Dowager Empress and General Yuan Shikai to devise a cruel and unusual punishment for Sun Bing, who has to suffer five days and nights and die during the opening ceremony when the first German train rolls through.

Trains and cat tone opera are the two pillars of the novel. The story turns on superstition about trains. When village people first saw trains, they thought they were monsters that could run without eating because they absorbed energy from the tracks laid on ancestral graves, disturbing *fengshui*. They believed the Germans conscripted young boys, trimmed their tongues to make them speak an alien language, cut their queues to steal their souls, and buried the queues under the tracks to 'feed' the trains. They were also convinced that bad *fengshui* and this theft of young souls caused poverty, disaster, war, and misfortune. Cat tone (a local opera that mimicked cats yowling) was performed at funerals, weddings, and religious festivities. It was unique to Mo Yan's home village and an integral part of local life

until the 1980s, when it died out because of modern entertainment. Mo Yan structures his novel like a cat tone opera, quoting opera lyrics and using cat tone sounds to signify strong emotions.

The novel resembles a folk opera: passionate and sensual. It has vivid colors, sounds, images, even smells. The execution scenes are graphic - over ten thousand words describe decapitation, death by slicing, and impalement. Sounds are piercing: gossip, scolding, singing, trains roaring, cats yowling. One can smell not only the scent of cooked dog meat and rice wine, but also the stench of body odor, vomit, urine, and excrement. The language is peppered with dialect, slang, and old folk opera lyrics. Mo Yan's fictional world is the antithesis of refined Confucian society; it is also 'unpolluted' by Communist ideology or Western values. It is exactly this 'backwardness' that charms many Chinese. Without it, the novel would read like cliché anti-colonial class-struggle stories that often appear in Communist history textbooks.

Mo Yan spent five years writing *Sandalwood Impalement*, and the language and plot show the effort he invested. The effect, however, is strictly lowbrow. The roots of the Chinese novel lie in street storytelling and folk opera; Mo Yan deliberately returns to these roots. Chinese novels from before the New Culture Movement of 1919 are almost all third-person narratives about conflict and intrigue - their main function is to entertain. *Sandalwood Impalement* is closer to traditional novels of three and four hundred years ago than to new novels since 1919. Mo Yan himself calls this book a great leap backward - it is a declaration of war on both highbrow intelligentsia writing that imitates Western fashion and consumerist yuppie writing that panders to a public eager for sensation. The great leap backward wins applause from Chinese readers and crit-

ics who are confident of their civilization and proud of its resurgence.

Critical acclaim for *Sandalwood Impalement* owes to cultural nationalism, not literary excellence. Ideology outweighs art. Despite being carefully plotted, structured, and written, the novel does not rise above artisanship. The urge to recreate an authentic China is detrimental to creativity. Compared with Mo Yan's earlier novels, *Sandalwood Impalement* is contrived. It is a skilful imitation of folk opera - a splendid street performance full of sound and imagery, leaving nothing to the imagination.

Cultural nationalism does even more damage to literary criticism, supplanting aesthetic appreciation with moral judgment. Moralizing has always been a weakness of Chinese literary criticism. Today, when Chinese writers enjoy freedom of expression, critics are conformist. They conform not to any official line, but to public opinion, which (if anything) is more chauvinist than the government. Chinese readers have good reason to dislike highbrow intelligentsia writing that it is often a clumsy imitation of Western literature. They also have good reason to disdain consumerist yuppie writing that is often mawkish, affected, narcissistic, and sensational. But a return to folk tradition is no cure for bad writing. ◀

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



Son: Your instruction has touched me deeply. Although the road is windy, I must only establish and maintain a correct philosophy, and in terms of strategy scoff at my enemy, while in terms of tactics respect my enemy, and I will have to worry about not being able to march in sync with the new century, or not connect with the international.



Son: I remember Mao said "the world is yours, and also ours, but in the end it is still yours..." He was right, we young people are like the morning sun of 8 or 9 a.m." Father: Very good, I have been waiting for you to speak these words. Mother: Hope is on your shoulders, we are all depending on you.

Grandfather: There will be people to carry on international relations in the new century. Grandmother: Good work.



Son: Thank you for your praise, only when we stand on the shoulders of previous generations can we see far! Grandfather: You are modest like your grandfather. Mother: I so envy you; how I'd love to go ahead with you. Father: I am no longer alone. Grandmother: A good kid.

China in the world economy

China's rapid development has brought changes at the national level: some good, some not. Another result of China becoming a major player in the world's economy is greater interdependence with the rest of the world.

Wang Ping

Economic achievements

Since the economic reforms and open door policy of the late 1970s, China's economy has grown at an annual average of 9.4 per cent. Living standards have risen accordingly. The average household saw its income increase twenty-fold over the past 25 years. In the early 1980s, bicycles, wristwatches and sewing machines were called 'the three most luxurious things'. Many households now own TVs while some urban families have their own cars.

To join the international economic community, new legislation since the 1980s has addressed enterprise, market order and macro-regulation, while laws such as the Trademark Law, Copyright Law, Patent Law and Foreign Enterprise Law have been updated. Laws addressing tax, food, consumers' rights, unions and environmental protection were written and gradually strengthened. This new legislation has created new possibilities.

Besides traditional state-owned industries, overseas and private investment have become major contributors to China's economy. IT, real estate and the automobile industry are now spurring national economic growth. The industrial structure has changed with the development of capital-intensive and technologically advanced industries; products have become high-tech. Government policy to invigorate the country's poor regions by exploiting natural resources in the West, revitalizing the Northeast's heavy industry and boosting Central China's economy is designed to balance the country's development as a whole. Joining the WTO has been a further spur to economic growth.

Problems

China's economic development, however, faces some tough problems. One is the increasing gap between rich and poor, as well as between urban and rural households. In Beijing, the income differential between high and low income groups is 4:1. This gap comes from many factors, including incomplete agricultural and economic reforms, regional differences in education and unbalanced economic development between districts.

The economic structure still needs improvement. Before China's reform and opening to the world, heavy industry was emphasized while development in agriculture and light industry stagnated. Economic growth was accompanied by shortages of daily necessities. Since 1978, China has unnecessarily been repeating basic construction work, while service industries have made up a small percentage of the national economy. China's fast economic growth also takes on the environment through pollution and the waste of resources. Until recently, China one-sidedly pursued economic growth with less-advanced science and technology in its production processes. Now environmental and resource problems have begun to restrict China's economic development.

China's economic development is also increasingly constrained by external factors. Worldwide manufacturing moving to China has increased energy and resource consumption; China now needs to import 40 per cent of its oil. The fluctuation of oil prices on the international market greatly affects China's economy. China's foreign trade is also limited by trade protectionism, while the RMB is under constant pressure to be revalued. All these problems are connected: solving one may create new problems elsewhere. When any problem, however small, is multiplied by a population of 1.3 billion, it becomes a huge problem; when financial power and material resources are divided by 1.3 billion, it translates into low per capita GDP. This calls for prudence.

China in the world

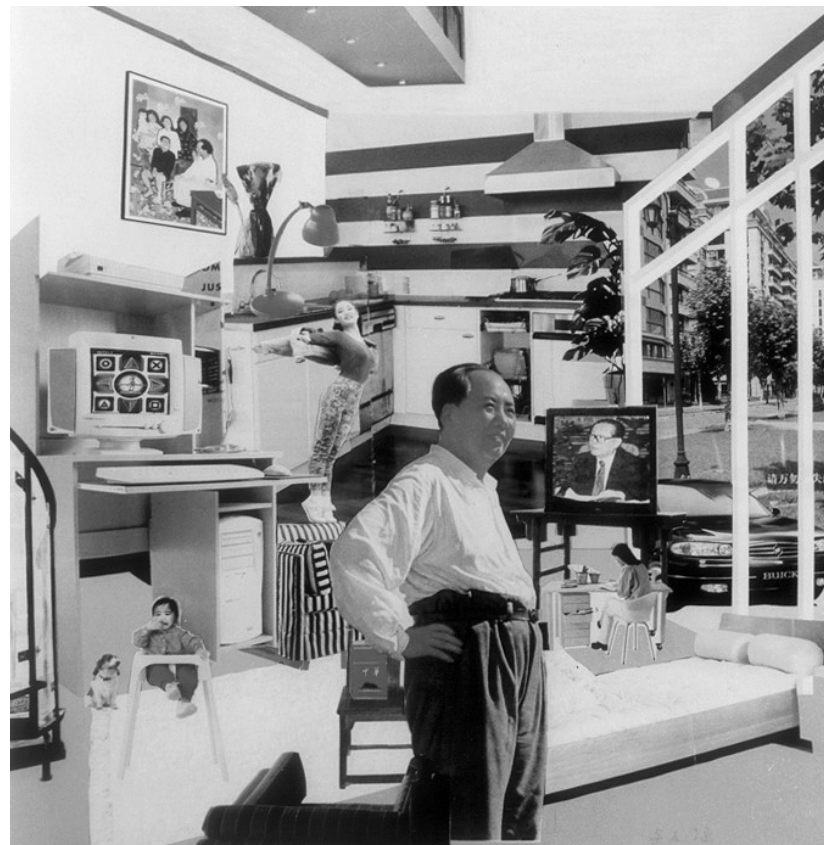
The Chinese economy, making up 12.6 per cent of gross global product, ranks third in the world in purchasing power parity. Number one, America, accounts for 21.1 per cent, and the EU, 19.9 per cent.¹ Last year, China was number four in the global commodity trade, with imports and exports valued at over 1,100 billion USD. China is now the EU's second-largest trading partner after the US, and the US's third. Alongside

the traditional economic centres of America, Japan, Germany and France, China has become a power in the world, particularly in Asia. Chinese economic development has given new drive to the world economy.

China's trade with the rest of the world keeps growing. In 2004, trade between China and the EU was valued at 125.84 billion Euros, up 22 per cent from the previous year; with ASEAN it rose 35 per cent to 106 billion USD. Trade with the US went up by 34 per cent to 170 billion USD, while trade with Japan rose 26.9 per cent from the previous year to 168 billion USD. China's economic development is creating opportunities for the rest of the world; certain industries and companies abroad, however, suffer negative consequences.

China and the EU

The China-EU economic relationship has grown rapidly. Since 1978, trade has increased 40-fold. The EU is China's largest trading partner, its fourth-largest foreign capital resource, and its largest technology exporter. Both China and the EU benefit from bilateral trade and investment; meanwhile, China's competitiveness inevitably threatens some EU industries, such as textile manufacturing, whose products are typically more expensive. As a result, some European companies have cut



Courtesy of Shanghai

jobs or moved production to China. For example, while workers in Germany have lost their jobs because of plant closings, in China Volkswagen has been booming. Europe, however, has maintained its superiority in highly-skilled labour, something China lacks. A Volkswagen technician in Shanghai stated that Chinese labour couldn't meet the German company's standard of quality. Given the trend in global labour migration, skilled German workers should be welcome in China, where some Europeans earn more owing to their companies' success in rapidly-growing economic sectors. For example, one of the China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation's three support industries, the multi-billion-dollar ethylene project, is entirely under contract to three European companies: BASF, Shell and British Petroleum. European companies are also well-represented in the construction of China's basic infrastructure: Siemens and the Swedish-Swiss ABB provide electricity and rail facilities, while France VEOLIA and British Thames Water are building province-level water factories. In this way, China provides a new market that fuels economic development in an EU otherwise restricted by its own limited internal demand. In 2003, for example, European cars accounted for 40 per cent of the Chinese car market.

China and ASEAN

China is ASEAN's sixth-largest trading partner, with far greater potential that is quickly being realized. During the 1997 South-east Asian Financial Crisis, China's efforts to keep the RMB

from devaluing closed bilateral economic relations. Since 1990, trade volume between China and ASEAN annually increased by 20 per cent. In 2004, bilateral trade valued 105.9 billion USD, increasing by 35 per cent. Even in the first two months of 2005, bilateral trade volume reached 16.6 billion USD while ASEAN ranks fourth among China's trade partners.² ASEAN still has a trade surplus with China but both have comparable strength in labour-intensive production and in their levels of trade with developed countries. Since the 1990s, however, China has replaced ASEAN as the main investment destination for developed countries. The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area will be an opportunity for China and ASEAN to decrease competition between themselves and instead present their shared advantages to third parties. In shaping the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, China has promised to give ASEAN a more favourable tariff than the one it promised the WTO, which will greatly promote internal trade. ASEAN's exports to China is estimated to increase by 48 per cent and China's exports to ASEAN by 55 per cent. The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area will be of most benefit to the least developed countries of ASEAN, though setting it up will be very difficult, as societies, economies and cultures vary greatly across Asia. Much work remains on both sides.

China and the US

The world gives its full attention to bilateral trade between these two giants. Trade between China and the US is usually accompanied by disputes about the US trade deficit and unemployment caused by the flood of cheap Chinese products. In fact, the US trade deficit with China, like its total trade deficit, results from US domestic demand accumulatively exceeding its supply. Another reason is that the US still maintains a 7,000-page list of commodities and high-tech military and civilian products whose export to China is limited. Meanwhile, increasing unemployment in the US is mainly caused by its own technological advances in production and in the telecommunication industry. However, Morgan Stanley, an American commercial consulting company, admitted that in the past eight years cheap Chinese commodities have helped American customers save more than 600 billion USD.³ Of course, trade relations also involve politics.

An economically stronger China is a good thing for the rest of the world. By entering the WTO, China made two promises important to its emergence as a world power. Firstly, it will abide by international regulations, meaning that it is ready to undertake international responsibilities and to fulfill international obligations. Secondly, the Chinese government will gradually open its market, meaning that China has agreed to develop its economy with an open and acceptant attitude, giving equal trade opportunities to developing countries. As Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said, 'Understanding is the base of cooperation, respecting is the premise of understanding'.⁴ The People's Republic of China has proven itself ready and willing to play a greater role in the international community. The world in turn should be ready to accept it with open arms. ◀

Notes

1. World Economic Outlook, IMF, April 2004
2. China's customs statistics, 2005. www.customs.gov.cn/tongjishujv/index.asp Data found on 15 May 2005
3. 'Prosperity of China's Economy is Benefit to World Economy'. www.china.org.cn/chinese/zhuanti/ (25 March 2004)
4. Experts and Scholars Round table at 7th China-EU Summit, 7 December 2004.

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Environmentalism and civil society

Political reform is critical to China's development. However, village elections aside, there have been no signs of fundamental political reform since the late 1980s. The December 1998 imprisonment of Chinese Democratic Party leaders Xu Wenli and Wang Youcai, the repression of the Falun Gong Sect and the 2004 detention of influential intellectuals leave no doubt: those who openly oppose the government, establish national civil organizations or stage protests walk a thin line.

Peter Ho and Richard Louis Edmonds

The repression of dissent is a reality. The People's Republic, however, is not a 'typical' authoritarian state devoid of divergent voices and voluntary organizations. Such a view disregards the many strategies citizens employ to escape government control, as well as complex interaction between state and society: China's economic development has spawned a middle class and, subsequently, the development of civil society. It has led to civil protests throughout the country. New social spaces have opened up for voluntary citizen action - particularly in areas deemed politically innocent in government eyes, such as rural poverty, women in development and the environment. The environmental scene is one of the most active sectors of China's nascent civil society.

Over the past few years, a broad range of green organizations have emerged, from public lobbies working within the bureaucratic system to grassroots organizations employing mass mobilization. Burgeoning environmentalism implies a significant strengthening of civil society. Environmentalism in China, however, has a distinct feature: it lacks the opportunity to openly confront the central government. The large-scale environmentalist protests and nation-wide rallies that expressed popular dissatisfaction with the communist regimes in East and Central Europe are unheard of in China, where environmentalism is fragmented and highly localized.

Political context

Economic reforms unleashed social changes unforeseen by the government; two decades of reforms have seen explosive growth in the number of 'social organizations' (in China the use of the tainted term 'non-governmental organization' or NGO is avoided). The number of officially registered social organizations rose from 100 national and 6,000 regional organizations in 1965 to over 1,800 national and 165,600 regional ones at the end of 1998. The boom results from the retrenchment of the state from domains it hitherto dominated, such as social services, legal counseling and cultural activities. Rising unemployment owing to the restructuring of state industries and bureaucracy since the late 1990s pressured the Ministry of Civil Affairs to increase control over social organizations through stringent registration procedures. If an organization wishes to be registered with the Ministry, approval must be obtained by a sponsoring institution. What this means became clear according to an activist who attempted to launch an NGO: 'Only if you can find a sponsoring institution willing to be your 'mother-in-law' (*popo*) can you register with the Ministry of Civil Affairs. This means that the sponsoring institution has to be responsible for your organization's actions. Nobody dares to be

Plant flowers and trees to beautify the environment, 1982.



ISH Stefan R. Landsberger Collection; www.ishg.nl/~landsberger

your mother-in-law, as they fear that you will make trouble or arouse the people'.

Tsinghua University NGO Research Centre Director Wang Ming commented: 'this stipulation has strong traits of a planned and monopolist system. On the one hand it uses artificial measures to protect the existent top-down NGOs; on the other hand, it limits the establishment of NGOs from the bottom up. It is not beneficial for the capacity-building and long term development of NGOs in China'. The state restricts the number of NGO members and requires a minimum of financial resources. It seems the central government limits rather than stimulates NGO development.

Formally registered social organizations generally have strong government connections. Many government institutions have established their own 'non-governmental organizations', partly to devolve government functions because of budgetary pressures and partly to attract funding. These GONGOs, or 'government-organized NGOs', concern scholars and policy-makers - the lack of separation between government and society affects the development of grassroots organizations; to obtain government support or recognition, they readily accept administrative intervention. Many scholars claim that NGOs in China lack a non-governmental character and are not worthy of the name NGO.

As it is so difficult to register as a social organization, many NGOs register as an enterprise, or as a subsidiary of a façade institution, or by avoiding registration

altogether and establishing an informal 'club' or 'salon'. The Beijing Science and Technology Association is a typical façade institution; numerous NGOs registered as 'research institutes' under its name until the government put a stop to it in June 1994. The Association then privatized and registered its research institutes as daughter companies under the newly established 'Chaolun Technology and Development Company'.

Yet in the long run this situation impedes the functioning of NGOs. First, an unregistered social organization cannot act as an independent legal person, which means the organization cannot enter into contractual relations. Second, it becomes extremely difficult to attract capable personnel as the organization cannot provide pensions, medical insurance and household registration or

nobody dares to be your mother-in-law, as they fear that you will make trouble or arouse the people

hukou for its employees. (Many NGOs have to rely on volunteers and retired people). Third, without registration a social organization is not entitled to a bank account and must relinquish its financial administration to the responsible department. This sacrifices financial transparency while the NGO must pay a 'management fee' to the responsible department, making it difficult for an NGO to attract funding.

An example of a Chinese Green NGO

Little is known about environmental organizations in China. Detailed information on their activities, structure and

resources, let alone basic data, such as their total number and geographic distribution, is nonexistent. It appears the majority are located in Beijing, although many green social organizations have also emerged in other regions: the Daoist 'Club for Green Civilization' in Sichuan and the Shandong-based 'Green Civil Association of Weihai City' established in 1993; the 'Association of Green Volunteers of Chongqing City' created in 1995; and the first voluntary peasants' organization, the 'Farmers' Association for the Protection of Biodiversity of the Gaoligong Mountains in Yunnan', founded in 1996.

Among the oldest Chinese NGOs is the Centre for Legal Assistance to Pollution Victims (CLAPV) in Beijing. Wang Canfa, a professor in environmental law, established the Centre as a 'research institute' under the China University of Political Science and Law in October 1998. Wang's most newsworthy case concerned a farmer in Huairou County near Beijing. In September 1998, Zhang Jinhu discovered that hundreds of his ducks had died due to water pollution from an upstream pig farm. He sought legal redress, an unheard of action in rural areas, as many farmers are ignorant of their rights and intimidated by government-protected businesses. In Wang's words: 'Local businesses pay taxes and are big employers. So local governments need them and are reluctant to close them down. If businesses knew that victims might claim compensation, that would bring huge pressure on polluters'.

The Centre developed no-cure-no-pay legal counsel; an advice hotline; a 'lawyers' mailbox' in the *China Environmental Newspaper* where readers send questions and comments; environmental law training, seminars, lectures and policy advice. These activities broke new ground and received national and international attention. Engulfed by requests for legal advice, the Centre's greatest threat may be limited resources. 36 volunteers - 22 lawyers and professors, 14 undergraduate and graduate students - run it. With no hired employees, it lacks professionalism, a coherent recruitment policy and long-term staffing. Wang makes all major decisions. The Centre

generally prepays pollution victims' legal expenses, which takes up 60 per cent of its budget. Reliant on funding from outside the country, its status as a subsidiary of the University for Political Science and Law impedes fund-raising, while it faces organizational, management and financial problems. Many NGOs are in a similar situation and must adapt to a rapidly-changing environment to justify their existence.

The future

Western observers are concerned about China's civil organizations' autonomy from the state. On the surface, the state exerts strict control. On closer inspec-

tion, however, citizens are undeterred. Scholar Elisabeth Knup noted: '...many newly established social organizations have achieved a relatively high degree of autonomy, as long as the organization's activities support the overall goals and policies of the state'.

Unlike environmentalism in the former East-bloc and Western countries, China's green 'NGO' community abstains from mass protests against the state and private sector. Protests that do occur tend to be local, perhaps directed against one factory by disgruntled locals unconnected to a larger movement.

Chinese green activists profess a 'female mildness', keeping a safe distance from direct political action. When a reporter asked one of China's most renowned green activists, Liao Xiaoyi, 'Will you adopt radical methods like some overseas NGOs to criticize and urge the government to resolve environmental problems and other related issues?', she answered: 'We still adhere to our principles: guide the public instead of blaming them and help the government instead of complaining about it. This, perhaps, is the "mildness" referred to by the media. I don't appreciate extremist methods. I'm engaged in environmental protection and don't want to use it for political aims. This is my way, and my principle too'.

Despite its restricted social space and avoidance of state confrontation, Chinese environmentalism can influence policy-making. Many environmental NGOs are active in a wide variety of areas. They build specialized expertise and gain experience through participatory actions that give the citizenry a voice. Today's sprouts of environmentalism in China might become a potent social force in the future. ◀

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State vs. market: media in transition

China has over 2,000 newspapers, 9,000 magazines and 568 publishing houses. More than 700 million Chinese listen to 306 radio stations, while 360 television stations broadcast 2,900 channels. Despite censorship, bureaucratic control and political pressure, media are slowly gaining in freedom and professionalism.

Sigrun Abels

A capitalist body with a socialist face

That's how one insider characterizes the current state of Chinese media. Others call it 'media liberalization under authoritarianism' (Chan and Qiu 2002) or 'bird-caged press freedom' (Chen and Chan 1998). What these paradoxical catch phrases don't capture is the precarious nature of China's balancing act between free market capitalism and state-controlled media.

While ideological control persists, national policy has shifted from class struggle to economic growth. Chinese media have both contributed to and embodied this reorientation. Since 1979, market dynamics have slowly crept into the state's subordination of journalistic media. Like economic reform, the media's evolution has been blocked whenever the state has perceived it as a threat.

Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms and open-door policy of the late 1970s led to a loosening of state control over the media in the mid-1980s. But in 1989 the Party cracked down on the pro-democracy movement and clamped down on the media. Excepting Party mouthpieces such as *Renmin Ribao* ('People's Daily'), the state cut subsidies to all media outlets and required publications to earn at least one-half of their revenue from subscriptions. Shortly thereafter, authorities closed 673 unprofitable state-funded newspapers and periodicals (Freedom House 2004). Thus, in the 1990s, media enterprises were forced to finance themselves and to rely on the market to survive and prosper. This marketization fragmented the state's monopoly and created room for liberalization - 'changes significant enough to offer an increasingly larger space for journalistic reports in the social realm, albeit not yet in the political realm' (Wu Guoguang 2000: 46).

Censorship

'Not yet in the political realm' because the principal role of China's media industry remains to propagate the policies of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and to educate and inform audiences under a tight censorship regime, in which the General Administration of Press and Publication (GAPP) and numerous state agencies participate. The *Xinhua News Agency* holds a monopoly on the distribution of political news, which the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) reviews before publication. To ensure media sources 'do not have problems with political orientation' (Xinhua 2003), its daily report of political events must be prominently featured on newspaper front pages and in broadcast news programs (Chan and Qiu 2002). Prior to political events such as Party Congresses, important news media organizations are 'urged' to follow the Party line. Authorities dictate who publishes news and forbid criticism and coverage of sensitive topics such as privatization, class conflict, Taiwan's political status, religious minorities independent media, political reform, the inner workings of government and data that the state itself has not released (often defined as state secret) (Freedom House 2004). For example, in October 2003, the Ministry of Health forbade the media from publishing anything about the SARS outbreak (Wu Yi 2003).

Because a journalist's 'political qualification' and 'right standpoint' matter to the government, being a journalist is still a sensitive and sometimes risky job. Every day, journalists reconcile conflicts between serving the political elite (the state) and their audience (the market). According to the *Committee to Protect Journalists* (CPJ), authorities detained 41 journalists in early 2005 and sentenced dozens of individuals for express-

self-censorship is highly palpable in newsrooms

ing political beliefs (CPJ 2004; Freedom House 2004b). Courts interpret law in a manner that favours protecting the government's image over freedom of expression. Thus self-censorship is highly palpable in newsrooms.

Developments

But marketization remains a decentralizing force. While media organizations remain state-controlled, their state-driv-



Courtesy of Shanghai

YANG ZHENZHONG
Light and Easy
(edition of 10)
photography,
120 x 80 cm,
2002.

en transition into commercial enterprises has made them more responsive to audience demands. The growth of alternative information and cultural resources reflect this: new genres and formats in radio and television such as phone-in programs, advertising and stock news; new journalistic practices such as investigative and live reporting; and new apoliti-

the state must choose either to bend, to break, or to break the market

ical topics such as local crime, homosexuality and HIV/AIDS - all of which were previously unavailable. Talk radio and tabloid newspapers flourish in many cities. Even social organizations, such as the Youth League and the Women's Association of All China, are establishing their own publications. Genres traditionally close to the centre of power enjoy less freedom than those at the periphery, but political and social issues are no longer absolute taboos.

For example, newspaper editors follow the party line on their front pages but exercise greater autonomy on subsequent pages, publishing sensitive information and sometimes testing ideological boundaries - what one chief-editor refers to as a 'face' and 'body' issue, where the 'face' is the space devoted to Communist content and the 'body' is market-oriented (He Zhou 2003, 205). Distance from Beijing also appears to be liberating. Investigative newspapers *Southern Metropolitan Daily* and *Southern Weekend*, located in Guangdong Province, print less ideological news and follow a more relaxed editorial line.

Even China Central Television (CCTV) isn't inured to the realities of a living, breathing marketplace - it can't be if its claim to an audience of over one billion is accurate. Star TV President Jamie Davis, referring to CCTV, says, 'China realizes that the mouthpiece of the Communist Party can contribute to GDP'. Policymakers recognize that they can only influence public opinion if state media attract and keep an audience influenced by other sources. The problem for the state is that with sources like the Internet, what viewers and readers demand is changing. According to the latest statistics (January 2005) from the China Internet Network Information Center, 94 million Chinese surf the Internet (CNNIC 2005). That may be less than a tenth of CCTV's audience, but it's hard for a billion people, let alone two, to communicate directly with each other through a television set. Authorities use software and hardware tools to prevent citizens from viewing and publishing opinions of which the government disapproves, but chat rooms offer the freedom of anonymity to discuss taboo topics and denounce high officials. The Internet has joined local and regional media as state-run media's competitors - even better, it's unadulterated by a history of unequivocal state control.

Censorship and economic liberalization can co-exist for only so long. Increased freedom within the media of any country is a product of market logic and a political commitment to free expression. In China, the media is a product of market and Party logic, leading the media to an impasse and the state to a paradox perhaps only the Chinese model could arrive at. Maybe economic principle really is all that makes a free market free. But when the product the market demands is freedom of speech - something the state must supply, but doesn't - economics goes out the window. If the market refuses the state's line that it can't have what it wants, the state must then choose either to bend (glasnost), to break (Berlin), or to break the market (Tiananmen). Certainly, economic growth and marketization are two important conditions for the development of a more liberal press, but without democratization they are no guarantee. <

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A bird's eye view of the Bird's Head Peninsula

Anthropologist Jelle Miedema and linguist Ger Reesink were key participants in the Irian Jaya studies programme ISIR, an interdisciplinary research project that aimed to increase and integrate our knowledge of the Bird's Head peninsula on the western most end of New Guinea. Recently Miedema and Reesink synthesized the results of seven years' work in the book *One Head, Many Faces: New Perspectives on the Bird's Head Peninsula of New Guinea*. Time therefore to introduce the book and talk about the complexities of doing interdisciplinary research in a difficult environment.

