

# Sex, love and revolution

In the 1940s and 1950s, women from Central Luzon in the Philippines and in North Vietnam responded overwhelmingly to the call of revolution by leaders of the Huk movement and the Viet Minh. Many abandoned traditional roles in Philippine and Vietnamese society to participate in their armed revolutionary struggle. The presence and participation of these women overturned many of the usual conventions in running a political and revolutionary organisation.

VINA A. LANZONA

The Huks and the Viet Minh forces have a lot in common. They both fought for national liberation during World War Two and launched a struggle against returning colonial governments in the post war period. The anti-Japanese army of the Huks was considered as the most successful resistance army in Asia, but unlike the Viet Minh, its Communist-led rebellion after the war was defeated by US counter-insurgency operations. Both were also important for another, less well-known reason - they were the first major political and military organisation in their countries to include and actively recruit women.

While pursuing its revolutionary agenda against the newly created Philippine Republic, Huk female insurgents elicited a certain fascination in the public imagination through sensational news accounts of their exploits.2 Recruited via familial and village networks, Huk women - most of them from peasant families, poorly educated and generally perceived as traditional and passive - studied the tenets of Marxism, trained as soldiers and spies, and learned to use weapons. Occupying the full range of military roles, some of these Filipina revolutionaries attained formidable, even fearsome reputations as aggressive fighters - hence their image as 'Amazons' within the wider culture.3

But it was not only the general public that expressed ambivalence about these women. Incorporating women into the military and political struggle waged by the Huks did not come easily to the maledominated leadership of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) or the Communist Party of the Philippines. While the Party was formally committed to sexual equality, sexist and patriarchal attitudes often prevented women from assuming a larger role in the rebellion. And many women guerrillas were forced to conform to traditional social roles inside the movement, doing much of the cooking, washing and housekeeping. These contradictions in the treatment of women created tensions within the Huk movement, and by 1950, Huk leaders were seriously concerned about the way military effectiveness and solidarity were being undermined by sexual and gender conflicts.

#### Revolutionary solution of the sex problem

Foremost among the problems raised by the leadership was 'sex opportunism' or the 'sex problem'.4 Many married men in the movement, including Communist Party members, separated from their wives, took a 'forest wife', usually a young, single woman in the camps. This became continued on page 4 >

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#### Cover Photo:

In 1952, the story of the capture of Leonora Hipas was covered by major Manila newspapers. The papers narrate the love story of Leonora, alias Commander Lucinda, 16 and Emilio, alias Commander Oscar, 21, who were married in the temporary wedding hall constructed in the Constabulary barracks, the day after their capture. The caption in the Philippines Free Press that accompanied this photo (and those on p.4) read, "Leonora Hipas, a former pistol-packing Amazon, is shown as she and her new husband surrendered to the government". Photos courtesy of Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

) y the time you read this, the world's Olympians will be competing for glory and y the time you read trils, the world a Significant and perhaps a place in the record books in Beijing. The Games are not only of interest to sportsmen and women, of course, but also to scholars studying the tournament as a social and political event. And with China as the host, this is arguably the most controversial sporting event of modern times. Issues of PR, human rights, media coverage, the 'greenness' of the games, have the keen attention of critical researchers. Among them our guest columnist, Kerry Brown, whose piece Will the Olympics change China, or will China change the Olympics? (Network Asia, p. 40) raises the spectre of whether the Games will bring China closer to the rest of the world or just serve to highlight the differences.

Olympic glory has long been a goal of the PRC, as the 1986 poster 'I strive to bring glory to the mother country' featured on our back cover shows. Stefan Landsberger gives us privileged access to some of his rare collection of propaganda art which 'gave concrete expression to the abstract policies and the many different grandiose visions of the future that the CCP entertained'. See 'Life as it ought to be': propaganda art of the PRC (Portrait, pp. 26-27)

And I hope you will enjoy our theme for this issue - Women Warriors in Asia. We are no longer surprised to learn about female suicide-bombers and women in guerilla groups, but this is not just a modern development. As the articles we have brought together here show, there is a history and a tradition of Asian women in warfare and activism. And yet, to date, there has been no systematic or comparative study undertaken that examines these warrior women across the region. Tobias Rettig and Vina Lanzona's theme surely goes some way to address this. (pp. 1-15)

Max Sparreboom, director



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# Women warriors in Asia

VINA LANZONA AND TOBIAS RETTIG

eminist scholars have pointed out the neglect of women actors in history and this has led to the writing of women's narratives and to a more general reexamination of the role played by gender in history and the social sciences. This special issue of *IIAS Newsletter* highlights a particularly interesting phenomenon, namely that of women's leadership and participation in warfare and revolution. The geographical bias is towards Southeast Asia, although two papers deal with China and one at least partially with India. Five of the eight papers presented here were part of a larger panel on "Women Warriors in Southeast Asia", presented at the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) in Kuala Lumpur, August 2007.

We were originally motivated by a recent surge of studies on women's participation in 20th century Asian revolutions and war, usually studies focusing on a single country (Lee 1999; Young 2001; Turner/Phanh 1998; Taylor 1999) or transnational movement (Khoo 2004; Lebra forthcoming), but felt that we still know relatively little on a comparative basis (Andaya 2007). One excellent volume edited by Tétreault (1994) "Women and Revolution in Africa, Asia, and the New World" contains a mere four studies on Asia (China, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam) and the emphasis is not on war. Encyclopaedia-style portraits of women warriors (Salmonson 1991) and those who cluster women warriors geographically or historically (Jones 1997; De Pauw 1999) are informative but treat issues crucial to understanding women warriors superficially. Aiming for a wide audience, there is a heavy reliance on secondary sources, which specialists to the subject would deem insufficient. Few studies actually use gender as an analytical tool.

#### **Topics and themes**

Several of the papers, generally those on pre-1900 women warriors, focus more closely on prominent individual women warriors. Hence Geoff Wade and Louise Edwards investigate two female warriors - Lady Sinn and Hua Mulan respectively - who might have lived at the same time, about 1500 years ago, if not for serious doubts about the latter's existence. Nevertheless, Edwards' discussion of the often neglected topic of Hua Mulan's sexuality allows her to look at the various representations of one of China's most beloved literary characters in poetry, opera, cinema and plays. Edwards explores the problems of feminine sexuality and female sexual virtue brought about by her proximity with men. Mulan's female body in masculine attire is constantly placed under scrutiny, and serves as a fodder to issues of homosexuality and normative sexual behaviour inside the military.

Unlike the cross-dressing Hua Mulan, Lady Sinn (c. 512-602) is historically recorded as having donned armour as late as into her seventies. Based on Chinese imperial records, Geoff Wade resurrects Lady Sinn and reveals an astute political, military, and diplomatic leader who belonged to a powerful 'ethnic minority' family in territories that have since become an integral part of China. He not only raises the important question about the cultural and historical limits of 'Southeast Asia', but also problematises Lady Sinn's role in the subjugation of Southeast Asia's north-western ethnic minorities to the more powerful succession of Chinese dynasties she would serve. Was the popular leader a collaborator or an exceptional, independent-minded and politically astute local powerboker?

A common thread running through the papers by Elsa Clavé-Çelik and Tobias Rettig is the use of national heroines for the mobilisation of later generations of respectively, Acehnese and Indian women warriors. Hence Clavé-Çelik's contribution shows how Indonesia's, but also Aceh's, national heroine, Laksamana (Admiral) Keu-

malahayati (c. 1600) was perhaps too uncritically reconstructed as an archetypal woman warrior based on a Hindu mythological model rather than on historical fact. Though Keumalahayati was the first to come up with the idea of creating an entire women's unit made up of widows, the Armada Inong Balee, her overpowering image has arguably also marginalised the ordinary female 'foot soldiers' of the subsequent Acehnese wars against the Dutch and the Indonesian Republic.

What the Laksamana is to the Indonesians, the Rani (Queen) of Jhansi is even more to the Indians. Her leadership and eventual death in the Indian Rebellion of 1857-8 would elevate her to semi-mythical prominence in India. Rettig shows how her name would be invoked 85 years later, in Japanese-occupied Southeast Asia, to mobilise the region's overseas Indian communities to form a unit of 1,500 women, some as young as 16 years. While the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army was sectarian in that it excluded non-Indians, its twin achievements were to unite South Asian women of different creed, class, caste, and ethnicity, and to form a pool of leaders who would go on to play important political and social roles in post-independence India and Malaysia.

The issue of war and sexuality figures prominently in the essays of Adrianna Tan and Vina Lanzona. Both discuss the intersection of the personal and the political in the lives of modern-day women warriors involved in the nationalist and communist struggles in Malaya, Vietnam and the Philippines. Tan's essay, inspired by Agnes Khoo's oral interviews with women of the Malayan Communist Party (2004), outlines the extraordinary achievements of these women, serving as commanders, organisers, Politburo members, rank and file soldiers, doctors and nurses. Despite the demands placed on them by the struggle, they continued to pursue personal lives and sought to balance their desires for love, marriage and family within the collective aims of the revolution.

Similarly, Lanzona looks deeply into how the communist party leadership in both the Vietnamese anti-colonial struggle and the Huk rebellion in the Philippines regulated the same issues of love, marriage, sexuality and family inside their movements. Her analysis shows that such issues, normally seen as peripheral to revolutionary struggles, are central because revolutionary success depended on how well the leadership incorporated the personal passions and sexual desires of its members. Lanzona suggests that the Huk leadership took a more accepting stance towards sexual relationships but thereby sapped the revolution of vital energies that were now being devoted to institutions with often contradictory goals and needs, such as those of family and party. In contrast, the Vietnamese communist movement more successfully subordinated individual longing to the bigger revolutionary goal of independence.

Finally, the two essays by Jacqueline Siapno and Susan Blackburn are those perhaps most relevant for NGOs, the UN, and post-independence policy-makers and bureaucracies. They discuss a crucial issue for contemporary women warriors and female war veterans: successful reintegration into their post-conflict societies. Siapno analyses the recent surveys of female personnel in the police and the military in the newly independent state of East Timor. She shows that often women's needs are conflated with the men's, thus leading to the former's neglect and marginalisation. Blackburn builds on these arguments through a comparative study of former women warriors in Cambodia and East Timor. While women were mobilised and played crucial roles in wars and revolution, they tend to just disappear at the end of a war. Although some progress has been made since the UN mission in Cambodia, the operationalisation of new international norms is still lacking due to elite male

domination of post-independence decision-making. Both authors argue, in Siapno's words, that "gender needs to be included as a variable...to allow for [women's] smooth and fair transition to a post-conflict society".

#### **Concluding thoughts**

All of the essays in this special issue place women at the centre of explorations on war, revolution, and independence struggles in Asia. Instead of treating them as anomalous, ambiguous, and unnatural women, the authors show that since the earliest times to the contemporary period, women in Asia existed alongside men as they embraced roles as warriors and combatants. But by using the analytical lens of gender, the essays here show that these women's experiences should be distinguished from men, and that these women warriors should be given their unique treatment and recognition in historical accounts and memory.

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#### continued from page 1 >

the subject of bitter criticism within and outside the movement. After acrimonious debates, Communist Party leaders drew up a remarkable document entitled "Revolutionary Solution of the Sex Problem" that permitted married male guerrillas to have extramarital relationships with single female cadres as long as they followed strict regulations.5 Claiming 'biological necessity', the frustrated cadre was expected to present his problem to his superiors and convince them that either his health or his work was being adversely affected by the absence of his wife. After an unofficial review, a married man was allowed to take a 'forest wife' as long as both his legal and forest wives were aware of the arrangement, and he agreed to settle down with only one woman at the end of the struggle.

The Huk leadership also worried greatly about what they called 'the family problem', the reluctance of both women and men to become more active in the rebellion, and to join the 'expansion teams' attempting to spread the insurgency beyond its stronghold in Central Luzon, because this meant separating from their families. Men also frequently embezzled movement funds in order to support their families. And there was the 'baby problem', when dedicated female revolutionaries left the movement once they got pregnant.<sup>6</sup> The Party's solution to these problems was to encourage the integration of spouses and older children into the movement, and the distribution of younger children to friends and relatives not involved in the rebellion. These discussions reveal the significance of sexual and gender tensions within the Huk movement, but the regulations the leadership imposed placed women under the political and sexual control of men.

# Private desires in the public realm

Indeed, midst the exceptional circumstances of female participation in the Huk movement, most of them also fell into quite typical patterns of romance, marriages, pregnancy and childbearing. Throughout, Huk women struggled to reconcile their personal desires for intimacy with the impersonal aims of the revolution, while Huk men navigated uneasily between the demands of matrimonial responsibility and what they referred to as 'biological necessity'. In practice, both sexes tended to default to more traditional gender roles, and in so doing missed a unique chance to transform their revolutionary rhetoric into an even more revolutionary reality.

Ultimately, the Huks' hesitant and contradictory attitude towards women compromised both the commitment of individual cadres and the strength of the movement. While the inclusion of women in the Huk Rebellion introduced unanticipated strains, within those very challenges lay latent opportunities. Although many women in the movement never really left their traditional roles, others were transformed through the demands placed upon them, finding within themselves wellsprings of political activism and creativity only partially tapped by the revolution's leadership. By actively recruiting women yet relegating them to support roles, by advancing a few women to positions of command yet allowing most to serve the sexual needs of male leaders, the party fostered disaffection amongst Huk men and women in its ranks. By promoting patriarchal assumptions about gender roles and sexuality, but failing to take into consideration the extent to which participation in the Huk movement transformed attitudes towards gender and sexuality amongst Huk men and women, Huk leaders allowed an organisational strength to become an organisational liability.

Nonetheless, despite their limitations, the Huks did make the emotional and sexual lives of their male and female members part of the revolutionary agenda. Sex and



The Philippines Free Press declares, "Leonora Hipas, a former pistol-packing Amazon, is shown as she and her new husband surrendered to the government. With the Huks she dressed like a man. Like all girls, she wanted a wedding gown for her marriage." Courtesy Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University.

family moved from the private to the public realm, and the private interests and desires of individual cadres were weighed in relation to the collective interests of the revolutionary movement. Personal issues of family, sex, and morality became integral to the movement's political and social goals, and were subject to bureaucratic

Huks attempted not only to revolutionise politics but also gender relations within and outside the movement. But this was a sexual and gender revolution that remains unfinished up to this day.

## Finding a balance in revolutionary life

Women in the Vietnamese Revolution also attempted to balance their personal and revolutionary lives, but the leadership did not merely replicate Huk sexual and familial policies. From the beginning, Ho Chi Minh called on the women to join the struggle for Vietnam. Since 1930, Party doctrine had encouraged women to believe there was a place in the Party hierarchy for them, and that they would not be tied to the home and the demands of their husbands and oppressive mothers-in-law. By the 1940s, the Party was advocating "universal suffrage, democratic liberties, equality among all ethnic groups and between men and women". "Uncle Ho" had also spoken informally of an end to arranged marriages and of the opportunities for women to learn to read, study, participate in politics and be truly men's equals. And women - from both the North and the South - responded enthusiastically to his call to fight against the returning French colonial forces during the First Indochina War (1946-1954) and the US-backed South Vietnamese government during the Second Indochina War (1959-1975). 7

Like Huk women, the Vietnamese women, at their sexual and emotional prime, were separated from family and familiar support networks, and endured days and months of hardships, isolation and suffering as guerrillas. But unlike the Huks, there seemed to be no clear policy on sexual and personal relationships in the Viet Minh. During the early years of the

Vietnamese Communist movement, in the 1920s and 1930s, in efforts to 'proletarianise the party', all Vietnamese activists were called on to sacrifice their old lives, abandon bourgeois attitudes all for the sake of the communist revolution and the 'working classes'. For female activists, this meant they had to renounce their right to raise their children, and sometimes were expected to put their bodies at the service of the revolution by living as the 'wives' of male activists, or what others termed as 'fictive marriages'.8

As the war progressed, Vietnamese women were asked to sacrifice more of their personal and sexual lives, as they became increasingly torn between their duties to their families and their duties to the nation. The Communist Party encouraged women to hold off on love and marriage until after the war ended, and for women in North Vietnam, this resulted in unhealthy relationships with men who regarded them as past their reproductive prime, and possessed scarred, unattractive and infertile bodies.<sup>9</sup>

In many respects, therefore, the Huks, in both their acknowledgement and regulation of personal, sexual and familial issues in the movement were more sensitive to the needs of their cadres, particularly men. At the same time, their actions acknowledged (rather than ignored) the presence of women and created a space for them to exist in this male-dominated organisation. Indeed, their approach may be interpreted as ideologically lax, an adaptation to 'bourgeois tendencies' such as romantic love and family relationships. And yet, such practices seem consistent with more tolerant cultural attitudes on gender in Philippine society.

# Inextricable personal and political links

How did these personal relationships affect the internal dynamics of both the Huk and Vietnamese movements? Did the Vietnam Communist Party's gender policies (or perhaps the lack of such policies) contribute to the success of its revolution? On the one hand, this assumption supports any sense that the inadequacy of gender policies weakened the Huk movement. In Vietnam, it seems that a stricter culture of intolerance may have contributed to their success. And perhaps the laxity of the Huks was a fatal weakness. But as studies on the Vietnamese Revolution suggest, such masculine tendencies in their movements may have also alienated many of its female members

On the other hand, the Vietnamese Revolution existed on an entirely different plane of struggle from the Huks. Stronger and better organised militarily, they enjoyed a degree of support from the Chinese Communists that the geographically isolated Huks could only dream about. The Huks also had no Ho Chi Minh, a leader who was more intellectually attuned to Communist dogma, and exuded larger-than-life personality and right from the beginning included women in their struggles.

But while the Huks and the Vietnamese revolutionaries shared similar goals and experiences but differed on their official policies and strategies, particularly with regard to issues of love, sex and the family, what this brief exploration demonstrates is that indeed the personal is inextricably linked to the political in revolutionary movements. And women, in whatever roles they played, were as central to revolutions as men, but it is their very presence,



their unfailing, however conflicted, commitment and dedication to the struggle that transform revolutionary movements to consider issues of gender and sexuality as seriously as military goals and political ideology.

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#### Notes

- 1 The Huk rebellion (1942-1956) was a result of two separate, peasant-based struggles in the Philippines, first against the Japanese and then against the new Philippine Republic. The Viet Minh was a national liberation movement that sought independence from the French and fought for the unification of Vietnam after World War Two.
- 2 Major works on the Huk rebellion, including Kerkvliet, The Huk Rebellion (2002), Lachica, Huk: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt (1971), Saulo, Communism in the Philippines (1990), and Scaff, The Philippine Answer to Communism (1955), as well as memoirs by Pomeroy, The Forest (1963); Taruc, Born of the People (1953) and He Who Rides the Tiger (1967) and Lava, Memoirs of a Communist (2003) ignored issues of gender and sexuality in the Huk movement, and particularly women
- 3 For an in-depth treatment of the "Huk Amazon", see my book entitled, *Huk Amazons: Gender, Sex and Revolution in the Philippines*(forthcoming March 2009).
- 4 See Lanzona 2009 and Jeff Goodwin "The Libidinal Constitution of a High-Risk Social Movement: Affectual Ties and Solidarity in the Huk Rebellion, 1946–1954," *American* Sociological Review 62 (February 1997)
- 5 Secretariat, PKP, "Revolutionary Solution of the Sex Problem," *Politburo Exhibit no. I–15*, September 12, 1950.
- 6 These problems are discussed in two documents, *Politburo Exhibit O 757*, "Finance Opportunism: Its Basic Causes and Remedies," by SEC [Secretariat]. October 10, 1950. Secretariat, Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), *Politburo Exhibit no. N-1022-1026*, "The Struggle against Awaitism," no date.
- 7 See Taylor, Vietnamese Women at War (1999), Tétreault, ed. Women and Revolution in Africa, Asia and the New World (1994) and Turner, Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam (1998).
- 8 See Quinn-Judge, "Women in the Early Vietnamese Communist Movement: Sex, Lies and Liberation," South East Asia Research Vol. 9, No. 3 (November 2001): 245-269. See also Turley, "Women in the Communist Revolution in Vietnam", Asian Survey, Vol 12, No. 9 (Sept 1972): 793-805.
- 9 See Turner 1998 and Nguyen Thi Dinh's moving memoir, No Other Road to Take (1976). In her wartime diary, Dang Thuy Tram (1943-1970) describes how she constantly repressed her romantic love for fellow comrades because of her fear of being reprimanded and her belief that those feelings had no place in the revolution. See Last Night I Dreamed of Peace: The Diary of Dang Thuy Tram (2007).

Accounts of Southeast Asian women directly engaged as military combatants are rare. While female warriors appear in the iconography of various Southeast Asian religions and folklore, and there are numerous descriptions of the non-combat roles women played in military campaigns, the history of women fighters in Southeast Asia remains largely unwritten. Geoff Wade's portrait of the enigmatic Lady Sinn (Xian fu-ren), goes some way to redress the balance.

# Lady Sinn:

# a 6th century woman warrior

GEOFF WADE

Lady Sinn [Xian fu-ren (洗 夫人)]¹ was a prominent Nan Yue woman known to us only by this moniker which Chinese historians assigned her. The name by which she was known within her own society will likely never be known, and all that we know of her derives from the Chinese standard histories  $Sui\,shu$  (隋書) and  $Bei\,shi$  (北 史). We read first that Lady Sinn was from the most prominent of the Nan Yue clans, one which had "for generations been leaders of the Nan Yue", and which exercised control over 100,000 families in a region which is today southern Guangdong. Given that the Chinese commanderies in the region controlled only about 5,000 households, the extent to which Chinese culture was still very much a minority culture in this part of the Lingnan region is obvious.

The Nan Yue, also termed Bai Yue or Southern Yue, were the inhabitants of areas south of the Yangzi prior to Chinese expansion into these regions. Certainly they were ethnically and linguistically diverse, but textual evidence suggests that Lady Sinn would have been a speaker of some proto-Tai language, likely a precursor of Zhuang. The Sui shu describes these Southeast Asian peoples, to which the Southern Yue would have belonged, as having "deep-set eyes, high noses, and black curls" and the custom of cutting their hair and decorating their bodies. They also went barefoot, used a length of cloth to tie around the body, and in the winter wore robes. The women wore their hair in a pestle shape, and they sat on mats made from coconut palm. It was also noted that they produced the bronze drums so famed as 'Dong Son drums', a clear feature of Southeast Asian rather than Chinese culture.

#### An advantageous alliance

Unlike the short-lived Trung sisters, who had led the Vietnamese against the Chinese five centuries before her, Lady Sinn lived to a ripe old age, from c. 512 to 602 CE. In the mid-530s, a marriage took place between Lady Sinn and Feng Bao (馮寶), a descendant of the Northern Yan Chinese rulers who had fled to the south. As governor of the region, he was charged with achieving and maintaining some order on behalf of the Liang state. This allowed the Feng family, who had been unsuccessfully trying to implement Chinese rule in Lingnan, to use this new marriage alliance to institute Chinese laws and regulations among the huge number of Nan Yue people controlled by the Sinn family. From this time on, Lady Sinn became a part of the administration of the region by the Feng family.

Lady Sinn's military exploits in this role form the majority of the Chinese accounts of her life. In the 550s, aged about 40, she led military forces who attacked and captured the administrative seat where those who had rebelled against the Liang court had ensconced themselves. The death of her husband coincided with the emergence of the new Chen dynasty centred at what is today Nanjing, and Lady Sinn sent her 9 year-old son - as the head of the Nan Yue chieftains - to the Chen capital to seek some recognition. As a result, the family was assigned a title of Defenders of the Yangchun Commandery. The Sui history informs us that the Lady was involved in "cherishing" the Nan Yue, suggesting that she remained a powerful figure in the non-Chinese Lingnan firmament.

A further rebellion against Chen rule by the regional inspector of Guangzhou occurred in 570 CE and again it was Lady Sinn, now in her late fifties, who led her forces against the rebels, defeating them. This resulted in her



Modern South Chinese representation of Lady Sinn (c.512-602)

being further rewarded and enfeoffed by the Chen court, suggesting recognition of her importance in maintaining Chinese control of the Southeast Asian peoples south of the ranges. The demise of the Chen dynasty in the 580s gave rise to further disruption of the lives of people in the Lingnan region. The account informs us that the tribal peoples of Lingnan urged the Lady to lead them with the title of 'Sacred Mother'. She is then credited by the Chinese historians with assisting the incoming Sui dynasty general Wei Guang in reaching Guangzhou. Further honours were heaped upon Lady Sinn and her family members by the new Sui court.

Yet again in 590 CE, Lady Sinn sent forces to destroy another non-Chinese leader who had risen against the Sui. Although now in her late seventies, the chroniclers nevertheless advise that she still donned armour to escort the Sui envoy around the various administrations in Lingnan on horseback. The last major event in which we read of the Lady's involvement was the impeaching of a corrupt Commander-in-Chief in Panzhou (Guangzhou) in 601 CE. His depredations had reportedly led to many of the tribal people of Lingnan fleeing. The almost 90 year-old Lady was imperially commissioned to pacify the region, and by travelling to 10 administrative centres, we are informed, each was quelled by her arrival with the Imperial letter. For this, she and her deceased son Pu were rewarded. She was personally assigned 1500 households in what was likely the island of Hainan. The Lady died in a year equivalent

It is quite apparent from the *Sui shu* account that Lady Sinn's husband Feng Bao was from a northern court and was Chinese, and that the Feng family used this marriage to Lady Sinn to exercise greater control over the non-Chinese people of the region. Prior to the marriage, the *Sui shu* tells us, "as they were people from another place", the Feng family's "orders were not implemented". The marriage with the dominant family among the Nan Yue was obviously a calculated policy move.

The marriage also seems to have played a certain role in bringing the Sinn family more into the Chinese world, through the children and grandchildren who could span both Chinese and Yue societies. A grandson of Lady Sinn, Feng Ang, became a major general under the Tang dynasty, and was instrumental in helping the Tang establish and

subsequently exercise suzerainty over Lingman. But it was obviously Lady Sinn who played a crucial role during the 6th century in subordinating the Southeast Asian societies of Lingman to successive Chinese states.

Through her marriage to Feng Bao, Lady Sinn increasingly assumed a power that likely none of her Yue predecessors had possessed. By marrying a Chinese, and jointly participating in the magisterial functions which her husband had to perform in his official capacity, she became a functionary linking the bureaucracy of several successive Chinese states and her own tribal people. But it was her military planning and activities which were to earn her greater accolades from the Liang, Chen and Sui polities. While it was initially the Feng family which was recognised as defenders by the Liang, it gradually became apparent to the Chinese rulers that real power among the Nan Yue lay with Lady Sinn.

#### Administrative 'assistance'

However, this was not to be without cost to Lady Sinn's independence. A Private Secretariat was established to assist the Lady in her new administrative duties and provide her with a range of Chinese advisers. It also provided the Sui court with a further avenue for influencing and monitoring her activities. Such administrative arrangements were in fact repeated throughout Chinese expansionist history as a transitional structure by which the traditional non-Chinese rulers of newly-conquered or incorporated regions were first recognised by the Chinese state, and then guided in its ways.

During her lifetime, Lady Sinn was apparently held in high esteem by her own society as well as being respected by the Chinese people who moved into Lingnan. By the 10th century, she had been deified. Temples dedicated to Lady Sinn are today fairly numerous in the southern part of Guangdong and in Hainan Island. While a number of historical figures - Ma Yuan, Guan Di, Lin Mo/Ma-zu - have been deified in Chinese culture, there are few examples of non-Chinese persons who were so venerated (except perhaps Gautama Buddha). Was the Lady worshipped because of the role she played in assisting the Chinese states to expand to the south, or was the respect accorded to her by the Southeast Asian society she belonged to continued through the period of Sinicisation? Regardless of how we explain her deification, there can be no doubt that Lady Sinn was a major figure in both Southeast Asian and Chinese history and that she is deserving of a position among the ranks of major Southeast Asian women warriors.

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#### Votes

- 1 "Xian fu-ren" (冼 夫人). I am here opting for the modern Cantonese pronunciation of the graph.
- 2 Much as is the case today among the people known as the "Chinese Shan" who reside in northern Burma and Yunnan.

The story of Hua Mulan – a woman successfully masquerading as a man within the imperial military for over a decade – has entranced and intrigued generations of Chinese. Since the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534), when the original poem *The Ballad of Mulan (Mulan shi)*<sup>1</sup> first appeared, Hua Mulan's remarkable adventures have been a recurring theme in both elite and popular cultural forms. Louise Edwards examines the various renditions of Hua Mulan's story and discovers that China's most famous woman warrior was redolent with sexual significance.

# Re-fashioning the warrior Hua Mulan:

# Changing norms of sexuality in China

LOUISE EDWARDS

The continued popularity of Hua Mulan's tale derives in part from its flexibility and its redactors' enthusiasm to make adjustments to the description, plot and conclusion as suits their needs. As Wu Pei-Yi aptly put it, "She was, and still is, amenable to all forms of fantasizing and manipulation".2 There is not one single coherent Hua Mulan narrative, but many. However, the sustained popular interest in the story over 1500 years (Mulan has been the subject of poetry, drama, opera and more recently film, television series and video games) also emerges in large part from its foregrounding of a foundational problem in China's ever evolving social order: the governance of sexual morality between and among men and women.3

In dressing as a man and undertaking masculine life-roles, Hua Mulan challenges long-held expected differentiation between the behaviour of men and women. Her departure from the feminine domestic realm to enter the masculine world of warfare is at the core of her ongoing appeal.