Flip van Helden

One head, many faces

Synthesizing the available knowledge on the bio-geographically and culturally diverse Bird's Head Peninsula is no mean feat. At some 200 by 300 kilometres, it contains sweltering coastal plains to the south and 3,000 metre high mountains in the north. In cultural terms, the Bird's Head is a transition zone between Southeast Asia and Oceania, containing a fragmented indigenous population that speaks no fewer than twenty different languages.

Miedema and Reesink start with geological features and available knowledge on prehistoric human settlement patterns deduced from archaeological material, the basic structure of local languages and human genetic research. Especially important were recent archaeological findings by Julliette Pasveer that showed local settlement dates back at least 26,000 years BP.

The body of the book deals with linguistics and ethnography, and gives the first full overview of languages in the Bird's Head. Reesink defines the peninsula as a *sprachbund*, a system of languages of different origin, that through long-term interaction came to share structural similarities. The analysis strengthens the idea that there is a structural link between the languages of eastern Indonesia and the Bird's Head.

This is followed by detailed consideration of kinship terms, exchange systems and the importance of land throughout the Bird's Head Peninsula. Central in the analysis stands the trade in cloths (*kain timur*) from the eastern Indonesian archipelago. Starting some 400 years ago, *kain timur* became important prestige goods in complex trade and exchange systems that linked other parts of present-day eastern Indonesia with the Bird's Head. Miedema and Reesink trace the manner in which these trade systems fanned out across the peninsula from their south-western point of entry, and reconstruct how this changed marriage practice and social structure over time.

The book continues with an overview of continuity and change in local knowledge systems. Miedema details a number of myth themes and shows how clusters of origin myths are related across the peninsula. Analysis of how particular myth themes and their actors transform provides information on migration routes and trade connections with surrounding areas. This information is supplemented by an overview of former and present-day notions of witchcraft, customary law and gender ideologies.

Miedema and Reesink conclude with an overview of ISIR findings and the recommendation to continue work to the south of the Bird's Head. This follows

from the likely cultural and linguistic links between groups in this area and the Bird's Head, the role of Islam among its Papuan groups compared to the predominantly Christian Bird's Head, and politico-economic developments emanating from the presence of a number of large resource development projects.

Facing the authors

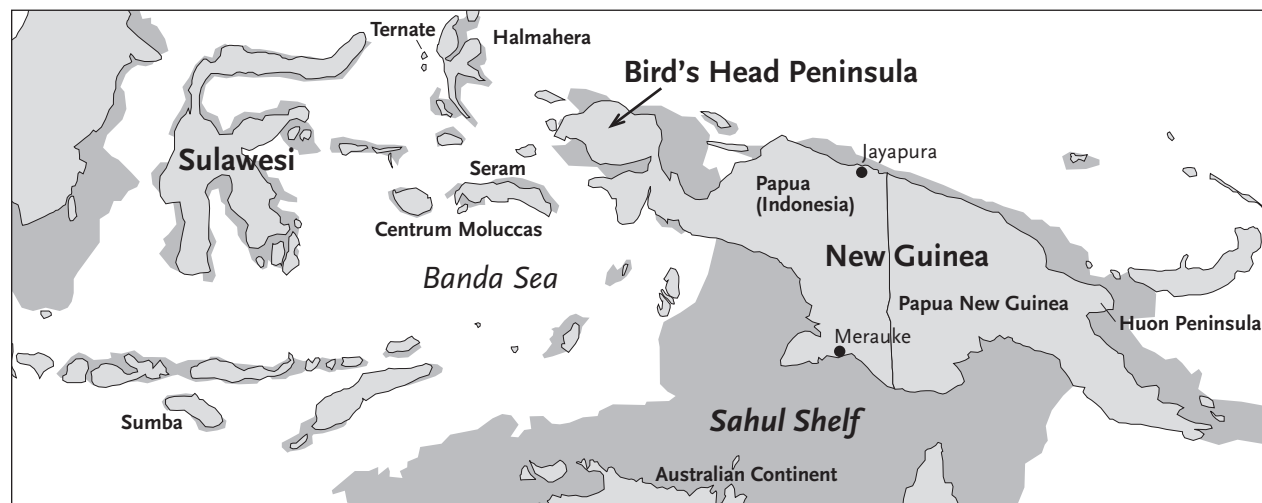
FvH: Why a project on the Bird's Head?

JM: In the beginning of the 1990s a group of people led by Wim Stokhof of the Department of Languages and Cul-

ture of us were not allowed into the field for about a year after Indonesian and foreign scholars were held hostage in the central highlands of Irian Jaya in 1996.

FvH: One cannot help note that for an interdisciplinary project that includes both social and natural scientists, the emphasis on linguistics and anthropology is somewhat overdone.

GR: This is true, there is a certain imbalance, but you have to realise that we started off as a linguistic and anthropological programme that was later expanded to include other disciplines.



tures of Southeast Asia and Oceania at Leiden University developed an Irian Jaya education and development programme. It began in 1991 but ended abruptly in March 1992 when Indonesia terminated all Dutch development aid following a political row with Minister Pronk. Our Indonesian colleagues continued with the education component of the project and we decided to develop a proposal to study the languages and cultures of New Guinea. When the proposal turned into a more interdisciplinary programme we decided that we should confine ourselves to a particular area. Earlier, between 1975 and 1981, I worked in the Bird's Head Peninsula for a local church organization, so when I became coordinator of the ISIR programme, I said, well I at least know a little bit about the Bird's Head from my earlier work there ...

GR: That's right, you knew enough to know that we basically knew nothing!

FvH: How did cooperation evolve after this breakdown in Dutch-Indonesian development relations?

JM: Relations with our Indonesian colleagues were actually very good. We were allowed to do our work even though it would take time to get visas and research permits. Unfortunately we did not manage to involve graduates from the earlier education project. People have families and jobs and cannot easily run off to do research on the Bird's Head. Moreover, doing research in such a remote area was not easy. Some of our people fell ill and a number

JM: Moreover, the impact of the hostage-taking incident in 1996 was variable between the disciplines. Linguists and anthropologists who had already started in 1993 were much less affected than researchers wanting to work on demography, public administration, geology, and archaeology. They started much later and were advised to wait until security had improved. The anthropologists and linguists were generally able to finish their research while others did not have enough time.

FvH: Did the various disciplines discuss each others' proposals?

GR: We certainly did in the beginning. Later it was the steering committee that emphasised the need to integrate the various findings. But how do you integrate the work of a geologist taking soil samples and that of a linguist looking into local use of the noun-phrase?

FvH: You didn't exactly make things easy, by taking disciplines as divergent as geology and linguistics? You could have sought the integration between more related social and natural sciences, for example by studying local resource use?

JM: At the time, donors were into interdisciplinary research, and linking up with the natural sciences was a precondition for funding. We looked at it as a chain of disciplines: linguistics has connections with anthropology, anthropology with ethno-botany and so on. Unfortunately the chain was broken. We have no results yet on ethno-botany, but hope that these may still be forthcoming. In

addition, interdisciplinary work takes extra time and energy. At the senior level there was interest in trying to make it work, but PhD students, for example, are under pressure to produce results in the disciplines they study.

GR: If I were to do it again, I would try to narrow the range of disciplines or themes somewhat.

FvH: Reading the book, I almost forgot that it deals with a rapidly changing region subject to considerable demographic, social and political turmoil. There is a lot of work done on indigenous groups, but not even a reference to the equally numerous Javanese transmigrants in the area. One-third of all trading activities in Irian Jaya takes place in the Sorong region but the analysis of local trading networks focuses on the traditional *kain timur* sys-

tem along the south coast where it would have been logical to look at the influence of transmigrants, but the researchers preferred to work on other themes. The result was the sum of such personal choices and circumstances.

FvH: Is there not an element of 'salvage anthropology' in your work, in the sense that many of your contributing scientists would like to describe a group of people before their culture changes for good?

GR: For the languages of the Bird's Head that is certainly the case. These languages are fast disappearing. But I don't think it is necessarily the nature of anthropology to look back; it largely depends on the questions that the individual anthropologist poses.

JM: It could, however, very well be that a younger generation of anthropologists is more interested in certain themes rather than a specific group of people and their culture. That means that detailed ethnographies receive less emphasis.

FvH: Talking of younger generations, will you be succeeded?

GR: There is little scope for a second phase of the project. Maybe Marian Klammer and her colleagues who are working on the Papuan languages of Alor will be able to do further work on East Indonesian languages. I am personally interested in combining the results of linguistic and genetic research to connect ancient migration and settlement patterns. There is so much work to do. We have just touched on things. ◀

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The 'Irian Jaya Studies Programme for Interdisciplinary Research' (ISIR) ran between 1993 and 2000, the result of cooperation between the Indonesian Institute of Sciences in Jakarta, the Irian Jaya Study Centre in Jayapura, and the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania at Leiden University. Under the responsibility of the current director of IIAS, and funded by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (NWO-WOTRO), the programme aimed to increase and integrate knowledge of the Bird's Head Peninsula in anthropology, archaeology, botany, demography, geology, linguistics and public administration.

Cleavages, electoral systems and the politicization of Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia

Islam is much more politicized in Malaysia than in Indonesia, at least when it comes to political parties, their programs and their campaigning - one reason why democratization in Malaysia is blocked, whereas post-Suharto Indonesia has witnessed sweeping reforms. While struggles between secularists and followers of political Islam, and reformers and conservatives are losing significance in Indonesia, social cleavages transferred to the political party system are conspicuous in Malaysia. The causes for this are complex, and have to do with electoral systems and the way social cleavages are transformed into conflicts between political parties.

Andreas Ufen

Reformasi and political systems in Indonesia and Malaysia

Indonesian and Malaysian political systems have transformed unexpectedly since 1998. In Indonesia, at the height of the Asian financial crisis, President Suharto was forced to leave office, engendering a range of political reforms and the introduction of electoral democracy. In Malaysia, the sacking and arrest of Anwar Ibrahim, previously the powerful deputy of Prime Minister Mahathir, resulted in the formation of a *reformasi* movement, the establishment of a multiracial pro-democratic party (PKN) and competitive, though still highly manipulated national elections.

Both regimes are hybrid forms combining characteristics of authoritarian and democratic systems. While elections in Indonesia were sufficiently free and fair according to national and international observers, the impact of money politics, weak law enforcement, lack of civilian control over the security apparatus, the fragile situation in the Moluccas and challenges by independence movements in Aceh and Papua clearly show the shortcomings and dangers of democratization.

Malaysia is often categorized as a semi-democracy. Though sufficiently free and fair elections are absent, it would be inaccurate to describe the regime as authoritarian. Opposition parties have opportunities to voice their grievances; occasionally they win elections at the state level. Although the human rights situation is in many ways deplorable, Malaysia differs essentially from South American juntas, New Order Indonesia or the Philippines under Marcos.

Cleavages

Unlike neighbouring Thailand and the Philippines where clientelist, elitist and programmatically weak parties prevail, most parties in Malaysia and Indonesia are deeply rooted in society and represent enduring political traditions. Known in Indonesia as '*aliran* politics' (*aliran* means 'stream' or 'streams'), they remind European observers of the mass integration parties of the 1920s. The structure of European party systems was 'frozen' at that time and survived well into the 1960s - this is the still convincing thesis of political scientists Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan. But this 'freezing' is also characteristic of Malaysian and Indonesian party systems, where one finds many similarities when comparing current constellations of political parties with those of the 1950s. It therefore seems justifiable to apply Lipset and Rokkan's approach,

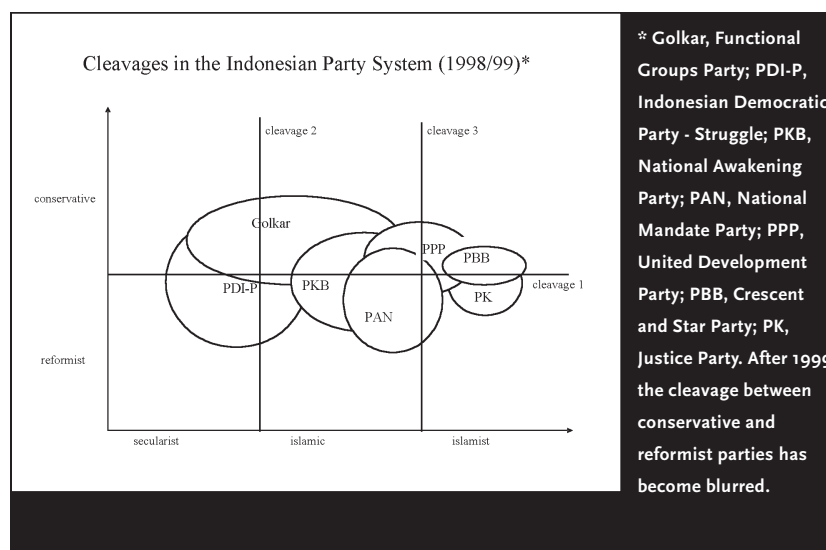
with adaptations, to non-European countries.

Cleavages are the result of fundamental societal conflicts. They structure the discourse on the main issues and are institutionalized by political actors, especially parties. Lipset and Rokkan identify four cleavages produced by the national and the industrial revolutions. During the national revolution, conflict for political and cultural hegemony arose between central nation-building elites and subject populations (dominant versus subject culture or centre versus periphery) and between the church and the centralizing nation-state (church versus secular government). During the industrial revolution two mainly economic cleavages emerged, those between industrial landed interests and entrepreneurs (or more generally: rural versus urban groups) and those between tenants, labourers, and workers on one side and owners and employers on the other (labour versus capital). The resolution of these conflicts led to the establishment of specific political parties. The cleavage structure largely determines the configuration of parties: overlapping cleavages reinforce each other and tend to promote the building of stable political blocs, whereas cross-cutting cleavages generally foster moderation and accommodation.

Cleavages in Indonesia and Malaysia after 1998

In the new states the two revolutions often took place simultaneously and in many cases remain incomplete. In addition, other cleavages need to be considered. An analysis of political party platforms, voting behaviour and key political issues among the public and within parliament shows that the main cleavage in Indonesia and Malaysia divides parties with a more secularist outlook from those with a program based mostly on Islam. In addition, regarding introducing sharia and/or an Islamic state, Islamist and moderate Islamic parties disagree, the latter at times cooperating with secularists.

In Malaysia, different views on religion are strengthened by ethnic identities. Non-Malay parties (MIC, MCA, Gerakan and DAP) are at the same time non-Muslim parties and vice versa. In Indonesia, religious and ethnic cleavages do not, at least at the national level, overlap like this. Moreover, political Islam is much more diverse than in Malaysia because of the split between traditionalism and modernism epitomized by Islamic organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah and the fragmentation of the modernist camp in parliament (PAN, PPP, PBB and PKS, the successor of PK).



* Golkar, Functional Groups Party; PDI-P, Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle; PKB, National Awakening Party; PAN, National Mandate Party; PPP, United Development Party; PBB, Crescent and Star Party; PK, Justice Party. After 1999 the cleavage between conservative and reformist parties has become blurred.

In Indonesia, the dominant parties representing secular or 'nationalist' forces are PDI-P and Golkar, although both have many orthodox Muslim members and supporters. Islamic parties include the PKB, predominantly based in traditionalist, rural constituencies, and a whole range of modernist, urban-based parties like PAN, PPP, PBB, and PKS which enjoy strong backing on university campuses. Although both PKB and PAN are nominally secular parties, they are in effect - considering their membership, candidates and voters - Islamic.

A cleavage between status quo-oriented and reformist parties is evident in Malaysia. The National Front (a coalition of UMNO, MCA, MIC, Gerakan, etc.) is

in almost every constituency pitted against the Alternative Front (PAS, PKR, the successor of PKN, and, until 2001, DAP). In Indonesia, the dividing lines between former authoritarian and new reformist parties have become more and more blurred since Abdurrahman Wahid became president in 1999. For example, the PDI-P under Megawati Sukarnoputri, once one of the leaders of the pro-democracy movement against Suharto, seems to have evolved into a corrupt network of wheeler-dealers.

The electoral system and Islamization

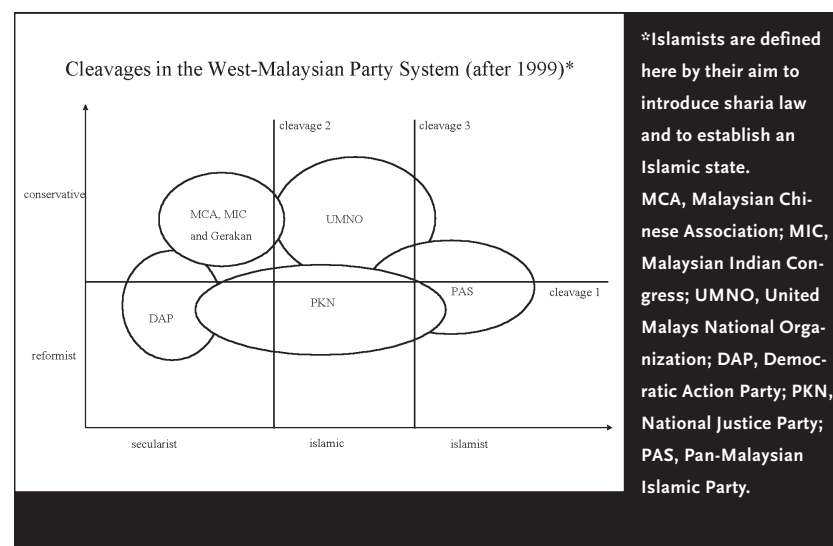
But are these party system structures the sole result of social cleavages translated into the political realm? Stating this would mean applying a sociological approach in a reductionist manner. But to a certain degree, the form of government - and the electoral system - deter-

elections. Because clear majorities are lacking, rainbow coalitions predominate. The popular election of a presidential/vice-presidential team since 2004 seems likely to further motivate moderation. If Indonesia had a plurality system with single-member constituencies, the emergence of two political blocs would be possible. This kind of coalition building materialized for a short time when Abdurrahman Wahid was elected President by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) in 1999. During these weeks Islamic parties formed a *poros tengah* (central axis).

Conclusion

Social cleavages - mediated *inter alia* by electoral laws - translate into political cleavages and shape the structure of party systems. In Malaysia this results in competition between PAS and UMNO and in the politicization of Islam. Pre-existing cleavages are strengthened by the electoral system to produce a party system deeply divided by overlapping cleavages. The plurality system supports inter-party competition, resulting in a centrifugal struggle between parties. Since 1998, however, a new cross-cutting cleavage has emerged, namely between status quo (Barisan Nasional) and reformist parties (Barisan Alternatif). All in all, the clear cleavage structure entails a stable constellation of forces, but also paralyzes democratization because the reformist camp is split between Islamists (PAS) and secularists (PKR and DAP).

In contrast, the political cleavage structure in Indonesia is diffuse. The struggle between secularists and followers of political Islam is low in intensity while the conflict between reformers and conservatives is now almost gone. Centripetal forces and moderation, together with multipartism and fragmentation, have fostered a cartelization of Indonesian political parties. Opposition is now hardly detectable. This consensus obstructs the development of a lively democracy with parties offering clear alternatives. Ironically, the only party which from time to time challenges the cartel of establishment parties is the Islamist PKS. Like PAS in Malaysia, many Islamists are pro-democratic reformers and reactionary sharia admirers at the same time. ◀



*Islamists are defined here by their aim to introduce sharia law and to establish an Islamic state. MCA, Malaysian Chinese Association; MIC, Malaysian Indian Congress; UMNO, United Malays National Organization; DAP, Democratic Action Party; PKN, National Justice Party; PAS, Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party.

mines the number of parties and the type of competition between them. Majoritarian systems with single-member constituencies tend to engender two-party systems. Proportional representation systems tend to strengthen fragmentation and to produce multipartism. In Malaysia, the combination of parliamentarism with a plurality electoral system in single-member constituencies has fostered the establishment of two opposing blocs, the National Front and the Alternative Front (Barisan Nasional and Barisan Alternatif). Direct competition between PAS and UMNO has nurtured the instrumentalization of Islam and the politicization of religious issues. If Malaysia introduced a proportional representation system with free and fair elections, PAS would probably become moderate in Islamic terms as it would have to compete for votes across the country.

In Indonesia, the proportional representation system fosters multipartism and the fragmentation of the modernist Muslim camp, but also supports the establishment of Indonesian versions of catch-all parties like Golkar and PDI-P. Most parties are engaged in a fight for the middle ground. Essentially Islamic parties like PAN and PKB have chosen a neutral platform in terms of religion; even an Islamist party like PKS is not willing to play the Islamic card during

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Whose nation? The illusion of national unity in the Philippines

As the Japanese Imperial Army advanced south of its empire in the late 1930s, Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon anticipated a range of reasons why war would be good for Filipinos. War would 'teach our youth, reared in the ease and comfort of an American-protected market, how to suffer and how to die'.¹ In Quezon's words, the Philippine archipelago was a unified nation. But was it really?

President signing the charter that creates Zamboanga, Manila, Philippines 1936



www.zamboanga.com

Iben Trino-Molenkamp

The task of physically unifying the islands posed particular problems, as the archipelago experienced continuous violent upheaval. During the Pacific War, many inhabitants, despite their differing views on political, social and economic issues, took up arms and fought the Japanese forces. Yet, they were hardly motivated by a single Filipino national consciousness. Quezon's words evoke a simple but important question: what and who exactly did he mean when he referred to the Philippine nation and its inhabitants?

National consciousness in the Philippines, as elsewhere across the globe, has often been taken for granted as something inherent to its territory - especially concerning the way in which the Pacific War is remembered. In general, the myth of a colonial experience having produced a mutual understanding between colonizers and colonized, while viewing the Japanese onslaught as a 'watershed' on this continuity, has simplified the war experience as a battle between heroic liberal democracies on one side and everything that defied this on the other. Henceforth, war memory in present day politics and media often connects national identity to selected historical events, in which nation and nationalisms are rendered as monolithic and uncomplicated entities, their identities left unchallenged.

Embalmed within what Reynaldo Ileto has called the liberal image of historical progression, the Philippine nation is often seen as the crown on top of a sequence of 'Filipino' resistance and sacrifices for independence.² Yet, not all historical events have contributed to the forming of a single nation. In line with Ileto, what do we do with those events that have not contributed to national consciousness at all?

Questioning Quezon's references to the Philippine nation allows us to highlight the ambivalent and multifarious nature of nationalism, and understand the interests and actions of those resisting colonial rule. More importantly, it allows us to map out various forms of resistance as defying institutional dominance, foregrounding historical developments that expose the contentious nature of nationalism in the Philippines as a system of power similar to its imperial adversary. A large part of this system thrives on political and social exclusion through the classification of people on grounds of class,

religion, ethnicity and gender, while those with access to political power dominantly define their identity as essentially national. The way in which such political systems rationalized identities and extended its legitimacy onto projects of cultural homogenization, hardly ever occurred without violence.

Class, gender, religious, and ethnic differences challenged Quezon's claim to national independence and political inclusion. Traditional rural societies in the Philippine islands were unequally divided and varied in their distribution of wealth and power. Most inhabitants did not see equality as the ultimate social good, but inequality in the early twentieth century differed in many respects from the nineteenth.³

In the early twentieth century, specific trends led to general discontent among large segments of society. Drastic population increase and erosion of traditional agricultural ties deepened socio-economic inequalities and solidified class hierarchies.⁴ The culmination of these trends incited a small number of large uprisings, of which the Sakdal and Tanguan revolts are well-known, and a vast number of smaller disturbances involving destitute farmers. Many of them, especially across the northern island, gave voice to their desire for a nation that seemed radically different from what Quezon imagined. Amidst a changing economic and social structure, Sakdalistas desired equal distribution of land and immediate freedom from colonial oppression.⁵ Their wishes were counter-intuitive to the liberation politics of political elites who desired a slow transition or no independence at all.

The diverse ethnic make-up of the archipelago added to the complexity of nationalist rhetoric. The identity of the Filipino, which was initially self-applied by Spanish Creole communities and later on by mestizo elites, often implied only the Christian inhabitants of the islands. In what was to become an aggressive assimilation process, the cultural-religious and administrative consolidation of the archipelago was to often deny equal status systematically to those deemed 'non-civilized'.⁶ Distrusted and ridiculed, Muslims and non-Christian minorities increasingly became a thorn in the side of Christian nationalists when independence became a pressing issue. Facing the upcoming commonwealth status of the Philippines after the Tydings-McDuffie Act, a group of Muslim leaders from Mindanao proclaimed their own independent state in

1935, the BangsaMoro nation, proving their unwillingness to share one flag with Christian fellow islanders.

The popular image of the Philippine nation was also restructured along what Alfred McCoy has called 'severe gender dimorphism'.⁷ Although economic developments in the Philippines were not solely responsible for creating gender hierarchies, they have undoubtedly contributed to them. Intersecting with existing gender roles, a spreading capitalist market economy increasingly emphasized sexual divisions of labor and the separation of productive spheres. Despite the many overlapping tasks of men and women, these divisions became rigid and inflexible. The subsequent gendered socio-economic identities echoed back as appendages in what was to confirm a strongly patriarchal nation.

For those on the excluded side of the socio-ethnic hierarchy, there was little in the popular image of the Philippine nation with which they could identify, as this image conveyed the hopes and dreams of a privileged few. In many respects, the social context of the peasantry was different from both the rural elites or the expanding urban middle classes, and the deterioration of living standards in rural areas pushed tenant farmers to fight for survival. This did not mean that the peasantry had no national consciousness. On the contrary; their vision of a Philippine nation was perhaps less based on political inclusion than on social equality.

During the 1930s and the Pacific War, it is clear that many inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago harboured very different, if not opposing, views from those who were appointed to lead the archipelago through war. If one calls the cooperation between the peasant guerilla forces of central Luzon and the American-supported Philippine army a loyal commitment to the Philippine nation, one would overlook large parts of their individual motives to fight an external oppressor. The war did not bring physical alienation among these groups; it brought them closer while facing a common enemy. Yet, this was more out of necessity than out of sharing Quezon's nationalist feelings. After all, much of the organized resistance that mushroomed across the archipelago was caused by the brutality that accompanied Japanese military rule.⁸

One can conclude that by looking at the social categories of class, gender or ethnicity, the islands were not part of a unified nation with one single narrative. Rather, the archipelago was home to a whole spectrum of narratives, each pushed, driven and motivated by different socio-economic or political conditions. A trans-war continuity, Philippine society remained divided and fragmented, and in it, there existed a number of images of the nation that contested, undermined and sometimes complemented each other. It might therefore be more accurate to speak of Philippine nationalisms.

As for Quezon, he imagined his nation to be populated by those similar to himself culturally, politically, socially and religiously - he was referring to his own mirror image. ◀

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Technologies of feeling and being: medicines in contemporary Indonesia

Transformations wrought by urbanization, industrialization and economic globalization are embodied in diverse local social and cultural formations played out in the routines and practices of everyday life. Changing forms of consumption, whether of clothing, material items, food, or other substances including drugs and medicines, are an increasingly important form of agency in our lives today, closely tied to issues of subjectivity, identity, and negotiating relations of authority and power.

Margot L. Lyon

Focusing on particular objects of exchange and new technologies and their shifting status within differing socio-cultural contexts allows us to examine relationships between global and local forms, the connection between fundamental social and economic conditions and lived experience.¹ Taking the case of Indonesia, we can ask how people are affected by radically altered social and economic conditions. Indonesian society has gone through enormous structural changes following the virtual collapse of the economy in the wake of the economic crisis of 1997. How are people experiencing these conditions including feeling and expressive dimensions? Through what processes are these changes being 'interiorized' and 'exteriorized' in new forms of embodied action? One arena in which change and reaction are readily revealed is the explosion in Java of the usage of a whole range of over-the-counter (OTCs, i.e. non-prescription) medications, pharmaceuticals, tonics and new forms of herbal and other mixtures which promise renewed energy and stamina, and to protect one from the onslaughts of hardship and distress.

The 'uses' of medicines in Indonesia

Patterns of medicine usage² is an ideal realm in which to explore the processes of the embodiment of social change, as well as to show how such usage constitutes an important source of agency. The body is a chief site of agency, and therefore a site for the expression, or the embodiment of our conditions of existence. To study the consumption of medicines in this sense is *not* about the medicines themselves or their presumed efficacy for given illness states, but about what *else* is sought through their use. After all, the notion of efficacy of medicines, aside from having to do with restoration of health, is also about the achievement of some desired state and thus a transformation of self and being.

The consumption of medicinal substances considered to be in some way efficacious is thus about *what we seek*, as well as what we think is wrong, and so is simultaneously about the construction of normality and pathology. Common nostrums, whether they be vitamins or other supplements, OTC preparations, or prescription pharmaceuticals, and the multitude of herbal (*jamu*) preparations, thus constitute an ideal locus for the exploration of the nature of agency and its relationship to changing social structural forms.

Medicines of energy, power, and action in a time of crisis

The category of medicines associated with an increase in energy and alertness,



the enhancement of strength and stamina, and the ability to perform in the face of increased demands grew in size and scope in the period following economic collapse in 1997, and particularly following the 1998 implosion of the New Order regime. Anxiety over the future was palpable as people faced the prospect of rising prices and a rapidly contracting labour market. Fears for the economic future were already significant through the 1990s as inflation took hold and the gap between elite and mass sectors of the population widened. But these fears were increasingly realized as the deeper implications of economic decline and institutional collapse began to manifest themselves.

It is through this period of economic contraction of ca 1998-2004, when the means to respond to the crisis were increasingly circumscribed by economic realities, that one sees the expansion of the market for drugs of energy, power and action. The primary channels for action and thus transformation for many were reduced to the realm of the self, that is, actions performed on their own bodies and minds, on their ways of being in the world.

'Treatments' for contemporary life

With the failure of reform (*reformasi*) and worsening conditions came a sense of fruitless struggle and the sapping of one's energy, often giving way to depression. Altered work practices and the struggles of daily life generated new 'needs' and new ways to 'treat' the experience of contemporary life.

Of the products aimed at this market, the majority were officially classed as 'energy drinks' (*minuman penambah tenaga*) or 'health drinks' (*minuman kesehatan*). Examples of energy drinks from the major drug or food producers were *Lipovitan* (an older energy drink marketed since 1985), *M-150*, *Fit-up*, *Hemaviton*, and *Kratingdaeng*. Containing varying combinations of vitamins, minerals, certain amino acids, ginseng, royal jelly, caffeine, glucose, etc., these products were heavily marketed in new

campaigns after 1998 and gained in market prominence. Advertising campaigns linked them to increased alertness, ready energy, stamina, enthusiasm, but also promised renewal of the body in the face of depletion caused by work and strain. For those who are weary or weak, worn out from work and worries, such drinks promised to recharge, to renew energy.

Overlapping with the expanding category of tonics, stimulants and energy drinks, is the long-standing and relatively rich tradition, particularly in Java, of the production and consumption of herbal concoctions (*jamu*). This is particularly true of *jamu* for the enhancement of sexual desire and sexual prowess and stamina (*jamu kuat lelaki*), which account for approximately half of the *jamu* manufactured. Indeed, the marketing of the conventional energy drinks is dominated by macho imagery and, at least initially, was almost entirely aimed at men. The messages conveyed in ads were suggestive of their benefits for sexual prowess, and there was an increasing conflation of the categories of substances of energy and of masculine potency and power.

Further, the stimulant and energy drink category of substances is not limited to products from major manufacturers. Copy-cat stimulant products abound, often produced by cottage industries and marketed locally in smaller outlets, street-side stalls, *jamu* kiosks, and in markets. These include bottled drinks and powders, often containing little more than sugar and caffeine.

The greatest marketing success for an energy product in this period was *Extra Joss*, made by PT Bintang Toedjoe. Sold as a powder in a brightly coloured foil sachet, *Extra Joss* was ready to mix with water, soft drinks, or even beer. Its cost was less than a third that of mainstream bottled energy drinks, yet included ingredients such as ginseng and B6 just like the other, more expensive bottled drinks. While other mainstream energy drinks aimed at the upper-middle socio-economic groups, *Extra Joss* made a

direct bid for the masses, targeting the working classes including office and factory workers. The sachets were easy to carry and store, and easily marketed in small kiosks and shops, as well as by peddlers in bus stations, and on the street.

Containing mainly taurine (an amino acid), inositol, vitamins B1, B2, B3, B6, caffeine, ginseng, and royal jelly, and the artificial sweetener, aspartame, *Extra Joss* gives instant energy and aids in feeling refreshed (*segar*) or recharged. But a major part of the success of *Extra Joss* - and its efficacy - lies in its name. The term 'joss' evokes powerful connotations. *Jos* is used as an exclamation in modern Javanese and when applied as an adjective means cool, groovy, awesome. *Jos* also literally means explosive, as in 'kopi jos', a term used to describe a kind of coffee in which a hot coal has been dipped, causing an explosive, sizzling sound as the coffee boils up. And, *jos* or *joss* connotes magic, such that the name *Extra Joss* carries the connotation of 'extra magic' or 'super-efficacious'.

Bintang Toedjoe has also had spectacular success with a product for sexual stamina (*pemulih stamina*). Sold in the form of syrup in a sachet under the name of *Irex*, it gained national prominence when, along with *Extra Joss*, it was a featured product in Bintang Toedjoe's sponsorship of the Indonesian 2002 TV coverage of World Cup soccer. There is considerable overlap between the category of sexual stimulants, aphrodisiacs, and that of energy products. The sales of *jamu kuat lelaki* have also increased dramatically in the past few years, mainly through street-side kiosks and small shops. Aside from a few major herbal brands sold nationally (e.g. *Kuku Bima*, *StrongPas*), many of those marketed as herbal equivalents of *Viagra* in fact contain anabolic steroids or synthetic testosterone.

An additional type of *jamu* is worth mentioning here. Manufactured in cottage industries on Java and Madura, these packaged *jamu* constitute some of the most popular products on the market. They too offer a sense of renewal and increased energy, and claim not only to strengthen but also to treat or hold at bay all sorts of bodily conditions. They act quickly and are widely perceived as natural. Yet their efficacy is primarily due to the corticosteroids or other pharmaceutical compounds that they frequently contain. Though corticosteroids readily reduce pain and inflammation, and - in sufficient dosage - assist people to feel powerful and energized, long term or high dose use has serious side effects such as kidney and liver damage, osteoporosis, suppression of immune function and thus susceptibility to infections.

Technologies of self and being

Such products may be said, at least in one sense, to be selling a chemical sense of power. The energy drinks and other stimulants provide a sense of enhance-

ment - both chemical and symbolic - of one's physical and psychic resources. For the people, they are perceived to offer health, ready energy, and readiness for action, in the face of the daily grind of poorly-paid work and the hopelessness of increasing inequity. But this strength is illusion; it obscures the effects of poor life conditions, and masks the effects of lack of sleep, inadequate caloric intake, poor nutrition, pollution, and chronic disease.

The complexities of social and economic life result in the fragmentation of consciousness. The use of myriad substances today provides both a chemical and symbolic arena for the 'incorporation', and thus objectification, of the social world. The use of substances suggests the possibility of transforming being, of protecting the self, yet in fact contributes to alienation of the self. Through drugs and medicines, one in effect tinkers with the relationship of the self to the world, and, through the enactment of that process itself, thereby embodies that world. Chemical substances are therefore agents of being in a phenomenological sense, acting both to obscure and reproduce the social and economic relations in which we are located. <

Notes

1. See, for example, Marcus (1995) on multi-sited ethnography, and Appadurai (1986) on the social life of things.
2. The study of the socio-cultural dimensions of medicine use is part of a growing sub-field in anthropology termed the Anthropology of Pharmaceuticals. Its pioneers include a group of scholars based primarily in The Netherlands, e.g., Sjaak van der Geest, who with Susan Reynolds Whyte published a seminal collection in this area (1988). See also van der Geest, Whyte & Hardon 1996.
3. *Irex* contains Yohimbe cortex extract, an extract of a woody herb called Muira Puama radix, the amino acid, L-Artinine HCL, and ginseng radix extract.

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Particles and intonation: the expression of information structure in Manado Malay

Language description is more than phonology, morphology, and syntax: linguistics is also the study of intonation and information structure. In most Asian languages, however, they remain largely unexplored territory. For Manado Malay, a first move has been made to chart this terrain with an investigation of how focus is expressed in sentences.

Ruben Stoel

Manado Malay is the variety of Malay spoken in Manado and elsewhere in the northern part of Sulawesi. It is closely related to standard Indonesian, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible, owing to differences in grammar and the lexicon. For example, Manado Malay has many loanwords from Dutch and Ternate that are not used in Indonesian. One of the most striking characteristics of this language is the frequent use of discourse particles.

Discourse particles are words that add an extra dimension to the sentence by expressing the attitude of the speaker. Take for example the sentence *so mo ujang*, which means 'it is about to rain'. By adding a discourse particle, several nuances may emerge, as in the following examples:

<i>so mo ujang sto</i>	'it is probably going to rain'
<i>so mo ujang no</i>	'it is definitely going to rain'
<i>so mo ujang kata</i>	'someone said it is going to rain'
<i>so mo ujang kote'</i>	'I sense that it is going to rain (I felt the first raindrops)'
<i>so mo ujang le</i>	'and now it is even going to rain!'
<i>so mo ujang kwa'</i>	'but it is going to rain!'
<i>so mo ujang komang</i>	'once again it is going to rain'
<i>so mo ujang so?</i>	'is it really going to rain?'
<i>so mo ujang kang?</i>	'it is going to rain, isn't it?'
<i>so mo ujang to</i>	'it is going to rain, as you may know'
<i>so mo ujang dang</i>	'in short, it is going to rain'

There are other discourse particles, and all are used frequently. There is hardly a sentence in daily conversation that doesn't have at least one discourse particle.

A focus-marking particle

The position of discourse particles in the sentence is not fixed. They do not necessarily appear at the end of the sentence, as in the examples above. What, then, determines their position? One hypothesis is that the position in a sentence depends on the focus of that sentence. The focus is the part of the sentence that expresses new information. For example, imagine that *Vence da manyanyi* 'Vence is singing' is used as an answer to the question *Sapa da manyanyi?* 'Who is singing?'. The focus of this sentence would then be the word *Vence*. The same sentence could also be an answer to *Vence da ba-apa?* 'What is Vence doing?' and then the focus would be *da manyanyi* 'is singing'.

The focus of a sentence is thus dependent on the context. But sometimes the context is irrelevant, because no variation in focus is possible. This happens, for example, if the subject appears in sentence-final position, as in *Da manyanyi Vence* 'Vence is singing'. A final subject is never a focus, and the word *Vence* thus cannot be in focus. The basic word order of a Manado Malay sentence is subject-predicate, and sentences with this order can have any focus structure. Predicate-subject sentences, on the other hand, are marked and limited in what may be a focus.

Is there a relation, then, between the focus of a sentence and the position of the discourse particle? Take the sentences (1) *Utu sto da ciong pa Ola* and (2) *Utu da ciong pa Ola sto*. Both mean 'Utu probably kissed Ola', but *sto* follows *Utu* in (1) and *Ola* in (2). If the focus deter-

mines the position of *sto*, we can predict the following: if the focus is on *Ola*, then (2) is correct and (1) is wrong.

However, both sentences are correct with focus on *Ola*. We must therefore conclude that there is no relation between focus and the position of *sto*. In fact, there is no relation between the focus and sentence position of most other discourse particles. Only the discourse particle *no* (which indicates that something is obvious or inevitable) always follows the focus of the sentence. Thus in a sentence with *no*, we know what the focus is, independent of the context. For example, in the sentence *Utu da ciong pa Ola no* 'I am sure that Utu kissed Ola', *no* follows *Ola*, so the focus must be on *Ola*, not on *Utu*.

Sentence intonation

Although *no* is a frequently-used particle, it does not occur in every sentence.

There is another device that marks focus and that does occur in every sentence, the sentence accent. In every sentence in Manado Malay there is exactly one such accent, and this accent falls on the last word of the focus. Discourse particles may also get an accent, but this accent never marks focus.

Words in Manado Malay have stress on either the penultimate or final syllable. This means that, if a word is accented, then the accent is associated with the stressed syllable (but most stressed syllables remain unaccented, since there is only one accent in a sentence). In statements the accent is usually realized as a high tone. This high tone is followed by a low tone, which is associated with the end of the word. This low tone is not an accent, but an edge tone, as it marks the edge of a prosodic phrase (which consists of one or more words).

Every sentence is divided into a number of prosodic phrases, each ending with an edge tone. The last edge tone of the sentence is a low tone, while the other edge tones are high tones. Thus there are two types of high tones: those that mark focus and those that mark a prosodic boundary. The two tone types are easy to distinguish from one another - a high-tone accent is followed by a fall on the same word, while a high edge-tone is followed by a fall on the next word.

An accent tells the listener what the focus of the sentence is. For example, an accent on *Utu* in the sentence *Utu da ciong pa Ola* 'Utu kissed Ola', puts *Utu* in focus, and thus tells the listener that it was Utu, and not somebody else, who kissed Ola. On the other hand, an accent on *Ola* puts focus on *Ola*, thus indicating that the girl that was kissed by Utu is Ola, rather than some other girl.

Position of the accent

In Manado Malay not just any word in the sentence can be accented. An accent always falls on the last word of a syntactic phrase. Therefore, only a full phrase can be put in focus, not a single word, as in English. For example, the English sentence 'Not four kilos, only three kilos' would normally be pronounced with an accent on 'three'. This indicates that there is a contrast between 'three' and 'four'. In Manado Malay this is impossible. In the equivalent sentence *Bukang ampa kilo, cuma tiga kilo* the accent will fall on the final word *kilo*, not on the word *tiga* 'three', because *tiga kilo* is a noun phrase, and the accent must fall on the last word of that phrase.

The relation between focus and accent therefore is not as precise as in English. An accent in Manado Malay indicates which noun phrase (or other type of phrase) is in focus, but it cannot mark focus on a specific word. In English, on the other hand, any word can be put into focus with an accent.

However, although the focus is more precise in English, it may be ambiguous, if, for example, the accented word is the last word of a noun phrase. An accent on 'kilo' in 'three kilos' may focus on the word 'kilo' (only 'kilos' is new information, as in 'not three pounds, but three kilos') or on the entire phrase (both 'three' and 'kilos' are new, as in 'not a bunch, but three kilos'). There is no such ambiguity in Manado Malay, since it is in principle impossible to focus on a single word. Focus marking in Manado Malay is vague rather than ambiguous.

Similarly, the discourse particle *no* must come at the end of a noun phrase, and cannot indicate focus on a single word. For example, in the phrase *tiga kilo no* 'three kilos (definitely)' the position of *no* is final, even if it were contrasted with *ampa kilo* 'four kilos'. The minimal focus domain is thus a noun phrase, no

matter whether focus is marked by an accent or by the particle *no*.

The yang construction

Focus can also be marked by a special construction using the word *yang*. This word is used in Indonesian to introduce a relative clause; in Manado Malay it can be used in the same way. More typically, it indicates that the noun phrase preceding *yang* is in focus. For example, the focus in *Mince yang bilang* 'Mince (was the one who) said it' is likely to be on *Mince*. The noun phrase can be further emphasised by adding the particle *no*, as in *Mince no yang bilang*. The focus of this sentence is marked in three different ways: by using *yang*, with the discourse particle *no*, and with an obligatory accent on *Mince*.


There are thus several devices in Manado Malay that indicate what the focus of a sentence is, including the sentence accent and the discourse particle *no*, yet intonation and discourse particles have other important functions which are worth studying. Intonation can signal the distinction between a statement and a question, as well as several more specialized functions. It is possible that there is some dialectal variation in the intonation of Manado Malay, as there are many second-language speakers, but this is a topic that has not yet been explored. In the near future the intonational system of Manado Malay will be compared first of all with that of other varieties of Malay, to find out if, and how, intonation is used to express information structure in these closely-related languages. ◀

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Nouns, imperative and irrealis in Old Javanese

Old Javanese has, besides the indicative, non-indicative verb forms of the imperative (urging) and the irrealis (non-factua). Nouns used as the imperative are specific to Old Javanese, while the use of the irrealis for urging is not. Specific historical changes in Javanese are nouns becoming verbs and the non-indicative becoming the indicative.

Alexander K. Ogloblin

Forms and meanings

Many languages have grammatical forms that are synonymous (outwardly different, but the same or similar in their meanings) and homonymous (the same in form but different in meaning). In every language the relationships between such forms vary considerably. For instance, in English the suffix *-s* serves for the plural of nouns: *cat-s* and the homonymous *-s* for third person singular verbs: *chat-s*. In German the suffix *-en* serves for verbal plural forms: *sie leb-en* 'they live' and

another suffix *-en* for the infinitive: *muss leb-en* 'must live'. The latter form may be transposed to a noun: *das Leben* 'life', and such nouns have synonymous formations with the suffix *-ung*: *bild-en* 'to build, shape' > *Bild-ung* 'formation; education'. The specificity of Old Javanese grammar lies in the homonymous relationship existing between nouns (or, more precisely, nominal words and forms) and some imperative forms of verbs, and the synonymous relationship between verbal forms of the imperative and the irrealis. To explain the basis for such relationships and their change over time, we have to bear in mind some features of Old Javanese grammar and a bit of linguistic theory.

Nouns

Before producing an utterance we have in mind a certain 'frame' or 'scenario' that includes not only word meanings, but their connections as well. For instance, in the sentences *The hunter kills the tiger* and *The tiger kills the hunter* word meanings are the same, only their connections differ; compare this to the *student's brother* and the *brother's student*. The basic functions in a meaningful frame are predicates (predicational meanings) and arguments, and their connections are hierarchical: arguments depend on predicates (Hudson 1984, Mel'cuk 1988). In the outward form of the utterance, predicates are generally expressed by verbs, as *kills* above does, and arguments by nouns, as *hunter* and *tiger* do. Indeed, the main function (the grammatical meaning) of nouns is to be arguments.

However, an argument can also be predicational, in which case deverbal nouns of nominal forms are used: *Mary likes swimming*, *Swimming is pleasant*. In these English examples the nominal word is derived from the root verb *swim* with the aid of the suffix *-ing*. In Old Javanese a similar derivation is also present, and the prefixes *pa-* and *paN-* are used (*N* is a symbol for the nasal consonants *m*, *n* and others, sometimes replacing the first consonant of the root): *weh* 'give, giving' > *pa-weh* 'giving, gift', *sēmbah* 'worship; respectful gesture' > *pa-sēmbah* 'respectful appellation/ request' (*anēmbah* 'to apply with reverence/respect'). However, a reverse direction of derivation is very productive, that is, a lot of Old Javanese verbs are produced from root nouns with predicational meanings: *linggih* 'sitting' > *a-linggih* 'sit', *inum* 'drinking' > *um-inum* 'to drink', *pangan* 'eating' (also: 'food') > *amangan*, *umangan* 'eat'. Old Javanese likes predicational arguments where English uses adverbs. For instance, to say 'He went far away' Old Javanese prefers something like 'His going was far away'.

The imperative

The imperative forms of verbs denote various urgings (command, request, advice, etc.). In many languages the imperative form is the shortest among other verbal forms (Xrakovsky and Volodin 1986). Similarly, some Old Javanese imperative forms are homonymous to root predicational nouns, *linggih* 'sit down!' *inum* 'drink (it)!' being shorter forms compared to verbs used in non-imperative sentences. Now, the basis for such homonymy is not purely formal. We have stated that arguments are dependent upon predicates. But the imperative is generally also a dependent form. Indeed, in saying, for example, *Drink it!* we have in mind something like 'I say that I wish (prescript/ allow/ propose, etc.) that you drink (it)'. The dependence of the predicational meaning 'drink' upon another predicate has no outward expression, yet it does exist. So there is a common basis for nouns and the imperative: both are arguments.

Another Old Javanese form of the imperative is homonymous to nouns with the prefixes *pa-*, *paN-*: *pa-weh* 'give (it)!', *pa-stri*: 'take as a wife!', *pang-rēngē*: 'hear!' (*ma-weh*, *ma-stri*; *mang-rēngē*: in non-imperative sentences). Here language use proceeds by force of analogy: derived nouns follow the example of root nouns in accepting the imperative as a secondary function. This secondary function disappeared in New Javanese, thus restricting these *pa(N)-* forms (now mostly pronounced *pē(N)-* with a short and murmured vowel) by their basic or pri-

mary meaning of a verbal noun: *palaki* 'wedding', *pangestu* 'blessing', *panggalih* 'feeling, thinking'.

The irrealis

Old Javanese irrealis forms mostly have the suffix *-a*: *maweh* 'give' > *maweh-a*, *wruh* 'know' > *wruh-a*. They denote a very broad scope of meanings about something not (yet) existing, as the future, or a possible, hypothesized or proposed action or state (Zoetmulder 1950: 150 sqq; Ogloblin 2005: 618-9). Distinct from the imperative, the irrealis may also be formed from nouns. Thus from the root noun *ling* 'speech, words': *rikana ling-a ni nghulun* 'Such shall be words of mine'. The irrealis may also denote an urging, more polite than in the imperative: *Mangkana ling-a nya* 'Let them say (lit.: such let-be words-their)'. Urging sentences with a transitive meaning are passive: *satēngah ni hurip-ta ya ta pa-weh-a-nta* 'A half of your life should be given by you' (*-nta* 'by you'). The form *pa-weh-a* here may be interpreted as an irrealis form of a noun or as a hybrid form between the imperative and the irrealis. Otherwise the same *pa-weh-a* means 'a future/ possible gift'. The difference between such meanings is revealed by the syntactic context.

The use of irrealis as a synonym for the imperative is natural. Isn't it common to say in English 'You should close/ Would you close the window' instead of 'Close the window'? Both oblique moods denote something that has not yet really occurred, and they are synonymous.

However, in language history there is often a devaluation of etiquette language forms. Thus the irrealis became the plain imperative, without any politeness: *kandhak-n-a* 'Tell (me it)!' (Ogloblin 2001). The permanent processes in Javanese language history are changes of verbal nouns into verbs and non-indicative (imperative and irrealis) forms into indicative ones. Old Javanese root verbal nouns and their imperative homonyms merged into New Javanese plain verbs, particularly the transitive ones became passive forms for first and second persons of the agent: *linggih* 'sit', *pangan* '(be) eaten' (by me, us, you), *kandhakake* '(be) told, narrated' (by me, us, you). ◀

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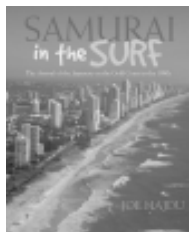
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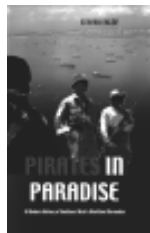
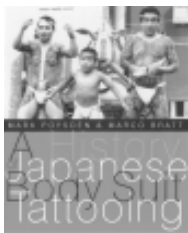
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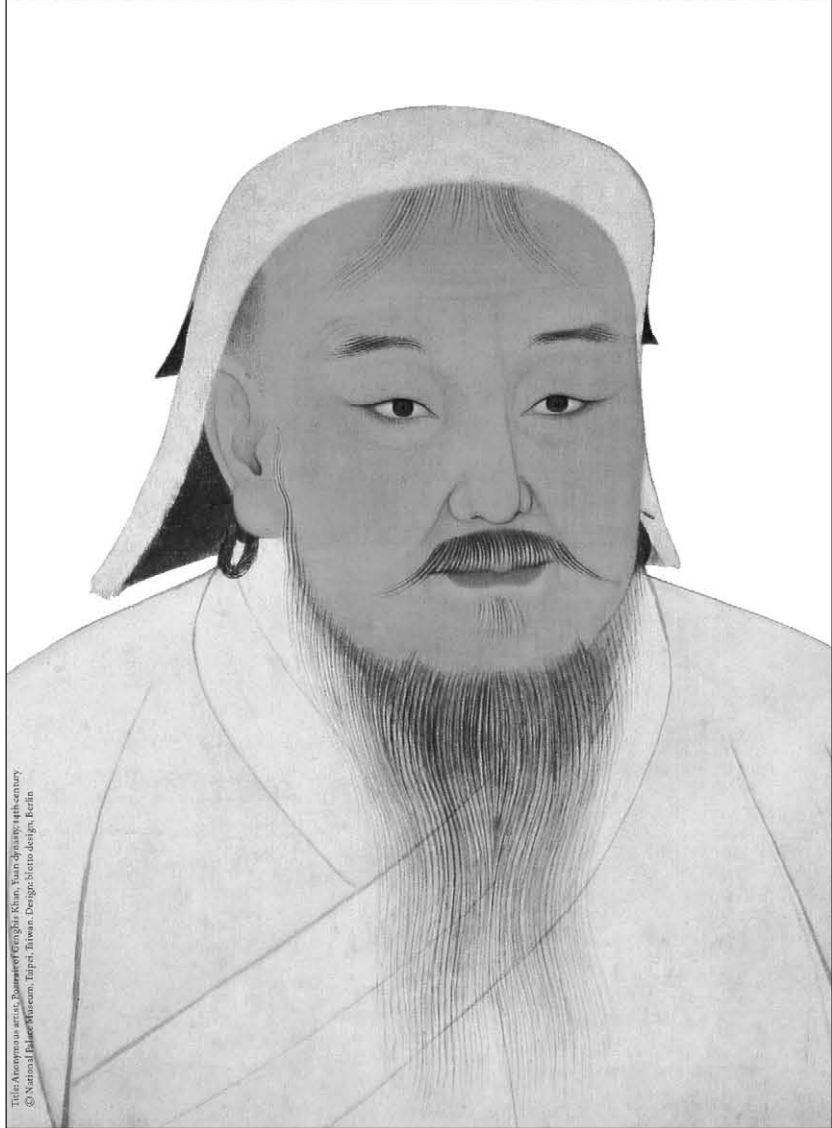
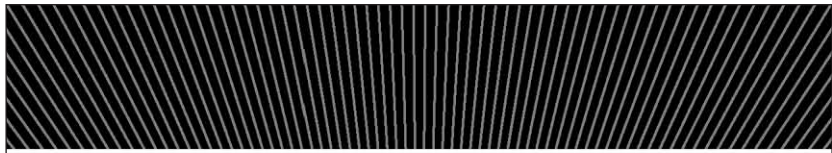
Script and identity in Southeast Asia

In the colonial era cultural differences between colonizer and colonized, between East and West, could be approached from two opposite directions. There were the inevitable in-betweens - for example, in-between dress due to the reciprocal borrowing of articles of clothing in the tropics - but the ultimate choice around 1900 was between assimilation of indigenous populations to Western culture or maintaining a kind of apartheid visible in all spheres of life: in outward appearance, language, education and the law.

Kees van Dijk

Around 1900 the pros and cons of assimilation emerged as a hotly-debated issue in the Netherlands Indies as increasing numbers of Indonesians wanted to follow the European model. They aspired to Western education, to dress in a 'modern' style - that is, to don European costume, though some in the Netherlands Indies who refused to identify with Dutch rule preferred to speak of international clothing - and demanded the right to sit on chairs. Part of the

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Dutch community had some difficulty with this, while members of the indigenous elite also entertained doubts. Newspapers published in the Netherlands Indies in the first decades of the twentieth century regularly contained reports of civil servants forbidding their underlings to wear shoes and trousers or to sit on chairs, or reprimanding and punishing those who did. They wanted to uphold the prevailing rules of etiquette and feared an onslaught on the existing social order.

Dress and habits are two elements of a larger complex of cultural traits where efforts to stimulate, obstruct, or resist assimilation focus; hence they provide insight into the political and cultural orientation of members of a particular community at a particular time. Language and script are two others. Around 1900 some Dutchmen and members of the indigenous elite were affronted when Indonesians had the temerity to address Dutch people in Dutch and not in Malay or another vernacular language. It was a persistent habit. In 1914 the Indonesian newspaper *Oetoesan-Hindia* (2-10-1914) contained a complaint about the tendency of Europeans - the text speaks sarcastically of *bangsa sopan*, the polite race - to go raving mad when Javanese addressed them in Malay or Dutch and not in Javanese, and adding insult to injury by remaining upright and refusing to squat. The Dutch were not alone in this. In British India a similar attitude towards English-speaking Indians was observed. Author, N.C. Chaudhuri, writes that 'the British were violently repelled by English in our mouth and even more violently by English clothes on our backs' (cited in Cohn 1996:132).

Script

Script also enters the picture. In Southeast Asia one of the choices in colonial times, which still persists today, is that between Roman and Arabic script. If choice of language evokes strong emotions, the debate about script introduces a new, sensitive dimension: religion. In the Netherlands Indies there was a tendency among Indonesians and Europeans alike to associate Malay in Arabic characters with Islam and its expansion, while Muslims rejected Roman script because of its association with Christianity. From their side, some Dutchmen presented the promotion of Roman script as the most salutary remedy to halt the advance of Islam.