This aspect of her appeal expanded as practices of sex-segregation and the sexualisation of female virtue increased through the Ming (1368-1644) and especially the Qing (1644-1912) dynasties. In the 20th century, reformist intellectuals' and creative artists' embracing of feminist principles as an emblem of modernity meant Mulan's venture into the male world was invoked as evidence of an early Chinese woman's challenge to sex-segregation. However, while invalidating sex-segregation they were still unable to entirely un-couple female virtue and sexual chastity.

#### **Taboos on body bits**

The sexualisation of the Mulan body has evolved over time as the different 'female body bits' move in and out of erotic focus. In the Tang, eyebrows set upon a delicate face featured as signifiers of Mulan's feminine desirability and cosmetics served as synecdoches for the intimacy of the private, feminine boudoir in poems on Mulan by Bai Juyi (772-846) and Du Mu (803-852). In the Ming, Xu Wei's (1521-93) popular Ming drama The female Mulan replaces her father in the military (Ci Mulan ti fu cong

*jun*) reminds readers of her erotic appeal through extensive references to Mulan's feet - a highly eroticised part of the female body at this time. Xu's play describes Mulan painfully unbinding her feet in order to pass as a man. Mulan's mother also draws the audiences' attention to feet by commenting that she finds her daughter's feet "big" and "strange". The original Ballad of Mulan made no reference to footbinding because the practice did not exist in the Northern Wei, but its anachronistic inclusion in the Ming versions of her story was important because the foot motif reminded the audience of the sexualised and eroticised nature of women's bodies.

Mulan's 20<sup>th</sup> century re-creators used other parts of the body to remind audiences of her sexuality. They build tension around comic references to the upper body and breasts. In the 1964 Huangmei diao opera-film version of her story, directed by Yue Feng, Mulan resists receiving medical attention for her shoulder wound using feeblearguments like "Since I was small I haven't liked to remove my clothes". The other soldiers comment that it is strange

that a "Big tough guy doesn't like taking his clothes off". In the end, a compromise is reached and they cut an opening in the clothing around the wound without exposing the rest of her body. Wong Hoksing's 1961 Cantonese Opera film version includes a similar upper arm injury, which is treated only by carefully rolling up the sleeve, but the soldiers that work on the injury rather salaciously discuss the unusual smoothness of his/her skin. In the 1999 Yang Peipei directed multi-episode television drama version, Mulan's breasts are a constant source of difficulty for her disguise as she avoids her fellow soldiers touching her chest in multiple comic scenes of celebratory group hugs and upper body injuries.

Accompanying the shifting, disaggregated, corporeal erotic is the evident anxiety produced by the dismantling of sex-segregation practices in the 20th century. Mulan allows audiences to touch upon the central problems of feminine sexuality and female sexual virtue; particularly the latter's vulnerability to the dangers posed by a woman's proximity to men. The most remarkable example of the anxiety produced by the risk to norms of virtue posed by 'women in public' emerges from the 1939 version directed by Bu Wancang. The film was released in the middle of the War of Resistance against Japan where 'the ravaged woman' routinely symbolised the ravaged nation in film, fiction and art. It commences with Mulan being surrounded by hoodlums attempting to steal the rabbits she has just caught. The sexual threat posed by the gang is clear as the leader touches her with his arrows, moving from her lips, face, arm and eventually thwacking her buttocks. The movement around her body suggesting that no part of her body was safe and every part was an eroticised site. Moreover, this sexualised body is a vulnerable body. Others in the group warn her to behave because he "still hasn't taken a wife" suggesting that he might like to 'take' Mulan. To escape this threatening gang Mulan uses her wit and cunning. Later in the film, audiences are reminded of the threat posed by soldiers to women when the invading forces capture the command post and rush through carrying off the screaming and terrified women as

The eroticisation of privacy marks the maintenance of the female body as rich in sexuality. Tang dynasty (618-907) readers view Mulan's boudoir and imagine her painstaking care in applying cosmetics

and painting her eyebrows in poems by Bai Juyi and Du Mu. The invocation of Mulan amidst her personal toilette provided male readers of refined Tang poetry a glimpse into the female boudoir. The Ming-Qing eroticisation of the secret viewing of women urinating, discussed at length by R. Keith McMahon, makes an appearance in the Xu Wei version of the Mulan story.4 He entertains his Ming audiences with a humorous discussion of Mulan's toileting problems. One of Mulan's comrades comments, "It's very strange that Brother Hua never lets anyone see him urinate". The play devotes much space to explain Mulan's ability to avoid being seen urinating. In the late 20th century, when the evacuation of bodily waste is regarded as prurient and scatological, rather than erotic and amusing, such matters are ignored. Instead, in keeping with the traditions of eroticisation of spying on 'bathing beauties', we see repeatedly Mulan's difficulties in bathing. This is a frequent feature of Yang Peipei's 1999 television series. For example, Mulan explains to her much-amused father how she avoids being caught naked - including swimming at night in icy cold rivers and the audience is treated to comic episodes where she is nearly discovered naked in baths and bathrooms, avoiding detection only by fortuitous twists in plot.

The mobility of 'the erotic' around the body and the changing notion of the private as feminised and sexualised over the course of time reveal the importance of sexuality to the ongoing appeal of the Mulan story. She is far from the "non-sexual", "defeminized" women warrior that Cai Rong argues dominates the Wuxia (Martial Arts) literary and film genres of recent years. She is a filial daughter, but within that pious rubric she has also allowed generations of readers and viewers to fantasise on the problems of human sexuality and female sexual virtue.

#### Cross-dressing and homo/ hetero-sexual desire

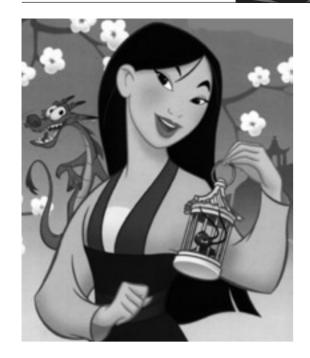
Unlike Hua Mulan's soldier comrades in arms, readers of the original 'Ballad' and the subsequent audiences of dramatic and television renditions are drawn into a conspiracy of cross-dressing. Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the narrative tension this special knowledge generates revolves around the risk Mulan takes in attracting official displeasure, execution, shame or abuse during her masquerade as a man. However, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in keeping with the expanding disapproval of homoerotic



'Mulan bidding her parents farewell'. From Chu Renhu (fl. 1675-1695). Sui Tang yanyi. (Narrative of the Sui and the Tang). Full text version available from Project Gutenberg. www.gutenberg.org/files/23835/23835-0.txt



The beautiful and filial Mulan'. From Ma Tai (1886-1939). *Meiren baitai huapu*. (Pictorial collection of myriad beauties), in Ma Tai. rpt. 1982. *Ma Tai hua bao* (Treasury of Ma Tai's pictures). Shanghai: Guji shudian



In 1998 Walt Disney Pictures released the animated feature film *Mulan* based on the legend of Hua Mulan.

desire, Mulan's cross-dressing provides scope for shoring up the normativity of heteroerotic desire. Through numerous scenes of 'misguided' desire, audiences are drawn, through myriad hetero-normative jokes, into complicity with the inappropriateness of homosexuality.

Her external masculinity is repeatedly

described as causing conflicting and

confusing desires among her close male

comrades as they are curiously aroused by

her underlying femininity. In Yang Peipei's 1999 television series Mulan's commanding officer, General Li, cannot understand why he feels such a depth of emotion for a fellow soldier. He seeks confirmation for his 'strange homoerotic' urges from his peers hoping that they feel similar emotions towards each other - perhaps these emotions are merely a masculine camaraderie developed by joint military service? The soldiers make repeated jokes about

the 'homosexual' feelings Li has for Hua and the audience is entertained throughout because they alone 'know' that Li's feelings are really 'normal'. Viewers know that his anxiety about his homosexual urges is unfounded.

The 1961 Cantonese Opera film also includes multiple jokes about the mysterious affinity that is developing between Mulan and one of her fellow soldiers. This version includes a scene where other soldiers voyeuristically spy upon Mulan's 'strange romance'. They make salacious side comments to the Opera's audience who know their homosexual interpretations of the scene are not really as they appear. The 1964 Yue Fong version includes jokes about presumed homosexual interest in the scene describing the imminent separation of General Hua Mulan and her close comrade, General Li. They express their love for each other with Li quickly rationalising it as 'brotherly love'.

The instruction to the audience about the 'inappropriateness' of homosexual desire in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is also apparent in the 1939 Bu Wancong film. It includes a scene where two soldiers spot the young, 'handsome', new recruit, Mulan. They attempt to bully Mulan with threatening comments

of homosexual intent - of course Mulan repels them with her superior wit and strength. Within these saucy homoerotic themes audiences are comforted in the superior knowledge that homosexual acts cannot occur with Mulan, but made anxious by the fact that the desire her underlying essential femininity provokes among men may result in her undoing.

The Hua Mulan story cycle has been routinely promoted for its advocacy of the key Confucian virtue of filial piety. Yet, as the story evolved over the centuries its power to provoke thought on norms of sexual morality appears to have become central to its popular appeal. Her virtue in filial relations provides the frame within which more problematic social relations can be explored. In part, the expansion in sexualised content, relative to filial content, can be accounted for by the power of the taboo on 'sexuality' and 'the private' to provoke comic and/or sensational interest in a world of increasingly commercialised artistic practice. Sex sold seats in Ming theatres and Republican cinemas and continues to do so today.

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#### Notes

- For an English translation of the poem see Frankel, H. 1976. The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Wu, Pei-yi. 2002. "Yang Miaozhen: A Woman Warrior in Thirteenth Century China," Nan nü, vol. 4, no. 2.
- 3 The full paper is a chapter in a book I am currently writing titled Women Warriors of
- 4 McMahon, Keith R. 1988. Causality and Containment in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 5 Rong, Cai. 2005. "Gender Imaginations in Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon and the Wuxia World," Positions, vol. 13, no. 2.

Once the revolution or war of independence is over, the struggle for a better society continues. The reintegration of guerillas into society and the construction of professional defence and police institutions poses considerable challenges to post-conflict societies. From the 1990s onwards, it has been increasingly recognised that gender also needs to be included as a variable in order to allow for a smooth and fair transition to a post-conflict society.<sup>1</sup>

# Whispered confidences:

# articulating the female in the PNTL (police) and the F-FDTL (military) in Timor Leste

JACQUELINE SIAPNO

"The military does not recognize between female or male. The physical obstacles are very heavy, but once you enter the armed forces, there is no such thing as female or male. In our opinion, this is not discrimination." (Interview with female F-FDTL, Metinaro, March 2008.)

It is probably no exaggeration to claim that the 34-year East Timorese war of independence against the Indonesian military would not have succeeded without active female participation. Apart from more traditional support roles, women actively participated as combatants. This was greatly facilitated by the ideology of the Falintil (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of Timor Leste) – the military arm of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) – that all combatants were equal, regardless of gender. As the above quote demonstrates, the women, and presumably also the men, strongly believed in this.

A recently concluded research project in the Democratic Republic of East Timor, entitled "Women in the F-FDTL and PNTL" was undertaken for the country's "State of the Nation Report". Research included interviews with female (and male) personnel of the F-FDTL (Timor Leste Defence Forces) and the PNTL (Timor Leste National Police). The research project provided interesting insights into the current

role of women in the police and military institutions, and how revolutionary ideals are slowly being eroded, with old and resilient male values on patriarchal domination gaining hegemony yet again.

The post-conflict transition has not been as smooth as expected. In 2006, tensions within but also between the defence and police forces regarding perceived injustices about promotion, collusion and nepotism threatened to erupt into a civil war, resulting in about 40 deaths and about 20,000 internally displaced persons. Violence resurfaced in 2007 and again in early 2008. These tensions and the fratricide arguably have pushed gender issues to the side. Post-independence has failed to deliver what the Falintil and the Fretilin had fought for; it has also failed to deliver genuine equality of men and women in the military and the police.

# The post-revolutionary glass ceiling

According to the official statistics, of 3,194 PNTL personnel, 581 are women.<sup>3</sup> This compares advantageously to the proportion of women in the far smaller F-FDTL, with 61 women in a force of 706 personnel. In both forces, high positions have generally eluded women, excluding them from key decision-making and consequently the ability to initiate more women-friendly policies. The position of Inspector is the highest rank so far that one single female



Ex-Falintil fighter, Mana Bilesa. Viqueque 1995.

has achieved in the PNTL. While there are a few female Sub-Inspectors, the majority of women are Agents and Recruit Agents, with the minimum recruitment criterium being completion of the SMA (High School Degree). The situation is equally bleak in the F-FDTL where only about seven women have achieved the rank of Second Sergeant. In both the police and the defence forces, the majority of women have never been promoted. This generally seems to reflect the 1975-1999 resistance era when there were never any women at the "commander" level in the "official" military ranking, even in the non-statutory forces.

# Positions of power and 'regimes of truth'

Some of the general problems and challenges our research was able to uncover in terms of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) are not unique to Timor Leste, but have been identified in other post-conflict developing countries, such as the problems of abuse of power and corruption.<sup>4</sup> This also includes a huge gap between official aspirations and everyday practice, to the extent that women's agency often is articulated only with a great deal of trepidation and in whispered confidences.

Ironically, this is greatly facilitated by the fact that the 706-strong F-FDTL is regarded as a "symbol of affirmation of independence, a symbol of pride".5 Any critical questioning, for instance with regard to military personnel who 'act above the law' and violate basic human rights – especially during the 2006 crisis<sup>6</sup> but also during the recent Operasaun Conjunta to 'capture' the rebels - is considered almost unacceptable. Instead the prevailing attitude is that "this is a liberation army of the people". This reflexive rhetoric enacts its own symbolic violence in its capacity to sustain a "regime of truth" that makes it impossible for its victims to raise questions.

#### **Protective silences**

One of the challenges of our research project was to understand and read beyond the initial silences of our female interviewees. In some instances, women were unable to speak and express their opinions because their male Commanders insisted on being present during the interviews. In these cases, the women asked us to re-schedule a meeting somewhere else, where they were then able to speak more freely about problems and challenges in their institutions. In other cases, female security personnel appear to have been instructed to provide 'correct, official answers' or to give us 'access' without giving meaningful information.

Protective silences with regard to certain questions – such as those regarding dis-

crimination and whether or not the institution had non-discrimination policies – are audible on the tape recordings of the interviews. Those women who did speak on sensitive issues, such as corruption, or sexual harassment did so in whispered confidences. Some interviewees even refused to be recorded, so very good notes had to be taken, though the capturing of the silences on specific questions proved particularly challenging.

On a more positive note, several of the women, especially in the PNTL, spoke articulately and openly on their conditions of work, strategically identifying this research project as an opportunity to express their views, and to initiate reform within their institutions. Additionally, during a workshop that was part of the research project, F-FDTL and PNTL women spoke up. In this public forum, they articulated their aspirations on defence (respectively police) reform and gender and identified key problems within their institutions, such as discrimination and corruption in the Border Patrol Unit. For example, 33 female Border Patrol Unit members had been summarily dismissed by their Commander on grounds of being female and hence unsuitable for work in the border region, though it is likely to have been a pretext for him to protect lucrative moonlighting opportunities such as smuggling, human trafficking (e.g. of young Timorese girls to Indonesian officers), and other illegal activities.

# Why female underwear is more important than military hardware

It is not inevitable that the 21<sup>st</sup> century's first new nation should continue to reproduce the same mistakes in DDR and SSR – including gendered ones – that have occurred in other countries. Despite considerable progress in understanding that

#### Some key findings and analysis

- Women in both the PNTL and F-FDTL spoke of the serious need for reform in terms
  of formation and promotion. Formation is perceived as too short (e.g. police officer
  training is only three months long). Promotion and career development opportunities were also found lacking, and there was a strong sense that male counterparts
  were advantaged. Without a process of review and reform, women will continue to
  be stuck in the lower ranks, unable to benefit from more training or to participate in
  decision-making processes.
- 2. Morale is low due to unequal access to resources. This is due to strongly centripetal centre-periphery relations it is not clear whether this affects women differently than men and due to gender. Women PNTL from the rural districts feel 'inferior' when they come to Dili, as their four-year old uniform is fraying in comparison to the uniforms of their colleagues in the capital. Besides not getting the proper uniforms, boots, and other equipment to conduct their work effectively, women PNTL and F-FDTL in the districts also do not have much access to training programmes, workshops, and most importantly, open access to information. Many of the problems they face arise because so much goes on behind closed doors.
- 3. Sexual harassment within the PNTL and F-FDTL is, according to a Secretary of State for Security, "more widespread than we think". A key problem appears to be instilling a culture of non-tolerance by taking disciplinary measures against deviant personnel. In 2003, for instance, a PNTL Commander was investigated for serious misconduct towards 6 female PNTL colleagues, having told them that they would have to sleep with him if they wanted to get promoted. The issue was deemed resolved when the commander was transferred to another city, where he repeated the same pattern of sexual harassment.
- 4. There is an institutional lack of gender awareness, which may be due to the purposefully gender-blind ideology of the resistance struggle, combined with a lack of resources. China, for example, generously provided uniforms to the F-FDTL, with women receiving exactly the same uniforms and underwear than their male counterparts. Given the context that "everyone is treated as a male, with a male body", this was paradoxically not viewed as "discrimination" by the women we interviewed, though the problem persists.
- 5. Women's health issues, including untreated physical wounds and psychosocial trauma, e.g. related to the 2006 violence and the absence of any medical and/or counselling support, are further important issues that need to be addressed. According to PNTL Human Resources, about 121 male and female police personnel are victims of the 2006 crisis, and 29 PNTL personnel were wounded. Among the female wounded, some had not been operated on and still had potentially carcinogenic bullets in their bodies. Others had suffered from such serious mental conditions "I was afraid I would go insane" that they sought medical treatment at the hospital. This was done on their own initiative, as the PNTL did not offer any psychosocial counselling or support for them.

gender matters, implementation is difficult in post-conflict societies, which often lack the institutional knowledge and the resources, and whose elites may have other priorities.

Our report's recommendations include exploring and creating more inclusive, participatory, and consultative paths. There is a need to engender democratic spaces, not just within the PNTL and the F-FDTL, but by setting up a parallel exemplary representative gender 'balance' in model institutions, such as the government, the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) and the United Nations Police (UNPOL). It is time to get out of the conventional boxes on peacekeeping, peace-building and peace-making, and engage with local knowledge and indigenous belief systems and practices. Progress cannot be made by relying on the rule of external experts and their generic 'one-size-fits-all' formulas. It is also time to create and pro-actively promote nondiscrimination policies within the PNTL and F-FDTL, and to transform the mentality of senior-level staff and officials. This can be done through public education programmes, creative approaches, discussions, briefings, and by other means necessary.

All of the above goals could be achieved at relatively low cost and result in the boosting of East Timor's human and state security. In contrast, current attempts at Security Sector Reform, in particular the ambitious Defence Plan 2020 (Forsa 2020) suggest that high-level government officials and their 'expert advisors' prefer a costly hardware-heavy defence and security approach at a time when professional police work is seriously hampered by mundane things such as a lack of filing cabinets, and female morale is sapped by the delivery of 'one-size-fits-all' male underwear.<sup>7</sup>

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#### Notes

- 1 See Sue Blackburn's contribution to this IIAS Newsletter for a discussion of DDR in Cambodia and East Timor.
- 2 The study was commissioned by the National Commission on Research and Development, by the Sector Working Group on Justice, Defence, and Security. The views expressed in this article are my own.
- 3 PNTL Human Resources, respectively F-FDTL Human Resources.
- 4 See for example, "Report on the Monitoring of the State of Siege and Emergency: February to April 2008," Provedor for Human Rights and Justice, Caicoli, Dili, Timor Leste, 2008.
- 5 Simbolo de afirmasaun da independencia, simbolo de orgulho.
- 6 See for example the UN Commission on Investigation Report (CoI) on the 2006 crisis.
- 7 It emphasises the need for high-tech equipment and military, naval, coastguard resources, eventually also aerial hardware, to guard the 1.15 mio strong nation's most valuable resource in the sea, oil, even though a study by the Center for Defence Studies, King's College, London, had outlined the shortcomings of such as Security Sector Reform strategy as early as 2000.

The Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army (INA) is one of the most unusual and colourful female-only military units ever created. Enthusiastically initiated in Japanese-occupied Singapore in 1943 by a Bengali nationalist leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the regiment's name was inspired by an Indian warrior queen, whereas most of the regiment's members were lower-class overseas Indians. Tobias Rettig explains that this unique and short-lived regiment was also a training ground for some of India and Malaysia's pioneering post-independence female leaders and activists.

# Warrior queens:

# the Rani of Jhansi Regiment

Tobias Rettig

In early 1942, concerned about British-controlled India, the Japanese established the male-only Indian National Army (INA), made up of Indian soldiers unhappy with British colonial rule and those who just wanted to escape the harsh prisoner-of-war conditions. Within a year, however, it was disbanded due to tensions within the ranks and with the Japanese.

It was not until the arrival in Singapore of Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945), the Bengali nationalist and former Indian Congress leader, that the INA was revived from mid-1943. Bose reached out to the overseas Indian community and conceived of a female-only regiment. Unlike Gandhi or Nehru, he refused to play loyal opposition, advocating alignment with the leading Axis powers and violent anti-colonial struggle. Unlike his conservative fascist patrons in Berlin and Tokyo, his nationalism included a violent feminism which was not just the product of circumstance or a desire to mobilise the INA and local Indians for his political goal, but "the child [of his] psyche, personality, and politics" (Hills/Silverman 1993).

"... I want ... a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying Regiment who will wield the sword which Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857."

Subhas Chandra Bose, speaking at Singapore's Padang, 9 July 1943.

#### The Rani of Jhansi as role model

Rather than drawing on India's rich collective (sub-)conscious with several goddesses known for their use of violence, Bose opted for a real woman of flesh and blood as his role model. In fact, Lakshmibai, the Rani (Queen) of the princely state of Jhansi (c. 1828–1858), had led her subjects against the British during the 1857-8 Indian Rebellion, thus demonstrating that

women could assume political and military leadership positions in spite of the custom of *purdah* (sexual segregation). Although Lakshmibai's decision to take up arms against the British had primarily been motivated by local grievances and dynastic reasons, her anti-colonialism could easily be given a subcontinental, nationalistic meaning that would appeal to 20th century audiences.

In 1854, the East India Company had taken over her late husband's territory in central North India on the grounds of not having produced a male heir, even though the Rani and the Raja had, in line with Indian tradition, adopted a distant relative in 1853. Unlike other widows before her, the well-educated Rani first exhausted all legal options against the dispossession before deciding on violent action to reclaim her territories. The 1857 Sepoy Mutiny provided the perfect environment. The fact that she was considered a 'tomboy' in her youth, trained in the martial arts, certainly facilitated her decision. The Rani's courageous and competent resistance, as well as her 17 June 1858 death on the battlefield, would only serve to increase her prestige and enduring popular appeal.



Women in today's Indian Armed Forces continue the tradition begun by the Rani of Jhansi. Photograph by Ian Cowe.

#### The Rani's reincarnation and multiplication

Bose would find his 20th century reincarnation of Rani Lakshmibai in a 28-year old medical doctor, Dr Lakshmi Swaminathan. Born in Madras on 24 October 1914, she arrived in Singapore in 1940 and was one of the few India-born women of the regiment. Her political engagement in the Indian Independence League (IIL), her privileged background that included playing sports and driving cars, her position as a gynaecologist and obstetrician for Indian migrants in Singapore, and her tending to prisoners of war following the British debacle, made her a natural choice for a leadership position. Bose made her the commander of the Regiment and appointed her as the Minister in Charge of Women's Organisation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India).

Dr Lakshmi immediately used her position and networks to convince 20 young women to join her and on 12 July 1943 the Regiment was born. Recruitment was not just limited to Singapore as Bose went on a fundraising tour through Rangoon, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Shanghai, Nanking and other cities. It was during one of Bose's speeches in the Selangor Club maidan in Kuala Lumpur that an Indian girl from a wealthy family, Janaky Devar (b. 1925 or 1926) was so affected by the Netaji's speech that she spontaneously took off her jewellery to demonstrate her support for his cause. Despite the initial resistance of her father, Janaky was determined to join the female regiment.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, she would be in charge of uneducated Tamil-speaking women recruited from Malaya's rubber estates and rose to second-in-command of the regiment. Among her subordinates were girls such as M.B. Mehta, who lied about their age in order to be recruited.

While many accounts emphasise the Netaji's charisma and reputation among the Indian diaspora as a major pull factor, Bose-centric accounts tend to overlook the crucial role played by Dr Lakshmi in mobilising local-born Indian women in Singapore and further up the Malay peninsula. After having mobilised the Indians in Singapore, she went to recruit in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Ipoh (OHD, Dr Lakshmi), making house visits to convince concerned parents to put their young daughters under her command. In Ipoh, for instance, she was invited by two Christian Indian girls, Ponnammah (b. 1925) and Rasammah Navarednam (b. 1927) to convince their mother to allow them to join the regiment (Gopinath 2007).

Eventually, the regiment was made up of some 1500 women from diverse backgrounds: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians; the well-educated and well-to-do as well as plantation workers and other immigrant groups. The majority of its members were overseas Indian, born in British Burma, British Malaya, and some volunteers even came from Shanghai, Hongkong, and Thailand. According to Dr Lakshmi, even Malay and Chinese girls volunteered but had to be rejected on nationality grounds (OHD). While the official age limit was between 18 and 28, the youngest member allegedly was 12, and about 20 ladies above the ripe old age of 45 served as uniformed cooks.

While many, like the young Janaky, were swept up in nationalistic fervour, there were also more pragmatic reasons to join. Malayan plantations had been depleted of male labour as many men had to choose between being recruited by the Japanese as forced labour or joining the INA. The women folk who were left behind were now open to the sexual predations of the remaining clerks and supervisors (Bayly/Harper 2004). Joining the INA's female regiment was a way of escaping this, but it had other benefits too. A male eye-witness from Singapore, Dr Menon (OHD) suggests that Indian women joined because they "want[ed] to get themselves safe from the hands of the Japanese" and to a place where "you get fine dress, you get fine food, you can march [...], you can keep your good health".



The Rani of Jhansi, with her adopted son on her back, riding towards her last stronghold.

#### Battle-readiness and fighting power

Basic military training started simultaneously in Singapore and Rangoon in late October 1943. According to Dr Lakshmi (OHD), the women got "the same training as the men". This included marches, parades, obstacle training, learning how to handle weapons, including the bayoneting of stuffed gunny sacks, and jungle warfare. About 200 women were also trained as nurses.

Despite this training, not everyone was convinced of the regiment's battle-readiness. Dr Menon (OHD) recounts that "not a single woman knew how to wield a knife properly", but later states that "they were undergoing regular training [..] and some were taught how to shoot". In contrast, a young Chinese (trainee) teacher remembers his fear whenever he and other trainees accidentally shot their football onto the neighbouring training grounds of the regiment, as the women soldiers "refused to return the thing and threatened to shoot us" (OHD, Dr Tan Ban Cheng).

Eventually, the best test for the Ranis' combat-readiness would be on the battlefield. However, Bose was initially very reluctant to deploy his female soldiers for more than just nursing purposes because he felt a particular responsibility for the regiment's women. He only relented when Dr Lakshmi and other leaders reminded him of his promise to treat them as equals and convinced him to deploy them on the ill-fated Imphal campaign of March-July 1944 during which the tide of war changed against the Japanese. Instead of a triumphant entry into Bengal, by March 1945 the regiment was on retreat to Bangkok.

#### The legacy

Although the Ranis had been on the losing side of the war, in the medium term they were on the right side of history, with British India gaining independence in 1947, British Burma in 1948, and British Malaya in 1957. Attempts in 1945-46 to bring to justice the (male) leaders of the INA at the Red Fort Trials in Delhi were abandoned when the British realised the popularity of the accused and the threat of mutiny. This certainly facilitated post-war transition and re-integration into civilian life, and INA members have tried to keep in touch through personal as well as institutional networks. In India, the Netaji Subhas Bose – INA Trust for INA Veterans provides an institutional rallying point, while the Kuala Lumpur based Netaji Centre provides a similar nexus since 1977 for former INA members in Malaysia.

With regard to the roughly 1500 Ranis, the post-independence careers of its leaders are easier to track than those of its rank and file. Lakshmi Swaminathan returned to India, married a high-ranking INA member, Colonel Prem Kumar Sahgal, and resumed her practice as a doctor. In 1971, she embarked on a political career, joining the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which she would represent in the Upper House of Parliament. In 1998, she was one of four recipients of India's second highest civilian order and, in 2002, she unsuccessfully ran for the Presidency.

The Ranis' second-in-command, Captain Janaki Devar, became a leader of the Indian community in post-war British Malaya and a social activist with a particular concern for the Indian emigrant workers on the rubber estates. A founding member of the Malayan India Congress in 1946, she eventually became a senator in the Upper House of Parliament.