In the end Roman script became the accepted script for the public sphere. Jawi, as it were, became the script of religious experts. In Malaysia this happened only in the 1950s-60s, much later than in Indonesia. Nevertheless, knowledge and use of Jawi script may well be on the rise, a trend partly brought about by a factor at work all over Southeast Asia. The revival of Islam has resulted in more people wanting to be able to read and write in Arabic, whether 'pure' Arabic or Jawi and Pegon (Arabic script adjusted to Malay, Sundanese, and Javanese). Data from Singapore and South Thailand indicate that the desire to study Arabic was further stimulated in the aftermath of September 11. Circumstances in individual countries also contribute to the wider trend: the Malaysian government, for example, now pays greater attention to religious education - including the teaching of Jawi at public primary schools - to create an alternative to a spe-

cific type of Islamic school, the *Sekolah Agama Rakyat* (SAR) or People's Religious School, seen as the bulwark of a radical opposition.

In South Thailand and the southern Philippines, Jawi has assumed extra significance as the script of a minority Muslim population. In both regions the Muslim inhabitants feel discriminated against and perceive their own culture to be under threat. In both regions past instances of suppression and attempts to have them assimilate into the dominant culture have triggered separatist movements.

The Indonesian government during the New Order embarked on a similar policy that aimed at a complete ban on the public manifestation of Chinese culture, which included prohibition on the publication of Chinese books, newspapers (except for one which was controlled by the intelligence agency BAKIN) and magazines. The ban was part of a wider campaign spearheaded by the military to put an end to public display of Chinese characters, a policy which was discontinued only after the fall of Soeharto.

If the use of Arabic and Jawi were fueled by religious developments, economic factors are at work in the contemporary promotion of Chinese language and script. Proficiency in the latter is presented not only as markers of identity - crucial aspects of one's civilization and indispensable links to one's cultural heritage. The growing economic might of the People's Republic of China and expectations of the Chinese economy's importance in the world also play a role.

Though non-Christians in South and Southeast Asia in the colonial era may have loathed the West for its perceived immorality and permissiveness, European culture's associations with modernity, emancipation and power held great appeal for many. Today global countervailing forces are stronger, making it easier for cultural traits associated with non-Western cultures and non-Christian religions not only to maintain their position, but to regain some ground. ◀

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The international workshop 'Script as Identity Marker in Southeast Asia' was held at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) office in Jakarta, 29 Nov-1 Dec 2004. Jointly organized by the KITLV, LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and IIAS, the workshop attracted participants from Indonesia, the Netherlands, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Japan. A workshop volume is forthcoming, edited by Oman Fathurahman and Dick van der Meij.

Linguistic strategies of de-Islamization and colonial science: Indo-Muslim physicians and the *yûnânî* denomination

During the colonial period, Indo-Muslim physicians began to define and differentiate their traditional medicine from other Indian traditional medicine by using the Arabic adjective *yûnânî* (or *unani* according to English pronunciation) literally meaning 'Ionic' or 'Greek'. Indo-Muslim physicians today would rarely, and never within (*unani*) health care and research institutions, define their medicine as Islamic, but as Greek. What were the scientific, political and linguistic motivations driving this terminological change?

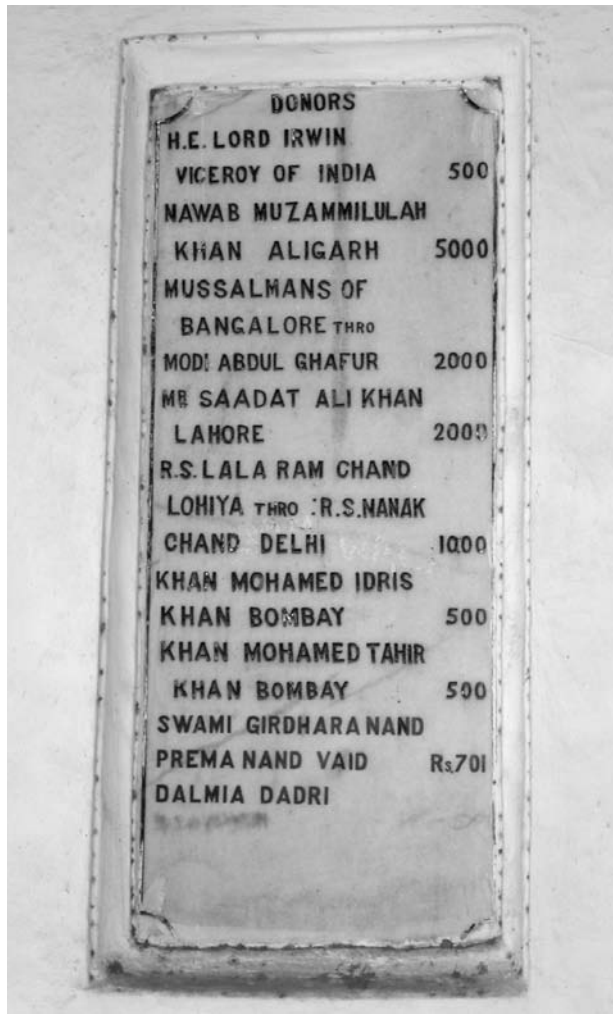
Fabrizio Speziale

Indo-Islamic medicine is doctrinally based on the Hippocratic and Galenic, or Greek, tradition. The medical doctrine of Galen was assimilated by Muslim scholars along with elements of other pre-Islamic scientific cultures and reached the Indian sub-continent mainly after the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate in the early thirteenth century. In Indian Arabic and Persian pre-colonial medical literature, the adjective *yûnânî* is quite uncommon; the discipline was simply called *tibb* (literally, medicine). In the Indo-Persian medieval literature this adjective is mostly found referring to the Greek philosophers.

The earliest known Indo-Persian medical work that uses it in its title is the *Takmila-yi yûnânî* (Greek perfection), a treatise on treatment of diseases ordered from head to foot composed by Shâh Ahl Allâh (d. 1776), who also authored a work on Indian medicine entitled *Takmila-yi hindî* (Indian perfection). Ahl Allâh was the brother of the leading religious scholar Shâh Walî Allâh, in whose renowned *madrasa* in Delhi, later run by his sons, several eminent physicians of the city studied. Another eighteenth-century work using this adjective in the introduction is Ghulâm Imâm's *Mu'âli-jât al-nabawî* (Prophetic treatments), a peculiar work devoted, writes the author, to the medical sayings of prophet Muhammad and the properties of Indian drugs. Around the same epoch, *Yûnânî* is found as the appellative of physicians who had migrated to India from the regions of the Ottoman Empire, of which Greece was a part until 1830.

After the establishment of the British Raj in 1858, the term *unani* acquired a new connotation: Muslim physicians used it to counter the accusations of colonial physicians that traditional forms of medicine were unscientific and unable to change. The Indian elite, including both Muslims and Hindus educated in Western colleges, absorbed these negative attitudes, Gandhi's pessimistic speech on Indian traditional medicine at the February 1921 opening ceremony of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College of Delhi being a case in point.

During the colonial period Indo-Muslim culture was animated by modernist movements addressing the decadence of the Muslim world. The use of the adjective *unani* by Muslim physicians contributed to the formation of their modern scientific identity. First, the *unani* denomination stressed the common basis of Western and Islamic med-



An inscription listing some of the donors, including Lord Irwin, of the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College of Delhi established by Ajmal Khân (d. 1928) who here conducted the first modern standard pharmacological tests on drugs of the traditional pharmacopeia.

Picture by the author

icine. The idea of a common origin assisted the assimilation of modern medicine by *unani* physicians: its technology and collegial associations, the trend of scientific communication through conferences and medical reviews. The idea was that Western medicine with its clear debt to Islamic science was not so different from *unani*, but a recent variant with some technological innovations which could easily be integrated.

This was not simply a claim to similarity - it also contained a fundamental corollary: if *unani* medicine was unscientific, the same judgement could be applied to the previous history of Western medical science. Conversely, stressing the ancient pre-Christian roots of their two-millennia old science offered leading writers such as Ajmal Khân another sound argument against the claims of colonial science: how can knowledge that keeps changing every day, such as Western science, be considered scientific? This argument about the impermanence of modern theories was echoed in the same period in the works of European traditionalists such as René Guénon. The adjective also fulfilled the need to differentiate the *unani*-Galenic tradition from the rest of the Islamic, magic and folk-healing practices of Indo-Muslim society, the separation from the sphere of the sacred that Western science pointed to as necessary

for any discipline aiming to be scientific. At the same time the adjective differentiated the tradition from other Indian medical traditions.

Important external influences acted on this process of de-Islamization. Western Orientalists such as Ernest Renan and Edward G. Browne in his *Arabian medicine* (1921) had stressed that Arabian science was for the most part Greek, and only to a very small degree the product of the Arabian mind, most of the scholars who had developed Arab science being Syrians, Christians and Persians. The Indians were already using the term *yavana*, the equivalent of *yûnânî*, for referring to the Greeks, the Romans and later to the Arabs and their sciences. A coeval process of the tradition's Indianization took place: the first known translations of Islamic medical sources into Sanskrit appeared in the eighteenth century, while Hindu scholars started to write works on *tibb* in Persian, a trend that continued in Urdu in the colonial period.

Not all the leading physicians agreed with this linguistic innovation and its implications. An eminent voice against it was that of Hakim 'Abd al-Latif (d. 1970), a member of the 'Azîzî family of physicians from Lucknow, the most powerful opponents of the ongoing process of syncretism with colonial science. In a short book entitled *The Indian relation of our medicine* published in

Urdu and Hindi, he stressed that *tibb* is not simply *yûnânî tibb*, but a blending of Greek, Arabic, Iranian and Indian medicine, and that historically, the Indian origin is prevalent. Thus, he argued, it would be more correct to call it *hindûstânî tibb*, Indian medicine.¹ Rahbar Fârûqî, author of the first known history of Indo-Islamic medicine in Urdu, did not define the tradition as *Yûnânî* but *Islâmî tibb*.²

The *unani* denomination took root during Indo-Islamic medicine's linguistic passage from courtly Persian to widespread Urdu, a transition that sustained the democratization and revival of *unani* studies during the colonial period. It was through Urdu, and then English, that Indo-Muslim physicians moulded the new modern identity of *unani* medicine, assimilated Western ideas and technologies, translated its medical lexicon, and explained the *unani* lexicon in the language of modern science. During the post-independence period, this process culminated in *unani* becoming the denomination of all official institutions of Islamic medicine established under the Indian Ministry of Health, while demonstrating the validity of traditional methods according to modern standards became a basic goal of these institutions. *Unani* is a key term for understanding the transformation of the tradition in the last century: the aim of being called *unani* and efforts to de-

Islamize the tradition were and still are inseparable from the aim of being as 'scientific' as Western medicine.

This latter aim was the strongest internal force that pushed for the globalization of the tradition, with its questionable effects: the shaping of the *unani* identity led, on one hand, to a surgical operation to remove all those concepts and methods that did not fit into the required modernized body of *unani* medicine, and, on the other, to the construction of a hybrid with biomedicine, perceived as the best guarantee of the institutional future of the tradition in a non-Muslim country like India where *unani* institutions depend on funding from the state. However, India remains one of the few places in the world, along with Pakistan and Bangladesh, and more recently Iran, where Islamic traditional medicine has been able to survive the threats of modern science and find new institutional recognition in the post-colonial era. <

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'For us Joyce is a nightmare'

a conversation with Hindi poet Vishnu Khare

Modern Hindi literature has never enjoyed a large readership, overlooked by the increasing number of non-Indians interested in Indian cultural expressions such as cinema and Indo-English writing. Hindi poet Vishnu Khare, presently translating a Dutch novel into Hindi in a temporary office in the centre of Amsterdam, shares his views on the state and future of the Hindi novel.

Jeroen Nieuwland

Although the novel today is the most widely accepted form of fiction writing worldwide, it arose out of a specifically European cultural and historical context. A genre that arose in the eighteenth century, there is, to date, no inclusive definition that finds agreement among literary theorists. As recently as the 1930s Mikhail Bakhtin's seminal essay 'Discourse in the Novel', which set forth his concept of dialogism, initiated a period of frantic reconsideration of established research. Bakhtin, for example, counted Greek adventure romances of the third century as novels. For him the binding factor of a novel is a specific type of discourse, a use of language.

Despite the novel's geographic origins, non-European writers have adopted the novel as a means of expression to such an extent that it has become a standard mode of writing. But what happens to modes resulting from 'individualistic' Western development in 'communalistic' Indian society, such as representation of the individual and verisimilitude? If Edward Said argued that the English novel is inextricably bound to imperialism, what consequences does this have for the Indian character of the Hindi novel?

Some see the pervasive influence of the novel on non-European literary communities as a remnant of colonial hegemony, even a persisting colonization of the mind. In a recent essay, writer and critic Nirmal Varma discussed the case of India and argued that in certain instances, the novel is perhaps not the most appropriate form to convey certain Indian experiences. One of his points is that the circular Indian sense of time is not properly complemented by the linear form of the novel.

The Indian literary character

Implicit in Varma's argument is the suggestion that Hindi novels have a somehow distinctly Indian literary character. One expression of this, difficult to put a finger on, is the mood underlying the plot. I have even heard Dutch readers, unacquainted with Hindi, comment on a particular 'Indian' feel when reading works in translation. In many Hindi novels characters do not really come to life when compared to European counterparts of the same style and theme. Their personalities and experiences are either overshadowed by their nearly allegorical representation of a theme, or their function is to evoke an emotional state in the reader, achieved by highlighting a particular aspect of their personality.

Examples of such novelistic writing are found throughout the twentieth century: contemporary Hindi writers such as Geetanjali Shri and Alka Saravgi but also earlier writers such as Nirmal Varma, K.B. Vaid and 'Ajneya'. A fitting example is *Ajneya's Apne Apne Ajanabi (To Each His Stranger, 1961)*, which explicitly thematizes the concept of time. Two characters are juxtaposed and clearly symbolize extremes of Western (linear) and an Indian (circular) sense of time. Both characters equate the other with certain views of time, thereby creating a caricature and a flat character. Thomas de Bruijn has pointed to Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* as a novel with a radically different treatment of the same subject matter. The main character Hans Castorp often philosophizes about time, but always in a manner that complements and adds credibility to his fictional personality. Time is not forced into the novel's structure and remains separate from the storyline, embedded in the plot and characters.

Residues of Indian tradition?

If flat characters partly identify an Indian feel in Hindi novels, then what can be said about how it comes about? Perhaps 'flat character' is inappropriate, too Western a term and the study of the protagonist in Hindi novels would be helped by taking a less Western literary theoretical approach and looking more from the viewpoint of traditional Indian poetics. To a large extent Vishnu Khare, who is in Amsterdam translat-

ing a novel, *Rituellen (Rituals)* by Dutch writer Cees Nooteboom, remains puzzled by the fact that the novel never took off in Hindi writing.

Khare explains that in India there is a long tradition of the narrative. The telling of stories is important and the plot of many epic narratives, such as the sixteenth century Sufi romances, is exciting and full of action. However, the characters in these tales are two-dimensional; they do not develop in line with the events because they are purely allegorical. 'It is like in your Dutch *Elckerlijc*' Khare states, drawing a parallel with the late medieval allegorical play where Elckerlijc talks to personifications of death, friendship and family.



The second sense in which characters of the Hindi novel remain flat is in the predominance of function over character development. In some cases it seems as if a character's function to evoke a certain emotional state in the reader is more important than the coming to life of the actual character. This might be compared to an example proffered by the above-mentioned Mikhail Bakhtin, that of the ancient Greek romance-adventure novel where an important function of the characters is to maintain the experience of adventure. The use of a literary character to evoke a certain mood also reminds us of an influential theory in Sanskrit poetics, that of *rasa* (literally: sap). Bharata expounds in his fourth century *Natyashastra* that good art expresses one of nine essential states of being. The feeling of *rasa* is the desired result of experiencing one of these nine states. Perhaps the Indian feel of much modern Hindi writing can be explained by analyzing it from the perspective of *rasa*. If applicable, then such a mode of reading would be unlike any Western novel and would correspond with previous research about tendencies towards the *atman* (soul), non-personal and non-worldly in contemporary Hindi literature.

Visnu Khare too finds it probable that these tendencies and traditions - *rasa* and the non-personal - are influential for Hindi writers today. On one hand he speaks with Bakhtinian distaste for the neat category of the novel as it still stands - referring, half jokingly, to the Indian epic Mahabharata as a postmodern myriad of stories - while on the other he signals a reluctance in Hindi writing to experiment beyond a certain point. Khare explains this as resulting from a higher level of social commitment. 'Despite globalization Indian society will remain cohesive and retain values of morality and neighbourly respect. Because of the extreme numbers and diverse denomination of Indians, literature in India has a more important social function than in Europe'. Khare's view of the importance of

literature's social function is reflected in his enthusiasm for the still burgeoning school of Dalit literature. This writing is a protest movement by casteless writers, and like feminist and other identity politics of the 1980s, is less concerned with aesthetics than with social reform.

Khare agrees that there is a fine balance between social engagement and personal introspection:

'Writers should be socially engaged, but without forgetting the private human behind their work. For Hindi writers this personal expression does not come easy. The personal is often associated with the sexual, for example in the *a-kavita* (non-poetry) school of the sixties, but this is not all there is to one's personal life. Writers like Günter Grass or José Saramago have combined in their work questions of the larger human dilemma with those on a personal level. If an answer is not bound to the individual there is the danger of starting to resemble fascism. In my view, the unilateral placement of *moksha* (liberation through self-transcendence) in the center of a discourse carries with it the danger of absolutist tendencies'.

Khare explains that Hindi writers are still hesitant to experiment on a profoundly personal level. If they explore depths, it is in the way of the mystical Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore. They do not delve into the individual mind, which was a fascination of European modernist writers. 'For us Joyce is a nightmare'. Khare explains, 'James Joyce, a writer obsessed with the individual mind and the magic of language itself, stood in direct contrast to Tagore's message of self effacement'.

Novel or short story?

The novel is the end result of a long period of development and experimentation in a Western tradition with different ideas about writing and representing reality from what existed in India. The widespread Indian use of prose is a novelty of the nineteenth century. Does the novel have a future there?

'I think it does. But in a different sense than the European novel. The whole literary scene should be taken into account, such as publishers who keep prices artificially high, the fact that most writers cannot live from their books alone, that a good selling novel will be printed in an edition of maybe 2,000 copies. The mentality of authors is not at all business-oriented. Writing is not primarily seen as a commodity, meaning that even an established author does not like to discuss financial or contractual matters.

'The novel as a genre will have to be experimented with more. Indian writers still need to find their own way of employing the novel as a frame for expressing their worldview. Indian literature in the future will continue to narrate, tell stories, and in this process discover India and maybe the world at large. But unless it examines the darkest recesses of the human mind it will remain incomplete. You cannot ignore the private, inexplicable dilemmas that one faces as a human being.'

Khare mentions poetry and the short story - Hindi writing's most popular genre - as forms that are possibly better suited to the Indian tendency towards abstraction, the non-personal and a strong sense of mood. As a poet Khare is understandably biased towards the former. However, the short story has an interesting history in India. There are many writers who have published several collections of short stories, but have yet to write a novel. One reason for this might be the small numbers in which books are printed. Writing short stories is a way of publishing regularly, thereby securing a more regular income (which more often than not remains insufficient to live off). Such practical and financial reasons are probably true, yet it would remain interesting to complete a comparative study of characterization in the short story and novel. Perhaps this would lead to other factors explaining the abundance of short stories and the awkward position of the novel in Hindi literature. ◀

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Shah Datta - A Hindu god in Muslim garb

Religious texts from medieval India sometimes combine teachings of saints from different religions. Western Indian oral and scriptural heritage preserved in the Marathi language illustrates a fusion of Hindu-Muslim beliefs, where the Hindu god Dattatreya appears as a Muslim fakir to convey a spiritual message acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims. Local imagination, shaped according to the social reality of the times, turned this Hindu deity into a Muslim fakir.

Dušan Deák

The oldest narratives on the god Dattatreya depict the deity, in appearance and practice, as a devotee of the Hindu god Shiva; *puranas*, stories compiled mainly in the first millennium of the common era that explain the origins of Hindu beliefs and practices, generally agree he was an incarnation of Vishnu. A lesser role played in the stories by the god-creator Brahma contributed to Dattatreya's later portrayal as a *trimurti* – a fusion of the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva – further illustrating the lack of uniformity in understanding Dattatreya's personality and spiritual teachings, either at its beginnings or today. Given this, it is unsurprising that his devotees come from various Hindu sectarian streams.

Of all the perceptions of Dattatreya, the predominant one is that of a great guru of yoga and *advaita* teachings, with leanings towards a tantric-based explanation of world order. He is an *unmatta* – a 'mad' sage who cares about his teachings, and not about appearances and the 'worldly' impression he creates. In Maharashtra today, Dattatreya appeals to the religious sentiment of each social strata and creates an opportunity for his devotees to cross traditional socio-religious lines. He is the deity of yogis and *sannyasis* – those who are not obliged to follow the rules of Hindu social hierarchy – as well as of middle class teachers, clerks, and many Brahmins.

Despite his Hindu origins, some Hindus also accept Dattatreya dressed as a Muslim *fakir*, a poor religious mendicant. This understanding of him in Maharashtra is based on traditions preserved in the Marathi language, where he sometimes appears as a Hindu, sometimes as a Muslim. This liminal belief most likely originated in the sixteenth century, and reflects the state of coexistence of India's two main religious communities at the time.

Fluctuating identities

Religious and social relations between Muslims and Hindus have been a topic of academic debate for decades, with opinions ranging from hostility, misunderstanding and contempt, to an ideal of socio-religious harmony. The variety of opinions shows the complexity of responses to data reflecting the coexistence of these dominant socio-religious groups in India. Understanding Datta's 'career' as a fakir is possible if we recognize the ever-fluctuating nature of Indic religious identity, of which the most stable part is belief in a Supreme Being.

In his Muslim form, Dattatreya is known in Marathi texts as the Malanga Fakir, or Shah Datta. That some devotees, including Brahmins, were able to accept a puranic Hindu deity in Muslim garb likely meant that they were able to accept Muslims as an integral



Dattatreya

part of their world. Indeed, Maharashtra was ruled for some 120 years, from about 1480 to 1600, by Nizam Shahs, sultans of Brahman origin who respected local customs and traditions and never cut themselves off from their land of origin. Other examples of generally good communal relations are not difficult to find.

The first interaction between Dattatreya and Muslims appears to date back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Gurucaritra*, the main scripture of the Maharashtrian Dattatreya cult, speaks about two dominant saintly figures, Shripada Shrivallabha (d.1350) and Narsimha Sarasvati (d.1458). Both are worshipped today as incarnations of Dattatreya, and both are also mentioned in connection with Muslims: Shripada Shrivallabha promised a poor washerman he would become a sultan in his next life, and Narsimha Sarasvati helped this sultan to overcome an illness. The story is set in Bidar, the second capital of the Bahmani kingdom and regional sultanate of central India in 1347-1538. There, according to the Hindu author, Dattatreya showed his unprejudiced attitude towards Muslims for the first time, even towards the sultan himself. However, complaints against Muslim rule do appear in *Gurucaritra* as well. How far the narrator can be believed is also questionable, since accurate historical narration never played an important role in the writings of medieval Hindu authors.

The mysterious fakir

Later, Dattatreya stood firmly as a guru to people of both religions, and assumed the form of a *Malanga* fakir. *Malangas* are known to scholars of Indian Islam as belonging to the unorthodox branch of Sufis that do not follow *sharia* law. This depiction of Dattatreya acting as a Muslim is shrouded in misapprehensions and misunderstandings, due to problems orthodox devotees had accepting a mysterious Datta-incarnate as a *paramguru* of the famous Maharashtrian Brahman saint-poet Eknath (d.1599). This Dattatreya – Malanga Chand Bodhle – could not receive official recognition and sanctification by Eknath's Brahman devotees precisely because of his Muslim allegiance. Literary sources say he was, in addition to being a *Malanga*, a *digambara* Datta (in this context,

meaning simply a naked ascetic), an *avadhut* (an ascetic not bound by social laws, who has discarded all worldly attachments) and a *yogiraj* (yoga master) who resided in Daulatabad, the cultural center of Muslims in Maharashtra. He influenced local Hindu and Muslim intellectual circles, then 'disappeared,' because modern proponents of drawing clear distinctions between Hindus and Muslims could not find a suitable place for him. His tomb, an example of the fusion of Hindu-Muslim architecture, lies neglected.

Despite the attitude of the tradition's orthodox keepers, local religious consciousness accepted Datta the fakir. New texts celebrating his deeds in Daulatabad were created and new fakir-incarnations appeared, whose lives and teachings were recorded in writing. People may have forgotten the human name of Eknath's *paramguru*, but they did not forget the fakir.

Thus, from the late sixteenth century, some Dattatreya devotees accepted their deity could also appear in Muslim guise. Yogi-saints, who could not be classified as Hindu or Muslim, were probably behind this 'fakirization' of the Hindu god, deliberately confusing their devotees' understanding of religious belonging through their appearance and teachings. Acceptance of a Muslim element

in the local imagination must have been gradual, but it clearly reflects the socio-religious milieu of late medieval Maharashtra, where modern communalism did not exist.

Dattatreya began to appear as a fakir from then on, according to later tradition. This is not to say that his devotees neglected the traditional *trimurti* form, but only that in popular perception, differences between Hindu and Muslim ascetics did not enter communal discourse. On a popular level, the fakir's acceptance as a man of spiritual knowledge and power simply reflected social reality. The general Indic belief in powerful sages who save the lives of their devotees may have been behind this gradual process - what mattered was not religious persuasion but the deeds following the teachings.

Later, devotees turned the poor religious mendicant into a king of spirituality. Followers of *Anandasampradaya*, a devotional cult based in Maharashtra and northern Karnataka, began speaking about Shah Datta Allama Prabhu, or King Datta, Lord of the World. According to them, he assumed two forms: a fakir and a Hindu Datta. He was said to reside in Daulatabad (called 'Mecca' in the devotional text *Shah Datta Kalama*) and to revive true knowledge for Muslims as well. He explains the meaning of the Qur'an and is the one who saves his true devotees at doomsday: the immortal Absolute, Allah, *Siddha* of all *siddhas*, the most perfect of the perfect ones. The transformation from puranic deity to medieval fakir was thus accomplished, with territorial and celestial accommodation.

Muslim or Hindu?

That the followers of different Hindu and Muslim devotional groups unite in worshipping a particular deity or saint is not exclusive to Indic religious practice. Today, the best example of Dattatreya in a fakir's garb is the famous Sai Baba from Shirdi, though not all his devotees would agree with this depiction. Other known Muslim saints also recognized as Dattatreya include Noori Maharaj of

Thane, Tajuddin Baba of Nagpur, or even a woman, Hazrat Baba Jan of Pune. Datta was worshipped for a long time by Hindus and Baba by Muslims at the shrine of Baba Budhangiri of Karnataka. The sacred area of Haji Malanga of Kalyani near Bombay was also considered to be Datta's favourite.

Unfortunately, the blend of ideas and devotion that resulted in the tradition of Fakir Datta has not found appreciation in the period of modern communalism, where political leaders and the mobs that follow them destroy anything that does not conform to their views. In their understanding, Dattatreya, even if in Muslim garb, must remain perfectly Hindu. <

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Dravidian studies in the Netherlands part 3 (1980s - present): The rise and fall of a discipline

The third and final installment of this series chronicles the most recent flourishing of Dravidian studies in the Netherlands. Yet, as an academic discipline, Dravidian studies has been allowed to wither, due to financial austerity and an alleged lack of practical interest. Has the time come for a new, far-sighted government policy?

Luba Zubkova

Kamil Zvelebil's contribution and Dutch Tamilists today

Professor Zvelebil's appointment at Utrecht University in 1976 was followed by a flourishing of literary research. Working on a scientific classification of a two millennia-old tradition of Tamil writing, Zvelebil produced two fundamental works both titled *Tamil Literature*. One is an exuberant reference book that presents factual material and external conditions of literary production up to 1750 (Zvelebil 1975). The other, covering the modern period, is based 'on the critical and evaluative approach ... Tamil literature is here classified principally not by time, but by specifically literary types of organization or structure'. (Zvelebil 1974:2) These works together with Zvelebil's inexhaustible enthusiasm inspired a handful of students and co-workers to carry out original research in Tamil literature and culture, within as well as outside formal academia.