It is expected that Joyce Lebra's forthcoming publication, *Women Against the Raj: The Rani of Jhansi Regiment*, will shed more light not only on the high-profile Ranis but also those whose post-1945 lives followed more conventional trajectories.

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#### Notes

- 1 http://www.s1942.org.sg/s1942/indian\_national\_army/breaking.htm
- 2 http://news.smashits.com/255928/Netajis-Jhansi-warrior-looks-back.htm. 'Netaji' means 'Leader' but seems more affectionate than the German 'Führer'.

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Oral History Department (OHD), Singapore National Archives (SNA), Interviews with Dr Lakshmi: Dr Menon; and Dr Tan Ban Cheng. In Aceh, women's involvement in war is a well-known phenomenon. Local oral history traditions, and later, local Indonesian and Acehnese historiography, have helped transmit prominent figures of widowed heroines, such as Laksamana Keumalahayati (c. 1600), Cut Nyak Dhien (1850-1908) or Cut Meutia (1870-1910). But these idealised accounts have been constructed at the expense of the ordinary foot folk, making it difficult for the present generation of *Inong Balee*<sup>1</sup> - women combatants in the province's most recent conflict - to re-integrate and claim their place in post-conflict Acehnese society.

# Images of the past and realities of the present:

# Aceh's Inong Balee

Elsa Clavé-Çelik

ow do valiant women warriors become heroines? Since Indonesia's formal independence in 1949, two Indonesian-language publication waves have strongly moulded the Acehnese and Indonesian perception (and reception) of the *Inong Balee*. Both waves, in the 1950s/60s and the 1990s, show a competition for these heroines that closely mirrors the tense Jakarta-Aceh relations of the time. The accounts either highlight the participation of Acehnese heroines in Indonesian nation building, or emphasise the exceptional character of Acehnese women as evidence of Aceh's particularity compared with the rest of Indonesia.

#### **Epic terms**

Despite disagreements with regard to the 'ownership' of these heroines, both the Indonesian and the Acehnese interpretations essentially agree on the same archetypal image of a woman warrior: always brave and daring, beautiful, more often than not widowed, usually descended from nobility and frequently fated to die a martyr's death. A particularly intriguing aspect, in particular given Aceh's proud Islamic identity, of the making of such archetypal heroines is that at least half of the accounts on Acehnese women warriors refer to a warrior heroine from the most famous Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*,<sup>2</sup> in their title and content. Not only has Srikandi, who is well known in Javanese culture, become a national symbol of heroism in her own right, but she has also been used to re-cast Aceh's female combatants in epic terms.

It appears that the wide dissemination of these mythologised accounts is largely the legacy of Ali Hasjmy, the first post-independence governor of Aceh, who spent his life collecting and writing the history of Aceh. Later on, other local and foreign historians incorporated his collected stories into their own work. As a result, several oral traditions, together with information taken from European sources, have been woven into one single streamlined and authoritative account, even though the historical evidence does not always support it.

A particularly striking example of how fact and fiction have become one are the heroic deeds of the 16th century female leader, Laksamana (Admiral) Keumalahayati, popularly known as Malahayati. Following her husband's death in a campaign that had widowed many other women, she is reported to have created a seaborne army of widowed women, the Armada *Inong Balee*. The fleet is said to have twice defeated the Dutch: first the brothers de Houteman in 1599, then van Caerden's ships in 1601. Indonesian historiography cites the accounts of John Davis, an English captain who visited Aceh in 1599, and Dutch novelist Marie van Zeggelen (1870-1957), which highlight that Malahayati killed Cornelis de Houteman herself, and captured his brother Frederick.

However, upon verification, John Davis only reported that "a woman is [the sultan's] Admiral, for he will trust no men" and none of the Dutch sources of the time mention Keumalahayati's name or a battle with van Caerden. In contrast, van Zeggelen's account depicts Malahayati as a mysterious admiral who is described by means of clichés, the same ones used for all female warriors. She is said to have been from a lineage of great combatants, widow of a soldier, of noble character, displaying extreme bravery, and always holding a *rencong* (an Acehnese knife, similar to the more famous *keris*).

It thus appears that a Dutch novelist and children's author, who had followed her officer husband from garrison to garrison in the 1890-1916 period, re-invented the historical Mahalayati in the image of mythological



The arrest of Cut Dyak
Dhien. Image first reproduced in Prominent Women
in the Glimpse of History,
by Ismail Sofyan, M. Hasan
Basry and T. Ibrahim Alfian
(ed). Jakarta: Jayakarta
Agung, 1994.

Hindu-Javanese heroine Srikandi. An image that post-independence Indonesian authors, led by the indefatigable Ali Hasjmy, in search of pre-colonial glory, found all too appealing, infinitely quotable and conveniently forgot to verify van Zeggelen's sources.

Acehnese heroines of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Cut Nyak Dhien and Cut Meutia, are similarly presented as continuing the fight of their dead husbands, sometimes exceeding them in passion and constancy. By providing very few details on their life and personality, a uniform image of the archetypical Acehnese woman combatant has been perpetuated. This bias, present since the first romanticised Dutch accounts, has created a simplified history made up of one-dimensional icons. As a result, romanced stories of a few select figures have become the sole historical reference points of Acehnese women warriors in general

#### 'Forgotten' women

It is interesting to note that others heroines of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are less present in local historiography. Dutch sources attest to the existence of women warriors such as Pocut Baren (1880-1933), Pocut Meurah Intan (d. 1937), Pocut Meuligo (n.d.), Teungku Fakinah (d. 1933) and Teungku Cutpo Fatimah (d. 1912)<sup>4</sup>, yet these women are far less present in the oral tradition, and as a consequence seldom re-narrated by local authors.

The reason could be that these figures, 'forgotten' by local historiography, do not always fit the archetypal frame of the noble, beautiful and successful elite warrior woman. Pocut Baren, for example, was not a beauty but a one-legged combatant amputee. This, and the fact that the Dutch gave

her medical attention, repatriated her, but also re-instated her as a member of the *uleebalang* - the local Acehnese elite who ruled a territory but recognised the higher authority of the sultan and later the Dutch - made her an unlikely post-independence heroine. Not only that, but Lieutenant H. Scheurleer reported that she tried to create orderliness, security and prosperity under Dutch authority, an attitude that does not fit the usual image of the woman combatant hateful of her enemy. From an anti-colonial perspective, of course, she would have been seen as a collaborator or over traiter.

In a similar way, a severely wounded Pocut Meurah Intan accepted treatment from a Dutch lieutenant, Veltman, rather than committing suicide; and Teungku Fakinah did not die as martyr but continued to live in peace in a *dayah* (traditional Acehnese religious school). If these women still represent isolated, widowed combatants originating from Acehnese nobility, their profile differs markedly from the heroic trinity that provides the dominant official image of the *Inong Balee*: Malahayati, Cut Nyak Dhien, and Cut Meutia.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, further non-hegemonic discourse on groups of women combatants can be found in Dutch telegrams sent from Aceh to the Netherlands East Indies' Governor-General in Java. They mention women villagers armed with *rencong* attacking the colonial *marechaussee* (Dutch military police), hiding weapons and munitions, and said to be disguised in men's black-coloured clothes. These anonymous women villagers who, in reality, were just wearing their traditional dark pants - *luweu tham asèe* (dog-chasing trousers) - are far removed from the

exclusive circle of Acehnese nobility, and show a more popular face of the Inong Balee. However, in Dutch reports these women remained a question mark. Surprisingly, they were not qualified as enemy (*vijanden*) but as women (*vrouwen*), a special category, and viewed as 'accidentally' killed by Dutch police. This fact reveals that the Dutch could not imagine women combatants as a general phenomenon, and explains local historiography's preference for leaders rather than the mass of female foot soldiers.

#### **Inong Balee today**

Contemporary accounts of *Inong Balee*<sup>6</sup> are far closer to these Dutch telegrams than to the stories of the archetypal Acehnese woman warrior. They deal with common people, young girls, widows or married women, who joined the struggle against the Indonesian state by engaging in the military or civilian structure of *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (Free Aceh Movement), known as GAM.<sup>7</sup> They were members of all-female combatant and mixed gender units, but they were also individual women fighters, cooks, logisticians, fundraisers, nurses, propagandists, and part of the intelligence service.

Trained for anything from a few days to three months, these women were taught how to fix and use weapons. They received lectures on ideology, ethics and military attitude, as well as in strategy and guerilla tactics. They officially became GAM *Inong Balee* after a formal ceremony during which they swore "I promise to Allah to sacrifice my possessions and my life for the nation because there is just one and unique God".

As their situation during the conflict greatly differed from one region to another, their experiences as *Inong Balee* cannot be reduced to one single meaning. In Linge (central Aceh), for example, *Inong Balee* managed



Cut Meutia by Javanese artist, Dede Eri Supria.

logistics and acted mostly as intelligence (pateung), gathering information for the TNA (Teuntara Neugara Aceh), GAM's military wing. Their situation fluctuated from day to day, with an inconstant and often broken network of Inong Balee who assisted and supported GAM. In contrast, in Meureuhom Daja (western coast), women combatants assumed military roles in villages but also in the jungle where they were part of male TNA units in Lhok Sukhon sagoe.<sup>8</sup> In another case, in Pase (eastern coast), Inong Balee were organised as an autonomous women-only group, "Pasukan Inong Balee" (Inong Balee Troops). Here they were deployed in villages and in the mountains, sometimes also conducting guerilla attacks or acts of sabotage. The roles of these women combatants were varied and their organisation was uneven throughout Aceh, with hierarchical structures more or less marked.

As GAM rarely recorded data due to the nature of guerilla warfare, and existing records were often destroyed or lost, an exact evaluation of the *Inong Balee* seems impossible. The only certitude is that losses were significant during the the most recent state of military emergency (2003-2005), a critical time when women became far more involved than during the 1989-98 period. In spite of this, after the signing of the Helsinki peace agreement, few *Inong Balee* were automatically recognised by GAM leaders as having taken part in the struggle. This is even more surprising given

the organisation's open propaganda regarding their women fighters and reference to the ubiquitous Malahayati, Cut Nyak Dhien, and Cut Meutia.

Many of the GAM's *Inong Balee* did not expect anything in return for their contribution, often because they wanted to erase a painful past marked by privation, not to mention possible torture or rape. But others were waiting for recognition of their involvement and intended to continue to play an active role in shaping the future of their province. For these *Inong Balee*, the main problem has been to obtain recognition of their status which has often been reduced or negated. Although similar post-conflict trajectories can be observed elsewhere<sup>9</sup> another key mechanism appears to be at work in Aceh. According to the Acehnese collective consciousness, a woman warrior had to fit the image of exceptional women leaders such as Cut Nyak Dhien or Cut Meutia. Of course, the life and exploits of the majority of *Inong Balee* differed from this exalted image, and as a result they were not recognised as combatants, but rather considered GAM widows or supporters.

This lack of recognition has meant that for many female army members, who took the same risks as their male counterparts, peace has a bitter

Srikandi, warrior heroine from the Mahabarata, used to re-cast Aceh's female combatants in epic terms.



taste. A number of *Inong Balee*, however, have decided not to remain an abstract image of the past, and want to play an active role in the building of their *nanggroe*, i.e. their land and culture. For that reason they have strengthened their organisation and raised their voice. The Acehnese Women's League (*Liga Inong Aceh* – LINA) was formed in June 2006 by the activist Shadia Marhaban and a GAM senior, Nur Djuli, to help these female combatants find a proper place in the reintegration process. Then, in 2007, Muzakir Manaf, the highest commander of the former TNA made one of them head of the *Inong Balee* in the Transnational Committee of Aceh (*Komite Peralihan Aceh*, KPA). Despite this official recognition by former GAM officials and members, the challenge for these female combatants now remains to be understood and accepted in wider Acehnese society. A recognition that neither Laksamana Malahayati nor Aceh's Queen Tadj Al Alam (r. 1641-1675), the first of four women sultans in a row, had to fight for.

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#### Notes

- In Acehnese language, literally the women who have been left by their husband, designate divorced women, widows, and as an extension, the women combatants who for the majority have lost their husband in the conflict. In this paper we will use the term for women combatants, whether widowed or not
- 2 Srikandi loyally fought on Arjuna's side during the Bratayuda War, slaying his enemies, in order to win the married prince's heart.
- 3 Markham, Albert Hastings. (ed) 1880. The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator. London: Hakluyt Society.
- 4 Cut is a frequent nobility title, Pocut an honorific title reserved for wise women, and Teungku is a term for religious personality.
- 5 Siapno, Jacqueline. 2002. *Gender, Islam, Nationalism and the State in Aceh: The Paradox of Power, Co-optation and Resistance*. Richmond: RoutledgeCurzon.
- 6 Information collected in interviews with several informants conducted in Takengon, Banda Aceh, Meulaboh, Sigli and Lhokseumawe in December 2006 and May 2007.
- 7 As the GAM considered Aceh as a sovereign state and not as part of the Indonesian Republic, it had its own civilian and military structure.
- 8 GAM's administrative and military division of Aceh followed the pre-colonial order when territory was divided in wilayah, sagoe, mukim and gampong.
  A wilayah (region) is composed of 3 to 4 sagoe (sub-districts).
- 9 See, e.g., the contributions by Sue Blackburn and Jacqueline Siapno in this issue of IIAS Newsletter.



Cut Nyak Dhien, by Javanese artist, Dede Eri Supria.

Mention communists, guerillas, freedom fighters, militants and ideologues and the images that leap to mind are invariably male. In Asia, it is no different, except there is an added bias of patriarchy and of a history that has, until recently, been constructed and then recounted by former colonial powers and their historians. After independence, new 'autonomous' national histories had to be created and national curricula constructed, with those not fitting into these narratives either omitted or marginalised. Adrianna Tan examines the case of the women warriors of the Malayan Communist Party.

# The forgotten women warriors of the Malayan Communist Party

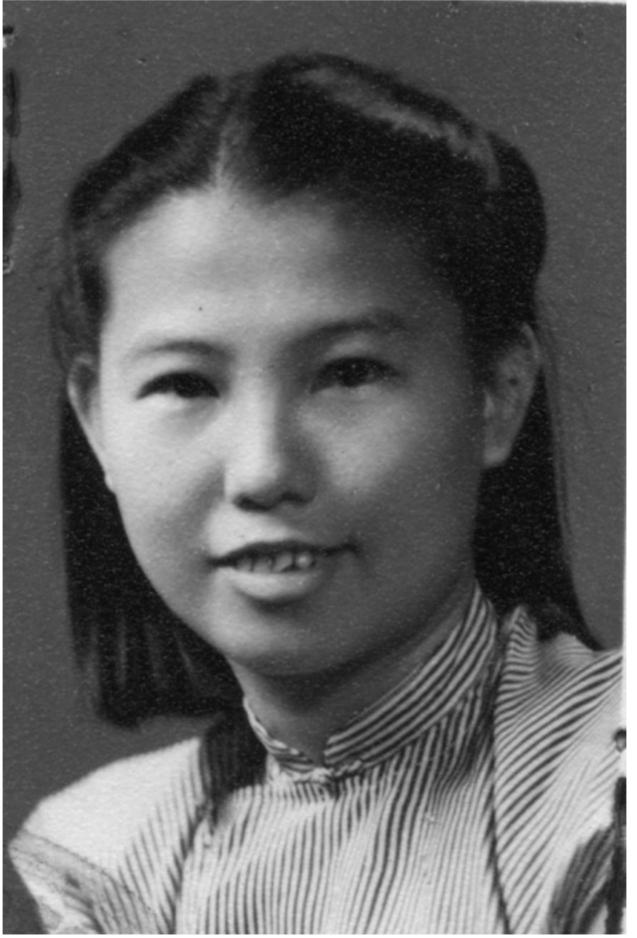
ADRIANNA TAN

N academic and popular - of the Malayan communists, with the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) at the core of the movement, is lacking. There is a penchant for dichotomous terms of good and evil, black and white. The conventional narrative is usually that of the ruthless Malayan Communists - typically Chinese and always male - versus the valiant and ultimately successful attempts of the colonial power and incoming national governments that saved the region from the global communist conspiracy.

If there is anything certain at all about this particular part of history, it is that the version of those defeated has been as good as airbrushed out of history, or at least heavily tweaked. In fact, the communist movement in present day Singapore and Malaysia, not to forget its hinterlands in Thailand's Muslim south, spanned the better part of the 20th century, first overlapping with the independence movements of these countries, then fighting against the post-independence governments, before petering out two decades ago when the guerillas finally laid down their arms in 1989. Now in retirement and in their seventies or even eighties, several key figures of the MCP have narrated their version of events.1

# Daughters, mothers, wives, lovers

If it is true that the human side of the Malayan communist history is missing, this is even more so the case for the female angle. In fact, a surprising number of the MCP was female. While the exact number is not known, some put the figure as high as 30 per cent. What is known, however, is that their role was certainly significant. The women of the MCP were Chinese, Malay and Thai - born in China, Singapore, Malaysia and southern Thailand. They were commanders, leaders of civilian movements, members of the Politburo, rank and file soldiers; they were doctors, surgeons and nurses and they were in combat on the same terms as male soldiers. More importantly, they continued to be daughters, mothers, wives and lovers. They endured extreme hunger and physical and mental duress, then hunted elephants and wild boar alongside the men. They suffered terrible injuries in battle, ran,



A young Li Qiu: an integral female member of the party, Li Qiu represented the MCP in China. She now lives in Beijing. Photograph courtesy of CC Chin.

walked and carried the same heavy load as the men; and sometimes persevered when male comrades had given up.

Some arrested male communists and defectors were eager to point out to their interrogators how they preferred the treatment they received in captivity to that of their occasionally "terrifying... demanding" female commanders in the MCP.<sup>2</sup> The women of MCP were known to be far tougher, physically and mentally, than their male counterparts, taking far more easily to the physical and mental demands of a life on the run. When captured, they rarely cracked under pressure or torture. It could be said they lived for the ideology they believed in, and took it to the grave.

Yet little is known about these women and the lives they led, except for one book of interviews and overlapping material from independent research about the MCP. Agnes Khoo's groundbreaking "Life As the River Flows" (2004) is a collection of oral history interviews, giving a voice to the women of the MCP. But it is only a preliminary attempt at piecing together a coherent story about the women of the Malayan Communist Party. To my knowledge, no other narratives exist in either academic or popular history. Research and original material has been scarce and mostly in Chinese: the leading MCP researcher CC Chin and his counterparts have carried out meticulous research for decades, but seldom focused solely on the women.3

Khoo's 16 interview partners freely discussed their lives, regrets, struggles, beliefs and hopes with the Singapore-born researcher. This preliminary narrative can hopefully open the door to a new interest in this important but often forgotten part of the contemporary history of the 'Malay' peninsula. It is a story about women who were invisible when they were daughters and wives in the traditional Southeast Asia of the 1930s through to the 1960s and 1970s: Invisible when they left home to live out a life in the dense forests of Malaysia and Thailand and invisible again now as they find themselves on the wrong side of history - forgotten, banished, silenced by the state and by shame. In learning about their contribution to history, historians gain an understanding of some significant themes underlying this transnational struggle; while the rest of us may find some lessons from the story of female lives led bravely, harshly and sometimes brutally.



Surgery in the jungle: guerillas risked injury and death in the jungle, but as wanted people could not seek medical treatment. The army had its own doctors who met the medical needs of the Communists, from minor injuries to major operations - all with primitive tools in makeshift conditions. Courtesy of CC Chin



Female soldier in the breakaway group of the MCP. This small breakaway faction acknowledged the creation of Malaysia by naming themselves the Communist Party of *Malaysia*. They gave up arms in 1987, two years before the MCP, and were resettled in the same areas of Southern Thailand but in separate villages. Courtesy of CC Chin.

The Malayan Communist Party was formed in 1930. It gained influence and numbers in the anti-Japanese movement from 1939 to 1945, peaked as an anti-colonial independence movement from 1948 to 1959 in the Malayan Emergency, was banished to the jungles after independence from 1959, surged during the communist wave in Indochina in the 1970s, and finally laid down their arms following the 1989 Peace Accords. Throughout these six decades, women from diverse social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds joined the struggle.

They had different motivations. Some joined to escape poverty or oppressive and sometimes violent family structures, or simply the dead-end boredom of village life. Some were highly educated intellectuals, others were illiterate. While Mandarin was the *lingua franca* of the MCP, the Guangxi dialect was also widely spoken, and the Malay and Southern Thai recruits spoke Malay and Thai. Some women left home in the face of family opposition, never to see family members again; others joined with their entire families.

The party lived up to the Communist archetype of being highly structured, disciplined, and organised. From the early years as a bona fide political party, to its years on the run as a capable guerilla force, the MCP's charismatic leaders and their Chi-

nese emphasis on exemplary behaviour won over many civilian hearts and influenced many young minds.

#### Three women of the Party

We begin by comparing three women from similar backgrounds, born in different 'countries'. Lin Guan Ying was a senior Party member born in China in 1923, in Hui Zhou, Guangdong. She grew up in Negeri Sembilan in Malaya. Like many other overseas Chinese, Guan Ying and her family were fervently patriotic. Even before the Japanese overran Southeast Asia in 1942, many immigrant Chinese were already active in anti-Japanese resistance, either by donating money or joining resistance movements. Guan Ying's village, the village of Yi Lang Lang, was no different -"nearly everyone... joined the resistance"; the 'red village' even grew food to feed the anti-Japanese movement. This same patriotism involved Guan Ying's family in the resistance efforts; their home at Yi Lang Lang was a safe house for guerillas providing shelter and communications.

By the time she was 18, her activism had already made Guan Ying an informal member of the party; joining officially was a natural step for her and many of her contemporaries. She eventually went on to do high-level Party work in China for several decades, and also married a high-ranking

Politburo member. The activism and social awareness in the Chinese schools of the day provided fertile breeding ground for future members of the party. Many, including the longtime leader of the party, Chin Peng (b. 1924), and his schoolmate Eng Ming Ching (b. 1924) - the hardy female member of the Politburo and leader of the 10<sup>th</sup> Battalion - began revolutionary activities as a direct result of the anti-Japanese resistance popular in Chinese schools in the early 1940s.

A decade after the Japanese resistance, in early 1950s Singapore, Guo Ren Luan and her peers were involved in a similarly disciplined activism, founding associations to help poor students afford school fees and buy books, forming anti-pornography movements (sic), participating in student rallies, and forming the Federation of Chinese High School Unions, among others.

In May 1954, hundreds of Chinese middle school students clashed with the colonial police regarding the unpopular introduction of compulsory conscription, resulting in 26 injured and 45 students arrested. Consequently, students like Guo Ren Luan found themselves with renewed anti-colonial sentiments and politically radicalised. She soon left home to avoid arrest and continued being active in the Malayan underground when the Federa-

tion of Chinese High School Unions was outlawed by the colonial government. Guo Ren Luan's work as an underground activist was to instill revolutionary ideas in the village, which often included teaching literacy to women and tuition classes to children. This was followed by 13 years of self-imposed exile in Indonesia.

Not all MCP members were Malaya- or China-born. Zhu Ning was born in Thailand in 1931 into a strictly conservative Chinese family that arranged the marriage of their 15-year old daughter. Under the mental duress of a severe mother-in-law and an absent husband, Zhu Ning was miserable, trapped in the traditional Confucian family structure. After helping the guerillas for many years, she joined them in 1967 with her four children in tow. For Zhu Ning and her family the guerilla army was a route out of poverty and 'feudalism'. Her story is echoed by many other women who joined as a means of escaping families who refused them education, wanted them married, were often steeped in abject poverty, and sometimes abused them.

The women's work in the armed wing of the MCP had two broad aspects. Many, including rank and file female soldiers, were involved directly in combat. These women laid landmines and participated in military exercises and conflict. Others were involved in what the party called *min* yun huo dong (civilian mobilisation). This included anything from recruitment drives, instilling 'progressive ideas' in civilians, to getting civilians to provide food for the guerillas. Those women who performed min yun activities split their time between their base in the jungle with the rest of the army, and moving openly among civilians in villages, towns and cities, which was just as dangerous.

#### Life, love, parenthood and the present

Men and women were strictly separated in their sleeping quarters, and relationships without the permission of commanders were forbidden. Nevertheless, many fell in love and married, with the party's official sanction, while continuing to live in the jungle. One high profile marriage included that of Eng Ming Ching (now known as Suriani Abdullah) to the Chairman of the MCP, the Malay comrade Abdullah CD (b. 1923).

The ups and downs of jungle marriages, and the party's involvement in them, are well documented in the case of Huang Xue Ying (b. 1934) and her husband Ah Yum, a high-ranking party official. When her husband had an affair with another married comrade, party leaders immediately intervened and punished them. Whether in courtship, marriage, divorce and childbirth, the party always played a central role. Thus when Huang Xue Ying gave birth, her baby daughter was sent out of the jungle immediately to be adopted by a Thai family; the young couple was never to see their child again, a fate shared with many other guerilla parents. Others were more fortunate and could at least send their offspring to family members, though often remaining strangers to their children even after having given up armed struggle.

The Hat Yai Peace Agreement of 1989 saw the Thai and Malaysian governments successfully negotiate a peace treaty with MCP leaders. The MCP guerillas laid down their arms and were resettled in four 'Peace Villages' in southern Thailand, with Sukirin village housing Malay party members and

the rest (Betong, Banlang, Yaha) being predominantly Chinese. A fifth village exists to house a faction that split in 1968 to form the Communist Party of *Malaysia* (not Malaya) and which surrendered earlier, in 1987. Most of the former guerillas are now farmers and rubber tappers, many enjoying the routines of family and parenthood for the first time in their lives.4

My hope is that this brief glimpse into the life and work of the women of the MCP provides enough fodder to ignite a new interest, not only in one of Asia's forgotten wars but also in female agency in armed anti-colonial and communist struggle. It is regrettable that due to a lack of resources and perhaps also a reluctance to re-visit the ghosts of the past, the stories of prominent female personalities like Wu Rui Ai are not explored in a satisfactory manner. Eng Ming Ching a.k.a. Suriani Abdullah, tells her side of history in her memoirs, published in 2007, but until an English translation is made, only readers of Chinese and Malay can enjoy the flamboyant story of one of the party's key female personalities. Perhaps in the near future as more work and research is carried out to explore this exciting topic of our recent history, a clearer picture can emerge from the current haziness.

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#### Notes

- 1 For English-language accounts, see Ching Peng (2003); Chin & Hack (2004); Wong (2005).
- 2 Interview, J. L. M. Gorrie, Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore.
- 3 Cheah Boon Kheng (1987) would be the English-publishing counterpart.
- 4 Amir Muhamad's irreverent and impressionistic "The Last Communist" (2006) and "Village People Radio Show" (2007), banned in Malaysia, give a glimpse into the life of a Chinese and a Muslim MCP village respectively.

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Wong, James Wing On. 2005. From Pacific War to Merdeka: Reminiscences of Abdullah CD, Rashid Maidin, Suriani Abdullah and Abu Samah. Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Strategic Information Research Development. Former combatants are usually dealt with through the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) processes. Historically the emphasis has been on the disarmament and demobilisation of male soldiers, since armed men are regarded as a potential threat to peace and security. In developing countries, however, women play multiple roles in armed conflict, including as armed combatants. Yet women who have carried arms are rarely included in DDR arrangements, and they tend to just disappear at the end of a war, deriving no benefit from processes intended to care for the needs of ex-combatants and ensure national security.

# The aftermath for women warriors:

#### Cambodia and East Timor

SUSAN BLACKBURN

In both East Timor and Cambodia, where I conducted research with Oxfam Australia in 2005-6,1 the United Nations (UN) played an important role in ending armed conflict, and its intervention helped shape the post-conflict arrangements in each country. Because both countries were devastated, international assistance was essential for their reconstruction. Aid donors have therefore had great influence. The question posed here is have they had any impact on women's involvement in DDR?

#### Cambodia

In Cambodia in the 1990s, the process of disarming and demobilising troops, including those of the Khmer Rouge, was messy, fragmented and prolonged. The Paris Peace Agreements of 1991 created the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) which was supposed, among other duties, to supervise the ceasefire and arrange for the disarming and demobilising of all armed groups. However, lack of cooperation from the Cambodians meant that UNTAC was unable to carry out this task properly. Although about 36,000 fighters were demobilised by 1993, the Khmer Rouge continued recruiting and fighting. International funds were supplied for DDR which finally began in 1997 but was suspended after the coup that year and did not resume until 2000. The internationally funded programme provided handouts in 2001 to soldiers who were demobilised.<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to find any reference to women soldiers in the documentation about the official demobilisation process, although the Khmer Rouge were noted for their recruitment of women (and child soldiers).3 Female Khmer Rouge ex-combatants attempted to remake their lives in any way they could. In this respect the aftermath of fighting in Cambodia probably resembled that of most poor countries throughout history. That women were neglected did not differentiate them from most men.

Nowadays, no glory attaches to the Cambodian conflict. The whole period of the 1970s to 1990s is a bleak one in Cambodian history and there has been no celebration of victors and very little punishment of losers. Pol Pot and leng Sary were tried in absentia in 1979 in Phnom Penh and sentenced to death, and an international criminal trial of a few remaining Khmer Rouge leaders, long postponed, is now being held. Our interviews in rural areas suggest it is better to avoid talking about





Two ex-combatant women in Takeo province, Cambodia. Often former combatant women do not want to be photographed following the conflict, in particular if they were on the losing side. Photographs courtesy of the author.

any participation in the hated Pol Pot regime. On the other hand, most Cambodians avoid blaming people who served that government, on the grounds that they were forced to obey.

# "Some people think we are not good women"

In 2005, when I asked the Cambodian staff of Oxfam Australia and their provincial government counterparts about the existence of women ex-combatants in the rural areas where they worked, most denied knowing of any. One counterpart in Takeo province agreed that there probably were female ex-combatants in the area where he worked, "but they do not want to let us know. They prefer to keep it secret as it may affect their status because people discriminate against former Khmer Rouge soldiers". Those who mentioned knowing of such women clearly regarded them as exceptional cases. At the village level in Takeo province, however, people readily acknowledged that there were women excombatants living in their midst. They did not hold any grudges against them, probably because any violence in which they had been involved had been committed elsewhere, but also because of the widespread view that people were forced to commit such acts by the Khmer Rouge: "They had no choice" was the frequent refrain.

Our enquiries revealed no particular difficulties facing women ex-combatants in settling back into the community. Some now participated in community development projects. Two female ex-combatants we interviewed in Takeo province said they suffered no discrimination although one mentioned "there are rumours that some people think we are not good women".

In the aftermath of any war, the health problems of ex-combatants may be quite serious, particularly if they were injured during duty, or if they suffer conflict-induced trauma. The female ex-combatants we heard about or interviewed in Cambodia were in poor health. Many who were recruited as teenagers during the conflict had no opportunity to gain an education. Ill health and lack of education are, however, experienced by most who survived that period and it is difficult to warrant singling out Cambodian ex-combatants for special treatment. The fact that many of their

problems are shared by non-combatants is in some ways an advantage since it means there is likely to be more sympathy and support, which is particularly important in such matters as post-conflict trauma. In this respect the situation is very similar to that in East Timor.

#### **East Timor**

Compared with Cambodia, although East Timor also suffered great poverty and destruction, more attention was paid to women in that country after 1999. In part this is accounted for by the different nature of the armed conflict there: the struggle for independence against Indonesian rule is heroic. Also, by the time of UN intervention in East Timor, international thinking on gender and conflict had developed further than during the Cambodian intervention. But progress has been slight, and the problems of identifying combatants in a guerrilla war remain.

Women combatants may learn some skills that will assist them in future life, most notably courage, confidence, contacts and leadership. In Cambodia, the ex-combatants we interviewed remembered only

their own bravery and resilience with any degree of positive sentiment when they recollected the war years. In the case of East Timor, in contrast, there is leadership value in having been an ex-combatant: they are generally highly regarded and stand a good chance of being elected to the many positions opening up in East Timor's new democratic society. However, women have been unable to share in the assistance given to some of their male colleagues who bore arms. As part of the DDR programme, some former liberation fighters have been incorporated into the new national security forces and others have received cash and training to help them settle back into society. No women have enjoyed these privileges.4

Unlike in Cambodia, in East Timor people at all levels were generally prepared to talk to us about women's role in armed conflict. The exceptions were some villages in Covalima, East Timor's south-eastern province bordering the Indonesian part of the island, which had been dominated by the pro-Indonesian militias: there some people resented discussing the conflict. It was a reminder that women might also

have assisted the militias, for which they could expect no favourable recognition at all. As in Cambodia, women who supported the losing side prefer to keep quiet about it.

In early 2006 we spoke with a number of East Timorese about what had happened to former female fighters. They were very conscious that there was controversy about recognition and reward of combatants. In Covalima and Liquica provinces we were told that "the condition of women who were active in the independence movement has not changed. There has been almost no attention from the government or any organisation to help them".

Maria Domingas de Santos, from the prominent women's organisation Organizacao da Mulher Timorense, told us she thought it very important that women's work in the independence war should be recognised. "They should get support for their projects or activities but not in terms of actual reward. Rewards cause discrimination because there are a lot of other factors involved such as political parties and this would cause jealousies". After all, she added "We won the war not because we shot each other but more through our referendum". Thus she emphasised how diverse the roles were of those who supported the independence struggle. In 1999 for many men and women voting proved as dangerous, and as important for independence, as bearing arms.

#### Gender sensitive DDR?

The UN role in both East Timor and Cambodia pre-dated a watershed in the international recognition of women's roles in armed conflicts. Resolution 1325, passed by the Security Council in 2000, dealt with women, peace and security. In relation to DDR, the important section is article 13, which 'Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male excombatants...'.

Greater gender awareness was already visible in international intervention in East Timor from 1999. This was obvious in the support the UN Transitional Authority for East Timor supplied to women to allow them to participate in the new political arrangements being made for the country's independence. It was a sign of changing times. Moreover, a Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation was established and took testimonies from many women affected by the conflict, showing a willingness in East Timor to acknowledge what women suffered and what they contributed to the winning of independence.5 On the other hand, there is little sign of gender awareness in the DDR process in either East Timor or Cambodia.

Implementing DDR in accordance with Resolution 1325 would be extremely demanding for countries like Cambodia and East Timor. For a start, it would seem to require that women were leaders in armed conflicts, since only leaders get a place at the peace table. The Resolution also assumes that resources are available to care for the demobilisation and reintegration requirements of all those in need as a result of armed conflict, not just the winners or armed combatants. At present only the victorious male troops are assisted and expenditure on reintegration is low. To provide resources to cover all ex-combatants, broadly defined, would necessitate a large international fund and

would have to extend over several years to be effective.<sup>6</sup>

Although the push for gender-sensitive DDR is now championed by the Security Council, international organisations can do little without the backing of a local women's movement to promote women's rights. In this respect there are important differences between post-conflict Cambodia and East Timor. Since 1979 there had been a mass organisation of Cambodian women (the Women's Association of Cambodia), but it was controlled by the Communist Party and did not have the freedom to pursue its own agenda.7 From the early 1990s, supported by foreign aid, a number of independent local women's organisations emerged.8 Although they addressed wide-ranging issues concerning women, none took up the politically unpopular cause of the needs of women ex-combatants. In East Timor, however, an independent women's movement had been growing since the late 1990s, and although it suffered a severe setback with the devastation of 1999, it regrouped and joined with the international community in pushing strongly for women's rights, including in relation to DDR.9

Without a strong domestic constituency lobbying for the rights of women in DDR, international pressure is likely to be ineffective. International donors can, of course, do much to build the capacity of local women's organisations, as they have done in East Timor, but this usually occurs after peace negotiations which have made the arrangements for DDR.

If DDR were seriously to incorporate gender, by recognising the multiple roles of women in prosecuting wars, and if DDR was applied in a non-discriminatory way to all those caught up in warfare, regardless of sex or side, attitudes to armed conflict would be transformed. It would have to be recognised that DDR should not relate to reward and punishment, but that it must be part of a wider process of reconciliation and healing. Conflict sweeps up both men and women in many capacities. Helping them to settle back into a peaceful society involves recognition of their varied experiences and needs. It would also require far greater resources than are currently devoted to DDR.

Thus thinking about gender transforms thinking about war, combat, peace, reconciliation – an excellent example of how 'gender mainstreaming', properly pursued, subverts male-dominated concepts and structures. But how realistic is it for the near future? A non-discriminatory approach to DDR is slow in coming, as is amply illustrated by the examples of Cambodia and East Timor.<sup>10</sup>

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#### Note

1 My research focused on the assistance provided by Oxfam Australia to poor rural women affected by conflicts in Sri Lanka, Cambodia and East Timor. It involved interviewing staff of Oxfam Australia and its local counterparts and focus group and individual interviews in the areas where they worked.

It was assisted by a grant from the Australian Research Council. I wish to thank the ARC as well as Oxfam Australia and our research coordinators and local interviewers

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- 10 Nevertheless, progress has been made in the last 15 years or so. Witness the example of El Salvador. At the settlement of the twelve-year war in El Salvador in 1992, women did participate in reintegration negotiations and succeeded in ensuring that both male and female combatants received reintegration packages. Significantly, UN involvement was critical in the peace process. See Conway, Camille and Salome Martinez. 2004. Adding Value: Women's Contribution to Reintegration and Reconstruction in El Salvador. Hunt Alternatives Fund.

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Most histories of Asia are about nation/states, such as China, India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, or Sri Lanka. Nation/states are, indeed, a suitable unit of analysis for the 20<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps even for the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when nationalists imagined their respective nations. But what about earlier eras when empires sprawled across today's national boundaries then collapsed into successor states? How are historians to capture a time without passports, with porous borders, and family networks that crossed continents?

# Social networking in pre-modern Asian History

STEWART GORDON

he typical solution to this dilemma - and one can find it any textbook on China or India - is to select a large kingdom in the past whose boundaries closely fit the boundaries of the current nation/state. This kingdom becomes the cornerstone of a national history. In India, for example, the 'chosen' kingdom was the Guptas, who ruled large parts of present-day India (320 – 550 CE). After the Guptas, the history of India is reduced to a few iconic events that 'explain' the present situation of the nation/state. This process produces spectacular elisions. Untouchables, women and tribals disappear as does the history of South India. We lose the story of the 95% of the population who lived in villages and much of the millennium between 500 and 1500. The connections – intellectual, religious, military, or trade – that spread thousands of miles beyond India's borders are barely mentioned

The exciting new studies on the history of Asia have looked beyond national boundaries and include a now-extensive literature on the Silk Road and its water-borne counterpart in Southeast Asia. Tansen Sen, for example, has explored the broad Buddhist oekumene (600 – 900 CE) that tied together China, Central Asia, India, and Southeast Asia. The Indian Ocean as a region has also received attention, such as older work by K N Chaudari, Mike Pearson, and Abu Lughod, and, more recently, the research of Hima Ray, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Richard Eaton. From the proponents of world history, there have been several attempts to link all of Asia, Africa and Europe as a single unit, termed Afro-Eurasia, such as Victor Lieberman's Strange Parallels and Phillipe Beaujard's article in Journal of World History (2005).

All of these supra-national studies of Asian history embrace networks, whether explicitly or implicitly. Those studying trade must follow commodities from source to consumer and consider the chain of traders that supplied the demand. Diplomatic history must follow ambassadors to their destinations and examine common customs that made diplomacy possible. Intellectual history must follow a thinker's ideas to the people he influenced.

#### Mapping connections

There is a well-developed body of theory, known as social network analysis, that can focus this attention to connections across Asia. At its most general social network analysis looks at how relationships, especially social pressures, around a person, group, or organisation affect beliefs or behaviours. The earliest research in the field asked people in a small town who they knew and mapped the connections. The analysis is of properties of relations between, people, rather than the characteristics of individuals. Hypotheses are tested on this second order data, that is, patterns extracted from maps of connections.

Researchers have developed a variety of statistical analyses to locate and describe distinctive and interesting features of a social network. Three measures seem standard for any network analysis.

- 'Centrality'. A comparison of how many connections each of the people in the network has. Networks range from quite egalitarian (many people connected to many others) through highly centralised (most communication through just a couple of people) to single-person dominated.
- 2) 'Betweenness'. The degree that an individual forms connections between otherwise unconnected subgroups in the net. Generally, high 'betweenness' means that a person has great influence over flows across the network.
- Goldeness'. The degree to which a person in the net can communicate with others without having to go through another person. A person with high 'closeness' generally has a better-than-average overall view of what is happening in the whole of the network.

Let me suggest some of the attractive features of network analysis for Asian history. It focuses attention away from nation/ states and to connections and interchange. The unit of analysis is the actual extent of the network and geographically scales up or down, reflecting the size of the network under consideration. It, thus, avoids 'natural' regions, instead analysing where and when networks crossed regions and apparent boundaries. With its focus on networks rather than regions, it sidesteps the discussion whether change was 'external' or 'internal'. It focuses attention away from 'cores' and 'peripheries'. It accepts that many different things - commodities, information, marriage partners, slaves, personal gifts – moved along the same network. It avoids European 'exceptionalism' by accepting that some networks included Europe and others did not. In contrast to analysis of 'circulation', it accepts that actual networks overlapped, changed, and decayed. Perhaps most importantly, it puts real people back into Asian history, rather than only rises and falls, trends, movements, and developments.

Ibn Battuta (travelled 1325 – 1356 CE), for example, is routinely treated as simply the furthest-travelled man of the Middle Ages. A social network perspective cues us to his main activity during his travels, garnering introductions and nurturing connections that would help him on the way. Even as a young man on the Hajj, Ibn Battuta met men from all over the Muslim world. He met one Mansard bin Shaik of Medina who he encountered twice subsequently, once in Syria and once in Bukhara. Another fellow pilgrim was named ali bin Hujr al-Umawi. He came from Granada in Spain and later Ibn Battuta offered him patronage in Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

Most pilgrims returned to their lives after the week of holy activities at Mecca. Ibn

Battuta, however, stayed, studied and made contacts. During his year in Mecca Ibn Battuta met the man who served as senior ambassador from the Sultan of Delhi and regularly travelled between India and Mecca with donations from the Indian court. He also came across a fellow jurist who was a friend of his father's from his hometown of Tauja, Morocco. These men were only a sample of tens of thousands who travelled far and found employment as teachers, judges, clerics, administrators and soldiers.

Social network analysis alerts us that by the 12<sup>th</sup> century there existed - for the first time - a world largely without borders for educated men. For these men there was a sense of home and familiarity from Spain to the port cities of China. Their skills in law and religious teaching were equally applicable and equally desired across the whole Muslim world. Many cities attracted these learned travellers. Ibn Battuta found that the "controller of the judicial administration" at Medina was from Tunis; his family was still well connected there. Scholars at Medina included men from Fez, Cairo, and Granada. Among the notable scholars of Damascus was one from Seville (Spain) and another from Marrakech (Morocco). At Mashed, in southern Iraq, the religious and political head of the city had a brother who lived and worked in Spain and Gibraltar. Near Shiraz, in Persia, Ibn Battuta visited the hostel of Shaikh Abu Iasq, which received money from patrons in the Middle East, coastal India, and China.

Using social network analysis more formally, with mapping and mathematical tests, requires fairly dense communication data. Such data is, of course, available for the modern period of Asian history in the form of letters, conference records, memoirs, and even court cases. Surprisingly, sufficiently dense communication data is also occasionally available for earlier periods. I have come across two such caches. One is the Marathi records of the 18th century in Western India. All letters to and from the political head of the kingdom were recorded and summarised. Mapping this data would reveal many unknown features of the kingdom - how centralised it was, how often information arrived from officials in the countryside, how frequent were appeals, how much contact was there between the court and local militarised

Another set of data dense enough to do formal network analysis are the documents of the Cairo Geniza, generated by a group of Jewish spice traders based in Aden and Mangalore (on the Southwest coast of India) in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Network analysis has alerted me to the crucial role of trust in the trading transactions. The documents refer to an Ashabuna and by that they mean a long-standing group of business partners with a high degree of trust. In most transactions, simple instructions left the mechanics and the terms up to the trusted receiver:

"I am asking you now, relying on your favours, when this shipment, God willing, safely arrives, to kindly take delivery of one-half of the aforementioned bales and sell them for me for whatever God will apportion and grant.

After the price is agreed upon, turn everything into gold and silver - nothing else - and distribute it among various merchants, coreligionists, or others, if they are known as reliable, and send it on".2

#### **Networks of trust**

Trust was built by living up to obligations. There was an assumed mutuality between partners, serving each other. There was a shared sense of a 'reasonable amount' of labour to spend in a partner's transaction. The letters are full of mild complaints about how much time and effort a partner's business took. Or exhortations to a partner to expend full effort to find a good market because, as the writer says, "that's the kind of man you are".

Anyone who has done business in Asia knows these networks are as important now as they were then. Many Asian countries have relatively weak contract enforcement and regulatory structures. In this business climate, the real guarantee of quality product and timely delivery is personal networks of trust.

Here, then, is a preliminary social network map of one of the business networks that traded spices from the Malabar Coast of India to Aden and Cairo in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is based on approximately half of the relevant documents. Note the central position of Madmun, a role borne out by the substance of the letters:



Overall, network analysis strongly suggests that the network was the operational unit of analysis for understanding the Indian Spice Trade – not a geographic unit such as the Indian Ocean trade or a trade confined to India.

Finally, I want to emphasise that social network analysis, in either its 'soft' form or the more mathematical form, is not the be all and the end all. It has obvious limitations. Social network analysis does not handle change well unless one can do repeated iterations of the net over time.

The position of a person at the centre of the net can give a false impression of the person's centrality. One has to do statistical analysis to get the actual centrality.

Social network analysis is a useful tool for the study of Asian history, generating viewpoints, questions and insights available no other way. Because of its limitations, it needs to be done in conjunction with more traditional institutional analysis, geographic analysis, and the instincts about change and process that come from training as an historian.

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Gordon, Stewart. 2007. When Asia Was the World United States: Da Capo Press. 978 o 306 81556 o April 2008 marked the 33rd anniversary of the coming to power of the Khmer Rouge terror regime, which during its reign killed an estimated 1.7 million Cambodians through execution, overwork and starvation. This year five ageing Khmer Rouge leaders are finally being brought to justice in a tribunal in Phnom Penh. Benny Widjono examines why it has taken so long to prosecute these war crimes.

# Exorcising the curse of the Khmer Rouge

BENNY WIDYONG

n 15 April 2008, the tenth anniversary of the death of Pol Pot, the despotic leader of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge regime, Ban Ki Moon, the Secretary-General of the United Nations reminded the international community of the urgent importance of bringing to a close one of history's darkest chapters. Until they were ousted on 7 January 1979, the Khmer Rouge had killed an estimated 1.7 million Cambodians. They also abolished religion, schools, private property, personal possessions, money, leisure, socialising and all personal liberties.

Ban Ki Moon concluded his statement by hoping that the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) will soon deliver long-overdue justice for the people of Cambodia. After protracted negotiations between the UN and Cambodia, the ECCC was established in June 2006 to try the remaining ageing and ailing Khmer Rouge leaders. The ECCC is a hybrid tribunal which relies in large part on domestic law and procedures but allows for international judges and prosecutors.

In 2007, five former Khmer Rouge leaders were brought before the ECCC and continue to be held at a facility outside Phnom Penh. September 20, 2007 marked an important milestone for the long suffering Cambodian people who had yet to see justice for Khmer Rouge crimes. Nuon Chea, the 81 year old former second-in-command to Pol Pot, appeared in court for crimes against Cambodia. Other defendants include former Foreign Minister leng Sary and his wife leng Thirith, former Minister of Social Affairs, Khieu Samphan, former Head of State and Kang Khek Euv aka 'Duch'. Duch, in particular, is synonymous with Khmer Rouge brutality. He was the murderously efficient commander of the notorious 'S-21' torture chambers.

#### The battle shifted to New York

Mr Ban's concern is particularly relevant as the UN has been involved in Cambodia's tragedy, both positively and negatively, since the beginning. Due to its location next to Vietnam, Cambodia was pulled, unwillingly, into the middle of the Cold War. The result was a tragedy of enormous proportions that plunged Cambodia into two decades of chaos, turmoil, civil war and deep despair, before the arrival of the UN peacekeeping mission in 1992.

How did the Khmer Rouge, which started as a small communist insurgency against Prince Sihanouk's neutralist government of Cambodia become such a formidable force, able to subjugate the entire country? Two externally driven factors contributed to their meteoric rise: Massive bombings in eastern Cambodia by the US during the period of 1969-1973 and the overthrow of King Sihanouk by a pro-American, right-wing General. Together these acts alienated a disenchanted youth and rural population, leading them into the willing arms of the Khmer Rouge who would use them to terrorise the nation. Sihanouk, an exile in Beijing and ignorant of the future holocaust, embraced Pol Pot and set the foundations for the massive Chinese aid which would become the lifeblood of the Khmer Rouge.

On 7 January, 1979, the Vietnamese Army, supported by Cambodian rebel forces, drove the Khmer Rouge into the jungle bordering Thailand, ending the genocidal regime's reign of terror. The Peoples Republic of Kampuchea was established in Phnom Penh under Heng Samrin and Hun Sen. They soon gained control over 90% of the country. The unspeakable atrocities of the Khmer Rouge regime were suddenly opened up to the eyes of the world. It generated an outcry echoed across the globe. Alas, the liberation of the country from the horrors of the Khmer Rouge failed to end the suffering of the Cambodian people. Instead, the battle shifted to the corridors of the UN in New York. There the international outcry against the Khmer Rouge was muffled by big power diplomatic manoeuvrings. Incredibly, the UN, in a resolution spearheaded by the US and China, awarded Cambodia's contested seat in the General Assembly to the exiled Khmer Rouge terror regime, instead of to the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) in Phnom Penh! China clearly had a vested interest in legitimising the KR given their history of support, while the US was emerging from the embarrassing debacle of the Vietnam War. Although Hun Sen's government was accepted by the Cambodia people, the US found it unacceptable for Cambodia to be ruled by a communist regime.

The coddling of the Khmer Rouge continued for eleven more years, with similar resolutions adopted annually. During those years, the People's Republic of Kampuchea was politically isolated and denied much needed economic aid, thereby prolonging the sufferings of the Cambodian people. Throughout these years, instead of putting the Khmer Rouge on trial for their unspeakable crimes, they were pampered and resuscitated and put in the seat reserved in the UN for Cambodia. In Phnom Penh, the PRK did try the Khmer Rouge leaders Pol Pot and leng Sary in absentia, but these trials were ignored by the western world.

In an attempt to make the resolutions more palatable to the world, the wolves were cloaked in sheep's clothing. In 1982 the US and China persuaded the Khmer Rouge to form a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) with the royalist Cambodian party FUNCINPEC and the pro-American KPNLF. The much contested seat in the UN was now occupied by the new coalition. However, it was the Khmer Rouge flag which continued to fly over the Manhattan skyline in New York making many

When UNTAC left Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge were firmly entrenched in

Hun Sen (left) and leng Sary notorious leader of the Khmer Rouge (right), on the occasion of the surrender of leng Sary and the bulk of Khmer Rouge troops to the government in 1996. From the author's private collection.

Cambodians wonder what on earth was happening at the UN. Nobody consulted the Cambodian people on this ultimate affront. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and its allies plus a number of non-aligned countries, including notably India, recognised the PRK as the legitimate government of Cambodia but they were outvoted in the General Assembly.

#### Flaws in the Paris Agreements

This stalemate, and the sufferings of the Cambodian people, continued until the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements on 23 October 1991 and the United Nations Transitional Authority on Cambodia (UNTAC) was established to implement the Agreements. At the time, everyone hailed this step as a major breakthrough. However, in retrospect it is clear that because of the strange decisions of the UN during the 1980s, both the Paris Agreements and UNTAC were damaged at birth by conflicting mandates, exaggerated hopes and UN inexperience.

The most serious flaw of the Agreements, pushed by the US and China in the Security Council, was that, in the name of a comprehensive solution, the Khmer Rouge faction was to play a legitimate role in the UNTAC process. This was simply adding insult to the injury but almost nobody raised an eyebrow. With their hands tied, UNTAC could only stand helplessly by as the Khmer Rouge refused to disarm and demobilise per UN mandate. The impotence of UNTAC emboldened the remaining Khmer Rouge to ignore further stipulations of the Peace Agreement including barring the UN from KR territory, taking UNTAC personnel as hostages and land grabbing. This culminated in several massacres of Vietnamese villages as well as a significant attempt to take the major hub of Siem Reap. The Khmer Rouge derisively called UNTAC a paper tiger.

In the end, the Khmer Rouge also refused to participate in the elections. While this was deplored by senior UNTAC officials at the time, with retrospect it can be seen as a blessing in disguise. To have allowed the Khmer Rouge leaders to participate in the elections would have opened the possibility of the Khmer Rouge leaders occupying cabinet posts, all in the name of a 'comprehensive solution'.

The Paris Agreements were the best that could have been achieved to end the protracted Cambodia stalemate. After all it would allow the big powers to finally extricate themselves from a never ending proxy war. While this may be true, one could equally argue that if in 1979 an Indian amendment

their jungle redoubts, fully armed and occupying more territory than they had upon UNTAC's arrival. As their earlier action predicted, on UNTAC's exit the Khmer Rouge launched an attack which brought tanks to the doorstep of Battambang, Cambodia's second largest city. The Khmer Rouge curse continued.

to the UN resolution, calling for the Cambodian seat to remain vacant,

had been adopted, the Cambodian dilemma would most probably have

been resolved sooner and with less lopsided provisions. India pointed out

that its amendment would be in accordance with decisions made by the

non-aligned countries summit in Havana but, of course, the non-aligned

countries were ignored. The Indian amendment was never even voted

UNTAC's major successes include free and fair elections, in which 90% of

the eligible voters participated, and the return of 370,000 refugees from

Thai border camps. However, because of the failure of UNTAC to resolve

the Khmer Rouge problem, the new and uneasy Royal Government of

Cambodia headed by co-Prime Ministers Prince Ranariddh and Mr. Hun

Sen, inherited an intact Khmer Rouge faction determined to overthrow it:

A major breakthrough came in 1996 when the Khmer Rouge's leng Sary defected to the government with the bulk of the forces in the Pailin area. The rump Khmer Rouge, perched in the An Long Veng area, continued to oppose the Royal Government. With the death of Pol Pot and subsequent surrender of its remaining leaders in the same year the Khmer Rouge movement was finally dissolved. While the Khmer Rouge's rise to power and significance were very much products of foreign intervention, its final demise was basically accomplished by Cambodians alone.

Throughout this tumultuous period, no one thought of bringing the Khmer Rouge criminals to court. But in June 1997 Co-Prime Ministers Ranariddh and Hun Sen requested UN aid to bring the Khmer Rouge to trial. The negotiations that followed were protracted because of a divergence of interpretations on the notion of justice and Cambodian insistence of ownership of the trials. It is now expected that the first trial of Kang Khek Euv aka 'Duch' will commence in September 2008. Meanwhile, in July 2008 charges of corruption held up UNDP funding for the salaries of the Cambodian side of the court.

The current ECCC trials, while flawed, will hopefully put an end to a dark chapter in Cambodian history and finally exorcise the curse of the Khmer Rouge hanging over Cambodia. This will allow the government and people to move forward and fight the important battles against poverty, disease, injustice and ignorance.

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The decision of Great Britain in the early 1960s to join the European Economic Community provoked a sense of crisis in Australia, a realisation that it could no longer rely on its membership of the Commonwealth as a defining feature of its place in the world. If Britain was becoming part of Europe, where could Australia go? Nowhere else, so it would seem, but Asia... But what kind of proposition is this? How on earth can Australia be part of Asia? Ien Ang uses the 2008 Wertheim Lecture to shed light on this conundrum.

# Asia from 'Down Under':

# regionalism and global cultural change

IEN ANG

As a European settler colony Australia has historically been regarded as a far-flung outpost of Europe, 'down under' in relation to the great powers of the West. Looking at the world map, however, it is evident that in geographical terms, Australia is positioned 'down under', not to Europe or America but to Asia. From Australia's point of view, Asia is not the 'Far East' (as Europeans tend to see Asia), but the 'Near North'. The fact that the term 'Far East' is still occasionally used in Australia is testimony to the symbolic power Europe still has in the global imagination. But it is a residual power, a legacy of the colonial and imperial past. In modern Australia, governments have increasingly steered the country towards closer ties with Asia, sometimes reluctantly, at other times enthusiastically, but always with a sense of urgency.

#### A complex and ambivalent relationship

As the Western nation-state located in closest proximity to Asia, Australia provides an excellent site for observing processes of global change. Australia's complex and ambivalent relationship with Asia can give us fascinating insights into the contradictory tensions that are associated with the gradual decentring of the West, in ways which are still hardly recognised in Western Europe.

It is hardly contested that the balance of global power will shift as a consequence of the growing economies of Asia, especially China and India. This development has already been keenly felt in Australia. In the last two decades Australia's economy has become increasingly intertwined with that of its Asian neighbours. For example, China has recently taken over Japan as Australia's largest trading partner, and exports from Australia to China have seen exponential growth in the past decade. Indeed, Australia's long-lasting economic boom in this period is inextricably linked to China's insatiable demand for natural resources such as coal and iron ore, of which Australia has plenty. Commenting on the potential impact on the Australian economy of a recession in the US, one economist said: "Australia is fine as long as China is fine, and in 2008 China is fine". (Chris Richardson, Access Economics director, in Mike Steketee, 'Soft Landing', The Weekend Australian, March 29-30, 2008.)

There is something ironic about an advanced, developed nation-state such as Australia having to rely so much for its prosperity on being the supplier of raw materials to a fast-growing non-Western giant such as China. Yet the Australian experience may well be the fate of many national economies in the years to come.

#### 'Enmesh, integrate and engage'

When I relocated from the Netherlands to Australia in 1991, I left a Europe where discussion was immersed in the prospect of an integrated European Union. Arriving

in Australia, however, I noticed that a very different debate was raging. Australians did not talk about Europe at all; instead, all the talk was of Asia. Then Prime Minister Paul Keating described Australia as "a multicultural nation in Asia". Public discourse in the Keating era was replete with the need for Australia to 'enmesh', 'integrate' and 'engage' with Asia. Educational policy stressed the importance of teaching Asian languages in schools, and cultural exchanges with a wide range of East and Southeast Asian countries were stepped up in order to increase what was called "Asia literacy".