Zvelebil's talented disciple Saskia C. Kersenboom explored the enigmatic and controversial tradition of Tamil temple dancers (*devadasis*) and its intimate links with Hindu tradition. She studied Sanskrit and Tamil sources and practiced the art of dance and music while living with a Hindu family; perceiving the tradition from within enabled her to formulate a concept of the *devadasi* as a *nityasumangali*, an ever-auspicious female (Kersenboom 1987).

Other research carried out under Zvelebil's guidance included Marina Muilwijk's work on minor literary genres in Tamil of the late mediaeval and early modern period (Muilwijk 1996). She made an inventory of literary forms known as *prabandhams* that had previously received little attention from scholars at home in Tamilnadu because they were classified as 'folk drama' and secondary to the traditional canon.

One should also mention Hanne M. de Bruin, a graduate of Leiden University, who presented research on a traditional form of rural musical theatre, *Kattaikkuttu* (De Bruin 1999). In addition to a number of articles defining this genre, she published a full translation of a Tamil folk drama, originally meant as a supplement to her doctoral thesis. Hanne and her husband, actor P. Rajagopal established in 1989 the cultural foundation Kalai Mandram to support the seriously threatened Kattaikkuttu theatre tradition; they are currently directing a youth folk-drama school in Kanchipuram, Tamilnadu.

It is noteworthy that these three female Tamilists chose their areas of interest from among the least known phenomena of folk culture, where literature serves the aims of performance arts and requires a great deal of field work. They also preferred a multi-disciplinary approach to a strictly philological one.

This tendency to draw anthropological, psychological or sociological data while analyzing literary texts reveals an important change taking place in Dutch Dravidology, following the latest developments in Oriental scholarship. Researchers of the post-modern period, insisting on the plurality of aesthetical values, are turning away from the high-brow Euro-centrism of the past, towards a closer relationship with the object of investigation.

The life of the Tamil text

Saskia Kersenboom deals with this change in a radical book *Word, Sound, Image: The Life of the Tamil Text* (Kersenboom 1995), and challenges the dominant parameters of philological research in classical Orientalism. She speculates on the traditional notion of *Muttamil* (three Tamil) defining the language as threefold: the spoken word, music and mimetic dance, and compares it with the Western culture of printed text. This definition implies that ancient Tamil poetry assumes its full scope only if simultaneously performed in the three expressive media. An interactive CD included with the book allows readers to see for themselves how multimedia can complement text-based studies.

Contemplating the aims of present-day Indological research, Kersenboom repeats the question asked by Tamil people wondering at the diligence of the Western scholars studying a foreign culture. She writes: 'What's the use? ... What do our painstaking efforts amount to? ... As a student I witnessed the grandeur of Philology and Literary Science in the examples set by Jan Gonda and Kamil Zvelebil. Classes in Sanskrit and Tamil with them were full of erudition, vision and inspiration that instilled

awe and excitement over the new horizons they were able to open up before our eyes. However, Philology-at-large seemed to create a puzzling sense of *vacuum*. When confronted for the first time, in 1975, with the lush South Indian reality, it dawned upon me that my uneasiness 'back home' might have something to do with our type of scholarship'. (Kersenboom 1995: XV).

An answer to this question might be that Dravidian studies bring us insight into the cultural modus and mentality of a people and are indispensable to building fair and fruitful international dialogue. The practical necessity of the discipline, however, still seems obscure not only to laymen in Tamilnadu, but also to policymakers 'back home'. As a result, none of these first class Dutch researchers have been able to pursue their chosen research in Tamil literature at university.

The end of Dravidology?

Once again, there was no room for Dravidian studies. When economic growth slowed in the early 1990s, the government began cutting public spending, including on education. As financially autonomous bodies, universities adapted by redistributing resources and giving up so-called 'least popular' areas of study. With changes in world politics, the former interest in the spiritual heritage of de-colonized India faded, and in 1987, the flourishing Orientalist center at Amsterdam University was abolished. The Indological department in Groningen was cut to a bare minimum, while the Utrecht team was thinned out and merged in 1991 with the Kern Institute at Leiden. There too administrative tactics remained the same: wait until lecturers retire and withdraw the vacancy.

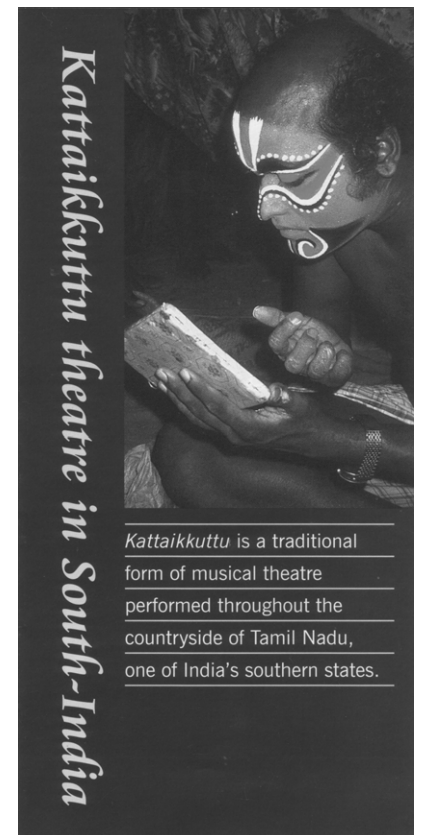
It is not difficult to foresee the future of a field so curtailed: less staff, less activity; discharged specialists change profession, those who stay keep a low profile. To avoid competition they tend to reject co-operation with 'outsiders' and send away even their own promising graduates.

Who can tell if this is just a temporary recession and not the end of a scientific discipline? There have already been two huge gaps in the history of Dravidology followed by a new start. But creative forces today are more dispersed than ever; there is no ongoing professional discussion, no cross-fertilization of ideas or debate... One can witness a growing gap between researchers, each of whom insists on the priority of his or her own point of view. The elimination of several Indological subjects has undermined the basis of Oriental studies as a whole. This is a great pity, while the usual argument that the Netherlands is too small to afford promotion of minor philological disciplines simply misses the point. A special commission appointed to advise the government on this problem condemned the destruction of the Orientalist center at Amsterdam University and criticized the current policy as short-sighted - so much so that it brings to mind the disastrous policies of the Cultural Revolution in China. The commission's report 'Baby Krishna' stated: 'In this way a small rich country in Europe has modeled its small cultural revolution on the sample of a big poor country in Asia and, moreover, to the detriment of the Asian cultures themselves'. (Baby Krishna 1991:22).

These words may be a bit harsh, or taken out of context. But the fact remains that Dravidian studies encompass cultural phenomena, essential to understanding ancient Indian civilization and the contemporary life of as many as 230 million people in South India, Sri Lanka and other countries. It should be feasible to create a center at a Dutch university where these studies can continue. Since universities acting independently neglect the least attended studies, a certain national policy ought to prevail, which should not be triggered by incidents caused by Tamil Tigers or by mass asylum seekers, but by more convincing long-term interests. A global trading nation should not have a blind spot for issues of such importance.

Fortunately, the knowledge gained is not wasted, and is largely being used in various non-academic activities to the satisfaction of the curious public. The examples are numerous: from the voluminous descriptions of temple architecture by Gerard Foekema and the translation of Tamil sangam poetry by Herman Tiekens to the socio-cultural experiments of composer Carlos Michans and a theatrical project dedicated to the 400-year jubilee of the VOC by the dance group Fiori di Folia.

In 1989 the former staff of the abolished Orientalist department in Amsterdam launched an independent Indological



The leaflet of Kalai Mandram foundation

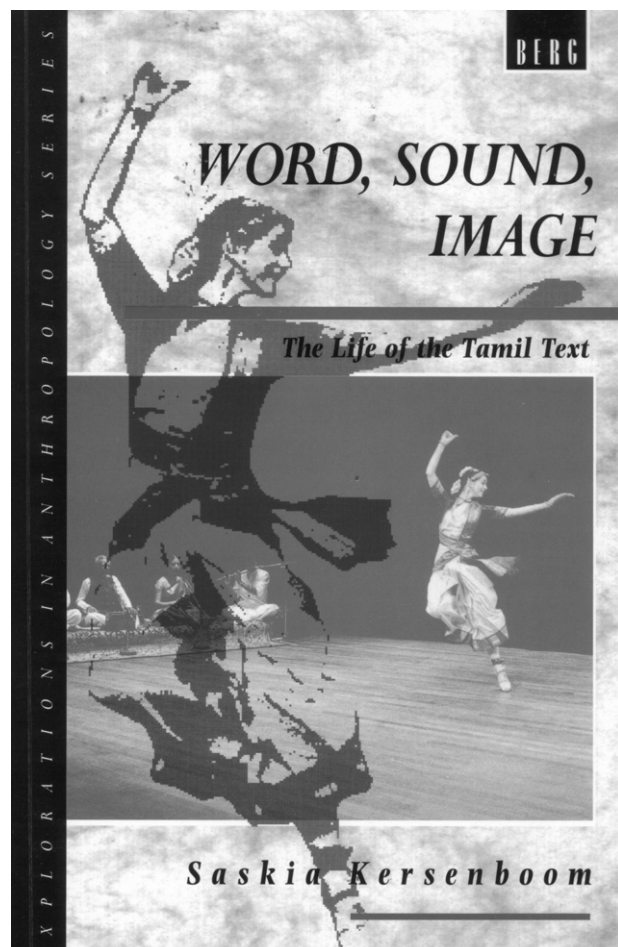
center (India Instituut, directed by Dick Plukker) flexible to the demands of the Dutch public and changes in Indian society. An educational and cultural foundation since 1995, it provides evening courses in Indian languages and cycles of lectures on subjects related to ancient history, religion and modern art.

In short, there are still possibilities for Dravidianists to apply their potential in a useful way. Even without institutionalized research facilities one may work as a free-lance or self-employed expert, following in the steps of Johan van Manen and other selfless gatherers of knowledge. However, in order to restore the prestige it once had in the outside world, Dravidian studies in the Netherlands is in need of a prescient national policy. <

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Isidore van Kinsbergen: photographs of Java and Bali, 1855-1880

Gerda Theuns de Boer

The early negative-based, photographic imaging of Java and Bali continues to intrigue: topographic views, vernacular and court scenes, 'types', photos of antiquities and landscapes recall a past world. After decennia of photographic publications, the stream of new visual material has not yet dried up. One of the greatest contributors was Isidore van Kinsbergen.

Isidore van Kinsbergen (Bruges 1821-Batavia 1905) was a Dutch-Belgian engraver, who after an educational period in Bruges and Gent discovered the artistic wealth of the theatre. In Batavia (Jakarta) he proved to be a real all-rounder, combining decoration painting with singing, acting and management. In 1855, Van Kinsbergen also took up photography. He was invited to photograph 'all peculiarities' on the Dutch mission to Bangkok in 1862 and took part in two inspection tours covering Java, Madura and Bali (1862 and 1865). Between 1863 and 1867 and again in 1873 he was contracted by the Government of the Netherlands-Indies to photograph Java's antiquities. Two series, together holding over 375 photos, constitute his art and archaeology legacy.

There is a less or even 'unknown' Van Kinsbergen as well, who commercially operated from a professional studio in Batavia. Thanks to research, more than 200 anonymous or wrongly attributed photos can now be assigned to him. How to recognize Van Kinsbergen in portraits, landscapes, views and 'types'? After all, making a portrait or casting a 'type' is quite different from photographing monuments. Are characteristics found within his art and archaeology series evident in his so-called commercial work? Yes, but not in one stereotypical way. Besides a general artistic rendering of items and the careful use of light, his style is direct, full of contrast, academic and theatrical at the same time. <



Malay children in Batavia. Albumen print, early 1870s. This was one of Kinsbergen's best-selling photos. Apparently he knew from the theatre how the public favoured these theatrical 'tableaux vivants' where they could let their imaginations roam. The renowned Dutch scientist P.J. Veth lovingly goes into every detail when he reviews an engraving after this photo in the journal *Eigen Haard*. He praises the well-chosen order within the group, but critically remarks: 'Possibly our artist – for who can photograph like this is that qualification worthy – aimed more at a nice order than at the correct presentation of the life of the people'. In my opinion, the handful of overdone photos, of which this is an example, were taken with a wink from the photographer, as if saying: I know what you like....

courtesy of Geoff Edwards, private collection



Portrait of the *gambang* player. Albumen print, ca. 1870. The title refers to the girl on the left playing or pretending to play the xylophone. Although she is the main character, the viewer's attention goes to the face of the woman on the right. She has a reflective, somewhat tired look with permanent evocative qualities. She also moves the viewer away from her deformed right foot. For Van Kinsbergen there was no need to stress the fact, or to hide it. This shot carefully creates a functional mise-en-scène in which the poses and positions of the heads are controlled. The expression of character and personality is one of Van Kinsbergen's distinguishing trademarks.

courtesy of Geoff Edwards, private collection

The IAS early photography seminar focusing on Isidore van Kinsbergen and his colleagues, Jacob Anthonie Meessen and Hendrik Veen, held in Leiden 14-15 October 2004, showed that there are many more 'sleeping beauties'. More of Van Kinsbergen's work will be revealed in December 2005 at the exhibition in Huis Marseille, Foundation for Photography in Amsterdam.

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Son of the regent of Bandoeng dressed as a bridegroom. Albumen print, mid 1860s. Van Kinsbergen was invited by the regent Adipati Wiranatakusuma IV to document this event. His photographs of the occasion include a portrait of the bride, some of the guests, a group of *bedoyo* dancers and the *gamelan* orchestra. Although he had to deal with long shutter speed, which forced the poser to 'freeze', Van Kinsbergen succeeded in evoking an easy mood. The photo is sharp in the centre, allowing a study of the textile and jewelry details of Radhen Karta Ning Ngrat's festive outfit. The chosen three-quarter profile hampers the viewer from constructing the bridegroom's full face, leaving us curious. Then, there is the question of the piece of cloth or paper on the floor. Was it just the carelessness of the photographer or is there some meaning in it?

courtesy of Geoff Edwards, private collection



Gender, myth, and mythmaking

Long ago, there was only water. God wanted to rest, but there was no land to sit upon. God then sent an animal to the bottom of the primeval ocean to collect a little bit of mud. When brought to the surface, the mud expanded and became the earth we now live upon. This is one of many myths explaining the creation of the world and humankind. But myths do not only reflect and explain perceived reality. They also convey powerful messages about how this reality should be and how people should behave: like the mythical gods, they construct realities and identities.

Thera Giezen

Mythical fears of the female body

When God creates the earth, he often gets help from animals such as turtles in Central Asia, swallows among the Yakut and geese in Southern Siberia. Other cosmogonic myths tell of the emergence of the earth and human beings out of a cosmic egg or a primordial body being dismembered. In all these creation myths there is a remarkable absence of the role of women in the creation of the earth and of human beings. Myths about the origin of the world and humankind often tell of self-sufficient non-females who create and procreate. This denial of the role of women in procreation is mirrored on the social level, for example in male initiation rites where young boys are reborn as men without the help of women, or in the exchange of women by men in marital relationships whereby men become the creators, the birth-givers of society. Art too can be seen as a desire to imitate female procreativity, projected onto male artistic creativity.

A recurring theme in creation myths is men's stealing of women's secrets. Widely spread are myths about the bullroarer. The bullroarer initially belonged to women, but was later stolen from them by men. Since then, the bullroarer has had to be kept secret from women, by punishment of death (Fox Keller 1992: 46). Having access to a (stolen) secret means having access to autonomous power, in this case, male power from which women are excluded. But the secret guarded by men serves another purpose as well. The theft of a female secret is often associated with castration symbols, which hints at feelings of insecurity lurking underneath the surface of narratives about male power.

An important cause for the insecurity of men is the female ability to procreate located in the womb. The womb is a domain of possible autonomous female power that has to be contained. In order to prevent women from using their formidable power, men felt the need to control them by stealing their procreative secret. Thus, myths about male power are at the same time narratives about deep-seated fears of women's birth-giving power in the female body.

The myth of matriarchal prehistory

Many myths tell about the origin of patriarchal society: long before written records, society was centred around women and values thought to be feminine. At a certain time a great change occurred and since then society has been dominated by men (Eller 2000). At present, feminists use this myth of matriarchal prehistory to create a promising historical precedent. But what does it mean for the future of women? The matriarchal myth presents female iden-



Lilith, goddess of the Underworld, representing chthonic wisdom and death as a natural cycle of life.

Sumerian sculpture, terracotta, around 1950 BCE.

Eller, Cynthia. 2000. *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future*. Boston: Beacon Press, p. 25.

tity as something universal, timeless and biologically determined. The veneration of women in prehistorical society is explained by the capacity of the female body to bear children. The matriarchal myth thus presents an archetypal picture of femininity that links women inevitably and stereotypically to their bodies, childbearing and the life-giving forces of nature.

These stereotypes were once used to justify the subordinate position of women in society. If the same stereotypes are used to reevaluate women and to create a positive female identity, they confirm the sexist assumptions upon which patriarchy is based. Apart from this, the matriarchal myth doesn't contain the same restricting archetypal images of masculinity, implying that men are more free to choose who they want to be than women. The myth of matriarchal prehistory thus cannot give women a future in which they can construct their own identities according to individual preferences, values and temperaments.

Mythmaking

Mythology not only refers to the corpus of myths from around the world; it is also about theories of myth, with their own ideologies and gender biases. Several leading theorists on mythical heroes restrict heroism almost exclusively to men. If, as they argue, important aspects of heroic lives consist in establishing a (sexual) relationship with a literal or symbolical mother and attaining a position of power, this only allows for male heroes. Including female heroes would undermine their theories. Supposedly objective theories about myths turn out to have their own ideological biases.

Just like myths, theories on myth construct realities and hide fears of losing power. According to Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, myths can be described and studied objectively with the help of Western rational science. This apparent objectivity, however, conceals ideology. *The Golden Bough* not only attempts to explain the stories of others; it is also a narrative about the construction of a masculine, white identity rooted in

rational, reliable science able to keep its opposites, the body and irrationality, under control.

Myths and theories about myth do not live in a void. Each time the general tale of a myth is told, it makes contact with a specific context. The gender of the audience, its familiarity with the local environment and folklore, social marginalization and a genre's adaptation to the official religion are all factors that exert considerable influence on the

interpretation and content of myths. In the same way, theories about myth are grounded in social and ideological contexts. Neither myths nor theories about myths are narratives with fixed meaning. They also have unofficial meanings hidden underneath the visible surface, meanings that can be activated by researchers or by retelling a myth in a new context. Perhaps every time we tell or write about a myth, we create a new one: myths are in a constant process of being made and remade.

Myth and gender studies

Gender studies focus almost exclusively on gender as a social construct that has little to do with anatomy. But we cannot discard anatomy so easily: as many myths show, biological anatomy plays an important role in the construction of social gender identities. This does not have to mean, however, that anatomy is destiny. Although we cannot get rid of our male or female bodies, we can change the images of our bodies previous generations internalised over the ages. Mythology, understood as both the corpus of myths and theories on myth, helps us understand the mechanisms that have formed male and female iden-

tities in the past and present, and can direct us in the process of reconceptualising gender in the future.

However, we are not only men and women. The relationships between gender and identity are more complicated than the mythical binary opposition male/female. What we are or want to be is determined by a complex intersection of other identity forming categories as well, such as ethnicity and class. This is a story that myths do not tell, but needs to be told and further investigated. <

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The conference *Gender, Myth, and Mythmaking* was held at the School for Oriental and African Studies, London, on 14 and 15 December 2004. Organized by Sian Hawthorne, Cosimo Zene and Mineke Schipper, it was supported by the School for Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS), the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and IAS. For abstracts of the lectures, please see www.soas.ac.uk/Religions/gender_myth/abstracts.htm.

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New developments in Chinese and Asian environmental history

China's developing industry and economic growth across much of Asia over the last quarter century have fueled concerns over the environment. Public debate has focused on projects like the Three Gorges Dam in China and hydroelectric projects along the Mekong in Laos, while anxieties have risen over air pollution, water quality, and other adverse effects of industrial expansion.

Kenneth J. Hammond

As with any subject, understanding developments in the present requires insight into how things came to be the way they are, and how the past may frame and condition the ways in which governments and peoples perceive and respond to the environmental challenges they face.

The field of Asian environmental history is relatively new; the study of the history of environments and of the interactions between human societies and their ecological settings emerged in the United States as part of the larger environmental movement of the 1960s and 70s. Its extension to Asian history has been slow, but a number of significant works have appeared over the last decades. Two major books have recently been published, taking the field to a new level of comprehensiveness, and should form the baseline for future scholarly inquiry.

In 1987 Peter Perdue published *Exhausting the Earth: State and Peasant in Hunan, 1500-1850*. While the term 'environment' does not appear in the title or subtitle, it was in many ways the foundational book in the field. Perdue traces the complex interaction of human economic activity, population growth, and state intervention (or lack thereof) in the history of Hunan province in central China over three and a half centuries, showing that the area's overt political history can be better understood if placed in its ecological context.

Just over a decade later Robert B. Marks brought out his study *Tigers, Rice, Silk, & Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*. This was an avowedly environmental history which looks in great detail at how human activities reshaped their environmental setting, as well as how ecological forces such as climate change impact human affairs. Like Perdue, Marks' work examines the environmental history of a spe-

cific place, providing a case study of particular problems and patterns.

Chinese scholars have also been producing local case studies. Feng Xianliang's *明清江南地区的环境变动与社会控制 (Environmental Change and Social Control in Ming-Qing Jiangnan)*, an extensively documented study of how agricultural and commercial development affected the Jiangnan region, China's wealthiest area, under the last two imperial dynasties, serves as a good example. Feng highlights the differential impact of environmental stress on social classes and the environmental effects which elites and ordinary farming communities had on their surroundings.

While these works provide critical insights into particular environmental histories, two books published in the past two years have expanded the vision of environmental history across space and time. In *The Unending Frontier: An*

Environmental History of the Early Modern World, John Richards builds upon a wealth of local data to perceive underlying patterns around the globe from 1500 to 1800. The book goes beyond Asian environmental history, yet gives Asia extensive treatment. Environmental history is global history, while global history cannot be Eurocentric if we want to understand the mechanisms of historical development and the ecological orders in which they are embedded.

The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China does not seek to present Chinese environmental history in a global context, but focuses on the expansion of Chinese agricultural society as the basic narrative for understanding ecological change in East Asia over the last 5,000 years. Elvin's work is challenging in scope, and will no doubt be subject to revision and expansion. It adds greatly to the field of Chinese environmental history and sets the stage for further research.

These works point the way to new areas of inquiry in the field, and to the need for historians of China and Asia to

incorporate the insights and interpretations of environmental history in studying Asia's past. ◀

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Nation-centric academic communities

Academic Nations in China and Japan is a critical study of the bias caused by state- or nation-centric approaches in the social sciences, based on case studies of scholarship conducted at the International Research Centre for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken, in Kyoto) and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in China (CASS, in Beijing).

Kurt Radtke

For a clear overview of the approach and contents of the book I recommend the reader consult the concluding chapter 'Core themes and an outlook for future research' (pp.153ff). The book aims to point out the evil effects of the bias induced by a state- or nation-centric research approach on the social sciences in general: 'I have used examples of academic theory in China and Japan to illuminate the theme of framing the nation, although social science elsewhere could have served the same purpose' (p.160). Despite this universalistic claim, the introduction on the cover emphasizes that 'this book will appeal not only to Asianists, but also those with research interests in cultural studies, Japanology and Sinology'. Indeed, there are numerous references to sources in Japanese and Chinese, but few to previous research on general themes treated in the book, including definitions of academics/intellecuals, (the structure of) discourse and debate among academic communities, and the institutionalization of academic research and its links to policy-making. True, there are references to writings by Edward Said, Nicholas Luhmann and others, but these are insufficiently related to the author's own methodology. There is no discussion of theories on the structure and impact of (academic) discourse on society and politics. The author establishes a classification of factors used by academics/intellecuals to define group identity, group markers, national identity (p.12) and the impact of social-political context on the nature and quality of scientific research, but the research methodology needs to be further elaborated.

Neither the title nor the subtitle of the book, *Academic Nations in China and Japan: framed in concepts of nature, culture and the universal*, supports the claim for universality. Sleeboom explains that China and Japan have 'illustrative value' in her attempt to 'understand various forms of categorizing groups', and adds that the main emphasis is on presenting an approach with universal applications: '...I am convinced that a similar study can be conducted in other parts of the world'. (p.4) 'The examples are not representative of, but a selection from, the construction of group identity in academic debate in China and Japan. They serve to illustrate the ways in which groups are built and shaped in space and time'. (p.99)

After a general introduction that includes a discussion of the 'nation's symbolic dimension over the creation of knowledge and the ways in which the two are linked together through the state' she discusses in detail 'the nature of boundary markers in identity construction'. Part three elaborates on previous arguments and uses the case studies of CASS and Nichibunken to 'illustrate the inherent handicap of nation-centric social science in attaining national self-knowledge, its tendency to conservatism, its failure to imagine alternative views of the nation and its political predictability'. (pp.15-16)

The copious bibliography lists primary and secondary sources in English, Japanese and Chinese. The book contains three appendices on research activities by the Nichibunken and a very short 'Glossary of frequently used Japanese and Chinese terms and persons' of rather limited usefulness. Source references are provided within the text, often without specific page references. There are twenty-seven pages of notes, many containing explanations or references essential to an understanding of the book's argumentation that should have been included, or at least summarized in the main text. Generally speaking, the book suffers from poor presentation and language editing.

The book draws on previous publications and doctoral research by the author; three articles were previously published in *Nation and Nationalism*, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, and *Japan Forum* (now chapters two, three and eight). It also benefited from stays at CASS in Beijing and the Nichibunken in Kyoto where Sleeboom conducted field research. Since she visited both places for longer periods, it is disappointing that the book does not explicitly draw on insights gained from personal experience and contacts with local scholars or interviews. We learn little about policies linking CASS and Nichibunken with government beyond the author's interpretation of several publications by leading members of both

institutions, though both have been subjects of previous scholarly inquiry in East Asia and beyond.

Intellectuals and the state

There is a vast literature on the changing nature of the state and state-society relations in general, and for Japan and China in particular. Jean-Louis Rocca, for instance, has succinctly pointed out why we can no longer follow previously accepted 'traditional' notions of the 'state', which he discusses for the Chinese case ('Is China becoming an Ordinary State?' in Beatrice Hibou, ed. 2004. *Privatising the State*. London: Hurst. The book appeared first in French in 1999). Sleeboom does not refer to such changes, nor does she enter into discussions of the role(s) of intellectuals and academics in policy-making (pp.16-19). She does not discuss in more detail different definitions of academics/intellecuals and their roles in both societies - a pity, since we are in clear need of understanding their different, and changing input in Japanese and Chinese policy-making.

Sleeboom includes several analyses of symbols used in China and Japan that have a bearing on research in the field of social anthropology, such as the 'dragon' in China and monkeys in Japan. The author discusses 'interpretations of the dragon... related to its symbol meaning for the East'. (p.20) True, some Chinese and Japanese academics engage in more or less sophisticated discussions on the origins and possible symbolism of these animals, but in research on the impact of academics on general notions of state, nation and identity we would like to hear more about the actual influence these discussions had/have on politics and public opinion. I would also have welcomed an analysis on how different academic viewpoints can be classified in the context of Japanese and Chinese politics.

An approach with universal application?

Since Sleeboom emphasizes the universal applicability of her approach, the reader would expect at least passing references to other (large) countries such as the US, India, and EU member states, which remain conspicuous by their absence. The virtually exclusive reference to Japan and China creates the impression that features mentioned here are characteristic of these two countries, in particular when parallels are emphasized.