But these furious attempts at reorienting Australia towards its Asian neighbours could not hide the paradoxes of what James Rosenau calls "distant proximity" (2003): Australia's radically different racial, cultural and historical make-up had always been cause for maintaining psychological distance rather than closeness to Asia. As Rosenau puts it, "to a large extent distant proximities are subjective appraisals - what people feel or think is remote, and what they think or feel is close-at-hand" (Rosenau 2003). Australia's rapprochement to Asia, which was primarily motivated by geopolitical, economic and security reasons, demanded nothing less than radical cultural change - and, as we know, cultural change is hard to bring about and slow to eventuate.

By 1996, the tide had turned. The new, conservative government of John Howard rose to power (where it would stay until 2007) in the wake of a populist backlash. Right-

(John Howard, House of Representatives, Hansard, 21 September 1999). Howard steered Australia's foreign policy strongly towards an alliance with the US and Australia became an emphatic member of Bush's 'coalition of the willing'. Although this didn't spell an end to Australia's relations with Asia, the 11 years of Howard government meant a hugely reduced commitment, which only now, with the ascendancy of Kevin Rudd's new Labor government, is being overturned.

But first, let's look from the other side of the picture. Australia may want to belong to Asia, but does Asia want Australia? Former Singaporean PM Lee Kuan Yew seems to agree with John Howard: Australians are not Asians. In an interview on Australian television he said:

Despite the immense internal diversity of the region, however, Asia does operate as a powerful, if contested category of collective identification. A look at some of the competing designs for transnational region-building reveals the tensions involved. Australia was the key initiator of the establishment of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) in 1989 to promote more effective economic cooperation across Asia and the Pacific Rim. APEC currently has 21 members, comprising most countries with a coastline on the Pacific Ocean. It thus includes not just the ten Southeast Asian nation-states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, Japan and South Korea, but also, importantly, the US as well as Canada, New Zealand and Australia itself

(with other countries including Mexico,

Chile, Russia and Papua New Guinea join-

ing along the way). In cultural terms, APEC

successfully managed to institutionalise a

very broad idea of 'Asia', here branded as

"Getting close to Asia doesn't mean that you become Asians, or you bring Asians into Australia, it just means understanding Asians, being able to get on and do business with Asians, making them feel comfortable with you and being comfortable with

(Lee Kuan Yew interviewed by Kerry O'Brien, ABC 7:30 Report, 20 November 2000).

But doesn't Lee essentialise Asianness too much here? In their book *The Myth of Continents*, Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen (1997) observe that "of all the so-called continents, Asia is not only the largest but also the most fantastically diversified, a

'Asia Pacific', and suppressing any references to more particularist, non-white and non-Western notions of Asianness. The well-known group photos of APEC leaders in the national costume of the host nation of the regular summits, are a visual display of this. But it is good to remember that the initial proposal for APEC was opposed by the countries of ASEAN, in particular by former Malaysian Prime Minister Mathathir, who instead proposed an East Asia Economic Caucus, which would only be open for 'real' Asian nations and would exclude countries considered non-Asian. The plan was strongly opposed and criticised as a "caucus without Caucasians" by the US, who wished to downplay any fault line between Asia and the West in the construction of the region. (Mohan Malik, 'The East Asia Summit: More discord than Accord', YaleGlobal Online, 20 December

Although Mathathir's Asians-only design for the region lost out against the Western-led APEC in the early 1990s, since the Asian economic crisis of 1997, which affected many national economies across the region, the idea of a more specific East Asian regionalism has gained momentum, most prominently institutionalised in the so-called ASEAN+3 forum (which brings together the 10 ASEAN states and China, Japan and South Korea).

Interestingly, this increased emphasis on 'East Asia' as the common signifier for cooperative region-building was motivated by a desire to reduce Asian dependence on Western-dominated financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and on the perceived ineffectiveness of APEC. Indeed, several authors have observed that an important motive for this new drive towards East Asian regionalism was a shared sense of humiliation and resentment against the West's slow response to the 1997 economic crisis (Capie 2004). By contrast, China extended generous financial support to Thailand and Indonesia during the crisis, enhancing its stature as a model of economic stability and responsible leadership (Hugh de Santis, 'The Dragon and the Tigers: China and Asian Regionalism', World Policy Journal, Summer 2005). As Indonesian economist and trade minister Mari Pangestu observes: "The growth of China led to a growing realization that the region could form a large and dynamic economic bloc ... and seek a more effective voice in the global arena hitherto dominated by Western interests." (Williams, Louise, 2004. 'We need to be part of Asia's makeover',

Sydney Morning Herald, June 28)

East Asia is now a powerful label for active regional identity making, based at least in part on the reproduction of the master-division of 'Asia' and 'the West'. In this dichotomy, Australia is placed firmly within the second camp. When Australia requested participation in the 2005 East Asian Summit, Mahathir, who had retired as PM of Malaysia in 2003, repeated his ascerbic anti-Australian views, arguing that Australia is "some sort of transplant from another region" (quoted in Robinson, Jeffrey, 2003. 'Australia's Asian ambitions', Asian Times Online, 23 October) In the end, diplomacy won and Australia does now participate in the Summit meetings. However, Mahathir's rantings resonate with the lingering distrust and hostility of Western hegemony throughout the non-Western world. Complaints about white supremacy and Western arrogance, and in the Australian case, echoes of the White Australia Policy, are never far below the surface. They feed feelings of 'us' (Asians) versus 'them' (Westerners) which can be mobilised whenever particular global

events invite a local response. We can see this taking place when perusing newspaper coverage of the recent clashes between pro-Tibet and pro-China protesters during the Olympic torch relay around the world. Newspapers such as The Straits Times (Singapore), The Bangkok Post (Thailand) and The Times of India (India) all provided commentary with careful consideration of the different sides, but there was criticism of what was widely perceived as Western media bias against China. These countries positioned themselves firmly as Asian nations within the Asian region, often emphasising the need to maintain good relations with their Asian neighbours and questioning the West's moral authority to lecture the rest of the world, China included, about human rights. In this coverage, a clear line between Asia and the West was drawn.



Dampier iron ore mine in Western Australia. In 2007 Western Australia exported some A\$8.5 billionworth (€5.03 billion) of iron ore to China.

wing politician Pauline Hanson managed to get into parliament with, among others, a strong anti-Asian agenda. Howard himself claimed: "We have stopped worrying about whether we are Asian, in Asia, enmeshed in Asia or part of a mythical East Asian hemisphere. We have got on with the job of being ourselves in the region."

vast region whose only commonalities whether human or physical - are so general as to be trivial". In short, the boundaries of Asia are not fixed, and there are so many different peoples and cultures within what we call 'Asia' that it would be hard to talk about distinctly 'Asian ways', 'Asian values' or indeed 'Asians'.

By contrast, Australian media tended to co mmunicate unhesitatingly from a Western standpoint, and were preoccupied with Chinese human rights abuses in Tibet and the alleged involvement of the Chinese government in whipping up pro-Chinese patriotism among overseas Chinese to defend the torch relay. In this instance, the Chinese were positioned as the 'baddies', representatives of an 'Asia' that was definitely not 'us'.

But with China now so essential for it's economy, Australia must be careful not to antagonise China too much. Between human rights and economic prosperity, where does Australia stand? It is here where the role of the new Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, is so interesting.

#### Lu Kewen

The most intriguing aspect about Rudd

Geremie, 2008. 'Rudd rewrites the roles of engagement', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 12-13). Responses in Australia and around the world were admiring. Some commentators even suggested that with Rudd, Australia is well-placed 'to assert a genuine middleman role, given the respect in which it is held in Beijing and Washington' ('Australia finds new role as Sino-US matchmaker', *South China Morning Post*, 26 February 2008.)

However, we should not overestimate Australia's capacity to influence world affairs. For example, while Rudd's criticism of China's human rights record hit the headlines globally, within China responses were muted. More importantly, Rudd's China performance played out differently across Asia. The Japanese were concerned that China had moved to the forefront of Australia's foreign policy focus at the expense

and overlapping connections between Australia and other parts of the region through the myriad human interactions which make societies work: from trade to education, from tourism to news-gathering, from marketing to political activism, and so on. One example which illustrates the patchy and very partial nature of Austr alia's (un)belonging to Asia is Asian pop culture. Since the early 1990s young people across East Asia have embraced Japanese pop culture (manga, anime, fashion, TV series) with a passion. More recently, East Asia has been swept by a so-called Korean Wave (hallyu) of enthusiasm for Korean pop culture; so much so that the Korean government and the Korea National Tourism Organization now exploit Hallyu to promote Korea as 'the hub of Asian culture and tourism'. Hallyu fever began when Korean soap operas were introduced

These developments suggest that a process of regionalisation is going on at the level of popular culture, underpinned by an intensification of the transnational flows of media and consumer culture, creating a shared, mostly East Asian cultural intimacy one can encounter whether one is in Tokyo, Seoul, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok or Taipei, even parts of Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. While this doesn't mean that local and national cultural differences are being erased, nor that what is being created is an even, integrated popular cultural field, what it does intensify is a shared sense of popular, urban and decidedly modern 'Asianness'. I would suggest that what is articulated in this wildly dynamic, vibrant and energetic popular culture is a hybrid experience of urban modernity that that is both like and unlike Western cultural modernity, blending local and global cultural elements in innovative mixtures (Iwabuchi, Muecke & Thomas [2004); Shim [2006])

On the whole, though, this Asian popular culture does not cross over to Australian mediascapes. Korean soap operas are not on Australian TV screens, nor does Asian pop music ever reach mainstream popularity. Instead, Asian pop culture is a sub cultural niche market, adopted either by Australian fans for whom Japanese manga, say, is just a form of postmodern exotica, or used as a batch of diasporic cultural identity by the thousands of young Asian migrants living in Sydney or Melbourne. As far as popular culture is concerned, then, there is a major disconnect between mainstream Australia and Asia.

On the other hand, Asian migration into Australia tells a somewhat different story. When Asian leaders such as Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir can so confidently say that Australians are not Asians, they undoubtedly have the dominant image of the white Anglo-Australian in mind. But in the past few decades, due to its active immigration policies, Australia's population has become enormously diverse. Chinese languages are now the second most frequently spoken at home, followed by Italian, Greek, Arabic and Vietnamese. (ABS 2006 Census). Australians of Asian backgrounds are becoming increasingly visible in public culture, exemplified by Minister for Climate Change, Penny Wong, who is of Malaysian Chinese descent. Moreover, Asian Australians maintain multifarious

diasporic linkages throughout the region, weaving Australia ever more intricately into the social fabric of Asia. Such, what Arjun Appadurai calls, disjunctive flows (Appadurai 1996) articulate that 'Asia' is a fluid spatiality (Urry 2003) with very changeable and ambiguous boundaries, criss-crossed by many layers of cross-border flows and shaped as much by lateral and unpredictable interconnections as by formal institutions and diplomacy. Sometimes Australia is part of it, sometimes not. Sometimes cultural, historical and racial differences matter, and made to matter deeply, and sometimes such differences are easily overcome - making visible what Wim Wertheim called the 'finer shades' and 'more graded scale of possibilities' in-between the dichotomy of 'Asia' and 'the West' (Wertheim 1964). In short, Australia both is and is not part of Asia.

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Australian Prime Minister,
Kevin Rudd is the first and only
Western leader to speak fluent
Chinese. In China he is known
as Lu Kewen.

is that he is the first and only Western leader who speaks fluent Chinese. He has a degree in Chinese history and was a diplomat in Beijing before becoming a politician. Even before he was elected as Prime Minister in November 2007 he upstaged his predecessor, John Howard, by speaking in flawless Putonghua with the President of the People's Republic of China, Hu Jintao, during the APEC meeting in Sydney, drawing admiration from the Chinese delegation. In China itself, he is known by his Chinese name *Lu Kewen*.

Rudd's first world tour as Australia's new leader, in early April 2008, coincided with the uprising in Tibet. As the issue of human rights and the possibility of a boycott of the Beijing Olympics was talked about among Western leaders, many wondered whether Rudd would put Tibet on the agenda during his visit to China.

the agenda during his visit to China. Rudd had to walk a diplomatic tightrope, and by all accounts, he succeeded. His biggest public triumph was a speech, delivered in Mandarin, to students at Beijing's elite Beida University, where he said: "Some have called for a boycott of the Beijing Olympics Games ... I do not agree. But we also believe it is necessary to recognize that there are significant human rights problems in Tibet. As a long-standing friend of China, I intend to have a straightforward discussion with China's leaders on this." Drawing on his intimate knowledge of Chinese language and history, Rudd used the powerful and meaning-laden Chinese word zhengyou to describe himself: a zhengyou is a true friend who dares to disagree, 'a partner who sees beyond immediate benefit to the broader and firm basis for continuing, profound and sincere friendship'. (Barme

of Japan, and one Indian analyst concluded, reflecting on Australia's relative neglect of the other up-and-coming economic giant, India: "China, China, China, China and more China was the recurring theme of his speeches." (Raman 2008). Political commentator Greg Sheridan puts it best: "Rudd... is generally well-regarded throughout the region. But the Australian debate often does not understand that China is not Asia and Asia is not just China. Speaking Mandarin is sweet in Beijing but cuts you absolutely no ice in New Delhi, Tokyo, Jakarta or Bangkok." (Greg Sheridan, 'Make amends for Asia blunder', The Australian, May 10, 2008.) The sensitive relationships with Japan and Indonesia, especially, needed careful diplomatic attention with Rudd forced to visit these two countries soon to avoid perceptions of China bias.

This highlights the enormous complexities involved in the process of transnational region-building, and Australia's complicated role within it. Will Australia reinforce the emergence of an increasingly Chinadominated, Sinocentric Asia, or can it play a role in promoting a more equal, genuinely multicultural 'Asia'?

#### Flows of popular culture

But region-building is not just a matter of networking between government leaders in their carefully orchestrated meetings. Just as significant are more informal, onthe-ground and unpredictable processes of transnational flow that actualise social and cultural interconnections across the region. Whether or not Australia is part of Asia, and how, is not a question of government decree; rather, it depends on the complex web of actual, intersecting

to the region and achieved fantastic ratings successes across East Asia. Indeed, even Japan, which has been an exporter of popular culture into Asia throughout the 1990s, is now becoming a lucrative market for Asian popular culture from elsewhere. Young Japanese audiences have been switching from Western (i.e. American) to Asian TV programmes. Asian pop stars and soap opera actors now routinely travel across the region to be greeted by thousands of enthusiastic fans.



This is an abridged version of the Wertheim Lecture delivered in Amsterdam on 5 June 2008. Listen to the full lecture online at: http://www.iias.nl/index.php?q=wertheim-lecture-2008-asia-down-under-ien-ang

Korean Hallyu star, Giordano.

In late Qing and Republican China controversy arose over the name of the year and calendrical basis of the date. For more than two millennia, years were calculated eponymously in accordance with the emperor's reign, but in the late Qing reformers and revolutionaries began proposing alternatives. The Republicans adopted the solar calendar, resulting in a series of clashes with the lunar calendar-loving public. The ensuing battle over the calendar became entangled with a host of issues concerning national identity, cultural traditions and the meaning of modernity.

# Modern times:

# the meaning of dates and calendars in Modern China, 1895-1935

LANE J. HARRIS

hinese lunar New Year has become a global holiday, but in the late 1920s the Chinese Nationalist Party banned this celebration along with the lunar calendar upon which it is based. For more than two millennia, Chinese calculated time, celebrated festivals, observed religious rites, shaped business practices, and scheduled important events in accordance with the revolutions of the moon. Coupled with the lunar calendar was the imperial system of eponymous dating using the first year of an Emperor's reign as year one. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century reformers and revolutionaries attacked eponymous dating as indicative of the Manchu Qing's failure to modernise. In the  $20^{\text{th}}$  century, the Nationalists' ban of the lunar calendar produced clashes with the public over issues of national identity, cultural traditions, and the meaning of modernity.

#### The Anti-Manchu Years, 1896-1911

Following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), government reformers began to search for solutions to China's continued weakness. The scholar and political reformist, Kang Youwei, taking a page from Max Weber, argued that as Western economic growth was based on Christianity the Chinese should institutionalise Confucianism as their state religion. One manifestation of this goal was Kang's proposal to rename the year from Guangxu 24 (1898) to Confucius 2475. Kang did not intend to undermine the emperor, but to create a religious orthodoxy fostering political reform and economic growth. Liang Qichao, Kang's most famous student, was more ambivalent. He initially advocated a dating system ignoring both Confucius and the emperor and based on the Yellow Emperor, the earliest ancestor of the Han people, but later flip-flopped emphasising how a Confucian dating system would foster historical memory, religiosity, and patriotism among the people.1

The calendrical reforms proposed by the revolutionaries, by contrast, were motivated by their anti-Manchu and anti-monarchical goals. In July 1903, classical scholar, Liu Shipei argued that dating in accordance with the Yellow Emperor would "raise racial feeling among the Han". Liu rejected the Confucian dating system because it erased millennia of Chinese history before Confucius. Supporting the Yellow Emperor was also a statement on identity that marginalised the hated Manchus while incorporating all Han Chinese. Shortly thereafter, a number of pro-Republican newspapers and journals such as Jiangsu rejected the eponymous dating system and adopted Liu's Yellow Emperor calendar.2

#### Dualling calendars (1912-1927)

The battles over the eponymous dating system were concluded after the 1911 Republican Revolution when Sun Zhong-

shan, President of the Provisional Government, announced the adoption of a datas the state calendar.

Sun Zhongshan argued that the system would help people remember the founding of the Republic, reduce the number of calendrical adjustments - especially the troublesome lunar intercalary months - and facilitate international trade and foreign relations by using the same calendar as the West. The Parliament of the Provisional Government accepted Sun's rationale, but compromised by ordering that lunisolar calendars, rather than solar calendars, would be published and distributed by the government. Old lunar calendar-based customs could continue, but all references to superstitions or deities must be abolished from the new calendars.

On 13 January 1912, Sun Zhongshan ordered the Ministry of Interior to compile the new calendar. The Beijing Central Observatory was established to produce the official state calendar. The long-time revolutionary and eminent Belgian-educated astronomer Gao Lu was named head of the Observatory. Gao's calendars for the first and second years of the Republic eliminated all references to superstition, arranged the calendar according to solar month, and included information on revolutionary holidays and commemoration days. Traditional names for lunar holidays such as 'Spring Festival' were dropped and replaced with general terms such as the 'First Day'.3

During the early 1920s, a few government officials tried various methods to promote the solar calendar. One such method was Gao Lu's attempt to have everyone shift their birthday to its solar equivalent. Gao's radicalism went furthest in 1924 when he eliminated all lunar dates from the state calendar. This step brought protests from throughout society and various official provincial sources. In the face of such protests the weak Central Government ordered a

Despite the efforts of progressives like Gao Lu, the conservative warlord leaders of the Beijing Government did little to promote the solar calendar save allowing the more liberal members of its Ministries to give solar New Year as a holiday. In a political culture based on traditional practices, innovations like eliminating the lunar calendar harmed the Government's popular reputation more than it helped it. In this milieu, the social and cultural practices based on the lunar calendar including religious observances, the establishment of market days, the planting and harvesting of crops, the payment of rents, and the clearing of business debts retained a significant hold on the public. Private publishers continued to print lunar calendars containing

all the popular 'superstitious elements' so spurned by the Nationalists, which reportedly sold well among the people.

#### Out with the old, in with the new, 1928-1935

Upon ascending to power after the Northern Expedition (1926-1928), the Nationalist Party launched an ambitious series of 'revolutionary' policies designed to reshape the polity and economy. The promotion of the solar calendar saw considerable effort on the part of the Nationalists.

In 1928, Minister of the Interior Xue Dubi submitted a proposal to the Executive Yuan on popularising the solar calendar. Based on this draft, the Nationalists' Central Executive Committee, promulgated a procedure for institutionalising the solar calendar. By July 1929, this plan was put in motion by the issuance of National Government Order No. 543 prohibiting the printing of lunar calendars for 1930 as well as banning all lunisolar calendars. In October 1929, the Executive Yuan issued Instruction No. 964 ordering that starting 1 January all business accounts, government and private contracts, and various other official documents must only refer to solar dates.4 With these orders in place, the National Government made significant attempts throughout the late 1920s and 1930s to eliminate all 'unscientific' social and cultural practices attached to the lunar calendar.

Hu Hanmin, a leader in both the Nationalist Party and Government, pinpointed businessmen and superstitious people as the two groups primarily responsible for the persistence of the lunar calendar.<sup>5</sup> Traditionally, merchants cleared their business accounts, paid salaries, and gave bonuses just prior to the lunar New Year. Hu held that customary business practices were unscientific because payments in accordance with the 13-month lunar calendar did not match the government's 12month solar calendar payment schedules. Hu's arguments were echoed by the Propaganda Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party who argued that the scientific accuracy of the Gregorian solar calendar made business planning more predictable and therefore more conducive to economic growth.<sup>6</sup> Thus the solar calendar would bring more uniformity, regularity, and predictability to economic endeavours facilitating the mod-

The peasants posed a much greater obstacle to Nationalist Party efforts. The Nationalist Party considered most common people to be filled with feudal and superstitious thoughts. Only by adopting the solar calendar, the Nationalists argued, could the common people begin the 'psychological reconstruction' necessary to mould them into scientific citizens sought to reorient the cultural identity of the citizenry by breaking their lunar calendar-based cultural traditions.

Throughout their efforts in calendrical reform, the Nationalists repeatedly stressed the modernity of the solar calendar. They noted that many countries had adopted the Gregorian calendar in recent years and even the former home of the Caliphate, Turkey, had abandoned the Islamic calendar in 1926. The Nationalists argued that only 'uncivilised' peoples like the 'American Redman' and 'African Black' failed to understand the importance of calendars and thus were without history. The message was clear, if China remained superstitiously-attached to the lunar calendar, they were inviting their status as a semi-colonial people.7

With the discursive ground prepared, the Nationalists issued a series of proclamations between 1928 and 1935 banning the printing, sale, purchase, or use of the lunar calendar and the celebration of all lunar holidays. These bans, according to a large number of both Chinese and English editorials and newspaper reports, were largely ignored by the populace who fought a series of small skirmishes with the Nationalists to defend their cultural identity and traditions. In 1929 the local police in the small Grand Canal city of Haizhou, Jiangsu attempted to stop the public from laying in the usual stores of rice for the lunar New Year. The local grain merchants struck against the government by removing all their grain from the market. Facing such concerted action the government withdrew and allowed the people to buy extra grain. When the Beijing Post Office refused to deliver ever-popular lunar New Year greeting cards, wealthier citizens had them distributed by hand. Most violently, in Suqian, Anhui, the local Small Sword Society joined forces with Buddhist monks to rebel against the elimination of the lunar calendar.8 These incidents of active resistance were relatively few in number compared to the almost universal passive resistance to government orders to ignore lunar holidays.

the ephemeral gains to be had by forcing the calendar issue were not worth the effort. As with many Nationalist Party initiatives, the calendar issue simply faded away. By 1935 the National Government stopped issuing new proclamations prohibiting the printing of the lunar calendar and celebration of lunar holidays. The government achieved some success with government institutions, mass organisations, and newspapers all recognising the solar calendar, but the rest of the country continued to celebrate, worship, plant, and conduct their everyday affairs in accordance with the cultural traditions of the lunar calendar.

The Nationalist Government realised that



On 1 October 1949 the People's Republic of China was established and immediately adopted the solar calendar and eliminated the eponymous dating based on the founding of the Republic, which is still used in Taiwan. 'Superstitious practices' based on the lunar calendar were reportedly 'stamped out', but lunar festivals are still celebrated. Indeed, celebrations of Chinese lunar New Year have only grown over the past century.

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ing system based on the founding of the Republic and the Gregorian solar calendar

return to the lunisolar calendar for 1925.

ernisation of the economy. of a modern state. Thus the Nationalists Is it only in totalitarian regimes that art often functions as the last resort for expressing one's opinion in public, or could art play the same role in so-called democracies where public debate is, at times, dominated and stifled by voices taking and being granted the seemingly exclusive right to speak? In this respect, could there be ground for comparison between, say, Dutch colonial rule over the Netherlands East Indies and Suharto's authoritarian New Order regime on the one hand and contemporary, democratic Dutch and Indonesian societies on the other? A recent event at Holland's historic Radio Kootwijk examined the possibilities.

# 'No False Echoes':

# polyphony in colonial and post-colonial times

EDWIN JURRIËNS

These are two important issues raised by Rotterdam-based artist Wendelien van Oldenborgh in her work 'No False Echoes'. This sound and video installation is presented as part of the 'Be(com)ing Dutch' exhibition at the Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, May - September 2008. The title of the installation is derived from a metaphor used in Rudolf Mrázek's chapter on modernity and communications in early 20th century Netherlands East Indies.¹ The metaphor refers to Dutch colonial policies on the first radio connections between the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies as well as the institutionalisation of radio within the colony. These policies aimed at preventing any unwanted voices or ideas from entering the Netherlands East Indies broadcasting spectrum, specifically socialist ideology from the motherland and nationalist ideology from the Indonesian republicans. Van Oldenborgh's installation uses sound and video recordings of text-based as well as spontaneous monologues and debates addressing part of this early radio history.

Van Oldenborgh conducted the recordings with her crew, invited speakers and a select audience at Radio Kootwijk, 30 March 2008. Radio Kootwijk, a monumental 1923 building in Art Deco style located in the vicinity of Apeldoorn, was the first transmitter built and owned by the Dutch government to facilitate telecommunications, particularly phone conversations, with the Netherlands East Indies and other parts of the world. It was not used by Philips Omroep Holland Indië (PHOHI), however, the first Dutch broadcasting company transmitting radio programmes to the Netherlands East Indies. This broadcasting company was established by Philips, today's multinational giant in electronic hardware, to promote the sales of their radio equipment overseas. During Van Oldenborgh's recordings at Radio Kootwijk, three invited speakers - philosopher Baukje Prins (University of Groningen), programme maker Wim Noordhoek (VPRO Radio) and the author of this article - narrated sections of René Witte's book on radio in the Netherlands East Indies<sup>2</sup> to give a short but detailed overview of the history of PHOHI. Specific references were made to PHOHI's efforts to avoid exporting verzuiling, or the Dutch system of organising society and its print and broadcasting media along religious and political pillars, to the colony. Van Oldenborgh attempted to recreate the ambience of a radio broadcast by locating the invited speakers on an elevated balcony in Radio Kootwijk's main hall, invisible but audible through sound amplification for the audience at the ground floor. The conversation between the speakers also included the role of radio in the rise of Indonesian nationalism, personal experiences with the arrival of the first generation of Moluccan immigrants to the Netherlands, and contemporary developments in the Dutch and Indonesian broadcasting media.





Radio Kootwijk was the first transmitter built by the Dutch to facilitate telecommunications with the Netherlands East Indies.

#### 'If I were to be a Dutchman...'

The other main feature of the Radio Kootwijk event was the recitation of the anti-colonial manifest 'Als ik eens Nederlander was...' (If I were to be a Dutchman...) by the early Indonesian nationalist Suwardi Suryaningrat (also known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara). This reading illustrated the irony of radio being introduced in the Netherlands East Indies as an apolitical entertainment medium serving colonial, political and commercial interests, and expressing nostalgic longings for the motherland, but eventually being reverted into a highly political medium serving the independence ambitions of the Indonesian republicans. The recitation was followed by Radio Netherlands World Service journalist Joss Wibisono providing the audience with historical background information on the text and its author. However, Van Oldenborgh also deliberately re-contextualised Suwardi's text by having it recited by the Dutch-Moroccan rapper Abid Tounssi, better known as Salah Edin. Thus the text no longer only referred to the Dutch colony in times of a resurgent Indonesian nationalism, but also to the possibilities and impossibilities of contemporary immigrants trying to settle in the Netherlands and become 'true and responsible' Dutch citizens in a climate of globalisation, international terrorism and Islamophobia. Salah Edin is known for his song 'Het Land van ...' (The Country of ...), a parody on a song carrying the same title by two other rap musicians. While the original song celebrates aspects of Dutch culture, Edin's parody offers Dutch society a provocative mirror for self-reflection in certain ways similar to Suwardi's manifest - specifically regarding forms of prejudice against immigrants of Moroccan descent.

The event at Radio Kootwijk concluded with Van Oldenborgh's nine-year old daughter Lina singing a nostalgic 'tempo doeloe' song in Indonesian and the author of this article reciting a section from Ketika Jurnalisme Dibungkam, Sastra Harus Bicara (When Journalism Has Been Stifled, Literature Has To Talk), a work by the contemporary Indonesian author Seno Gumira Ajidarma.<sup>3</sup> Ajidarma's statement referred to the New Order period, in which journalists often made use of indirect literary techniques, and artists at times took over the role of journalists, in order to enable the presentation of alternative or critical viewpoints in an Indonesian public

sphere much constrained by the threat of censorship. During long periods in Indonesian history, radio journalism has been stifled too, with Dutch, Japanese and Indonesian colonial and neo-colonial powers attempting to reduce radio to a medium of mere entertainment and/or propaganda. Today, in the context of the process of social, political and economic reform known as Reformasi, Indonesian journalism should be able to speak for itself, enjoying a similar degree of freedom of speech as enjoyed by many generations of Dutch journalists. However, it is precisely this assumption of press freedom in contemporary Indonesian and Dutch societies that seems to be questioned by Van Oldenborgh's project. Particularly due to the immense commercialisation of the media in both societies, most of their airtimes are filled with entertainment, without any room for 'false echoes' - such as Dutch-Moroccans creatively expressing their concern or discontent about negative attitudes towards immigrants - and rather resonating the old PHOHI policies. Both societies seem to be undergoing an 'ecstasy of communication', to borrow from Baudrillard,4 with so much noise and such a lack of diversity, depth and dialogue in the air.

Then, again, is it still up to artists such as Seno Gumira Ajidarma in Indonesia and Salah Edin and Van Oldenborgh herself in the Netherlands to offer alternative spaces for genuinely 'false' discussion? Van Oldenborgh's sound and video materials certainly provide a certain polyphony or multi-layeredness that would make it very unlikely, unfortunately, to be broadcast by any of the Dutch commercial television channels. This is not to say that even when exhibited in a gallery or museum, the work's polyphony might not have disturbing effects. The audience attending the Radio Kootwijk event at times understandably seemed to be overwhelmed and feel uncomfortable with digesting and contextualising the thickness and diversity of the information provided. There are also risks involved in bringing together such diverse topics in a single work of art, ranging from the history of a Dutch colonial radio enterprise, the rise of an Indonesian national consciousness and the arrival of Moluccan immigrants in the Netherlands to contemporary Dutch and Indonesian media policies and the cultural dilemma's of the second- and third-generations of Dutch-Moroccans.

#### Intersections and divergences

At the same time, however, the work's polyphonic structure embeds a call for deeper understanding and dialogue, and underlines the necessity to put contemporary problems linked to globalisation and immigration both into geo-political and historical perspectives. The different narratives and histories presented should not be seen as similar, or even as comparable necessarily, but as parallel stories about worlds that at certain points intersect and are suitable for comparison, and at other points divert to disappear at different horizons. The artist Van Oldenborgh deliberately does not want to specify where and how the intersections and divergences happen, but stimulates the audience to get involved in an endless play of association, interpretation and reflection in reaction to the sounds and images they are confronted with. It is to be hoped that Van Oldenborgh's installation in its final montage and display at the Van Abbemuseum will indeed not only include echoes unnoticed or disrespected from the past and the present, but also provoke the endless production of many more false tunes and discords in the future

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In the Netherlands National Archives series of Dutch Sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825, Volume 2 has been published: Archival Guide to the Repositories in The Netherlands Other than the National Archives. In contrast to Volume 1, it covers records created by Dutchmen beyond the official confines of the Dutch East India Company, such as treatises by excited scholars, drawings by inspired artists, and reports by diligent missionaries.

# Bogus sadhus and famous rhinos:

## early-modern Dutch scholars, artists, and missionaries on South Asia

LENNART BES

n Sunday the 13th of May 1714, a 32 year old Hindu holy man or sadhu called Anand Barti, together with eight disciples, arrived in a village near the port of Surat, on the West Coast of India. He installed himself under a big tree and started digging a hole. When curious onlookers asked him what he was up to, Barti announced that he would be buried alive in the hole in nine days time and that after three days, he would miraculously reappear on the bank of the Ganges River, hundreds of miles away. He was doing this for the general wellbeing of all who suffered and to prove his holiness. Soon, the news spread to Surat and environs. During the next days, thousands of Hindus came to see Barti under the tree and donated all kinds of gifts, including beautiful carpets and pillows for him to rest on. The sadhu blessed everyone who visited him, including a number of Muslims. Some people tried to persuade him to forget about his plans and not to put his life at risk, but Barti would not hear of it. He seemed determined to perform his miracle, subsequently making him seem even more holy to his visitors.

The day prior to Barti's burial - with more and more people gathering to witness the miracle - the Muslim authorities of Surat decided that it was getting out of hand. To stop the crowds around the sadhu from growing any further, they shut the town gates and sent a number of soldiers together with a Muslim cleric to Barti. They told him he was not allowed to carry out his plan as it was against Islamic rules, and they asked him to leave the village. To the great disappointment of the excited Hindu crowd around him, the sadhu hardly protested. He did not try to convince the Muslim authorities of his good intentions nor was he able to exert his holiness. The crowd, their expectations now shattered, grew angry and started throwing stones at Barti. Hereupon, one of his disciples drew his sword to take revenge. Within moments, there was complete chaos. The sadhu tried to escape but was killed, together with a large number of his disciples. More than 50 other followers were imprisoned by the Muslim authorities, and were later circumcised and forced to convert to Islam. While the fighting was going on, a number of onlookers were robbed of their clothes and other belongings. Some other sadhus, who had been living in the village for many years, were chased away and their possessions were either burnt or sold. In the end, most of the inhabitants of Surat were very satisfied with the intervention by the Muslim authorities, especially because it turned out that Barti's so-called grave had been fitted out with a hidden underground passage from where he could escape at night!

# In the wake of the Dutch East India Company: alternative sources

This event is of academic importance in several fields. It tells scholars of Hinduism something about ascetic rituals performed centuries ago. Social historians may be interested in how a marginal figure could have such an impact on the people of one of the biggest ports in Asia. The event may be fascinating to political scientists studying the historical roots of South Asia's current religious conflicts. However, Barti's story is not described in a document held at a mosque or a temple. Neither is it found among the records of the Surat authorities. In fact, the account of the event is not kept in India at all. The story was actually reported by some Dutch traders and written down in the diary (dagregister) of the Surat establishment of the Dutch East India Company, or VOC. Unfortunately, virtually all the Dutch diaries from Surat have been lost and therefore the event is not even mentioned in the vast archives of the VOC. We only know about it because this particular section of the diary was copied for unknown reasons and somehow found its way into the private archives of the then Amsterdam-based Huydecoper family of merchants, scholars, and officials. As the family shifted its focus to the Dutch province of Utrecht in the 19th century, the document in question ended up in the holdings of the Utrecht Archives.1

As such, the report is one of the papers included in the second volume of the series of *Dutch Sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825*. These guidebooks aim at encouraging the use of the rich Dutch archival sources concerning the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka dating from the period between 1600, when the Dutch first appeared in the region, and 1825, when they abandoned their last remaining trading stations. The series' first volume, authored by Jos Gommans, Gijs Kruijtzer, and myself, and published in 2001, covers the great quantity of relevant records stored at the Dutch National Archives in The Hague. Volume 2 deals with materials scattered in other repositories in the Netherlands: provincial, regional, and munici-

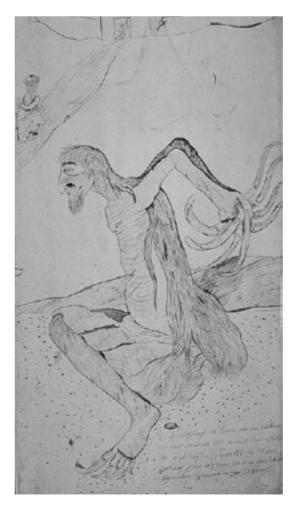
pal archives; university libraries and other libraries; ecclesiastical organisations; museums and other public institutions; and companies, private organisations, and individuals.

Whereas Volume 1 mostly covers the archives of the VOC and related institutions, largely consisting of series of consecutive papers, Volume 2 rather concerns separate documents. These were chiefly created by institutions and people whose activities took place almost literally in the wake of the VOC, such as local governments and companies, notaries, orphanages and orphan boards, churches and their missions, artists, scholars and scientific societies, independent travellers, and also VOC servants and their relatives in their private capacities. Therefore, these materials often contain additional information to what can be found in the official VOC records and may offer an alternative view. The remark made in 1985 by the Indian historian Ashin Das Gupta with respect to this kind of documents still holds true: 'Researches based on the Dutch archives, so far almost exclusively confined to official papers, may ... gain important new insights from the private archives ...'<sup>2</sup>

Focusing on archival texts, maps, drawings, paintings, and prints, the research for this archival guide has yielded many unexpected results and unearthed several hitherto relatively unknown treasures. In addition to perhaps obvious records of institutions such as town governments, notaries, orphan boards, and ecclesiastical organisations, it covers a wide and colourful range of other sources dealing with numerous aspects of early-modern South Asia. These not only include trade, shipping, economics, monetary matters, and the like, but also religion, linguistics, flora and fauna, ethnology, politics, art, meteorology, warfare, etc. The story of Anand Barti and his religious practices at Surat is just one example. Numerous other texts and images listed in the archival guide would be worth mentioning here, but a few more examples should suffice.

# Indophile Rembrandt and erratic holy rivers: pictures and maps

To begin with pictures, several museums and university libraries keep beautiful oil paintings, water colours, and other drawings that concern



Pen drawing of a sadhu near the village of 'Oxkaij' (one mile from Surat), found in the 'Wonderen der natuur' collection of depictions of exotic animals and people as seen at the hostelry of Jan Westerhof in Amsterdam and elsewhere, c. 1695-1709 (University of Amsterdam, Artis Library (University Library, Special Collections): Legkast 238 no.7

both the Dutch presence in South Asia and indigenous matters. Mostly produced by Dutchmen, these pictures often seemingly not only served a practical purpose but should be considered works of art. With regard to people, there are for example drawings of Malabari pilgrims and soldiers, Ceylonese traders and beggars, Bengali widows and ascetics, Tamil musicians and dancers, and Dutch judges and tourists. Portraits include various Mughal emperors drawn by Rembrandt (who was inspired by Indian painting), Rajasthani nobles and Deccani Sultans (on Indian miniatures with Dutch captions), the Cochin-based Jew Ezekiel Rabbi, and of course a host of Dutchmen serving in the region.3 Animals, too, have been depicted in large numbers: examples are insects and scorpions from Bengal; butterflies and snakes from Coromandel; and monkeys, birds, and crocodiles from Ceylon.4 In a few cases, exotic South Asian animals were shipped alive to the Dutch Republic, appeared at fairs all over the country, and attained star status: pictures of the Ceylonese elephant Hansken and the Assamese rhinoceros Clara can be found at various repositories. 5 Flora is also well represented, with hundreds of drawings of tropical trees and plants, and even original dried specimens, partly collected for their possible medical qualities.<sup>6</sup>

Topographic materials and depictions of man-made structures abound as well and come in the shape of water colours, ink drawings, paintings on cloth, pencil sketches, and so on. Represented are for instance Bengali villages; Sinhalese, Tamil, and Oriya temples (the latter serving as useful landmarks for sea vessels); courts at Udaipur, Golkonda, and Kandy receiving Dutch envoys; graves near Ahmadabad and Chidambaram; a hospital in Colombo; and Buddhist and Hindu statues.7 There are also a large number of (bird's-eye) views of towns, forts, and other settlements - both indigenous and Dutch - all over South Asia, ranging from Bharuch and Cambay in Gujarat to Chhapra (where the Dutch had a saltpetre factory) and Monghyr in Bihar, and from Cranganur and Cannanore on the Malabar Coast to Cossimbazar and what is probably Chittagong in Bengal. Furthermore, there are upwards of 400 maps, plans, and sea charts (both manuscript and printed), covering the entire region, be it an atoll in the Maldives (where a Dutch ship was wrecked), Kathmandu Valley (a sketch map by the Zeeland traveller Samuel van de Putte, probably the first European to visit it), Tuticorin and its fortifications on the Fishery Coast, the constantly shifting mouths of the Ganges River, or Kandy and its surroundings depicted circularly (probably based on a local tradition), to mention a few examples of manuscript maps.8

## Sinhalese phrasebooks and unashamed Dutchmen: manuscript texts

Maps and pictures make up only a minor part of the archival guide, however. Manuscript texts constitute the largest category of sources. As said, they are partly held in certain kinds of records that are available in repositories all over the Netherlands (mostly provincial, regional, and municipal archives), such as the papers of provincial and town governments, notaries, orphan boards, and Classes of the Dutch Reformed Church.9 In particular the latter two groups maintained a regular correspondence with their representatives in India and Ceylon. Whereas these kinds of records are rather businesslike and mainly deal with the overseas activities of Dutchmen, another body of materials reflects the academic fascination with South Asia in the Dutch Republic. This seems to have flourished especially in the second half of the 18th century, when several scientific societies were founded, most notably those of Holland and Zeeland.10 Their meetings frequently concerned South Asia as returning VOC servants held lectures, submitted treatises, and donated all kinds of objects to the societies. Thus, the societies' archives include papers on such diverse subjects as Ceylonese Buddhism, astronomical observations made at Cochin, temperatures in Bengal, Indian embroideries, and a wild Surat

Already from the outset of the VOC's presence in South Asia, however, there were Dutchmen - many of them burgomasters - with a scholarly interest in the region. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Burgomaster Ernst Brinck of Harderwijk collected information on the Indies, which he arranged in small notebooks, each devoted to a specific topic. The maritime volume for example contains short references to Maldivian shells and Coromandel mermaids. A few decades later, Burgomaster Hendrik d'Acquet of Delft set up a collection of naturalia from all over the world. Drawings made from these specimens, including Indian reptiles, plants, and insects, are now kept at various Dutch repositories. Around 1700, Gijsbert Cuper and Nicolaas Witsen, burgomasters of, respectively,



Chalk drawing of the rhinoceros Clara (caught in Assam in 1738, shipped to Rotterdam in 1741) by the physician Petrus Camper, c. 1748 (University of Amsterdam, University Library: manuscript collection, inv. no. Port. A X).



Cover illustration of Volume 2: water colour with a bird's-eye view of Masulipatam, defended by a Dutch-led coalition of the town's inhabitants against a Maratha attack in 1742, c. 1753 (Feikema Collection, Amersfoort: Canter Visscher manuscript).

Deventer and Amsterdam, exchanged dozens of letters on new thrilling discoveries in the fields of ethnology, religion, linguistics, biology, history, and so on. Their correspondence clearly shows the broad range of subjects that fascinated these two men: from Hindu deities and the Anuradhapura ruins to the Mughal throne and an undecipherable Ceylonese script.<sup>13</sup>

Speaking of scripts, several South Asian languages and scripts are represented among the materials described in the archival guide. These include Bengali, Devanagari, Hindustani, Malayalam, Pali, Persian, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, Tamil, and Telugu, albeit mostly on a limited scale.14 They chiefly appear in manuscript glossaries and grammars (compiled by Dutchmen), in religious texts, and occasionally in letters sent by South Asian rulers and clergymen to VOC officials. Some of these texts are inscribed on palm leaves, with sometimes intricate bindings or beautiful seals.15 In addition, there are papers in languages and scripts like Estrangelo, Jacobitical, Nestorian, and Syriac, deriving from Indian Christian communities in Malabar.16

Numerous other documents, archives, and collections from many different backgrounds could be touched upon here. Again, only a few examples can be given. There is a description of jewellery usually worn by Hindu and Muslim women in Surat that was sent to the Dutch Prince William IV of Orange in 1754.17 There are rubbings of 18th century inscriptions in a temple at Tirukkalukundram carved unscrupulously by Dutchmen who spent their weekends off exploring the countryside around their coastal trading stations.<sup>18</sup> The reports by Johann Winckler of the Dutch Missionary Society, who in 1822 went to Bengal and Coromandel to spread the Gospel, are oozing with enthusiasm and optimism even though three years later the Dutch left India for good.<sup>19</sup> A judicial file concerning a case of adultery in the 1730s among the Dutch in Bengal was deemed so shocking by the archivist who inventoried it in 1906, that he classified it as 'immoral'.20 Furthermore, there are dozens of relevant Dutch family and personal archives (largely to be found in provincial, regional, and municipal repositories), which deal with all kinds of both private and public matters. These papers may include deeds of appointment to VOC positions, personal letters sent from South Asia to spouses and other relatives in the Dutch Republic, travel reports, baptismal documents, death announcements, 3 University of Amsterdam, University Library; Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; and so on

A number of documents merit special mention not just for their contents, but also because of their unexpected location. For instance, the so-called Fraternity of Freemasons under the Grand East of the Netherlands keeps foundation charters, regulations, speeches, and other documents deriving from the eight Masonic lodges that were set up in the second half of the 18th century by Dutchmen in Surat, Ceylon, Coromandel, and Bengal.<sup>21</sup> A particularly special occasion during the preparation of the archival guide was my visit to the home of Mr and Mrs Tutein Nolthenius, who still keep their ancestral family papers in private possession. A reference in an early 20th century book and a genealogical internet search led me to them in the hope of finding some relevant documents. After a cup of tea, the proverbial chest in the attic was opened and 23 personal letters sent between 1737 and 1742 from Cochin, Colombo, Nagappattinam, and Hooghly appeared, much to my excitement and my hosts' amazement.22

Finally, another not very obvious repository is the library of the well-known Artis Zoo at Amsterdam, which stores some texts and pictures relating to South Asian flora and fauna, including a water colour of a Bengal tiger and tigress. A highlight is a collection of drawings of unusual animals and people as seen around 1700 in the menagerie at the Amsterdam hostelry of Jan Westerhof (also known as Blue Jan) and at some other locations. One of the drawings shows a sitting sadhu in a village near Surat.<sup>23</sup> Could this possibly be Anand Barti preparing for his mysterious escape? Probably not: this sadhu seems to have been sincere and was left undisturbed. According to the accompanying note, he sat in the same position for two years - longer than it took for a Dutch ship to sail to India and return home..

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Originality and plagiarism are the zenith and nadir of a wide range of authorial approaches found in writings. But how do such categories apply to past authors who shared sets of values quite different from the present ones? Alessandro Graheli argues that careful adjustments are required for a sensible evaluation and interpretation of pre-modern works in the West and, even more, of most Sanskrit texts.

# In praise of repetition

ALESSANDRO GRAHELI

A cademic acceptance and individual recognition are two primary needs of writers within the scientific community. The former prompts conformism to predecessors' works while the latter stimulates creativity and invention.

In average academic writing, the drive toward academic acceptance is manifestly expressed by the amount of bibliographic references or credits to other authors. Specifically, most authors belong to a school or tradition which inspires their method and ideas. More generally, every writer is consciously or unconsciously indebted to others due to the very nature of the linguistic phenomenon. Communication is a process that requires a platform of syntactical rules, lexical familiarity, conventional stylemes, and so forth, shared by the writer and his reader. It is a matter of common linguistic games or, in a diachronic perspective, of tradition in the sense of inherited linguistic habits.

The second need - individual recognition - implies the idea of some subjective, creative role on the writer's side. The yardstick of originality is often used to label authors on a scale of values ranging from the literary genius to the shameless plagiariser. One should keep in mind, however, that both tendencies - conformism to one's tradition and individual originality – are culturally and historically specific. Particularly, the modern notion of intellectual property is laden with the post-cartesian transformations of the concepts of 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity', which have met with alternate fortunes in the last centuries. To mention just a few late developments, Western thought has experienced the existentialist's primacy of the subject, the structuralist's focus on the object, and the post-modernist's destabilisation of both. Yet, despite the efforts of many philosophers who have to a great extent exposed the delusion of originality, it seems that we cannot do, in fact we never did, without the magic of spontaneity, creativity and novelty as marks of literary excellence, while the phantom of uncredited repetition lurks behind each of ours and others' words and sentences. In art, but also in academic and scientific papers, plagiarism is dreaded as a major violation, so much so that the craft of quotation and bibliographical information, and the length and quality of our bibliographies and databases, have long become mandatory assets. In this predicament one may notice a schizophrenic attitude, with interesting epistemological outcomes, involving the polar urges for compulsive repetition and for idealised novelty.

The two extremes have their counterparts in two distinct logical domains, deduction and induction. In deductive inferences the piece of knowledge contained in the conclusion is comfortably narrower than that implied in the premises, resulting in certain but tautological knowledge: due to formal requirements, the conclusion cannot yield any new information (this is sometimes dubbed as 'the paradox of deduction'). The inductive process, conversely, has a stronger heuristic potential but also the unavoidable uncertainty of the knowledge produced. In classical India inferential processes were eminently inductive, and most schools of thought included the appeal to authority among valid epistemic tools, exactly to counterbalance the weakness of sense perception and the uncertainty of induction.

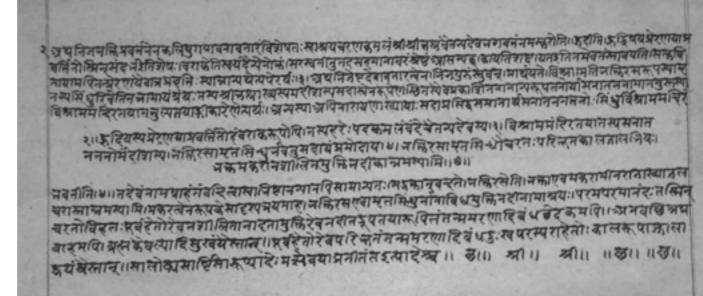
I will give here a sample of the stance of three important Sanskrit writers, who have set a landmark in their respective disciplines and traditions, on the issue of repetition and invention. These three stalwarts were all prolific and eclectic authors who wrote in many capacities. Simplifying, however, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (9th–10thc. CE) was eminently a logician, Abhinava Gupta (10th–11thc. CE) a literary theorist, and Jīva Gosvāmin (16thc. CE) a theologian, at least in the context of the works quoted here. Furthermore, in relation to creativity, I should add that they also wrote poetry, or at least displayed a poetical penchant in their writings.

#### The apology of invention

Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* is an encyclopaedic work on logic and epistemology which presents with remarkable efficacy and honesty most rival theories in these fields. In the proemium, Jayanta describes his achievement and his deference to the tradition as follows:

How could I ever be capable of inventing anything new? Here readers may rather judge the beautiful arrangement of statements. Garlands manufactured in the past generate new curiosity if strung again with those very flowers on a brand-new thread (Nyāyamañjarī 1.7–8).

In his commentary to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, an ancient work on dramaturgy, Abhinava surveys and criticises previous aesthetic theories and justifies



Tripāṭha layout, with root-text in the centre. Jīva Gosvāmin, Durgamasaṅgamanī ad Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, f. 3 recto, copy dated 1711-1712 CE. Courtesy of Oriental Institute, Vadodara, India.

their ruthless dissection with the following statements, which sound almost as an apology for his sharp analysis of his predecessors' arguments:

How can this be anything new, if it was established by tradition? It is just the apprehension of something already known, albeit within an expanded awareness. Isn't because of such a conflict, between something readily available and something of great value, that people find faults? Climbing higher and higher, the restless intellect observes reality, which is the fruit of many theories conceived by former thinkers on the ladder of discrimination. Indeed, what I find strange is that the first approach in the ascertainment of the object of knowledge can be groundless, while to build bridges and cities — once the right path has been determined — is not a reason of surprise. Therefore, here the opinions of wise people have not been censured, but rather improved, because they pass down a fruit whose support is rooted in formerly supported theories (Abhinavabharatiad NASyaPAstra 6.33).

In the beginning of his opus magnum on kṛṣṇaite theology, the Bhāga-vatasandarbha, Jīva acknowledges a two-tiered debt to former authors: his task, he writes, was that of a mere reorganiser of material written by his predecessor Gopālabhaṭṭa, who was in turn indebted to prior theologians:

This tiny soul [Jgvahere refers to himself in the third person] writes after studying and rearranging the work of Gopalabhassa, which was somewhere structured, somewhere unstructured, and somewhere incomplete. This Gopalabhassa, who belongs to a lineage of Southern brahmalas, wrote after a thorough examination of senior masters' writings.

In his own elaboration on this very passage, he explicitly says that the purpose of this statement is to clear the ground from suspects of original, self-made ideas in his work. Such an uncompromised reliance on the principle of authority — and conversely the minimisation of the author's subjective, creative role—are hardly surprising in the case of a theologian, as Jīva mainly is. Theological arguments, in fact, derive most strength from the appeal to authority. But one should keep in mind that behind such credits to tradition and disclaimers of novelty there is an epistemological stance which is shared by most Sanskrit authors: knowledge does not come only from perception and inferential processes. Verbal knowledge, or, better, knowledge which is linguistically-acquired from genuine or traditional sources, plays a major role in everyone's life.

The defence of the epistemological value of tradition is a leitmotif in the South Asian history of ideas. 'Tradition' has in this context at least three intersecting meanings, diversely relating or clashing with the concept of novelty. Firstly, mainstream schools of thought such as Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā defended the validity of scriptures (the Veda) as autonomous sources of information about religious matters (tradition in the sense of holy text). Secondly, they did so in a social context which widely accepted the value of such scriptures (tradition in the sense of a shared set of values). Thirdly, their basic assumption was that linguistic transmission is the foundation of knowledge (tradition as verbal transmission).

#### **Authors and commentators**

A general feature of Sanskrit literature is that even in original works, where one expects an implication of novelty and creativity, writers more or less explicitly express a debt with tradition. But it is in commentaries, which more naturally tend to minimise originality, that we are more likely to find a thematisation of the novelty-vs-repetition issue, if not because of the very nature of the meta-linguistic analyses and the explicit role of commentators as interpreters of their authors of reference.

Despite their different approaches, in the above passages Jayanta, Abhinava and Jīva share a common trait: they all claim a role of commentators or reorganisers of ancient root-works (the *Nyāyasūtra*, the *Nāṭyaśūstra* and

the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, respectively) or of their predecessors' commentaries upon such works; moreover, they all try to avoid the 'stigma' of creative writers and claim a role of editors, rather than authors.

All three ultimately refer to ancient root-texts whose authors (Gautama, Bharata and Vyāsa, respectively) did not leave any historical information about themselves. nor did Abhinava, Jayanta or Jīva have any, apparently. The individuals called Gautama, Bharata and Vyāsa seem to be remembered only in a mythical time. This can be considered as another evidence of the predominance of a de-individualised tradition over the single personalities constituting it.īThere is another way these Sanskrit commentators relate to their predecessors. Most philosophical treatises are crafty fabrics of interwoven rival theories, presented in a dialogical form of objections and counter-objections. The complex architecture of such arguments and counter-arguments is generally sealed by a final verdict, representing the tradition of the writer. Opponent schools, in turn, structured their own theories in a specular fashion. Several such treatises are still extant in some form and are witnesses of a gradual and increasing refinement of ideas which took place over centuries of proposals and rebuttals. In retrospect, we can safely say that the incorporation of one's opponent's views was hardly a rare phenomenon, although generally not openly acknowledged, and that there is a mutual debt for intellectual growth among traditions such as Buddhism, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Vedānta etc.

Such treatises are in the overwhelming majority commentaries on previous works. As such, commentaries constitute in the literary landscape of South Asia a genre with sub-genres, with a peculiar structure, style, lexicon and even manuscript layout. Root texts are generally composed in metrical verses or in aphorisms, while the commentaries are often in prose or verses and prose. When reproduced along with the commented works, some of these commentaries are laid out in a three-blocks ( $trip\bar{a}$  tha) format, with the indented root-text in the middle of the page, often in larger characters, and the related portion of commentary framing the root-text above and below, thus giving a visual effect of hierarchy. As with the scholia of Greek and Latin classics, due to relevance and circulation reasons some of these commentaries acquired a status of independent treatises and begin to be transmitted independently, to be in turn commented upon later on.

#### Innovation within the tradition

In sum, the rough material used by Sanskrit writers can be largely traced back to former works. Theirs, however, is the framework and the organisation of the material. Theirs is also the assessment of the relative strength of the sources' arguments and hence the critical evaluation. Most unoriginal writers can be thus said to have been critical compilers, rather than mere copyists or plagiarisers, who freely used their traditions' works and ideas.

The great proliferation of commentarial works in South Asia is further evidence of a widespread inclination to depend on the authority-principle rather than one's own creativity. Scholars who approach these classics are advised to keep this principle in mind, try to divest themselves of post-cartesian prejudices on the author's subjectivity, and use with great care labels such as 'creative author', 'shrewd plagiariser', 'brilliant reinterpreter', or any other epithet which presupposes the notion of intellectual property. In Sanskrit literature, in fact, the property seems to relate to the tradition rather than the individual. The room left for the author's own innovations is explicitly denied, implicitly allowed with specific limitations and regulated by epistemological and deontological assumptions which require a close examination.

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In 2004, Malaysia's independent film industry was in its infancy. Keen filmmakers were plunging into production, self-financing low-budget shorts and features, seemingly with or without training, motivated by a sheer DIY drive. Many of the talents involved now work in the advertisement and gaming industries or film production houses. Others returned to the theatre and visual arts, or continue to work behind the scenes. Four years on, and the industry is more mature - the envy of its Southeast Asian counterparts - and built on solidarity and a collective mode of working.