On the second to last page Sleeboom summarizes her attack on nation-centric research: 'A major impediment to social science research and factors inherent to framing the nation are the confused presentations of the description of facts and prescription of national behavior. It is expressed in political innuendo, a scholastic inability to generate fresh views and research problems, and in the failure to imagine the ways in which the Other views the nation, and leads to the loss of capacity to deal with conflict'. This reviewer remains wondering whether Sleeboom's book has been able to escape similar weaknesses. It abounds in vague generalizations imputing attitudes and approaches to unnamed academics accompanied by the frequent use of phrases such as 'often assumed', 'widely accepted', 'usually' and 'generally'. Having read this book the non-specialist will find it difficult to construct an unbiased image of 'academic nations in China and Japan'. The specialist is left wondering how to relate Sleeboom's research and methodology to previous and current research. ◀

- Sleeboom, Margaret. 2004. *Academic Nations in China and Japan: Framed in concepts of nature, culture and the universal*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. pp. 220. ISBN 0-415-31545-X

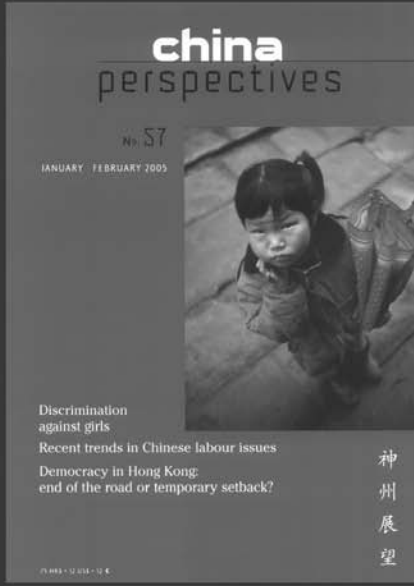
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Contesting Malayness: the quest for the elusive *Melayu*

The term *Melayu* is ancient and was first noted by Ptolemy as early as the second century CA. In current, everyday usage a Malay is someone who speaks the Malay language, practices Malay customs, and in most cases, follows the Muslim faith. The term, however, is more complex and elusive than what is usually understood. Who then are the Malays? What constitutes Malayness? When did the notion arise, and among whom? These are some of the difficult questions that give rise to the collection of stimulating essays in this volume, aptly titled *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity Across Boundaries*.

Md. Salleh Yaapar

The collection consists of a preface, eleven essays on Malay identity by experts in the field, a *syair* (a chain of rhymed quatrains) and maps showing important places discussed in the essays. The essays themselves are not totally new. Half of them are elaborations on papers presented at a conference on Malay identity at Leiden University in 1998, then published in the October 2001 issue of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. Most of the other essays have also been published. However, the convergence of these essays in *Contesting Malayness* makes it a most welcome volume.

In lieu of an introduction, the collection begins with an essay by Anthony Reid, an excellent overview of how the terms *Melayu* and Malayness have evolved from ancient times and how their understandings have been appropriated not only at the 'center' around the Straits of Melaka, but also at the 'peripheries' of the Malay world. According to Reid,

the terms were initially self-referent categories among people of the Archipelago. Later, they were used as social labels by outsiders. After the fall of Melaka in 1511, the notion of Malayness developed in two ways: to claim lines of kingship or acknowledge descent from Srivijaya and Melaka, and to refer to a pluralistic commercial diaspora around the Archipelago that retained the Malay language, customs and trade practices of the Melaka emporium. In the following essay Adrian Wickers reviews recent discussions of 'colonial constructions of identity'. He points out the fluid and overlapping concepts of Malay and Javanese that have since pre-colonial times been interacting with other indigenous categories. Wickers contends that Malay may be part of colonial invention, but was not invented out of thin air.

In the essays which follow, Leonard Y. Andaya affirms western Borneo and southeastern Sumatra as the homelands of the *Melayu*. His research on the history of Malacca, Johor, Aceh and

Minangkabau shows that Malay ethnicity was developing along the Straits of Melaka as early as the seventh century. It was a powerful concept - Malay leadership was worth fighting for. In an essay focusing on seventeenth and eighteenth century Southwest Sulawesi, Heather Sutherland shows how the Malay commercial diaspora became a central element in Makassar's urban society. As an ethnic category, however, *Melayu* was fluid and varied, for it included 'all those who wore a *sarong* sash, such as men from Pahang, Patani, Champa, Minangkabau and Johor'. Timothy P. Barnard then discusses Siak in the eighteenth century as one of the successor states to Melaka's heritage, showing how the people of Siak (*orang Siak*) in eastern Sumatra, through violence and literary texts, succeeded in becoming a sub-group within the larger Malay race (*bangsa Melayu*). In his contribution, Jan van der Putten focuses on nineteenth century Riau, stressing the precarious position of the powerful Bugis elites within the 'Malay heartland'. He demonstrates how Haji Ibrahim, like

Raja Ali Haji before him, diplomatically negotiated and legitimized the position of the migrant Bugis community in Riau, thus gaining the needed identity as Malay.

Shamsul A.B. in his essay concentrates on the idea and practice of Malayness within modern Malaya/Malaysia. He contends that Malayness as a modern concept is largely an Orientalist-colonial construction. To him categories such as *bangsa Melayu* and *tanah Melayu* were mainly constructed, codified, and given life by the British. Shamsul, however, reminds us that *Melayu* is an evasive concept that can shift meaning according to circumstances. In a related essay, Virginia Matheson Hooker focuses on Islam as a constituent of Malayness in Malaysia. By referring to contemporary developments, she interprets how Islam was reconfigured as a source of moral values and as a civil religion to enhance national unity. She also discusses the formidable task faced by the government to de-emphasize *bangsa Melayu* to promote the idea of *Bangsa Malaysia* (Malaysian race-nation).

In the next essay James T. Collins contests the exclusive attention given to the Straits of Melaka at the expense of Borneo, the prehistoric home of the Malay language. Communities in western Borneo, Collins points out, often share languages - either Malay or Malayic variants - but do not necessarily share Malay ethnicity. In the next essay, however, Will Dirks takes the reader back to the Straits of Melaka, specifically Riau. Dirks affirms the notion of Malay literature, dating back to pre-colonial times, and its vibrancy. Utilizing the metaphor of a mycelium, he shows how popular expressions of the literature sprout from time to time like mushrooms. This is followed by Tenas Affendy's 'An Epic Poem of the Malay's Fate' translated from his 'Syair Nasib Melayu' written in 1995. In the concluding chapter Anthony Milner reviews the essays and poses his own argument. Milner thinks Malay ethnicity is time-bound, primarily a product of the colonial period. However, he takes stock of ideas and arguments dissimilar to his own, especially on the pre-colonial period.

Generally, the essays reflect rigorous, nuanced and lively discussions with most writers constantly problematizing Malay and Malayness. Clearly there are contributors who support arguments for pre-colonial origins and developments of the notions of Malay and Malayness while others contest them. However, all writers agree that although in everyday usage the term *Melayu* is readily understood, in truth it is fluid and elusive. Taken as a whole, the volume reflects the difficulty - or rather impossibility - of rigidly defining Malay identity across times and boundaries. It is precisely this elusiveness and difficulty that keeps discussions on Malay identity alive.

Though generally well-argued, several ideas or points in the collection are open to contestation. These include the idea of the 'colonial invention' of terms or phrases such as *tanah Melayu* (Malay land, traceable to William Marsden) and *bangsa Melayu* (Malay race/people, traceable to Munshi Abdullah and Stamford Raffles) held, for example, by Shamsul. Actually, prior to Marsden, the term *tanah Melayu* was already used in *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. In the *hikayat*, when Hang Tuah was banished from Melaka and journeyed to neighbouring Inderapura, he was asked where he would go next. He answered saying he would go wherever his feet take him, adding '*lamun pada tanah Melayu*' (as long as it is within the Malay land). Likewise, the term *bangsa Melayu* was used in traditional Malay texts long before Raffles. Reid acknowledges this in his contribution. However, quoting Virginia Matheson, he contends that *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is the only pre-modern text to use the term *bangsa Melayu*. This is not quite correct, for the term is also used in *Sulalat al-Salatin*. As such, *tanah Melayu* and *bangsa Melayu* were not really invented by the British; they were codified, yes, but this too was not something accomplished *ex-nihilo*.

Another point for contestation has to do with the Inderapura dancing incident in *Hikayat Hang Tuah* referred to by several writers in relation to the issue of pure and hybrid Malays. Milner locates Inderapura, the land of the beautiful Tun Teja, in Sumatra. Reid agrees, and names the state as Kampar. Both seem to be in line with Wilkinson who much earlier referred to it as Siak. The text itself, however, does not allow this reading. Instead, it unambiguously points to a state not far from Melaka, reachable by land, close to Trengganu, with a coastline like the latter. Kassim Ahmad, the editor of the text used by Reid, considers it to be present-day Pahang, which is textually credible. Intertextually, this reading is supported by *Sulalat al-Salatin* that clearly refers to the state as Pahang.

Having noted the above, there is no doubt that this volume is a major and significant contribution towards the understanding of the *Melayu* identity and to Malay studies in general. It should be a recommended text in departments where Malay and related studies are taught. It would also be a useful reading for civil servants, politicians and other interested parties in countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Thailand where the Malays mostly reside. ◀

- Timothy P. Barnard, ed. 2004. *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity Across Boundaries*. Singapore: Singapore University Press. pp. 318, ISBN 9971-69-279-1 (Paperback) 9971-69-295-3 (Casebound)

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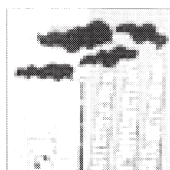
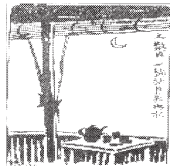
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Toward an eclectic peasant historiography

Studies on the role of peasantries in the revolutionary transformations of the modern world need to address more than overt political behaviour. Based on a detailed examination of the transformation of Indian peasant consciousness along anti-colonial, democratic, and class lines, this book fills a crucial historiographical gap in the study of peasants.

Manish K. Thakur

Analyses of peasant consciousness and political behaviour have disproportionately dwelt on violent mass insurrections. Indeed, they have occasioned grandiloquent historiographical and sociological debates on the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and the unraveling of the nexus between peasant and nationalist revolutions. There have also been studies highlighting the everyday acts of apolitical peasant resistance - the so-called 'weapons of the weak' approach. The advent of subaltern studies on the historiographic scene has added another dimension to the ongoing debate between the 'heroic' and 'everyday' of peasant resistance.

Steering clear of these extremes, the present book critically examines the role of the peasantry in the Indian national movement to probe the making of an Indian peasant consciousness. Divided into two parts - 'Political Practice in Rural Punjab' (chapters 1-7) and 'Interrogating Peasant Historiography: Peasant Perspectives, Marxist Practice and Subaltern Theory' (chapters 8-12) - Mukherjee presents an empirically rich and meticulously documented account

of Indian peasants' political practices. The book covers British India and the princely states (Punjab and Patiala respectively) but also draws on generalisations from other parts of the country and from the broader historiographical debate.

Peasants and nationalism

Anchoring the historiographical debate between class and nation in the political world of the peasants of Punjab, Mukherjee convincingly demonstrates the congruence of the boundaries of influence of the peasant and national movements. For the author, 'the anti-imperialist movement created the initial political space in which the peasant movement emerged... [I]t created a new political awareness and awakening among them which made them receptive to the more radical or "class-oriented" ideas of peasant organisation and peasant struggles' (p. 314). The organic relationship between peasant and nationalist movements is manifest in the overlapping political cadres and workers. In fact, 'the ideology of class or economic struggle had no chance of success if it raged itself against nationalism' (p. 318). Even communists' success depended on their being good nationalists.

Even if peasants and nationalists were fired by a common desire to reach out to each other, it would be rash to project nationalism as historically inevitable. Nobody disputes Mukherjee's empirical claim that peasant movements in India were ideologically and organisationally linked to the Indian National Congress. Equally true is her assertion that while nationalists were striving to break out of the limitations of moderate politics, peasants were looking beyond their local, sporadic struggles under traditional leadership. Mukherjee's theoretical zeal to posit a dialectically reciprocal relationship between nationalism and peasantry, however, leaves many questions unanswered. Simply asserting that nationalism has an elemental urge to it, or that nationalism was the historically most appropriate progressive ideology available to Indian peasants, is not enough.

Peasant mobilisation

Peasants have been remarkably adept at the use of modern forms of politics - press, posters, meetings and pamphlets. Yet, the romantic notion of subaltern violence refuses to die down. The use of violence has been equated to radical and revolutionary forms of peasant protest

while non-violent means have been seen as signs of the pro-landlord, pro-bourgeois and reactionary nature of the peasant movement. This dichotomisation between mass agitations and insurrections has been the staple of numerous works on peasant protest and mobilisation.

Of late, subaltern historians have further glorified the inherent rebelliousness of the subaltern classes. While refuting these binaries, Mukherjee posits a relationship between the character of political struggles and the state, and forms of protest. In the Indian context, 'both the availability of political space within the semi-hegemonic political struggle as well as expediency and calculation of costs organically propelled the peasant movement towards use of non-violent or non-insurrectionary forms of resistance and struggle' (p. 382). However, one is surprised by her facile argument that the ideas of democracy and republic (and, hence, the non-violent mass character of the peasant movements) found relatively easy acceptance among Indian peasants because the traditional functioning of the village landowning community was, at least in theory, democratic.

Anti-feudal consciousness?

Mukherjee underlines the singular


absence of the idea of 'land to the tiller', or any other constituent of modern anti-feudal consciousness among Indian peasants. Peasants struggled more for restoration of their lost rights to land than the abolition of landlordism. Most of their struggles were oriented towards upholding their right to subsistence. Any threat to this right, be it undue increase in land revenue, or illegal cesses and abwabs, or dispossession of traditional or customary rights to land, provoked widespread resistance.

On the whole, the book highlights the historic failure of the left-popular leadership to ideologically transform peasant consciousness along modern class-based politics. In doing so, it calls for a renewed assessment of the relative merits and viability of class and nation as sources of peasant mobilisations. ◀

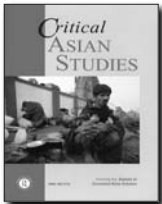
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Manish K. Thakur teaches Sociology at Goa University. He is presently working on a monograph on the idea of the Indian village.

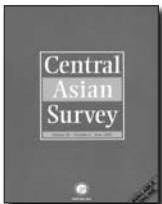
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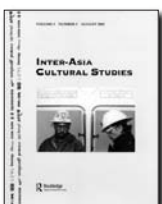
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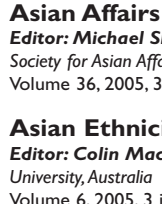
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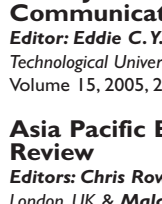
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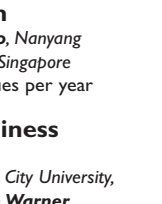
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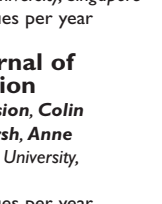
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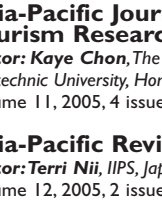
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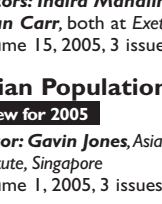
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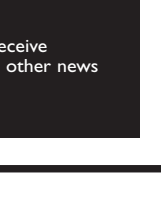
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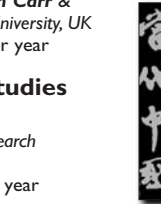
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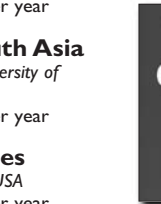
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Southeast Asia: ancient centre of urbanization?

The study of early Southeast Asian urbanization can reveal the variety of human responses to the environment that gave rise to the entity known as the 'city' today. Archaeologists have long been intrigued by cities, yet the specialized field of urban archaeology has only emerged within the past 25 years; the study of early Southeast Asian cities remains in its infancy.

John Miksic

The city

Defining the city continues to be problematic. Until recently, archaeologists assumed the city was a cultureless, universal phenomenon, with standard features regardless of time and place. It is now acknowledged, however, that the agglomeration of buildings and people was not an evolutionary inevitability. Physical and spatial expressions of social structure, population, political power, economic activity and religion are determined by local factors that vary across space and time. So describing the evolution of cities must begin by comparing local sequences of development with sequences found in other parts of the world. Differences in causal variables such as trade, warfare, religion and control of water supply then become apparent, revealing the effects of local environmental and historical conditions on urban development. Different cultures produced cities similar in form but bearing the stamp of their unique origins. Cities on Java, for example, function differently than cities in Thailand, the Philippines, Myanmar, China and India. Attempts to explain urban development according to a single linear model are thus doomed to fail; the evolution of the city was likely the result of an analogous rather than a homologous process (i.e. a form of convergent evolution).

Archaeologists still divide the development of human society into stages of increasing complexity, starting with the clan and proceeding to the tribe, the chiefdom and the state. The city was not thought of as a stage at all, but rather as proof that a society had attained state-level organization, a correlation now known to be erroneous. To take one example, the largest Egyptian pyramids were constructed around 3000 BCE, whereas the first urban centres did not appear until 1,500 years later. Early Egypt is now recognized as a 'civilization without cities'. It was, however, a civi-



11th and 13th century ports

lization with monuments. Paul Wheatley, in his study of Southeast Asian urbanization, *Nagara and Commandery*, equated monuments with urban economic patterns. The site of Angkor Thom in Cambodia is thus often called a city and assigned arbitrary populations of up to one million people, yet no evidence of dense habitation has been confirmed within its central precinct. Future research might discover such evidence, especially as our knowledge of Angkor Thom remains abysmal; archaeologists such as Jacques Gaucher have only recently begun to search for signs left by people who lived in perishable structures.

If not monuments, then what archaeological criteria can define the city? Population, even if it can be reconstructed, is not a valid yardstick. For instance, a city in ancient Mesopotamia may have contained no more than 5,000 inhabitants, but that figure is met by many large villages in Southeast Asia. In fact, the sites of Angkor Borei and Oc-èò in the lower Mekong River valley were

dense population centres, apparently restricted within small areas and possibly protected by walls. Indeed, at Oc-èò, Malleret, Pierre-Yves Manguin, and his Vietnamese collaborators have shown that numerous brick structures and a wide variety of manufacturing existed in the early first millennium CE. Despite signs of significant population and economic activity, neither site shows evidence of state-level organization. Such possible examples of states without cities and cities without states reinforce the conclusion that political structure cannot necessarily be divined by artifacts or settlement patterns.



Tegurwangi 14th century East Javanese temple mural of an itinerant merchant

Political structure is only one aspect of determining social complexity, and since some archaeologists believe it is no longer viable to determine political evolution through archaeological remains, they avoid using the term 'city' altogether and have turned to a more profound study of settlement patterns as the best hope of developing an accurate, objective 'yardstick' to understand the processes that lead to increasing social complexity. Instead of looking for 'cities', they look for 'hierarchies of settlement'.

Methods

To establish a hierarchy of settlement, one must chart the settlement patterns of many sites in a large area. Identifying early Southeast Asian settlement patterns requires large-scale archaeological surveys and excavations, interpretation of primary documents, analysis of trop-

ical disease patterns and agricultural systems, and geological, hydrological, remote sensing and other natural science techniques to recover data necessary to reconstruct models of early urbanization. Surveys of large areas such as the Mun and Chi River basins of northeast Thailand have confirmed that archaeological sites the world over tend to fall into discrete categories based on size, which is determined by barriers and a society's ability to overcome them. Once a society overcomes a barrier to its growth, it suddenly expands until it encounters another barrier, and a period of stagnation follows before this barrier, too, is (or is not) overcome. As a result, a pattern develops: first comes an early period when all sites in a particular region are approximately the same size; next, one or more of them grow into population centres significantly larger than the rest, either because of their strategic location on trade routes, relative security in the midst of war, access to an important resource, such as water, or importance as a centre of pilgrimage and ceremony. These centres form a hierarchy of settlement.

The passage of time is crucial. Sriketra and Bagan in Myanmar, and Angkor Borei and Angkor in Cambodia, have revealed centuries of occupation during which population and activity fluctuated drastically. Therefore, the hierarchy of settlement is not fixed; over time sites can shift from being higher-level centres to lower-level ones, and vice versa, thereby changing the hierarchy. One must now consider multiple criteria to determine precise sequences of growth and decline that can be used to reconstruct the hierarchy at different points in time. The daunting amount of field and laboratory work this requires has rarely been applied in Southeast Asia, where funds and trained personnel are scarce, which makes urban archaeology's exceedingly expensive and time-consuming nature an obstacle to progress. Yet only its approach can firmly resolve whether ancient Southeast Asia was a centre of early urbanization.

Indigenous or introduced?

Did foreigners fuel urbanization in Southeast Asia? Wheatley and many other scholars have asserted that foreign, mainly Indian, influence gave rise to Southeast Asian cities. Persians, Arabs, Sinhalese, Chinese and Indians did play significant roles in early urban



Excavation of Sri Ksetra: a mound being investigated at Sri Ksetra, late first millennium, Burma

development, but so did trade and industry. Evidence of foreign enclaves at such sites as Barus, northwest Sumatra, does not appear before the ninth or tenth centuries, although some speculate that Indians might have lived in the isthmian region of the Malay Peninsula at a much earlier date. Chinese immigration began no later than the twelfth century and gradually created enclaves over the next 200 years. The earliest direct reference to one is in 1349, when



Relief pendopo 14th century Javanese depiction of part of a settlement

Wang Dayuan refers to Chinese living in Singapore. Ian Glover and his co-workers have shown that Chinese artifacts were surprisingly common in what was probably an early Cham centre at Tra Kieu during the transition from pre-history to proto-history. Indeed, Chinese impact is an important, little-researched subject. But archaeological data is not conducive to determining the linguistic affiliations of past site residents unless epigraphical or historical data exist to augment the artifacts. ◀

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John N. Miksic, *Southeast Asian Studies Programme and Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.*



SCC volunteers: archaeologists at work on a 14th century urban site in Singapore

IIAS is organizing a series of four masterclasses on modern research techniques in Asian archaeology. The first, *Southeast Asia: a Centre of Ancient Urbanism?*, was led by Prof. John Miksic (National University of Singapore) and held in Leiden, 22 to 25 February 2005. He was assisted by three invited speakers, Prof. Ian Glover (University College London, UK), Dr Pierre-Yves Manguin (EFEO, Paris) and Dr Bion Griffin (University of Hawai'i, US). Some 15 participants from Europe and Asia attended, discussing their research interests, field results and experiences. The masterclass was co-sponsored by NWO and CNWS.

The masterclass was followed by a round table discussion on 26 February, co-organized with the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, to draw attention to the current state of the art in Asian archaeology teaching and research at European universities.

The next masterclass in this series, *Sciences and Technology in Asian Bio-archaeological Research*, will take place from 8 to 10 December 2005 and will be led by Prof. Rethy Chhem (Departments of Radiology and Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, Canada). For more information please see the advertisement in this newsletter and www.iias.nl

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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: 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 var-

ious 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: 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: J. Thomas Lindblad
www.iias.nl/iias/research/indonesianisasi

> Networks

ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index

The ABIA Index online database covers publications on prehistory, archaeology, and art history, material culture, epigraphy, paleography, numismatics, and sigillography of South and Southeast Asia. IIAS is the centre for regions outside Asia,

with support from the Gonda Foundation. Between 2002 and 2006 the project is coordinated by PGIAR, Colombo, with support from the Central Cultural Fund. Offices have also been opened at the IGNCA, New Delhi, and the Research Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. ABIA Index volume 1 is available at IIAS. Volume 2 is available at www.brill.nl
Coordinator: 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 programme aims to understand these changes comparatively and historically, focusing on five overlapping themes: the labour process, labour mobility, labour consciousness, gendered labour and labour laws and labour movements.
Coordinator: 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: Peter van der Veer
www.iias.nl/iias/research/transnational

> New initiatives

The Development of Space Technology in Asia

The space age has dramatically impacted on all nations. In Asia, the 'space-faring nations' - India, China and Japan - have achieved considerable success in building up indigenous space technologies and applications. Other Asian nations have readily adopted these applications, including satellites for telecommunications, for gathering data on the weather, and environmental and earth resources. IIAS is launching this new research initiative and has initiated a series of workshops on the topic (p.33).
www.iias.nl/iias/research/space

Piracy and Robbery on the Asian Seas

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

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

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

Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

This programme focuses on the impact of East and Southeast 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), The Hague.
Coordinator: Mehdi Parvizi Amineh
www.iias.nl/research/energy

[advertisement]

8-10 December 2005 – Leiden, the Netherlands

IIAS Masterclass on Modern Research Techniques in Asian Archaeology:

Sciences and Technology in Asian Bio-archaeological Research

Led by:

Prof. Rethy Chhem (Departments of Radiology and Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, Canada)

Rapid progress in the life sciences and medical technology over the past decades have revolutionized ancient skeletal studies. These include the extraction of ancient DNA, the use of medical imaging tools like CT scans and isotope studies, and newly available scientific and bio-archaeological tests. This masterclass will explore the role of science and technology in the investigation of the human past, emphasizing the necessity for collaboration between archaeologists, physical anthropologists and experts from the physical and life sciences.

Also presenting:

Prof. Anne Katzenberg (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Calgary, Canada)

Prof. El Molto (Dept. of Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, Canada)

Prof. Don Brothwell (Dept. of Archaeology, University of York, UK)

Deadline for registration:

1 October 2005

Registration and Information:

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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES



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European Alliance for Asian Studies

Port cities

Port cities are the nodes of distribution networks and have developed in different ways. Three models predominate and, between them, emphasize inner-city quays, dock extensions, market systems, destination logistics and relations between port cities as part of a network. These Western-biased theories attempt to explain, but fall short of fully understanding, the evolution of port cities and their present and future role. Using Jakarta as a model provides a necessary complement.

Peter J.M. Nas

In the model he calls Anyport, Bird (1971) examines the port's layout. Hoyle's Interface model (1988) emphasizes the role of technological development in relations between port and city. Van Klink's Rotterdam model (1995) considers ports as belonging to a network and addresses functional and spatial transformations within this context.

These models cover technology, spatial arrangements and management but neglect the role of culture in structural changes to the port, whose value and meaning to society have changed over time. The most spectacular transformation occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, when city and port began to separate. Ports functioning as the heart of their cities became detached transit ports divorced from urban life and eventually turned into distant industrial sites ignored or left derelict by the city. Revitalization of waterfronts and dock areas enticed the city back to the port with the possibility of creating high-standard living space. Especially in the 1980s, dilapidated port areas were renovated, with cultural tastes overriding functional principles. The port has again assumed its role as a logistical centre, relaying goods from distant sources to remote destinations and everywhere in between, while the port city of the information age has evolved into the centre of an urban network extending far beyond any previously imaginable horizon. Accounting for culture, then, there are really four dimensions to port city development: technology, spatial arrangements, culture and management.

Take technology. As it develops, ports must adapt. For example, steam power freed shipping from its dependence on wind and tide and permitted scheduled services (Loyen 2000: 13); maritime industry enabled the transportation of energy and food products; industrialization's appetite for oil augured the pipeline; and the automation of shipping and port transfer and the introduction of the container have revolutionized ports, decreasing labour intensity and increasing competition.

Spatial arrangements, meanwhile, depend largely on technical conditions. For instance, changes in transportation have compelled authorities to consider expanding ports, though they are also bound by environmental rules, quality of life concerns and market forces. Culture must also be considered, but even though a heterogenous culture - based on a mixture of different activities, peoples and functions - characterizes most port cities, the literature patently under-represents it.

Van Klink (1995: 12) indicates that users, local government and port authorities play important roles in the management of changing port functions. Local governments often assign management to

a port authority whose responsibilities include basic infrastructure maintenance, monitoring (environmental and safety control) and stimulating new activities. Thus the port authority is the middle man between the government and port users; the behaviour of all three depends on external economic, technological and social forces, and helps determine functional and spatial port structure.

Jakarta

Jakarta embodies these four dimensions, supplementing current Western-biased models. Jakarta is a dual port city comprised of Sunda Kelapa, the ancient river port for the inter-island traditional wooden sailing fleet (*pinisi*), and Tanjung Priok, a set of nineteenth-century sea docks for steel vessels modernized for container transport. History and environment contributed to this dual nature.

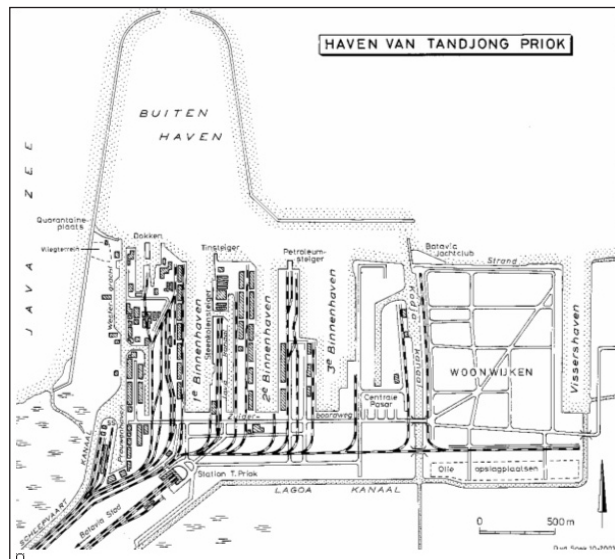
Jakarta stands on an alluvial plain of volcanic debris on the north coast of West Java (Verstappen 1953). The earliest settlement, Kalapa, was founded on the Ciliwung River, one of several that cut through the Sunda Region. Low altitude and heavy rainfall cause frequent inundations, called *banjir*, that silt the Ciliwung and form sandbanks across its mouth. These deposits expanded the seashore while monsoon currents formed the Bay of Jakarta and the Pulau Seribu islands.