# From 'Doghouse' days to 'Limitless Space':

# independent filmmaking in Malaysia

GAIK CHENG KHOO

core group has formed out of a loose coalition comprising of James Lee, Ho Yuhang, Yasmin Ahmad, Amir Muhammad, Tan Chui Mui, Deepak Kumaran Menon, Woo Ming Jin, Liew Seng Tat, Azharr Rudin, Hardesh Singh, Albert Hue and Khoo Eng Yow. They work on each other's films as actors, editors, producers, musicians, composers, camera and crew. Not only that, but they have shown generosity and support by funding each other's films: Tan Chui Mui's monetary prize from the Pusan International Film Festival 2006 for Love Conquers All (2006) went on to fund Liew Seng Tat's Flower in the Pocket (2007) on the condition that if he won, he would help to finance someone else's work. After Liew's win in Pusan last year, it was confirmed that the prize will fund Tan's next film.

Amir Muhammad and James Lee are the two most frequently named for spearheading the Malaysian digital or indie filmmaking movement. The story begins when Amir, a film and book critic (but lawyer by training), decided to turn his hand to filmmaking. He recruited James Lee, a graphic designer who also worked in theatre, to act in his first feature *Lips To Lips* (2000). The film, whether it was good or bad, inspired Lee and others to make films.

#### **Ambitious manifesto**

Lee quickly became a prolific filmmaker, churning out short experimental films that displayed his empathy for theatre and dance. An ambitious manifesto appeared on his website, Doghouse73 Pictures, which demonstrated both a knowledge of and affinity to alternative cinema, American

Pragmatic indie filmmakers, who realised the economic value of digital video, stated a preference to produce several digital works rather than work on one expensive 35mm film for the same budget. However, a desire to present visual stories - and Malaysian ones at that - was the key motivation. And, not all indies make digital films.

Yasmin Ahmad, Osman Ali, and those who may have the opportunity to produce mainstream films for Malaysian audiences work on 35mm (since there are only two digital screens in commercial cinemas in Peninsula Malaysia). The millennial wave of films from non-commercial Malaysian filmmakers gets categorised in ways that can only be described as contentious since there is such a plurality of styles, modes of production, genres, formats, and individual personalities. Since the studio system ended by the mid-1960s, technically all Malaysian films are independent. 'Independent' in the current Malaysian context reflects a propensity for the digital format (though not always), it represents Malaysia's ethnic diversity more fully than commercial Malay cinema which catered mostly to the ethnic Malay majority in its use of Malay language, Malay actors and stories about Malay society. These films may be multilingual, feature a multiethnic cast or focus predominantly on Chinese or Indian characters. Uniquely then, the face of post-2000 Malaysian cinema is no longer only Malay. Yet, such indie offerings if not mainly in the Malay language are not considered local and may instead be shown on the international screen at Golden Screen Cinema (GSC). Moreover, they are also not eligible for a tax rebate. The relationship between the indies and state institutions is tenuous, since the National Film Development Board is mostly filled with bureaucrats rather than those who are knowledgeable about film.

requires that each ethnic group can only represent and defend its own communal interests. Thus Yasmin's interracial films have been labelled 'culturally polluting' by Malay ethno-nationalists. Her trilogy (or quartet, depending on whether we include her first telemovie *Rabun* (2003) which also revolves around the same family) while deconstructing ethnic stereotypes of Others, is similarly critical yet compassionate of small-minded and hypocritical Malay characters. However, cosmopolitanism also focuses on the individual subject that transcends identity politics: ultimately, the young protagonist who initially seems a blank slate in *Rain Dogs* (Ho Yuhang, 2006) must come to selfhood through his own means after making several mistakes along the way. Likewise, it is Ah Ping's psychology that fascinates the audience when she makes certain irreversible decisions in the name of love in Tan's *Love Conquers All* (2007).

In terms of the style and aesthetics of features, some members of the Malaysian Independent Filmmakers (MIF) favour slow pacing, long detached takes, minimal dialogue and music, and minimal acting with a focus on everyday life. Critics have remarked on the theme of alienation whether it is of urban youth, marginalised working class or mindless capitalist consumption (*Beautiful Washing Machine*,[James Lee, 2004]). What interests me is that spatially, indie filmmakers are now moving out of Kuala Lumpur to shoot on location, bringing Malaysian small town life to the big screen in *Rain Dogs*, *The Elephant and the Sea* (Woo Ming Jin, 2007) and *The Birdhouse*(Khoo Eng Yaw, 2007), or revisiting sites where former Malayan Communist Party members have traversed or inhabit (Amir Muhammad's *The Last Communist*, 2006 and *Village People Radio Show* 2007).

During the Doghouse days, the Malaysian Shorts and Malaysian Documentaries screenings twice or three times a year used to be the pre-eminent event as film students and film graduates from the various academies and universities would submit their works to be screened. Despite the apparent demise of the annual Malaysian Video Awards which was a major screening channel, more screening spaces have opened up: since 2003, an annual Freedom Filmfest organised by KOMAS (a community communication centre); a new arts venue The Annexe (2007); small scale local set-ups like Sense Club; Kontot (a Short Film Convention); and corporate-sponsored competitions such as the BMWshorties Short Film Competition, and the Astro Kirana Short Film Competition with awards in the form of prize money or production services. While this swell of support and space is positive encouragement for filmmakers, they may have taken some wind out of the sails of the Kelab Seni Filem screenings. However, the Kelab maintains links with these corporate events. The Kelab has also lost the help of dedicated curators such as Bernard Chauly and Amir Muhammad, who are both busy with their own projects and work.

As for the future, questions abound as to the impact of Da Huang's overseas reputation on the local scene. Does it mean that the generation who has made their names abroad will focus on consolidating their own films or will they pass the baton on? Will international fame bring recognition and grudging acceptance from local industry stalwarts? Does 'Limitless Space' spell a liberation that is filled with endless possibilities, or one that is concomitantly directionless? Does it force up-and-coming indie Malaysian filmmakers to adopt only a particular kind of aesthetic? Meanwhile, contributions like Yasmin Ahmad's *Gubra* (2006) and *Mukhsin* (2007) ensure that the big Malaysian wind blowing over Europe and Asia is, in turn, fresh and warm and that there is much room for diversity.



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Malaysian independent filmmaking will be highlighted during the *New Malaysian Cinema* film festival, staged by Amsterdam-based theatre Rialto. Some 40 shorts, features and documentaries provide a survey of recent developments in Malaysian cinema. Festival visitors can meet the filmmakers during Q&A's, panel discussions and masterclasses, and Malaysian food, drinks and music will turn the whole theatre into a festive venue. *New Malaysian Cinema* will take place October 29th – November 2nd 2008 in Rialto. www.rialtofilm.nl.



Scene from The Elephant and The Sea, Woo Ming Jin.

independent filmmaking and the desire to use the digital visual media to provide space for non-commercial films. Under his production house, Doghouse73 Pictures, Lee directed numerous pictures and also produced the early films of Amir Muhammad, Ho Yuhang, Ng Tian Hann and David Ngui. In 2004, Da Huang Pictures (meaning Big Space) was established by James Lee, Amir Muhammad, Tan Chui Mui and Liew Seng Tat. Da Huang essentially continued to provide the same kind of support work that Doghouse had begun for this small group of indie filmmakers.

The advent of new Malaysian cinema may be attributed to several factors that involved the pro-high technology government policies of the 1990s under former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad such as the establishment of the Multimedia SuperCorridor, the Multimedia University, and other neo-liberal development policies that encouraged Malaysians to become more integrated into globalisation. Easy availability of pirated videos (including non-mainstream and foreign films) also opened up possibilities of what cinema could be for film buffs. The Asian technological craze saw a quick embrace of the digital film medium for its democratisation of film production. Digital video sparked not only art films by those who are better known overseas, but also low-budget genre films such as horror (Micheal Chuah, Seed of Darkness) or drama (C. Kumaresan with Ethirkaalam 2006, Shunmugam Karuppannan with Sweet Dreams, 2006) with a more local circulation.

#### Cosmopolitan narratives

Discussions about Malaysian independent films usually focus on ethnicity, since many of the digital filmmakers are ethnic minority Malaysians whose films portray and represent the diversity that is more reflective of Malaysia than the mainstream Malay films playing in the local cinemas. Yet, unlike Amir Muhammad and Yasmin Ahmad whose films have touched directly on politics, history and race relations, most filmmakers eschew making political statements and focus on more universal (or what I call 'cosmopolitan') narratives. Cosmopolitanism is a useful theory when applied to the indie filmmakers' modus operandi and their global outlook and influences because it encompasses an attitude that is open to, yet critical of, other cultures. Witness the multiethnic collaboration in Da Huang films and within the Kelab Seni Filem (The Art Film Club based in Kuala Lumpur) which has done much to promote film in the country over the years. In Sepet (2004) and its sequel Gubra (2006) - part of Yasmin Ahmad's trilogy about a Malay school girl named Orked - Orked's family embraces multiculturalism and is typically cosmopolitan: her middle-class mother watches Cantonese television serials, her Malay maid listens to Thai songs, and Orked who is infatuated with the actor Takeshi Kaneshiro falls in love with a Chinese VCD black market trader. Cosmopolitanism implies constant transgression of racial borders that in Malaysia are policed by state authorities and ordinary people through years of institutionalised racialisation. Such racialisation (call it 'official pluralism') One of the ways in which the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Communist Party (CCP) defined itself was through propaganda art. Throughout its long history, the Chinese political system has used the arts to present and spread correct behaviour and thought. Literature, poetry, painting, stage plays, songs and other artistic forms were produced to entertain, but they also had to educate the people in what was considered right and wrong.

# 'Life as it ought to be': propaganda art of the PRC

STEFAN LANDSBERGER

n the PRC, propaganda art gave concrete expression to the abstract policies and the many different grandiose visions of the future that the CCP entertained. In a country with as many illiterates as China had in the 1940s and 1950s, visualising abstract ideas worked especially.

The most talented artists were mobilised to design posters. Many of them had been commercial designers and were quickly co-opted. The idealised images not only showed 'life as it really is', but also 'life as it ought to be', stressing the positive and glossing over anything negative. Original works of art were reproduced in journals and magazines. Large posters could be seen in the streets, in railway stations and other public spaces; the smaller ones were distributed through the network of the *Xinhua* (New China) bookshops for mass consumption; some were even turned into postage stamps.

Posters could be produced cheaply and easily. They were widely available and could be seen everywhere. And they provided an excellent way to bring some colour to the otherwise drab places where most people lived. Posters reached even the lowest levels of society: multicoloured posters adorned not only offices and factories, but houses and dormitories as well. Most people liked the posters for their colours, composition and visual contents, and did not pay too much attention to the political message.

The contents of the posters were largely defined by the themes of politics and economic reconstruction that were dominant after 1949. Hyper-realistic ageless, larger-than-life peasants, soldiers, workers and youngsters in dynamic poses peopled the images. They pledged allegiance to the Communist cause, or obedience to Chairman Mao Zedong, or were engaged in the glorious task of rebuilding the nation. Most posters glorified work and personal sacrifice for the greater well-being. They paid little attention to the personal and private dimensions of the people's lives.



Forging ahead courageously while following the great leader Chairman Mao. Publisher: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, collective work. April 1969. 72 x 106,5cm.



New view in the rural village.
Designer: Xin Liliang. 1953, Sanyi
Printers. 53,5 x 77,5cm. Collection
International Institute for Social

In the early 1950s, the printing industry was nationalised and a few large producers of propaganda posters emerged. They included the People's Fine Arts Publishing House in Beijing and the Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House. Until well into the 1980s, these publishers would dominate the field. Other specialised publishing houses put out materials as well. The Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, for example, specialised in (bi- and multi-lingual) posters about and for national minorities, while posters devoted to sports and physical education were published by the Sports Publishing House in Beijing. During the Cultural Revolution, poster production was largely decentralised. In the 1980s, the predominance of the Beijing and Shanghai establishments eroded and other publishers took over.

Propaganda posters have been around for more than six decades, and

as a result, they form a body of materials that is incredibly rich in information. They are important for what they show, but maybe even more for what they fail to pay attention to...

#### Art and propaganda posters

What exactly is a propaganda poster? According to many artists and designers the term propaganda art cannot be used indiscriminately to cover all art that has been produced in the PRC. In their opinion, poster art should be divided into discrete genres such as New Year prints (nianhua), oil paintings (youhua), gouache (shuifenhua), woodcuts (mubanhua), traditional paintings (Zhongguo hua), propaganda posters (xuanchuan hua), etc. This classification is inspired largely by the way the arts sector was ordered bureaucratically in China. Water colourists did not mix with oil

painters, woodcutters worked separately from traditional painters, and propaganda posters artists were at the bottom of the hierarchy. Artists maintain that art can only be called propaganda art when it contains one or more politically inspired slogans. Some of the posters indeed do have explicit political or propagandistic contents, while others do not. Similarly, some contain one or more politically inspired slogans, but not all of them do.

But in my discussions with various artists and designers, many insisted that they themselves had mixed up the fine distinctions between the various styles in the days of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, when all art had to have propaganda value.

#### The roots of Chinese propaganda art

From its inception, the CCP had been imbued with the cultural iconoclasm of the May Fourth New Culture Movement (1919-1921). During the First United Front with the Nationalist Party (Guomindang, GMD) in 1924-1927, the CCP set out to replace 'old culture' and to control public opinion through propaganda, agitation and political education, employing forms and techniques originating in the Soviet Union. In the Jiangxi Soviet (1931-1934), the CCP further developed its strategy of using the arts to educate the people in both literacy and loyalty to the Party.<sup>1</sup>

In Yan'an, where the CCP found itself after the Long March (1934-1935), the use of art as a catalyst for change was further refined. This was to counter GMD-propaganda, but also to neutralise the propaganda of the Japanese that had invaded China in 1937. The latter justified the Japanese military presence and warned against co-operating with either Nationalists or Communists. In 1942, Mao Zedong made it clear that arts had to serve politics, in the form of the demands made by the CCP.<sup>2</sup> In order to accommodate and reach the largely illiterate peasants, the Party decided to address them in the traditional medium of New Year prints.

These 'new' New Year prints were based on calendar posters, traditional painting and popular block prints. They employed old visual elements with new contents and manipulated symbols used in traditional popular culture and traditional values. The peasantry responded positively to their familiar visual idiom; they liked their *nianhua* realistic, as long as their portrayal of events was a little more beautiful than actual reality.



#### Adjustments to propaganda art

But traditional or even 'new' New Year prints were considered as insufficient or not modern enough. Already prior to the victory over the GMD, it was felt that the arts also had to address the audience of urbanites who were still unfamiliar with, and potentially hostile to, the Party. The Chinese leaders were convinced that Socialist Realism, as it had been practiced in the Soviet Union since the 1930s, was the best tool for this. The bright colours and the happy and prosperous atmosphere that radiated from Socialist Realism were seen as a continuation of the essential features of the New Year prints. In the period 1949-1957, many Chinese painters studied Socialist Realism in Soviet art academies and Soviet professors came to teach in Chinese institutions.

During the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), Mao insisted that the gloomi-

中央人民政府爲代表

和國全國人民的唯一合

ness of 'pure' Soviet Socialist Realism was inappropriate now that enthusiasm ran high. Romanticism had to make the arts more visionary, to imbue the people with a spirit of self-sacrifice, hope and enthusiasm to overcome concrete obstacles. The effects that posters had on mobilising the work force convinced the propaganda workers of their usefulness. The hugely increased demands for art, however, created many opportunities for amateur peasant and worker painters. The 'official' artists who had been trained in the art academies considered these amateurs as talented, but not as true artists.

By 1962, Mao had been pushed out of the centre of power. His artistic policies were also dismissed. The idealistic and heroic images were replaced by more romantic visualisations of the good life that the people led under

The central people's government constitutes the

only legitimate government of all the poeple of the People's Republic of China. Publisher: Politi-

cal Department of the East China Military Region,

Third Field Army. Ca. 1950. 78,5 x 54,5cm. Collec-

tion International Institute of Social History

socialism. Quite a few 'pretty-girl pictures' featuring female beauties, without (hidden) political messages, were produced.

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) saw the return of political elements in art. Every element of poster design was imbued with political symbolism, ranging from the use of colours to the exact placement of persons within a composition. Many of the posters produced in the early phases of the Cultural Revolution clearly were made for local purposes. With their black, red and white colouring, which is unique for this period, they give the impression of having been produced as block prints. We shouldn't be fooled, however, by what looks like localised designs. Even for these 'spontaneous', 'local' posters, the central levels provided the examples.<sup>3</sup>

#### A change of policy, a change of style

Although the CCP continued to impose its image of society, an unprecedented liberalisation in the arts and visual propaganda took place once Deng Xiaoping took over in 1978. The period ended the use of Socialist Realism as the sole principle of creation. Western visual elements made their way into China as a result of the opening-up of the country. Posters served glimpses of a future crowded with spacecraft that were clearly modelled on the NASA Space Shuttle; high-speed bullet-trains; high-rise buildings; and highways with gridlocked cars. This science fiction has become reality in the urban consumer society that came about in the 1990s, with its Carrefour supermarkets and McDonalds franchises.

The CCP's inability to win the hearts and minds of the people has become acute. Has the propaganda poster become obsolete? Has it become a medium that is identified mainly with a period when the lives of the Chinese were dominated by political struggles? It is certain that the propaganda that called for class struggle, for grasping the key link, or for obedience, no longer has any effects. The public perceives politics is irrelevant, dead and uninteresting. Government prescriptions about how to lead one's life are considered old-fashioned, out of touch with reality and boring. Commercialism and consumerism are very much alive. And the quality of the posters falls short of the increasingly high design standards that are applied in advertising. On the other hand, posters have been used with some success to create environmental awareness and to correct problems related to public morality and civic virtue. They now provide public service and information contents, as the SARS posters in 2003 did, or focus on neutral subjects such as the Beijing Olympics 2008.

Not much is left of a genre that once was intended to inspire the Chinese people, to mobilise them, and to point them the way to a future Communist utopia. Political posters are still available, but only collectors from China and the West are interested in them. The images that once defined the way China looked have disappeared.

#### Stefan R. Landsberger

Olfert Dapper Chair of Contemporary Chinese Culture at the University of Amsterdam / Associate Professor at the Department of Chinese Studies of Leiden University. Landsberger has one of the largest private collections of Chinese propaganda posters in the world. He has published widely on topics related to Chinese propaganda (posters), and maintains an extensive website exclusively devoted to this genre of political communications http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger

#### \_ .

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Long live chairman Mao! Long long live! Shanghai Fine Arts Academy Work. Propaganda Team. Revolutionary Committee collective work. Publisher: Shanghai renmin chubanshe. October 1970. 53 x 77cm. Collectie IISG.

#### China in posters - the dreamt reality

167 Highlights from the collections of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, and Stefan R. Landsberger (University of Amsterdam, Leiden University).

These posters are on display from 14 June to 21 September 2008, in the Kunsthal, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.Address: Museumpark, Westzeedijk 341, 3015 AA Rotterdam. Opening hours: Tuesday till Saturday 10am-5pm, Sundays and Holidays 11am-5pm No plans to visit the Netherlands this Summer? Lack of time? Go to http://chineseposters.net for the web exhibition!

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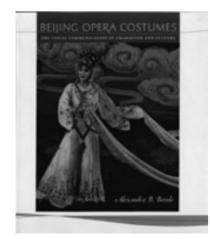
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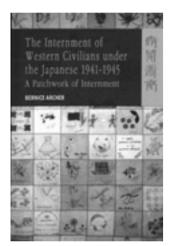
#### **Sacred Mathematics: Japanese Temple Geometry**

by Fukagawa Hidetoshi & Tony Rothman Princeton University Press. 2008. ISBN 978 0 691 12745 3

Between the 17th and 19th centuries Japan was totally isolated from the West by imperial decree. During that time, a unique brand of homegrown mathematics flourished, one that was completely uninfluenced by developments in Western mathematics. People from all walks of life - samurai, farmers, and merchants - inscribed a wide variety of geometry problems on wooden tablets called sangaku and hung them in Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines throughout Japan. Sacred Mathematics is the first book published in the West to fully examine this tantalizing - and incredibly beautiful - mathematical tradition.

Fukagawa Hidetoshi and Tony Rothman present for the first time in English excerpts from the travel diary of a 19th-century Japanese mathematician, Yamaguchi Kanzan, who journeyed on foot throughout Japan to collect temple geometry problems. The authors set this fascinating travel narrative - and almost everything else that is known about temple geometry - within the broader cultural and historical context of the period. They explain the sacred and devotional aspects of sangaku, and reveal how Japanese folk mathematicians discovered many well-known theorems independently of mathematicians in the West - and in some cases much earlier. The book is generously illustrated with photographs of the tablets and stunning artwork of the period. Then there are the geometry problems themselves, nearly two hundred of them, fully illustrated and ranging from the utterly simple to the virtually impossible. Solutions for most are provided.

A unique book in every respect, Sacred Mathematics demonstrates how mathematical thinking can vary by culture yet transcend cultural and geographic boundaries.

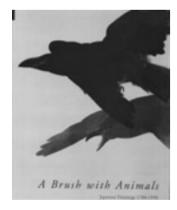


# The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese 1941-1945: A Patchwork of Internment

By Bernice Archer Hong Kong University Press. 2008. ISBN 978 962 209 910 4

This book describes the little-known story of how 130,000 British, Dutch, and American civilian men, women, and children captured and interned by the Japanese during World War Two survived their internment. Bernice Archer draws on contemporary war, foreign, and colonial office papers, diaries, letters, camp newspapers and artefacts; post-war medical, engineering, and educational reports, biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and over fifty oral interviews with ex-internees.

An investigation of evacuation policies reveals the moral, economic, political, emotional, and racial dilemmas faced by the imperial powers and the colonial communities in the far East. Contemporary personal accounts highlight the shock of the Japanese victories and the devastating experience of capture, as well as the social and cultural resources the prisoners used and adapted for survival in the camps, including embroidery and quilting. The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese, 1941-1945 also covers wider issues such as the role of women in war, children and war, colonial culture, and oral history, and war and memory.



#### A Brush with Animals: Japanese Paintings 1700-1950

by Robert Schaap Published by Society for Japanese Arts;

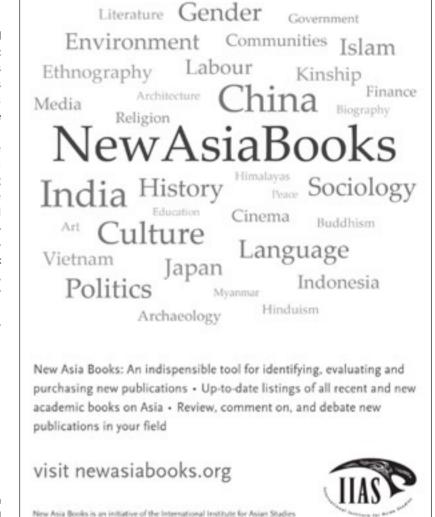
Published by Society for Japanese Arts; distributed by Hotei Publishing, an imprint of Brill. 2007. ISBN 978 907 0216 078

Japan has a long and rich tradition of using animal imagery in works of art. A Brush with Animals. Japanese Paintings 1700-1950 gives an overview of Japanese animal painting, covering some 250 years, with an emphasis on works by artists of the naturalistic Shijô School. It illustrates the wonderful variety of animals that figure in Japanese iconography, including the 12 animals of the zodiac and many mythological creatures.

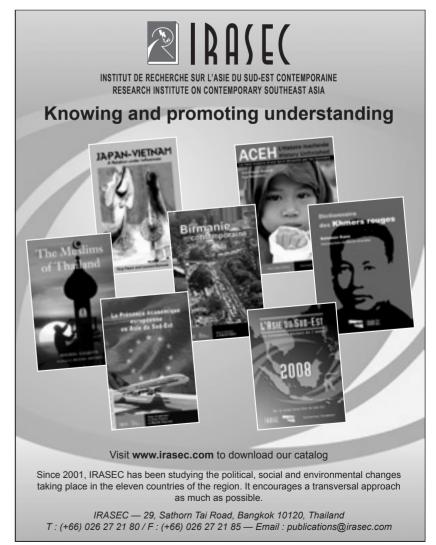
The reader is thus taken on a tour through the animal kingdom. Which is profusely illustrated with no less than 300 colour images. A selection of essays explains in great details the stories and legends behind the animal imagery and provides background information on the practical aspects and social context of Japanese hanging scroll painting. A useful tool for the collector and a delight for anyone sensitive to the beauty of Japanese art.

A Brush with Animals was selected from collections of members of the International Society for Japanese Arts (private and museum collections), to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Society. Many of the paintings are published here for the first time.

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Theuns-de Boer, Gerda. 2008. A Vision of Splendour: Indian Heritage in the Photographs of Jean Philippe Vogel, 1901-1913 Mapin Publishing and The Kern Institute. 191 pages. 149 B/W photographs. ISBN 978 0 944 14274 5

# Photography, archaeology and afternoon tea



Gandharan Buddhas. Loriyan Tangai (NW Frontier Province, Pakistan); overview of excavated Buddhist sculpture, 2nd-5th century. Alexander E. Caddy, 1890s.

UPINDER SINGH

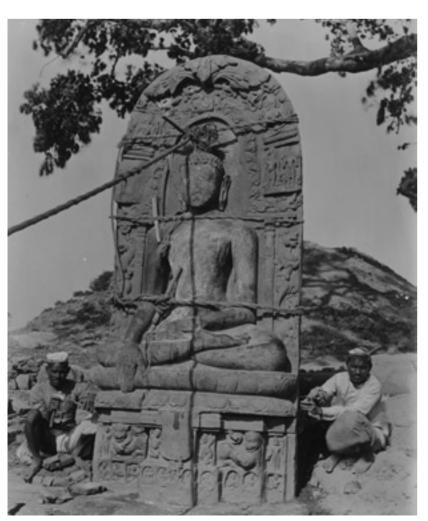
n 1901, a young Dutchman named Jean Philippe Vogel arrived in Lahore, fresh from the successful defence of his doctoral thesis on the *Mrichchhakatikam* ('The Little Clay Cart'), a well-known work of Sanskrit literature. He had come to India to continue his Sanskrit studies and to get a taste of Indian culture. Instead, his potential was noticed by Marc Aurel Stein, a Sanskritist and archaeologist working in India, and he was inducted into the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) as an archaeological surveyor in the Punjab, Baluchistan and Ajmer Circle.

At the time of joining the ASI, Vogel knew nothing about archaeology. Nevertheless, it was not altogether surprising that he should have been

considered for the job, as many of the officers of the ASI were in fact textual scholars, who had learnt archaeology while on the job. Over the years, Vogel found himself playing an important role in excavating major sites such as Charsada, Kusinara and Saheth-Maheth. He wrote fine, meticulously detailed scholarly works on a wide variety of themes including the medieval monuments of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, the art of the Punjab Hill states, the sculpture of Mathura, and serpents in Hindu legend and art. In 1910, he rose to the position of Deputy Director General of the ASI, a post he occupied till 1912. Vogel left the ASI in 1914, to take up a professorship in Sanskrit at Leiden University. He retired in 1939 after 12 extremely fruitful years of archaeological work in India and a quarter of a century of academic work in Leiden.

Vogel was not only a gifted and industrious scholar, he was also an institution builder. In 1924, along with Nicolaas Johannes Krom, he founded the Kern Institute in Leiden. The institute was named after the first Dutch Sanskritist, Hendrik Kern (1833-1917), and swiftly became a major centre of Indology in Europe. The Kern Institute also became home to Vogel's collection of some 10,000 photographs. These photographs were taken variously by amateurs, professional photographers, and officers of the ASI. Some were taken by Vogel himself. The images cover not only India, but also Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma and Cambodia.

Gerda Theuns-de Boer's *A Vision of Splendour* contains a selection of some 150 photographs from this archive, all taken between 1870 and 1920. Con-



Kusinagara, Colossal statue of a seated Buddha before and after restoration, ca. 12th century. Ghulam Nabi, 1911.







left picture: Churah area, possibly Devikothi (HP); women during a festival. Jean Phillipe Vogel,1902.

right picture: The Dutch sanskritist and archaeologist Jean Phillipe Vogel, photographed at the ASI head office in Shimla (HP). Unknown photographer, 1908.

Chamba (HP); The Rajas of Svai, Ulansa and Gurola. Jean Phillipe Vogel, 1902.

necting the arresting and evocative sepia and black and white images is a narrative that gives a sense of how these images are embedded in the history of archaeology and photography. The major focus of the book is Vogel (1871-1958), his life, his work, and his ideas about the care of Indian heritage. Theuns-de Boer has also drawn on Vogel's letters to scholars and members of his family, as well as his diaries (all part of the Kern Institute collection). Together with the photographs, they offer an engaging sketch of the man and his time.

#### Amateurs, dilettantes and professionals

Vogel came to India at an important threshold time in the history of Indian archaeology, and the first chapter of the book gives a brief overview of the history and growth of the ASI, and the changing and expanding role of photography therein. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Indian archaeology had successfully emerged from beneath the umbrella of antiquarianism and had carved out its own distinct domain. However, the ASI was still dominated by amateurs and dilettantes, and its activities presented a rather haphazard and disorganised picture. Conservation was not high on the British Government of India's list of priorities, and there were many instances of vandalism carried out in the name of archaeological investigation and bad restoration (even renovation) carried out in the name of conservation. The early 20th century saw important changes, largely due to the political vision and leadership provided by the Viceroy Lord Curzon and the archaeological vision and leadership of John Marshall, who became Director General of the ASI in 1902. Indian archaeology now became more professional, and large-scale excavations were carried out methodically, with due consideration towards the principle of stratigraphy. Indians also began to be associated in a bigger way in the activities of the ASI, which till then had been almost entirely a European show.