Kalapa functioned as a harbour of West Javanese kingdoms. As Batavia, the headquarters of the Dutch colonial trade, it became Asia's most important externally induced trade centre. Regional and intercontinental trade spawned a symbiotic port and city, intertwining the functions of government with trade. In 1634, two 800-metre coral stone breakwaters were built, forming the harbour canal (Veering 2004: 133), but sea-going ships could not bypass the sandbanks blocking the river's mouth. Instead, ships anchored at the canal entrance, where goods were transferred into small *prahus* and transported at high tide to warehouses. West monsoon season made this laborious process precarious, as cargo was easily lost (Knaap 1996:

20). By 1874 coastal accretion had extended the breakwaters four kilometres into the Java Sea (Veering 2004: 133). This new land between city and sea was used for fish ponds, which bred mosquitoes that spread malaria, turning Batavia into one of the unhealthiest cities of its time and causing its decline. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Governor-General Daendels's transferred government functions inland, separating the harbour and its trading companies from the government zone and its public buildings, the first phase in the port's detachment from the city.

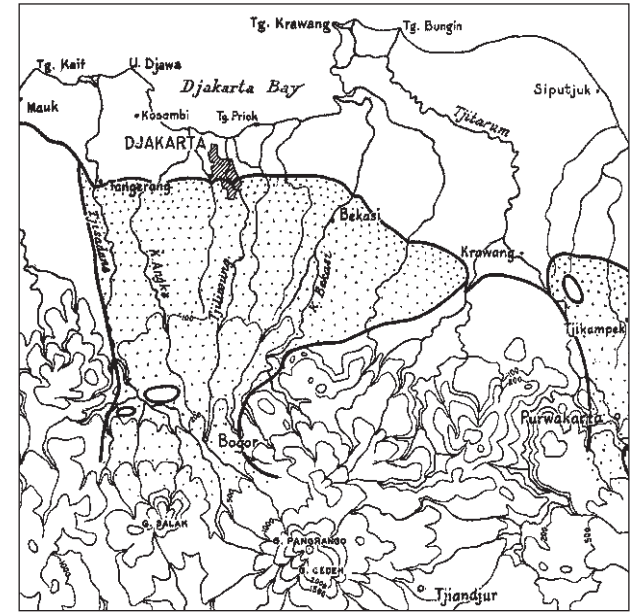
With the coming of steam power and the Suez Canal in the nineteenth century, Jakarta required facilities for larger ships. How to achieve this led to intense debate, elaborately documented by Veering (2004), that involved three proposals. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry supported enlarging the existing canal by adding a third parallel breakwater that would create an extra dock for use on two sides while maintaining the relationship between the old city centre and the harbour; silting, however, would remain a problem. Railway authorities preferred building a long dam connecting the western part of the Bay with the island of Onrust, creating a wide port twenty kilometres from the city and requiring rail transport. Department of Public Works engineers instead wanted a new harbour in the eastern Bay at Tanjung Priok, nine kilometres from the old city and less prone to silting. Two breakwaters far out to sea would shelter a large outer harbour, with an inner harbour of several docks, warehouses and railways.

The Tanjung Priok option won out. In the 1880s the new harbour went into service. Considered a triumph of public management and technology, it overcame opposition and functioned well. Railway, canal and road connections guaranteed interaction between the old city and the harbour (Veering, 2001). Increased shipping and long waiting times prompted improvements and an extension. Damaged during World War II, the harbour subsequently suffered from silting, lack of maintenance and inadequate management.



The harbour of Batavia, Tanjung Priok, c. 1930

Veering 2004: 137



Bay of Jakarta and hinterland, 1:1,000,000. Stippled: alluvial plane

Verstappen 1953: 8

Containers first appeared in Tanjung Priok in the 1970s and a container terminal opened in the 1980s. Container transfers increased from 3,000 in 1973 to 150,000 in 1984. During the 1990s toll road system upgrades improved access and helped increase transfers from 500,000 to 1.5 million. The spectacular rise of the container, most often transported inland by truck or rail, has spurred plans for port extension and land reclamation with private sector participation in accordance with current decentralization policy.

Port development created two busy harbours: old and new. But haunted by 'traffic jams, malfunctioning drainage, poor sanitation facilities, illegal and rundown housing, [and] open plots of land' (KuiperCompagnons 2004), the old town of Sunda Kelapa deteriorated and suburbanization marginalized it from bustling Jakarta. Partly executed plans to salvage its historic character restored some old buildings, created recreation and tourism activities and a toll road, but a master plan incorporating high-quality housing, the so-called Jayakarta Waterfront, conceptualizes a complete revitalization.

Modern transport will increasingly integrate Tanjung Priok into a harbour system determined by container operators offering worldwide services (Insa-Paper 1997). Singapore will function as a regional loading centre and Tanjung Priok will operate regional services supplied by local ports. Sunda Kelapa, once the main port of call for Asian trade, will retain its function as the inter-island sailing fleet harbour focused particularly on timber transport.

Jakarta both confirms the relevance and demonstrates the inadequacy of existing theoretical models of port city development. Current theory cannot explain a dual harbour that includes a traditional port for a wooden sailing fleet. But the harbour's history, environment and culture can. Supplementing current theory, Jakarta illustrates how important the uniqueness of a harbour is to the port city. ◀

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This article originates from the ASEF/Alliance workshop 'Port cities and city-states in Asia and Europe' organized by Chua Beng-Huat and Arndt Graf and held in Hamburg, Germany, 4-7 November 2004. For further information on this workshop: arndtgraf@yahoo.de

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IIAS

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More information:
www.asia-alliance.org

Alliance Update

On 25 April the ASEF/Alliance Asia-Europe Workshop Series selection committee discussed the 30 proposals that were sent in for the 2005/2006 round. The committee, which convened in Paris, had the task to select academic workshops that excelled in their innovativeness, relevance to both Asia and Europe and capacity to stimulate inter-regional and multidisciplinary discourse on both a theoretical and practical level.

When this Newsletter went to print, application evaluation was not yet finalized. Hence, the selected workshops will be announced in the next IIAS Newsletter. The Asia-Europe Workshop Series, sponsored by the Asia-Europe Foundation and the European Alliance for Asian Studies, aims to stimulate innovative research on Asia-Europe relations and to strengthen existing links between scholars and institutions. For further details please visit: www.asia-alliance.org and www.aews.asef.org.

As you may have noticed the Center for International Studies and Research (CERI) has joined as the French member of the Alliance. For the last couple of years there remained the question who would be the most appropriate institutional actor within Sciences Po to be a member of the Alliance. We have enjoyed working with the Asia-Europe Centre, however, the unanimous feeling of Alliance members is that CERI would be an even more suitable partner within the Sciences Po framework, since the Alliance wishes to concentrate on research as an essential part of its activities.

The CERI with its 50 or so full time and associate researchers can provide great inputs in this area. On the research agendas of the various members of the Alliance increasing emphasis is placed on transversal themes and CERI, as a centre with exceptional competence in both Area Studies and in International Relations, is uniquely placed to contribute in this area. Therefore the official presence of CERI as the privileged interlocutor would clarify the situation and make Sciences Po's voice in the Alliance even stronger. ◀

The Second Asian Space Conference

Multi-disciplinary conference

8-11 November 2005

Hanoi, Vietnam

Hosted by the Vietnamese Academy of Science and Technology.

Call for papers in the following themes.

1. Space systems in the Asian region: descriptions of current space activities and missions in Asia. National space systems and infrastructures (satellite designs, sub-system technologies and payloads, acquisition, processing and use of satellite data). Proposals and studies of future space missions, cooperative regional and international activities. Description, role and usefulness of small satellite developments in the region.
2. Legal aspects of and framework for satellite-based services and applications, and the role of private enterprise under international and national law. Regulatory regimes for Asian space activities in the commercial, consumer and civil sectors. Legal aspects of earth resource satellites: access to data and data policy issues, including intellectual property rights, legal value as evidence in court e.g. in case of environmental pollution; national sovereignty over natural resources versus freedom of satellite information gathering.
3. Satellite applications: telecommunications (national and international), weather forecasting, earth resources monitoring (land, sea and air), sociological uses (education, and distance learning, rural tele-medicine), environmental monitoring for disaster control and mitigation (floods, forest fires, oil spills). Use of satellites in archeology research and investigations to preserve national heritages. Impacts of satellite applications on regional cultures, commerce and communities.
4. Socio-economic: use of satellites (data and communications) in national policy and planning decisions to realize and implement the benefits in both urban and rural communities; the role of international organizations. Space applications to solve common prob-

lems of sustainable economic growth, poverty alleviation, social stability and disaster mitigation. Promotion of space science and technology in education (schools, universities etc) and creation of awareness in the public and private sectors.

Abstracts and proposals (300 words) containing:

- Paper title
- Author Name(s)
- Proposed presenter(s)
- Affiliation(s)
- Mailing address
- Phone, fax, and e-mail for all authors and presenters
- If electronic submission is not possible, please send or fax the above information.

Important dates

- 15 August - Abstract submission
- 15 September - Notice of acceptance
- 1 October 2005 - Registration
- 15 October 2005 - Submission full papers

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New Agreement on Scientific Cooperation between IIAS and the Institute of the Indigenous Peoples of the North in Yakutsk, Sakha (Russian Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division)

In December 2004 Wim Stokhof, Director of IIAS, and V.A. Robbek, Director of the Institute of the Indigenous Peoples of the North in Yakutsk (Russian Academy of

Sciences, Siberian Division) signed an agreement to 'strengthen research and education on issues related to the aboriginal peoples of the Arctic', 'to establish relations between scientists of both Institutes' and 'to share experiences, methods, and results of research in areas of mutual interest'. The two parties agree to keep each other informed about research programmes and conferences, exchange publications and to participate in joint expeditions. In the first months following the agreement a number of activities took place:

A linguistic expedition by Cecilia Odé (IIAS) and Anna Bukhantsova (INIP) to the Tundra Yukagir people in Andryushkino village (Northeast Sakha). These nomadic people used to be hunters and fishermen, but are now reindeer herders. As part of the project 'Voices from Tundra and Taiga' (Development Programme at IIAS and NWO for Endangered Languages in Northern Asia) Odé and Bukhantsova recorded folktales, everyday narratives and traditional songs by Tundra Yukagir speakers, a Paleo-Siberian language. The aim of this project is to build a digital phono- and videolibrary of ethnolinguistic materials on the Internet and on CD/DVD for research, and to develop course material to safeguard cultural heritage and to revitalize the language.

Participation of Cecilia Odé in the third World Reindeer Herders' Congress (organized by the Government of Sakha and the Association of World Reindeer Herders), and the International Scientific Conference on the Culture of Reindeer Herders Peoples (organized by the Education Centre of Sami Area (Finland), the Arctic Institute of Culture and Art and the Institute of the Indigenous Peoples of the North), Yakutsk, 16-20 March 2005. During the plenary session Odé presented an audiovisual report on the joint fieldwork mentioned above and drew a general pic-

ture of the project 'Voices from Tundra and Taiga'. A result of the conference was agreement on fourteen recommendations to UNESCO and the Government of Sakha to improve social conditions and to realize a sustainable development of cultures of Arctic peoples to protect the unique cultural heritage of the reindeer-herding minorities.

Some publications recently received by IIAS are:

- Robbek, M.E. and V.P. Yakovlev (photography). 2004. Colours of Northern Light in the Patterns of Masters: Decorative Applied Art of the Even People in Berezovka Novosibirsk: Nauka. ISBN 5-02-032360-8.
The book (in Russian) presents a beautifully illustrated description of the traditional costumes and handicrafts of the Even people living near the river Kolyma including an extensive glossary.
- A set of CD's of the weekly radioprogrammes 'Voices from Tundra and Taiga' running since autumn 2004 on the music of the Arctic People with special emphasis on traditional singing, presented by Valentina Petrova and ethnomusicologist Yuri Sheikin (Institute of the Indigenous Peoples of the North and the Arctic Institute).

Cecilia Odé, research fellow at IIAS
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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

[advertisement]

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE TENURE-TRACK POSITION IN CHINESE HISTORY

The Department of History invites applications for a tenure-track Assistant Professorship in Chinese history. Candidates should have completed the PhD by the time of appointment, and should have strong research and publication potential, and a commitment to undergraduate teaching and advising graduate research. We encourage applications from all qualified candidates, but our preference is for a historian in Late Imperial China. An ability to contribute to a dialogue on diaspora, gender or the place of China within regional or world history would be an additional advantage.

Salaries and benefits are competitive with most US universities. Terms of service can be viewed at: http://www.nus.edu.sg/ohr/jobs/faculty/terms_service_acad.htm.

The closing date for application is 15th July 2005. The successful candidate is expected to join the department by December and begin teaching in January 2006. Applications may be sent either by mail or electronically as a Microsoft Word attachment, and should include a cover letter with a detailed statement of teaching and research interests, a curriculum vitae, sample of professional work, teaching evaluations, and three confidential letters of recommendations.

Details on the Department of History are available at <http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist>.

Please address e-mail inquiries and send application materials to:
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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: onderzoeksgroepias@fmg.uva.nl

First workshop RNIP

In early April the first workshop of the regional network for Indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia took place at the campus of Isabela State University, in Cabaan, the Philippines. During this workshop representatives from civil society organizations from Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines came together to discuss their role in voicing the struggle of indigenous peoples.

A variety of organizations were present, some representing recently established small organizations working at the local level while others are well established and operating nationally, such as PACOS in Sabah. A few organizations are active at the international level such as the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) and Tebtebba, lobbying for indigenous peoples' rights with international organizations. The aim of this first workshop was

to discuss the needs of these organizations and to identify common interests and to identify the areas in which they can mutually support each other. As a result of the highly diverse legal position of indigenous peoples in Southeast Asian countries the activities ranged from legal struggle for recognition to projects of health care agriculture.

Among the keynote speakers was Indirah Simbolon, the officer in charge of the indigenous peoples policy of the Asian Development Bank. She gave an overview of the practices of implementing the Bank's policy guidelines. She also announced the preparation of a handbook which is bound to be published soon.

An interesting phenomenon that came up during the meeting was the concept of migrant indigenous people: people that have been replaced as a result of infrastructural projects and no longer occupy their ancestral domains but still retain their identity as indigenous peoples. Though usually in definitions of indigenous peoples there is a direct relation between the people and their traditional home territory, the fact that external circumstances have forced them out of their territory does not necessarily imply loss of status as an indigenous community. There was a field visit to the Ifugao people who were removed from the Cordillera mountain because of dam construction but have successfully built a sustainable society in their new area. They have turned a logged-over area in the Sierra Madre Mountain Range,

Malabing Valley, into a citrus producing agricultural area. For their achievements they have received a number of rewards. In most other cases in Southeast Asia indigenous peoples are still fighting to retain land rights and to avoid forced displacement from their territories.

In the next phase of the project workshops and trainings will be organized in Indonesia. There will be a focus on strengthening civil society organization by bringing in experts on the problems faced by these types of organizations. Among these are issues like accountability, transparency, cooperation versus competition between like-minded organizations, in particular in relation to fund raising. Another important issue in the case of indigenous peoples organizations is representation. Who is representing who and for which purposes? And what is the role of so-called care-takers: people and organizations claiming to act on behalf of others. Researchers will be invited to speak on these topics in order to help these organizations become stronger components of civil society.

Gerard A. Persoon
persoon@cml.leidenuniv.nl
For the full text of the speech by Indirah Simbolon see: www.adb.org/Documents/Events/2005/1st-Workshop-RNIP/default.asp

- engages with the fastest growing economies of the world
 - brings together expertise from a wide range of disciplines to understand the societies of East Asia
 - produces postgraduates who are equipped to operate effectively in a growing range of organisations with an East Asian focus
 - focuses on the critical relationships between Europe and East Asia
 - will establish the University of Bristol as a leading centre for research and teaching on East Asia
- East Asian studies in most universities has stood outside the mainstream, languishing in Oriental Studies faculties which have often focused primarily on language training, and which have often expected their researchers to do the same. CEAS will mainstream the skills needed to understand East Asia, outsource language training to the University Language Centre, and foreground the social science and humanities approaches needed by those seeking to understand, work in and work with East Asia. In January 2005, the CEAS launched the new MSc in East Asian Studies and the opportunity to undertake post doctoral research training at the Centre.

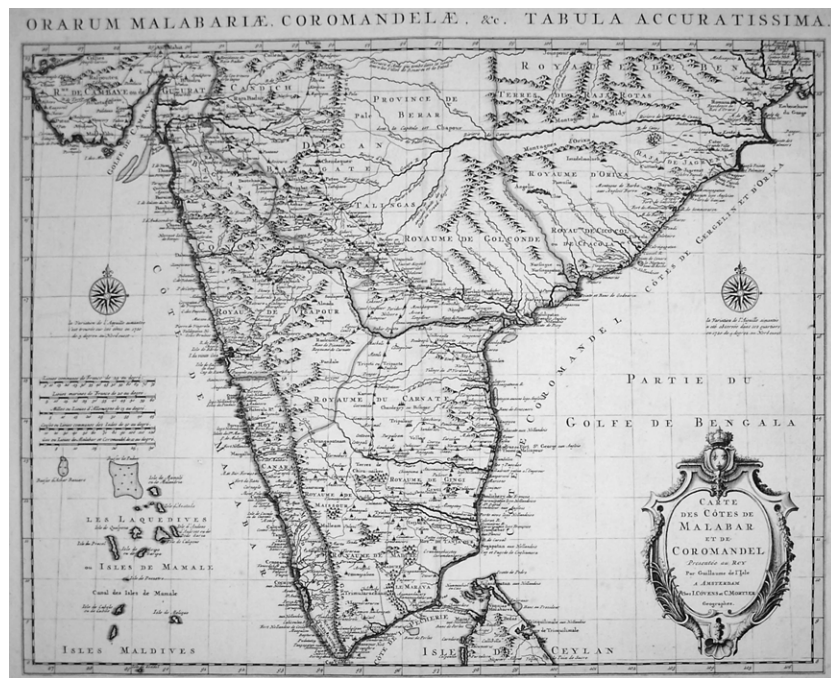
For further information please contact Emma.Holland@bristol.ac.uk or visit www.bristol.ac.uk/ceas

Negotiating ethnicity in Nepal's past and present

September 12 - 14 2005
Kathmandu, Nepal
Social Science Baha – Institute of World Society Studies /University of Bielefeld – CNAS /Tribhuvan University – German Research Foundation – EU-Asia-Link

Call for Papers
Since 1990, ethnicity formation has provoked a large number of public debates in Nepal and has remained on the political agendas until the beginning of 2005. Immediately after the 'spring awakening', the image of a multicultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual Nepalese society emerged as a powerful counter-project to the official rhetoric describing Nepal in an assimilative and homogenising language during the Panchayat period. However, the project to depict the Nepalese society as 'multicultural' has proven to be an embattled ground where diverse visions, strategies and grievances have come to intersect and to contest each other. The aim of the conference is to understand these negotiations and specifically to grasp the dynamics of 'ethnicisation' and 'de-ethnicisation' in Nepal's past and present.

The conference's architecture is designed around several crucial topics pertaining to ethnicity formation as well as to alterna-



An eighteenth-century map of India, collection Kern Institute, no. kastla 6-05

This map's title, *Carte des côtes de Malabar et de Coromandel / présentée au Roy par Guillaume de l'Isle. Amsterdam : chez I. Covens et C. Mortier*, is found in the cartouche at the right bottom and in Latin as the heading: *Orarum Malabariae, Coromandelae, &c. tabula accuratissima*. There is no year of publication given but Covens and Mortier, the publishers, did most of their work between 1730-1774. Scale: ca. 1 : 4.000.000.

The French cartographer Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726) sought to compile a map as precise as possible. He mainly used geographical and astronomical data gathered and calculated *in situ* by Jesuit missionaries which was sent to Europe.

The most important towns are marked by city symbols and sometimes there is explicit mention of a *pagoda* situated at the spot. Hilly areas and woodlands are indicated by plotted mountains and clusters of trees. Even the diamond mines at Raolconda (near presentday Kurnool, A.P.) are mentioned. The demarcation lines between the territories of several kingdoms are coloured as is the entire coastline of the subcontinent. At many seaside towns reference is made to the establishment of British, French, Dutch or Portuguese trading posts.

Geert Scholte
visiting fellow University Library
(Bodel-Nijenhuis collection)

The Indian Princely States

International Research Symposium
8 - 10 July 2005
University of Southampton

The conference brings together scholars from different parts of the world to present and discuss their research on the Indian Princely States. This is a subject of growing interest and the meeting will enable researchers to reflect on their different approaches and the differences/similarities between various Princely States. Scholars from a variety of academic disciplines (history, economics, political sciences, area studies, sociology, anthropology, literature) will be represented, making this event truly interdisciplinary.

It is hoped that participants will work out directions for future research. Although the focus is on the Princely States only, insights derived from the meeting will be relevant also more generally to the history and historiography of South Asia (especially in relation and contrast to research on British India).

Panels on the following themes have been scheduled:
'Legitimacy and Power', 'Society and Economy', 'Health in the "Unhealthy" Enclaves', 'The Traumas of Transition', 'Images and Constructions'

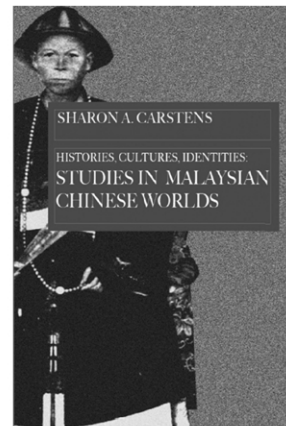
Contact for programme and registration form:
Biswamoy Pati, Delhi,
biswamoypati@hotmail.com
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What is the Bristol Centre for East Asian Studies?

It is an exciting, new initiative from the University of Bristol, led by Ka Ho Mok, that:

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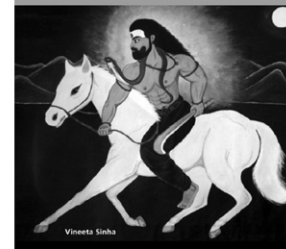
New Books on Southeast Asia



Histories, Cultures, Identities: Studies in Malaysian Chinese Worlds
Sharon A. Carstens
HISTORY
324 pp | PAPERBACK | ISBN 9971-69-312-7



A New God in the Diaspora? Muneeswaran Worship in Contemporary Singapore
Vineeta Sinha
SOCIOLOGY / RELIGION
356 pp | PAPERBACK | ISBN 9971-69-321-6



Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in 19th-century West Java
Mikihiro Moriyama
HISTORY
304 pp | PAPERBACK | ISBN 9971-69-322-4



Singapore University Press
AS3-01-02, 3, Arts Link, Singapore 117569.
E-mail: nusbooks@nus.edu.sg
Website: <http://www.nus.edu.sg/npu>

tive projects. At the same time, the conference aims to locate Nepali experiences within a wider South Asian and global context.

Conference coordinators

Rajendra Pradhan, Social Science Baha, icnec@wlink.com.np
 Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Institute of World Society Studies /University of Bielefeld joanna.pfaff@uni-bielefeld.de, joanna_pfaff@yahoo.de
 Nirmal Man Tuladhar, CNAS, Tribhuvan University nirmal@ccsl.com.np, cnastu@mail.com.np

Conference Secretariat

Social Science Baha
 Himal Association
 Patan Dhoka,
 PO Box 166, Lalitpur, Nepal
 Phone: 977-1-5542544/5537408/5548142
 Fax: 977-1-5541196
 email: baha@himalassociation.org
 www.himalassociation.org/baha

Southeast Asia in the Ming Reign Chronicles (14th-17th Centuries): An English-language translation of Ming shi-lu references to Southeast Asia

The *Ming shi-lu* (also known as the Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty) is a collective name for the successive reign annals of the emperors of Ming China (1368-1644). These collected texts, which run to close to 40,000 pages of unpunctuated, manuscript Classical Chinese constitute one of the most important primary texts of the Ming dynasty, and contain a wealth of materials unrecorded in other sources.

Among the unique materials contained within the *Ming shi-lu* (MSL) are a wide range of references to polities and societies which today we consider to be parts of Southeast Asia. This work identifies all of the 4,000-plus references to Southeast Asia contained within the MSL and provides in English translation. In addition to the more obvious Southeast Asian polities of maritime and mainland Southeast Asia, this database also includes references to the many Yunnan Tai polities which have subsequently been incorporated within the Chinese state.

The collection can be browsed chronologically or searched by specific terms. To assist in searches, an index of personal and geographical names, with their Chinese equivalents appended, is provided separately. The database also includes some introductory essays on the nature of the source. An analytical volume which examines the relevance of these materials for the study of Southeast Asia is in preparation and is slated for publication by NUS Press in 2007.

This database is intended to remain a gratis resource and it is hoped that readers will help improve it by submitting comments, criticisms, corrections and additions. All correspondence relating to the database should be addressed to Geoff Wade at: arigpw@nus.edu.sg or c/o Asia Research Institute, Level 4, AS7, Shaw Foundation Building, 5 Arts Link, NUS, Singapore 117570
 www.eprint.nus.edu.sg/msl/

Nominations ICAS Book Prizes 2005

The secretariat of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) has established the ICAS book prizes to create international attention for publications on Asia and increase their visibility worldwide.

All scientific books published in 2003 and 2004 on topics dealing with Asia were eligible. Three prizes will be awarded:

1. best study in the humanities
2. best study in the social sciences.
3. best PhD dissertation.

For categories 1 and 2 the prize money consists of ff 2500.

The best PhD will be published in the ICAS/Brill Series.

The recipients will be announced during ICAS 4 (20-24 August 2005) in Shanghai.

Nominations

The reading committee has reviewed 38 books (23 in the humanities and 15 in the social sciences). They came up with a shortlist of three books per category. In alphabetical order:

Social sciences

- Elisabeth C. Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2004)
- Xiaoming Huang, *The Rise and Fall of the East Asian Growth System 1951-2000: Institutional Competitiveness and Rapid Economic Growth* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon 2004)
- Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr (eds), *The State of Civil Society in Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2003)

Humanities

- Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India. Power Relations in Western India c. 1572-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004)
- Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2004)
- Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Harvard: Harvard University Press 2004)

Dissertations

- Son-Key-young, *South Korean Identities in Strategies of Engagement with Korea: A Case Study of President Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy* (2 volumes) (The University of Sheffield 2004)
- Samuel Kwok-Fu Wong, *Community Participation of Mainland Chinese Migrants in Hong Kong - Rethinking Agency, Institutions and Authority in Social Theory* (University of Bradford 2004)

Paul van der Velde

secretary reading committee
 ICAS Book Prizes 2005

For more information

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 2300 RA Leiden
 The Netherlands
 T +31-71-5272227
 F: +31-71-5274162
 icas@let.leidenuniv.nl
 www.icassecretariat.org

Amsterdam,
 31 October 2005
 to 6 January 2006

In the first semester of the academic year 2005 - 2006 the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), in close cooperation with the Universiteit van Amsterdam (UvA), Leiden University (UL), the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU), and the Radboud University Nijmegen (RU), organizes four regional courses on Asia. The courses will be held from 31 October 2005 to 6 January 2006 (5 ECTS) at the UvA from 17.00 onwards as to stimulate participation of non-students.

Information can also be found at www.iias.nl/regionalcourses

regional courses on Asia

East Asia: Powerhouse and Politics
 East Asia, which comprises China, Japan, both Korea and informally independent Taiwan, is the home of nearly a quarter of the world population. This course offers a comparative overview of East Asia's position in the global political and economic arenas. It will relate its political and economic systems, the organisation of its business enterprises, its social dynamics, and the formation of its widely divergent identities by regional media, academics and artists.

Southeast Asia - Contested Identities and Political Experiments
 Southeast Asia regularly makes headlines: How long will the Thai and Indonesian governments tolerate the presence of foreign donor organizations in the tsunami area? Why do some politicians wish to unite Malaysia, Indonesia, and the southern Philippines in the capitalist-like Vietnamese economy? Do the East Timorese succeed in building up a new independent nation? All these topical issues refer directly or indirectly to contested identities or the search for a political format.

South Asia: Diversity and Contradictions
 The course takes the various parameters of South Asian history and contemporary developments as its points of departure. Around the overall theme of contradictory developments in South Asia - dynamism and stagnation, modernity and tradition, globalisation and localisation - a large number of topics will be discussed. These topics are related to pressing issues of international and national politics, economic development and social disparities.

Central Asia in Modern Times: From Protectorate Region to Independent States
 This course aims to investigate differing conceptions of Central Asian nationality and modernity to understand their divergent paths of cultural and political development. It will outline the period of Tsarist colonial rule, which led to the emergence of a modern political intelligentsia in the early twentieth century. Consequently the rise and disintegration of Soviet power leading to the complex interplay between security, conflict, and development in post-Soviet Central Asia will be discussed.

These regional courses are part of the one year Master's Programme Contemporary Asian Studies (MA CAS) and are open to BA students and non-students. For non-students the fee per course is 100 euro.

Venue
 University of Amsterdam

Information & Registration for non-students
 IIAS Branch Office Amsterdam
 Binnen Gasthuis 5, room 313
 Oudezijds Achterburgwal 237
 1012 DL Amsterdam, the Netherlands
 T + 31 - 20 - 525 3657
 F + 31 - 20 - 525 3658
 iias@fmg.uva.nl

Registration for students
 Registration for students at the University of Amsterdam can be effected through the Studieweb at <http://studieweb.student.uva.nl/studieadmin/menu>

Students from outside the University of Amsterdam register as a 'bijvakstudent' 1 September 2005. After receiving the UvA student card number, the student can register through the Studieweb. Contact: Department of Registration of the University of Amsterdam (Binnengasthuisstraat 9, T 020-5258080).

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 The Netherlands
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 Email: info@asianstudiesbooks.com

July 2005

3-5 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 July 2005

Brussels, Belgium
The EU, China and the quest for a multilateral world
conference to mark the thirtieth anniversary of EU-China relations organized by Eur-Ifri, the new European branch of the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) in Brussels, and the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
information: Breux@ifri.org

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

5 July 2005

Oxford, United Kingdom
Japanese ceramics
lunchtime gallery talk
www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk/

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/

11-13 July 2005

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

12 July 2005

Berkely, USA
North Korea: Nuclear Weapons and the Six-Party Talks
lecture by Philip Yun
http://ieas.berkeley.edu/events/

12-15 July 2005

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

13-15 July 2005

Melbourne, Australia
Old Myths and New Approaches: Advances in the Interpretation of Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia
hosted by the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies and Monash Asia Institute
www.arts.monash.edu.au/mai/sacredsites/

13-19 July 2005

Sydney, Australia
Chinese Philosophy and Human Development in the 21st Century
14th International Society for Chinese Philosophy (ISCP) Conference
iscp@incompass.com.au
www.incompass.com.au/iscp

13-31 July 2005

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
International Summer School
Kyrgyz-Turkish MANAS University
summerschool@manas.kg
www.summerschool.manas.kg

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: Prof Carl A. Trocki
c.trocki@qut.edu.au
Singapore participants contact:
Prof Chua Beng Huat
soccbh@nus.edu.sg
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2005/postwar.htm

18 July-12 August 2005

Stanford, USA
Stanford summer komorjo workshop
Contact: Connie Chin
csquare@stanford.edu

19 July 2005

Berkely, USA
The Geopolitics of Energy
lecture by Thomas G. Burns
http://ieas.berkeley.edu/events/

20 July 2005

Oxford, United Kingdom
Celebration of India
lunchtime gallery talk
www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk/

21-22 July 2005

Honolulu, USA
Restructuring Korea's SMEs in the Age of Globalization
conference
contact: Penny Higa
higap@eastwestcenter.org

27-30 July 2005

Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Violence and the Japanese occupation of Indonesia
organized by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in cooperation with Universitas Gadjah Mada
contact: Project bureau Indonesia across Orders
indie-indonesie@niod.nl
www.indie-indonesie.nl

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

1-2 August 2005

Padang, Indonesia
Decolonization in Sumatra, 1930-1970
organized by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in cooperation with Universitas Andalas Padang
contact: Project bureau Indonesia across Orders
indie-indonesie@niod.nl
J. Thomas Linblad
J.T.Linblad@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.indie-indonesie.nl

4 August 2005

Singapore
Enduring and Transient Legacies of WWII on Southeast and East Asia
conference
coordinator: Derek da Cunha.
derek@iseas.edu.sg.

5-8 August 2005

Bau-Bau, Buton, Indonesia
International Symposium 'Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara'
contact: Titik Pujdiastuti
titikpuji@yahoo.com
La Niampe, M. Hum.
la_niampe@plasa.com

7 August-9 August 2005

Malmö, Sweden
Gender and Human Rights in China and the Nordic Countries
Second Sino-Nordic Women and Gender Studies Conference
organized by NIAS, Fudan University's Nordic Centre, Lund University and Malmö University
www.mah.se/templates/Page_____15787.aspx

7-12 August 2005

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

8-17 August 2005

Yangon, Myanmar
Myanmar History from Myanmar Perspectives
Special Programme
Organized by SEAMEO Regional Centre for History and Tradition (SEAMEO CHAT)
seameo_chat@mptmail.net.mm

10 August 2005

Canberra, Australia
Religion in Contemporary Vietnam
Workshop
Australian National University,
Contact: Philip Taylor
Philip.Taylor@anu.edu.au
http://rspas.anu.edu.au/polisoc/Vietnam/

11-12 August 2005

Canberra, Australia
Not by Rice Alone: Making Sense of Spirituality in Reform-era Vietnam
Vietnam Update
Australian National University,
Contact: Philip Taylor

Philip.Taylor@anu.edu.au

http://rspas.anu.edu.au/polisoc/Vietnam/

15-20 August 2005

Munich, Germany
The 11th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia
contact: Florian Mildnerberger
sektariat.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)
Third International Conference of Institutes & Libraries for Chinese Overseas Studies
contact: Liu Wei Ho
weiho@nib.gov.sg
www.huayinet.org

20-24 August 2005

Shanghai, China
International Convention of Asia Scholars 4 - ICAS 4
Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) in cooperation with the ICAS Secretariat (IIAS)
icas4@sass.org.cn and icas@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.sass.org.cn/cas4 and
www.icassecretariat.org

24-27 August 2005

Istanbul, Turkey
Bringing International Studies Together: contrasting approaches and agendas
Global International Studies Conference
www.ias.org

29-31 August 2005

Lampedusa, Italy
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), Carl Grundy-Warr (National University of Singapore)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

31 August-3 September 2005

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

September 2005

of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) and the Indonesian Ministry of Research and Technology (Menristek)
contact: Project bureau Indonesia across Orders
indie-indonesie@niod.nl
www.indie-indonesie.nl

29 September - 2 October 2005
Boston, USA
The Sixth CESS Annual Conference
CESSconf@fas.harvard.edu
http://cess.fas.harvard.edu/CESS_Conference.html

16 September 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands
How the Balance Swing: A Hundred Years after the Russo-Japanese War
organized by IIAS
onderzoeksgroepias@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
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/gcc2005

23-24 September 2005

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

27-29 September

Jakarta, Indonesia
Indonesia across Orders research programme (NIOD).
presentations by: Taufik Abdullah, J. Thomas Lindblad, and Sarkawi B. Husain
organized by the Royal Netherlands Academy

23-29 October, 2005

Manila, Philippines
Making Governance Gender Responsive (MGGR)
training
Center for Asia Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP)
www.capwip.org/

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

28-29 October 2005

Copenhagen, Denmark
Responsibly Made in China? Chinese Development & Corporate Social Responsibility
workshop
organized by NIAS and Copenhagen Business School
http://nias.ku.dk/activities/conferences/default.htm

28-30 October 2005

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

31 October 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands
Europe and Asia: Sustainable relations, Sustainable growth
Asia-Europe Lecture
by L.J. Brinkhorst, Minister of Economic Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, the Netherlands
organized by IIAS
information: Amis Boersma
a.boersma@let.leidenuniv.nl

November 2005

3-5 November 2005

Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Law and order in the Japanese empire 1895-1945
organized by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation and Robert Cribb, Australian National University
contact: Project bureau Indonesia across Orders
indie-indonesie@niod.nl
www.indie-indonesie.nl

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
organised by IIAS

convenors: Peter van der Veer & Shoma Munshi (IIAS) and Patricia Uberoi & Ravni Thakur (Institute for Chinese Studies, Delhi University)
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

8-10 December 2005

Leiden, the Netherlands
Bio-archaeology in Asia
second IIAS Masterclass on Modern Research Techniques in Asian Archaeology
convenor: Rethy Chhem
organized by IIAS
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

22-24 December 2005

Varanasi, India
Children, Youth, and their Education in a Globalizing India
Centre for Postcolonial Education
organizer: Rohit Setty
settyrb@umich.edu

January 2006

12-14 January 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands
Is there a 'Dharma of History'?
convenors: Axel Schneider (Leiden University) and Alexander L. Mayer (University of Illinois)
organized by IIAS
co-sponsored by the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

February 2006

7-10 February 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands
Masterclass: Images of 'Wild Folk' in Southeast Asia
convenor: Gregory Forth
organized by IIAS
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

23-24 February 2006

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

December 2005

1-3 December 2005

Macao, China
History and Memory: Present Reflections on the Past to Build Our Future
symposium
Macao Ricci Institute
www.riccimac.org/

March 2006

16-18 March 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands
The emergence and role of formal languages
convenors: Frits Staal and Johan van Benthem
organized by IIAS
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

22-24 March 2006

San Diego, USA
The North-South divide and International Studies
47th Annual ISA Convention
www.isa.org

May 2006

12-13 May 2006

Singapore
Asian expansions: the historical processes of polity expansion in Asia
workshop
organised by Asia Research Institute
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/expansion.htm

24-27 May 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands
Intellectual history in pre-colonial Asia
masterclass
convenor: Sheldon Pollock
organized by IIAS
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

June 2006

27-30 June 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands
19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies
convenor: D. H. A. Kolff
organized by EASAS and IIAS
Ecmsas2006@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.easas.org

August 2006

3-4 August 2006

Singapore
Rationalising China's place in Asia, 1800 to 2005
organized by Asia Research Institute
Zheng Yangwen
arizyw@nus.edu.sg
Liu Hong
chsluh@nus.edu.sg

You can increase public awareness of your conference in this newsletter and in the online Agenda Asia by submitting your conference details to
www.iias.nl/gateway/news/agasia

Canada

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria

1040 Moss Street
Victoria, British Columbia V8V 4P1
T +1-250-384-4101
http://aggv.bc.ca/

Until 14 August 2005

Tradition & Innovation: The Art of Meiji Japan
The works of art in this exhibition illustrate both the traditional styles that struggled to survive during the Meiji period (1868-1912) as well as a new Western taste and influence in clothing, architecture, newspapers, transportation, and war. A huge number of woodblock prints glorifying Japan's military victories were produced in this period. In addition to the woodblock prints, the exhibition features paintings, ceramics, ivory carvings, cloisonné, metalworks, and lacquerwares.

China

Art Museum - The Chinese University of

Hong Kong
Shatin, N.T. Hong Kong
T +852-26097416
www.cuhk.edu.hk/jcs/jamm/

Until 25 September 2005

Shimmering Colour: Monochromes of the Yuan to Qing Periods - The Zhuyuetang Collection
This exhibition features some 150 items of monochrome wares produced in Jingdezhen, dating from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties. The displays demonstrate the evolution in firing technique and innovation of unprecedented glaze colours of monochrome wares since the 14th century, and that this inventiveness and achievement continued from the late Kangxi to Qianlong reigns. The exhibits also provide a comprehensive overview of the Chinese tradition of ceramic connoisseurship over the last five centuries.

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 22 August 2005

A Synthesis of Lyrical Excellence and Martial Agility - The Stage Art of Ng Kwan Lai
Renowned female artist Ng Kwan Lai, born Ng Wan, is one of the most successful artists to play the *fa dan* role in Cantonese Opera. Showcasing over 170 valuable items selected from Ng's donation of 3000 items, including cos-

tumes and accessories, librettos, publicity material and photographs, this exhibition reviews Ng's career and celebrates her distinguished artistic achievements in Cantonese Opera.

The Macau Museum of Art

Macao Cultural Centre
Av. Xian Xing Hai, s/n, NAPE
Macao
T +853-791 9814, 853-791 9800
www.artmuseum.gov.mo

Until 20 November 2005

Shiwan Ceramics
This exhibition introduces the museum's collection of premier representative works of Shiwan ceramic art. The collection originally belonged to Manuel da Silva Mendes (1876-1931) and includes statues from the famous Shiwan ceramic artists, Pan Yushu and Chen Weiyuan. The most outstanding characteristics of Shiwan ceramic art are the richness of its glaze colours and the diversity of the colour tones used. The ceramic figurines were most commonly figures from legends, operas, or novels. From the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, motifs diversified to include historical figures, national heroes, ordinary town-folk, half-length statues, nude statues, and statues of foreign children.

BizArt Art Center

50 Moganshan Road, Bldg.7, 4/F
Shanghai
T +021 6277 5358
www.biz-art.com

1-14 August 2005

BIENNALE: Film and Video Exhibition
This exhibition is not just a presentation of current video art from around the world but also an examination of how subjective and social connections form between artworks, the scenes, and the artists emerging from them. Through the process of collaborating via both the network and the post, we arrive at some international non-place where everywhere is local and everywhere just as foreign. Includes works by Jen Wu, Yang Zhenzhong, and Lu Chunsheng.

Czech Republic

Karlin Hall

Thamova 14
Prague 8
Prague
T +420 776 595494
www.praguebiennale.org

Until 15 September 2005

Prague Biennale 2
This exhibition promotes the work of young artists in the world and the most recent and innovative developments in art. It focuses on two main themes: Expanded Painting, which addresses the relationship between painting and other media; and Acción Directa, which studies the relationship between artistic pro-

Until 2 October 2005

Buddhist, Jains and Hindus in Search of the Divine Image

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

Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der

Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Friedrich Ebert Allee 4
53113 Bonn
T+228-9171-0
www.bundeskunsthalle.de

Until 25 September 2005

Genghis Khan and his Heirs: The Empire of the Mongols
The exhibition presents the Mongolian empire at the height of its power and its forerunner and successor dynasties. Not only successful conquerors, the Mongols controlled their empire through effective administrative structures and a great degree of religious and cultural tolerance. The most recent archaeological discoveries shed new light on the legendary capital Qaraqorum. The successor dynasties are represented through works from international collections (Paris, St. Petersburg, Taipei, Tokyo). The exhibition closes with the role of Buddhism and Mongolia's varied history in the 20th century.

Greece

National Museum of Contemporary Art

Megaron / The Athens Concert Hall
Vas. Sophias & Kokkali 1
Athens
T +30 210 9242111 - 2
www.emst.gr

13 July - 31 December 2005

Videographies - The early decades: From EMST's collection
The exhibition will include 80 representative single channel video works by some of the most important artists in the history of video art, including Mona Hatoum and Nam June Paik. It is a complete presentation of the basic post-formalist trends of contemporary international art, which adopted this technological medium from the middle of the 60s until the 80s.

Indonesia

Erasmushuis

Jl. H.R. Rasuna Said Kav. S-3
Kuningan Jakarta 12950
T+21 524 1069
www.erasmushuis.or.id/

22 November - 21 December 2005

The visual heritage of Indonesia. Film and photography, 1912-1960

A cooperation between the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, the Filmmuseum and the Royal Tropical Institute. Exhibition will travel to a.o. Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan.

Italy

Palazzo Ducale

Piazza Matteotti 9
16123 Genova
T +39-010574000
www.palazzoducale.genova.it

Until 21 August 2005

Artist's Posters: 1955-2005
Six hundred posters demonstrate the greatness of contemporary Japanese graphics and provide an overview of the main trends in art, taste, and fashion. This exhibition also shows how posters have reflected international events and the public commitment expressed in some important social campaigns. It features 67 major graphic artists of the last fifty years, including Yamashiro, Kamekura, Hayakawa, Fukuda, Nagai, Tanaka, Aoba, Yokoo, Matsunaga, Sato Koichi, Hara Kenya, and Katsui.

Until 21 August 2005

Hiroshima/Nagasaki: Photography for Memory
This exhibition commemorates the 60th anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945 and also acts as a reminder of all wars going on in the world at this moment. The displays show photographs taken in the days immediately following the tragedy.



Yamahata Yosuke
Nagasaki, town of Itonguchi; 15 km from the epicenter

51st Venice Biennale - Various venues

San Marco, 1364/a
Ca' Giustinian
30124 Venezia
T +39 041 5218711
www.labiennale.org

Until 6 November 2005

51st Venice Biennale
The 51st International Art Exhibition will explore the state of contemporary art from two points of view: a look at the relationship between the

present and the past; and a second look at the relationship between the present and the most innovative trends. Check the website for the venues of the diverse pavilions, including those for China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand.

Japan

Fukuoka Asian Art Museum

7 & 8th Floor, Riverain Center Bld.
3-1 Shimokawabata-machi
Hakata-ku, Fukuoka-shi
T +092 7718600
http://faam.city.fukuoka.jp

17 September - 27 November 2005

The 3rd Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale 2005: Parallel Realities - Asian Art Now
In a world inundated by high-speed visual and communications, ordinary people can move easily between different worlds. While conflict and problems remain possible dangers resulting from this state of flux, *The 3rd Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale (FT3)* examines how 'parallel realities' can have potentially positive outcomes in their crossing of cultural and social borders. While FT2 emphasized the handmade and handcrafted, this Triennale differs in its noticeably urban and futuristic works by young artists who have grown up in a world flooded with virtual images and information. These new-era artists, who freely wield the elements of pop culture, may have the power to create a new Asian culture this century.

Mori Art Museum

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

2 July - 4 September 2005

Follow Me! Chinese Art at the Turn of the Millennium
This exhibition explores how Chinese culture was born and moulded through a continual process of exchange between the kingdoms, empires, and tribes located to the east, west, north and south of the Silk Road and how successive waves of conquest, trade, and immigration centred around the Silk Road area instigated a major transformation in Chinese civilization during the Han-Tang dynasties.

Objects in jade, bronze, gold, silver, metal, stone, wood, textile, as well as paintings are featured.

Korea

National Museum of Contemporary Art

Korea 427-701, San 58-1
(Gwangmyeong-gil 209)
Makgye-dong, Gwacheon-si, Gyeonggi
T +82-2-2188-6000
www.moca.go.kr

5 August - 23 October 2005

60th Anniversary of Korean Independence - 100-year History of Korean Art (Part 1)

This exhibition illuminates the 100-year history of Korea's modern art and examines the transition and identity of Korean art from Korea's enlightenment until 1950.

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 Guoqiang, Maniyong Khatynalath, Dinh Q. Le, Shirin Neshat, Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba, Yong Phaophanit, Shaizia 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 themselves 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 untapped power of the creative spirit.

Malaysia

Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia

Jalan Lembah Perdana,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
03-2270 5149 / 5116 / 5142
www.iamm.org.my/iamm_main.htm

Until 21 July 2005

The Road to Madina

The exhibition follows in the footsteps of the Prophet and his companion Abu Bakr Al Siddiq (RA) from Mecca to the oasis of Yathrib, the town that came to be called Medina. The displays highlight the important events, characters and places transpired along this memorable 430 km journey that marked the beginning of the Islamic calendar. Also displayed are manuscripts that describe the Prophet's appearance, drawings produced in as early as the 11th century depicting the plan of Medina and Mecca, and replicas of the Prophet's and his companion's swords. Also displayed is a 15th century Astrolabe, the first scientific instrument used by the Muslims for astronomical purposes.

Until 10 November 2005

Rhythm & Verses

This pioneering exhibition explores calligraphy in the Persian and Arabic languages through an

examination of single folios from the 16th to the 19th century. These illuminated folios contain words of wisdom, advice, poetry, proclamations of faith, agreements of marriage, and meditative calligraphic exercises - all executed by the hand of virtuoso calligraphers.

The Netherlands

Gemeentemuseum

Stadhouderslaan 41
Den Haag
T +070-3381111
info@gemeentemuseum.nl

Until 21 August 2005

Another Culture, Another Music

Another Culture, Another Music focuses on the differences and similarities between instruments from different cultures. One of the highlights of the exhibition is the magnificent Javanese gamelan. Short films on view at the entrance to the exhibition will present music-making in a range of cultures, from Africa to Japan and from New Orleans to Jakarta.

Museum Beelden aan Zee

Hartveltstraat 1
2586 EL Den Haag - Scheveningen
T + 70-3585857
www.beeldenaanzee.nl

Until 11 December 2005

Xianfeng!

This is the first survey of Chinese contemporary sculpture in the Netherlands. Participating artists are: Ai Wei Wei, Liang Shuo, Lin Tianmiao, Liu Jianhua, Lu Hao, Lü Shenzhong, Ma Liuming, Sui Jiangua, Wang Guangyi, Wang Jin, Xu Yihui, Yang Shaobin, Yue Minjun, Zhang Dali and Zhan Wang.

Stedelijk Museum

Oosterdokskade 5
1011 AD Amsterdam
T +20 5732 911
www.stedelijk.nl

Until 28 August 2005

Populism

This exhibition project explores the relationships between contemporary art and current populist cultural and political trends. It includes new works and projects by around 40 international artists and artist groups, including Amar Kanwar and Wang Du. The exhibitions take place in parallel in Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Oslo, and Vilnius.

New Zealand

Adam Art Gallery

Gate 3, Kelburn Parade
Victoria University of Wellington
Wellington
T +64 4 463 5489, 64 4 463 5229
www.vuw.ac.nz/adamartgal

Until 17 July 2005

Still Present

This exhibition brings together international-

ly renowned Magnum photographer, Chang Chien Chi (Taiwan/New York), with established artist Anne Ferran (Australia) and emerging artist Jono Rotman (New Zealand), whose works collectively explore notions of presence and absence in the corporeal and visual spaces of psychiatric hospitals. While Chang and Ferran focus on the 'presence' of human existence in their black and white contemporary and historical photographic portraits, Rotman, through his life-size C-type colour prints, infiltrates the unoccupied spaces of psychiatric hospitals where only traces of human life are found.

Singapore

Singapore Art Museum

71 Bras Basah Road
Singapore 189555
T +65 3323215
www.nhb.gov.sg/SAM

Until 1 January 2006

Blink!

This exhibition presents a perspective of the physical and social changes during the major nation-building years in Singapore just before 1965 to the present. Almost in a blink of an eye, landmarks of social history have changed. Blink, and take a look at people, life, and places and pause to think about change and the pace at which it has occurred.

Spain

Casa Asia

Casa Asia Headquarters
Palau Baró de Quadras, Diagonal Ave. 373
08008 Barcelona
T +34 93 238 73 37
www.casaasia.es

Until 16 July 2005

Sacred Art of the Indic Traditions: Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism

This is an exhibition religious art from India, Himalayas, and Southeast Asia selected from private collections in Spain. Works included date from the first to the eighteenth centuries and represent the three great religions of the Indic world.

Switzerland

Kunstmuseum Bern

Hodlerstrasse 12
3000 Bern 7
T +41 31 328 09 44
www.kunstmuseumbern.ch

Until 16 October 2005

Mahjong: Contemporary Chinese Art from the Sigg Collection

This survey of a quarter of a century of Chinese avant-garde art (1979-2004) will surpass all previous exhibitions of the Sigg Collection in both scope and quality. The exhibition is structured into clearly legible themes, starting with a selection of Mao propaganda art intended to shed light on the roots of Chinese art of the late 1970s.

Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

Pelikanstrasse 40
CH-8001 Zürich
T +41 (0)44 634 90 11
www.musehno.unizh.ch/

4 August 2005 - 30 April 2006

The Dalai Lamas

The exhibition features at least one thangka and one statue of each of the fourteen Dalai Lamas. Also on display will be written documents (including large silk scrolls with impressive seals), scrolls depicting the protective deities of the Dalai Lama, representations of Potala Palace (the Dalai Lamas' winter residence), gifts given and received by the Dalai Lamas, rare letters, and old photographs.

Taiwan

Taipei MOMA Gallery

3/F, No 19, Lane 252,
Tun-Hua S. Road Sec. 1, Taipei
T +886-2-87713372
www.taipeimoma.com

Until 16 July 2005

Qin, Calligraphy, Paintings and Tea

Includes the works of artists Hsu Yujen, Huang Chihyang, Lin Chuanchu, Eric Lin, Pang Kanglong, Peng Hungchih, and Yu Peng.

United Kingdom

The Museum of East Asian Art

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

Until 29 August 2005

Iris to the Fold

This is an exhibition of contemporary origami art. It will include pieces from the 100 traditional origami figures, including animals, flowers, and everyday objects, as well as other intricate and complex shapes, such as a bulldog and a hedgehog.

The Fruitmarket Gallery

45 Market Street
Edinburgh
T +0131 225 2383
www.fruitmarket.co.uk

30 July - 25 September 2005

Cai Guo-Qiang Life Beneath the Shadow

This spectacular installation marks the Edinburgh Art Festival and the collaborative presentation of portraits and death masks at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Cai Guo-Qiang explores the realm of ghosts and non-bodily forces, linking his interest in the underworld of spirits with Edinburgh's rich history.

The British Museum

Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3DG
T +44 (0)20 7323 8299
www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/

Until 11 September 2005

Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stages, 1780-1830
Through a mix of prints, paintings, and books, Kabuki Heroes reveals the passionate public devotion fuelled by Japanese urban theatre (1780 and 1830) and the ensuing rivalries between actors, poets, and artists. This exhibition brings together works from a number of institutions in Britain and Japan.

United States

Denver Art Museum

100 W 14th Ave Pkwy,
Denver, Colorado
720 865 5000
www.denverartmuseum.org

Until 31 December 2005

Heaven and Home: Chinese Art of the Han Dynasty from the Sze Hong Collection

During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), the Chinese made tomb objects to accompany the deceased into the afterlife; some were intended to accompany the soul on its journey and others to continue earthly existence. Burial items include mountain-shaped jars that depict a celestial realm inhabited by spirits and mythical creatures, sculptures of watchdogs and domestic fowl, and various vessels and containers.

MASS MoCA

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

Until October 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.

Pacific Asia Museum

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

Until 15 August 2005

Brighter Than Gold: The Rich Tradition of Satsuma-Ware in Japan

This exhibition consists of approximately forty pieces of Satsuma ware from the Edo (1603-1868) and Meiji (1868-1912) Periods. Japanese paintings and works of art will also accompany the exhibition, and will highlight selected pieces on display. Brighter Than Gold will trace the history of Satsuma-ware from its earliest stages and Korean influences to its height of production as an export ware, revealing how Satsuma-ware has become one

of the most well known Japanese ceramics in the world.

Seattle Art Museum, Downtown

100 University Street
Seattle, WA 98101-2902
T +206.654.3100
www.seattleartmuseum.org

Until 5 September 2005

Isamu Noguchi - Sculptural Design

In this exhibition Isamu Noguchi's (1904-1988) achievements are refracted through the innovative design of director and installation artist Robert Wilson (b. 1941), creating an aesthetic, intellectual, and sensory experience. It both explicates and enriches the creations of Noguchi and his challenging ideas about the unique art object and the possibilities of mass-produced design.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art

500 17th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006
T +202.639.1700
www.corcoran.org/

Until 29 August 2005

Shomei Tomatsu: Skin of the Nation

The first major retrospective of the preeminent postwar Japanese photographer explores his position within the postwar Japanese avant-garde and his influential and critical role in the development of modern Japanese photography.

The Textile Museum

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



Long hip wrapper (kain panjang)

Indonesia, Java, Yogyakarta area
Javanese people, 20th century, Batik on cotton
The Textile Museum 1987-252
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Smith, Jr.

Until 18 September 2005

Treasures from the World and Beyond: Treasures from Insular Southeast Asia

This installation of 60 objects explore the role that textiles play in Indonesian and Malaysian daily life, and how textiles are used in ceremonies to maintain harmonious relationships with the deceased or the gods.

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 1 October 1999 - 1 October 2007

Prof. H. Steinhauer (the Netherlands)
 Special Chair at Nijmegen University
 'Ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia'
 1 September 1998 - 1 September 2006

Special Chair at Leiden University
 'Mainland Southeast Asia' (TBA)

We regret that Jan van Bremen, valued member of the IIAS Academic Committee, passed away on 1 June 2005.

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> Colophon



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