During his years as an archaeological surveyor and superintendent based in Lahore, Vogel concentrated on early Islamic and Mughal monuments (Chapter 2). His job involved many things - making lists of antiquarian remains; directing excavations; advising and inspecting the work of conservation and repair; making copies and lists of inscriptions; interfacing with museums; and writing annual progress reports. File work frequently interfered with field work. The work was enormous (he travelled an average of 6,500 km a year) and the budgetary and human resources pitifully meagre.

The task of conserving historical monuments (discussed in Chapter 3) was not directly in the hands of the ASI. The execution of repairs was the responsibility of the Public Works Department (PWD); the ASI was basically an advisory and supervisory body. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904) was an important piece of legislation and, in 1907,



John Marshall published a pamphlet giving basic guidelines for the conservation of ancient monuments. However, much remained to be done. Sometimes major blunders were made, such as when the Vishnu temple at Bhitargaon was plastered and whitewashed, and the 'repairs' had to be undone. Furthermore, the illegal trade in antiquities continued in spite of legislation.

Theuns-de Boer gives an account of Vogel's excavations, especially Charsada and Kasia (Chapter 4). The technical features of excavations in the Marshall era could have been brought out with greater specificity. Nevertheless, the book has interesting details such as the fact that the Saheth-Maheth excavations (1908) took off earlier than planned, as the Government decided to convert them into a famine relief operation which, at its peak, offered employment to 1,600 people.

Vogel had a passion for Chamba (in the northern state of modern Himachal Pradesh), and visited it almost every year. Most of the photographs in this book were taken by other photographers. A few were taken by Vogel, and these reflect his interest in Chamba's monuments and its people. This area contained a wealth of epigraphic sources and Vogel busied himself collecting, copying, editing, translating and publishing inscriptions. He was to go on to write a major work titled *Antiquities of Chamba State*.

#### 'Archaeological teas'

The ASI mainly employed British officers, but it also included Europeans from other lands, the most notable of whom were the Hungary-born Marc Aurel Stein, the American David Brainerd Spooner, the Norwegian Sten Konow, and of course Vogel himself. Vogel as a Dutch social intermediary between the British and the Indians is the subject of the last chapter of this book. There are interesting details, for instance the fact that he was active with the Boer war prisoners in India, and that this almost cost him his job. Or the the 'archaeological teas' Vogel organised in Simla, along

with Sten Konow, where antiquities were displayed and discussed over cups of tea and snacks.

Theuns-de Boer's sketch of Vogel's personality includes quotes from his diary reflecting his impatience with official pomp and ceremonial and the boring parties and balls he had to attend. There are his remarks on Curzon's overbearing interference. Snippets from his correspondence with John Marshall suggest excellent mutual rapport. Other letters reflect the fact that like many of his European contemporaries, Vogel's attitude towards 'native scholars' was not very positive, and that he had grave reservations about the increasing Indianisation of the Archaeological Survey.

This book is really a photo-essay, dominated by the numerous beautiful black and white photographs. These photographs form part of an important visual documentation of the history of monuments, their dilapidation and repair, and the discovery and de-contextualisation of artefacts in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century India. The photographs of officers associated with the ASI give a face to some of the many scholars who played an important role in the construction of India's ancient and medieval past in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These men and the photographers whose work appears in this book deserve full-fledged biographies. So does Jean Philippe Vogel.

#### **Upinder Singh**

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Gerda Theuns-de Boer can be contacted at: g.a.m.theuns@let.leidenuniv.nl

# Dutch resilience:

# maintaining a distant colony during world war

NICHOLAS TARLING

his is a book on a grand scale, the product of vast industry and learning on the part of an author already well known as an authority on the Darul Islam movement and on post-Suharto Indonesia, made available to us by the admirable Leiden Institute. It is a work of traditional historiography, informed by an awareness that, as the late Stephen Gould put it, 'complex events occur but once in detailed glory'.

There is no explicit theorising. But it would after all be difficult to make generalisations about so exceptional a history as that of the Netherlands Indies in the 19th and early 20th centuries. That history is full of apparent paradoxes, many of which may, however, be resolved by recurring to a

Within that economic framework the Dutch found their second answer. They gradually built up the entity of Netherlands India, adopting and adapting existing political structures, co-opting traditional rulers, securing compliance with a minimum of coercion. The overthrow of their Spanish neighbours in the Philippines in the 1890s suggested that this answer might not be enough. That was one argument for the Ethical Policy of the early 20th century: it would win over both elite and masses by means that the Spaniards had notably failed to adopt. Together with the economic changes induced by world trade, the policies inaugurated, even before the first world war, a series of social and political changes that were welcomed by Ethici but alarmed others. Where was the Indies heading?

Van Dijk's earlier chapters, which give a

independent Indonesia. In the first world war the Netherlands was not invaded by Germany, nor was its colony invaded by the Japanese. But it was a world war, and so prolonged and catastrophic event could not have 'virtually passed the colony by', to use van Dijk's phrase (page vii). Walking the line: Dutch

## aspirations to neutrality

The wish to preserve neutrality was a challenge to Dutch officialdom. Governor-General Idenburg appealed to the citizens of the warring parties whom trade had brought to the Indies to respect it. Throughout the war, however, the Germans demonstrated their national feelings, bearing witness to their 'common emotion and their devotion to king and fatherland' (page 176). The French and the Britons were not very different. More serious was the growing British belief that the Dutch were in fact doing too little to ensure that the Indies were not used as a route for smuggling arms and propaganda by the German-Indian conspiracy to overthrow the empire in India. The Dutch, indeed, felt a certain solidarity with other colonial powers, and were, as van Dijk suggests, concerned lest unrest spread to the Indies (page 327), one outcome being the creation of the PID, the Political Intelligence Service, in 1916. But, in the eyes of Walter Beckett, the British Consul-General in Batavia, they did not do enough. At one point he suggested to the Foreign Office in London that the British should divide the Indies with their allies the Japanese.

That proposal is one of the few points that van Dijk might have considered including in his richly detailed account. He does, of course, point to the concern the Dutch felt about the Japanese and the interest in them on the part of some of their subjects, and to their apprehension lest the Anglo-Japanese alliance undermine their own fundamental understanding with the British. In a sense Beckett's suggestion, and the Foreign Office reaction to it, completes the story. 'If the Netherlands Indies are not too friendly they are harmless. It would be quite another matter if the islands were in the hands of the Japanese' (Minute by Langley, n.d. FO 371/2691 [23543131446], National Archives, London). Given that view, the Netherlands Indies was unlikely to be lost in the war, unless Britain lost.

Maintaining participation in world trade, the other support for the existence of Netherlands India, was more of a challenge. Initially, as van Dijk makes clear, the colony performed better than expected. After the first two years of war, however, its position deteriorated, as Britain maintained and tightened its control on neutral trade, shipping became scarce, the Germans resorted to unrestricted submarine warfare and America entered the war. Exports piled up, imports - even of rice - were restricted

The continuance of the war also had its political effects, in part indeed connected

with the deterioration of the economy, in part also as a result of changes the war induced elsewhere, particularly in Russia. Initially, the 'native movement' had displayed its loyalty. Then anxiety about the defence of the colony had raised the question of creating a militia, and that in turn raised all sorts of questions. Could the rulers risk arming their subjects? Should their subjects join without securing some participation in ruling the realm they would be called on to defend?

#### The fruit of Dutch resilience

The overthrow of Tsardom contributed to the radicalisation of the nationalist movement and to the division within Sarekat Islam between the left and the right that was to culminate in the creation of the Communist Party in 1920. The government, perhaps still influenced by the Ethical ideology, perhaps also wanting to avoid provocation, was slow to react. News – and lack of news – from the Netherlands at the end of the war seems to have prompted Governor-General van Limburg Stirum to offer additional concessions to the newlyfounded Volksraad, though ultimately little or nothing came of them, and no militia was ever created. That does not perhaps mean that the war was without effect. The

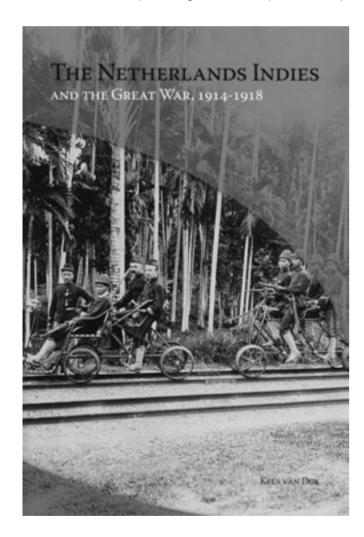
University of BRISTOL

radicalisation it had advanced and the Governor-General's response prompted the reaction of the 1920s against what remained of the Ethical Policy.

It is, of course, as van Dijk concludes (page 630), the Indonesians in this story whom Indonesians now remember, and he has brought those rather sympathetic figures alive. He has also restored to the historiography some of the Dutchmen who both ruled and argued over the Indies and had a role in creating and preserving the realm that the Indonesians inherited.

War created economic challenges, but also offered economic opportunities. New trade routes and new markets were found. and some import-substitution industries were established. Some Dutchmen spoke of 'resilience', a word the Suharto regime was later to deploy. A prominent Dutch businessman, C. J. K. van Aalst, took the initiative in establishing a technical college in the colony. Among its first students when it opened in 1920 was a young man no one will ever forget, the first President,

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central fact: a small European state dominated a vast, resource-rich and populous archipelago at the other end of the world. How was that possible?

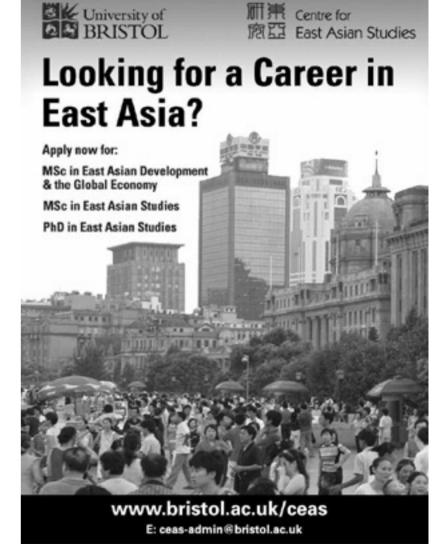
#### Here's how: trade from the outside, 'Ethical Policy' from the inside

The first answer the Dutch found was to open the islands to world trade, securing a substantial share for themselves, but allowing others a share, too. That policy, initially imposed on them by Great Britain, was extended to other powers from the 1870s. They would accept the political dominance of the Dutch if allowed commercial opportunity.

graphic account of the Indies before the war, detail some of the differing reactions. How was the urge to modernity to be reconciled with the continued concern for peace and order? How were nascent political movements to be handled? Even more extraordinary, we read, for example, of the unionisation of the navy and the emergence of what some called a 'red fleet' (page 96).

What was the war's impact on this extraordinary state and the extraordinary state of flux it was in? In the second world war, the Netherlands, of course, lost its neutrality and then lost its empire, and the results, all admit, were decisive for the future of an

and the risk of popular unrest increased.



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3 2

# Thinking like a man

Anna Beerens

In 1817 Tadano Makuzu, the 55 year old widow of a retainer to the domain of Sendai in northeastern Japan, began a political treatise. Early in 1819 she sent her manuscript to the famous author Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848) with a request for assistance in getting it published. All of this was completely out of the ordinary. There were plenty of learned women around in early modern Japan, but so far no woman had ever sought recognition as a scholar through publication. Moreover, contemporary socio-political conditions were considered a hazardous subject even for male intellectuals.

Bakin initially sent her a sharp critique of her treatise and subsequently put an end to their correspondence, but the thought of her did not leave him. Six years later he wrote a laudatory essay about her. It was Bakin who claimed that she was "thinking like a man". Apart from her political treatise Hitori kangae (Solitary Thoughts), Makuzu left poetry and essays (often of an autobiographical nature), stories and ethnographical observations, as well as a number of letters. These writings, together with Bakin's critique and later re-appraisal, are the basis for Bettina Gramlich-Oka's thoughtful book on Makuzu.

As Gramlich-Oka rightly points out, Bakin's heart-felt statement "illustrates well the deep-seated correlation between gender and intellectual discourse" (p.4). In the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) scholarship was a male prerogative: 'to be a scholar' meant 'to (have to) think like a man'. In this book Gramlich-Oka shows us with care, erudition and a thorough understanding of early-modern Japanese society how Tadano Makuzu legitimised and defined her position as a thinking woman.

#### The invention of a past

Chapters one to four deal with Makuzu's "path through life" (p.13) but they do not present a straightforward life-history. Instead we have a many-layered story of identity and self-representation, image and image-building, self-aggrandisement and self-deception. Gramlich-Oka handles her sources with great acumen and manages to keep track of all the different layers. Using Makuzu's own reflections Gramlich-Oka shows how Makuzu reinvented her own past and that of her family in order to craft "her identity as the heiress of the family legacy" (p.22). She convincingly demonstrates that it is through this position of heiress to her father's intellectual legacy that Makuzu wishes to legitimise her authorship.

Makuzu was the eldest daughter of Kud Heisuke (1734-1800), physician and political advisor to the lord of the domain of Sendai, which activities he combined with a thriving private medical practice. Heisuke belonged to an active network of intellectuals who had an interest in Western sciences and the foreign world. He was

the author of Akaezo fūsetsu  $k\bar{o}$  (Thoughts on Rumours about Kamchatka, 1781-83) in which he advocated the colonisation of Kamchatka and the setting-up of trade links with Russia. Heisuke submitted this work to the all-powerful senior councilor Tanuma Okitsugu, an act that reveals political ambitions that went beyond the boundaries of his domain. After it was favourably received, he began to think that he might be assigned to the new office he had himself proposed to run the development of the colony (p.79). Things were not to be. In 1786 Tanuma fell from power

and that same year saw the beginning of a series of events that led to the decline of the Kud family. Their beautiful house burnt down, their financial situation deteriorated and they were struck by disease and death. Makuzu's lonely marriage of convenience arranged in order to promote her brother's career, proved useless when this brother died in 1807 without leaving an heir. The headship of the Kud family was taken over by a nephew. Gramlich-Oka not only shows how her grief and frustration "stimulated the writer in Makuzu" (p.127), but also how her position allowed

her to assume the role of "active agent of her family, despite being a daughter, not a son" (p.64). As Gramlich-Oka explains Makuzu's choice of persona is an extremely clever one: "Women were supposed to be filial to sustain the family structure. Makuzu's construction of her powerless position as a mere daughter who cannot do what a son is legitimately entitled to do bolsters her justification for becoming an unconventional type of heir. At the same time it readily conforms to official policy that promoted filial deeds" (p.148).

It is from this position of filial daughter

that Makuzu approaches Bakin, who is both baffled and embarrassed. His narrative "provides an opportunity to examine how Makuzu was seen in the eyes of a contemporary" (p.143).

#### "Manly" matters

Chapters five to eight deal with Makuzu's treatise Hitori kangae. Analysing how Makuzu took on "manly" matters (p.169) is not an easy task for "how do we read a political text by someone like Makuzu?... her gender, and hence her education, deviate from those of the scholars we know" (p.169). It is here that Gramlich-Oka makes good use of Bakin's critique "in which he takes up her text laboriously, page by page, and therefore assists us with his way of reading and interpreting Makuzu's thought" (p.171). Bakin, moreover, "represents a conventional way of argument" (p.171). His voice and Gramlich-Oka's intelligent juxtaposition of other elements of contemporary socio-political discourse give Makuzu's thought context and value. Makuzu discusses gender and male-female relationships, religion and ideology, humans and the universe, human nature and morality, Japanese versus Chinese worldviews and the place of both countries within the larger world, and finally offers advice for economic reform that will benefit Japanese society as a whole. While her ideas are often idiosyncratic, they nevertheless "reflect a variety of current intellectual considerations" (p.241). Needless to say, Makuzu is much influenced by her father's thought and by the "liberal intellectualism" of his circle (p.287), but her treatise also reveals her own wide reading.

#### What it means to be a 'first'

Gramlich-Oka's book offers a unique insight into the intellectual discourse of the late Tokugawa period and must therefore be of interest to anyone who studies early-modern Japanese thought. However, Makuzu's life, work and ultimate failure (her treatise was neither published, nor widely circulated) also reveal in a poignant way what it means to be a 'first'. In order to position herself within a space that belonged to men, Makuzu had to think through and enunciate her stance as a woman without any help and without any role model. In her discussion of how Makuzu went about doing this Gramlich-Oka asks all the right questions and directs our attention to all the right issues, without anachronistic judgments or emotional feminism. Her book is a fine contribution to the field of gender studies and will certainly appeal to both 'Asianists' and 'non-Asianists'.

#### Anna Beerens

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Jodhaa Akbar. Ashutosh Gowarikar Productions. 2008. Mumbai: India. UTV Motion Pictures.

# Enchanting tales of Jodha-Akbar

RITUPARNA ROY

Jodhaa Akbar is a lavish period drama on celluloid; The Enchantress of Florence is an 'East meets West' novel, highlighting not so much a clash of civilisations as their commonality. At the heart of both is Jalal ud-din Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605), the greatest Mughal Emperor of India, who, though illiterate, was gifted with a unique syncretic vision which he tried concretising in his own lifetime, by creating a new religion of man (Din-i-llahi or the 'Divine Faith') that sought to bring people of all faiths under the same roof.

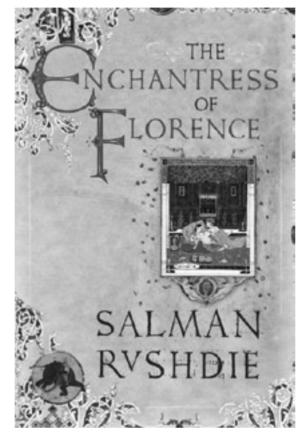
It is this leader who thought much ahead of his times who dominates both the novel and the film - though they depict him at different stages of his life. Rushdie's Akbar muses at length on the questions of God and Man. He is a tortured, faltering, fallible man - past his prime, beset with anxieties, and disillusioned at the failure of his dreams. Gowarikar's Jalal ud-din, on the other hand, is a young man of great beauty and vigour, at the peak of his powers, discovering himself and his ideals through his love, and with a life full of possibilities and greatness ahead of him. In both, his Rajput wife, Jodha Bai, plays an important role – though she plays it very differently.

#### Secular credentials

The questions of Muslim identity and culture have always been important to Rushdie – especially, vis-à-vis the secular credentials of the Indian polity. In his novels on the subcontinent (especially Midnight's Children [1981] and The Moor's Last Sigh [1995]), he has explored the fate of secularism in India - what came of it in the years and decades after Independence - and recorded his bitter disappointment at the souring of that great Indian dream. In The Enchantress of Florence, he traces that secular ideal (cherished by the founding fathers of the Indian nation and enshrined in its constitution) back to its source - in the musings of the 16th century philosopher-king.

Interestingly, though this novel is his tenth, the genesis of its idea preceded many others. As a student at Cambridge in the 1960's, Rushdie was greatly drawn to the history of Mughal India and Renaissance Italy – two uniquely great moments in both India and Europe, representing the pinnacle of both cultures. The fascination with these two periods stayed with him, and decades later, it resurfaced as an idea for a novel. Even as he was finishing work on The Ground Beneath Her Feet (1999), he started toying with the idea of "finding a fictional device that would... bring together the Florence of the Medicis and the India of the Mughals (two worlds which in real history had very little contact with each other in this period)".

Thus, The Enchantress of Florence came into being. In the novel, a Mughal princess is bartered away by her brother and,



after changing several hands, becomes the famed enchantress of Florence. She is the one who connects Mughal India and Renaissance Italy; and through her, East meets West.

The Enchantress of Florence is a sprawling novel in three parts:

The first part of the novel is taken up with the adventures of an enigmatic Florentine rogue of many names (Mogor dell'Amore, Argalia, Niccolò Vespucci) as he makes his way to the court of Akbar the Great to reveal a secret and claim kinship with the Emperor. The remainder of the novel dramatises the story that Akbar is told by this Italian - about the adventures of the enchantress of the title - Akbar's great aunt, Qara Köz, "Lady Black Eyes", eventually re-named Angelica, as she journeyed from the Middle East to Florence, conquering the heart of one bloody conqueror after another.

Despite her title role, however, it is Akbar who is the moral centre of the book, and who provides its strongest link to the issues that have concerned Rushdie in his works and his life. He is a marvellous spokesman for his author, of which the reader is left in no doubt when told that Akbar's chief objection to God was that "his existence deprived human beings of the right to form ethical structures by themselves. If there had never been a God, it might have been easier to work out what goodness was."

The Emperor is not only uncomfortable with the idea of God, but also ill at ease with his own godliness. He broods long and deeply on his self-identity – what it really was, what it was constituted of. Being a despot, he had always referred to himself as "we", as the incarnation of all his subjects, but he was now beginning to

wonder about the "disturbing possibilities of the first person singular."

When Mogor dell'Amore visits the Mughal court, we see Akbar, for all his greatness and glory, as a dissatisfied soul, questioning all the givens of his life. He is drawn to the charming Florentine raconteur and his tales, but his mind is always heavy with philosophical thoughts. Though they weigh him down, they prove fascinating for the reader. In fact, no adventure or excitement in the tale(s) we are told, can match the mind of Akbar. It is one of the many ironies of the novel. Another is Jodha.

# Enchantresses and seductresses

This novel is a hymn to the erotic power of women. It abounds in enchantresses

character imaginary serves two purposes in the novel. In *The Enchantress of Florence*, Rushdie celebrates, among other things, a time when "the real and the unreal were [not] segregated forever and doomed to live apart under different monarchs and separate legal systems" - and the best attestation of that fact in the novel is the character of Jodha Bai, Akbar's fantasy come alive. The other purpose she serves is technical. There has always been a lot of controversy surrounding the historical character of Jodha Bai – who she actually was and whether she existed at all. By making her imaginary, in one brilliant stroke, Rushdie solves the problem of the controversy over her identity.

and seductresses of all kinds, but the

most interesting of them all is the imagi-

nary Jodha – a being created by Akbar's

all-powerful fancy, khayal. Making her

Akbar has numerous wives and mistresses, but none can satisfy him. So he creates his fantasy woman and gives her a name. He dreams her up, we are told, "in the way that lonely children dream up imaginary friends", to the obvious chagrin of his other consorts. They are full of malice and envy as they can never hope to compete with Jodha: "No real woman was ever like that, so perfectly attentive, so undemanding, so endlessly available. She was an impossibility, a fantasy of perfection. They feared her, knowing that, being impossible, she was irresistible, and that was why the king loved her best."

Most of the women in this novel – whether they be queens, whores or wives – are females perceived solely in relation to the male. Jodha is no different. But even within this parameter, she is unique – for, while the other women in the novel are full of envy and intrigue, preoccupied with how best to get on in life using their sexual powers, Jodha is given existential anxieties. She thinks of her identity and self in

relation to Akbar, in the same way as he thinks of his in relation to God. And in a way, they echo each other's thoughts:

"The question of her independent existence, of whether she had one, insisted on being asked, over and over, whether she willed it or not. If God turned his face away from his creation, Man, would Man simply cease to be? That was the large-scale version of the question, but it was the selfish, small-scale versions that bothered her. Was her will free of the man who had willed her into being? Did she exist only because of his suspension of disbelief in the possibility of her existence? If he died, could she go on living?"

She is confident of her beauty and power over the king, but knows instinctively that her time has come when Kara Qoz, the enchantress reclaimed from the past by Vespucci's tale, casts a spell over the whole of Sikri. She loses out to the Mughal princess - but even the enchanted Emperor admits that the hidden Mughal princess' power over him was at best regressive, as it drew him "backwards in every way, in his ideas, his beliefs, his hopes."

Jodha, on the other hand, for as long as she remains Akbar's favourite queen, does prove to be an ideal partner. It is she he returns to after the wars; she who informs him about the condition of his subjects; she who satisfies him physically; and she again, with whom he has mental communion - who is a part of his most profound thoughts, and with whom he can share his impossibly beautiful visions: "Imagine, Jodha.... if we could awake in other men's dreams and change them, and if we had the courage to invite them into ours. What if the whole world became a single waking dream?"

In short, she is his succour – that is the role she plays in his desolate, middle-aged life. In Ashutosh Gowariker's film, Jodha plays an even more crucial role in the young Akbar's life – she shows him the way.

#### Jodhaa-Akbar

Jodhaa-Akbar is Gowariker's fifth film, but most know it as his third, as his first two films (*Pehla Nasha*, *Baazi*), sank into oblivion without a trace. The turning point in his directing career (before which he spent almost a decade as a film and television actor) came with Lagaan (2001) - the first Indian classic of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which received an Oscar nomination in the 'Best Foreign Film Category'.

In Hindi film parlance, he is considered 'hatke' - different - for the unusual themes that he has chosen time and again, while working in an industry that still primarily provides popcorn entertainment. First came Lagaan, which depicts how, in the year 1893, a group of villagers in the heart of British India protests against unfair taxation and, led by a spirited farmer, eventually gets it waived by, incredibly, beating the British in a game of cricket. His next film, Swades (2004), revolves round Mohan



Salman Rushdie





Jalal ud-din Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605).

Bhargav, an Indian scientist at NASA, who gives up his lucrative career to 'to light a bulb' in one of the poorest villages of India, following a visit to his country and realising that she needs his services more.

Though his subject-matter, admittedly, has been refreshingly new every time, a careful perusal of his films reveals that he has actually kept well within the set formats and traditions of Bollywood. Following the Bollywood norm, Gowariker ropes in big names for the lead roles in his films. Like most mainstream Hindi films, music is a very important part of his films. Unlike most of them, however, the songand-dance routines are integrated into the body of the narrative and carry the story forward; and his films are also unique in their effective use of a background score (a relatively new concept in Bollywood) that adds to their overall atmosphere.

Even when it comes to the most indispensable element of Bollywood's signature style - romance - Gowariker has not hesitated to follow tradition. The love story is absolutely central to Jodhaa-Akbar. But here again, his treatment has been different. Until now, all the Hindi films that dealt with Mughal history from a romantic angle (Mughal-e-Azam, Anarkali, Taj Mahal, to name but a few) either chose to depict the doomed love of Akbar's eldest son, Salim (later the Emperor Jehangir) for the dancing-girl Anarkali (who was buried alive

by Akbar); or else, Shah Jahan's undying passion for Mumtaz Mahal (the wife who died too young, and in whose memory, the mourning emperor built the mausoleum Taj Mahal).

#### A broadening of vision

Gowariker does not follow this well-trodden track, but his film is a paean to love, nevertheless. At the time of its release, the film was promoted as 'a journey of love' of a Mughal emperor for a Rajput princess. That it undoubtedly is, but after seeing the film, one realises that the whole of it moves towards a certain ideal. It is not only a journey of love that the director shows us here, but also an individual's broadening of vision.

What starts out as just a political strategy for the young Mughal emperor, goes on to become an ideal. A matrimonial alliance, to expand his kingdom and maintain peace with the martial Rajputs, becomes the means through which - because of which - Akbar is driven to think more deeply about religion and the moral duty of the ruler. And every time, it is Jodha who points the way.

In perhaps the most crucial scene in the film, Jodha puts two conditions on her nuptials. It is a marriage of convenience, forced upon her by her father, but she makes it very clear that she will accept it only on her own terms. *Meri do shaarte* 

hain ("I have two conditions"), she tells a stunned Akbar: That she is not forced to convert to Islam; and that she be allowed to continue with her own religious worship in her private chambers after marriage.

He is impressed with the beautiful Rajput princess' total lack of fear in confronting him and says, he has now come to realise for the first time what Rajput pride, courage and glory means "Rajput aan, baan aur shaan kya hota hain." Her demands are revolutionary for her times, and both her parents are embarrassed. Her father even tries to stop her; but the emperor says, to everyone's surprise, that he accepts her demands (despite being patently unprepared for them).

This is only the beginning. Jodha next refuses consummation on their wedding night, saying candidly, that in her mind she has still not consented to this union, though she is grateful to the emperor for accepting her demands, and this was the reason why she went ahead with the marriage

For every condition that Jodha gives, she reasons calmly. Though each one of them takes the emperor by surprise, she does not come across to him (or the audience) as defiant – simply as an individual with a strong sense of self and a woman of sterling qualities.

Jalal ud-din admires her and gradually falls in love with her. He has to accommodate, accept, and bend to make way for Jodha and her ways in his life. He stretches not

only the borders of his kingdom but, with every new demand that Jodha makes on him, also the limits of his mind. Each demand is a moment of crisis for him, the greatest being Jodha's refusal to return to Agra after a misunderstanding between them. Jodha refuses to accept his apology, saying "Apne... humpar fateh kiya hain - par hamara dil nahin jita." (You have earned a victory over me, but not won my heart.) And what applies in his relations to her, extends to his subjects as well. He has merely ruled over his subjects, she tells him - never tried to win their hearts, never been sympathetic to the common man's problems. He had never considered this notion. Prompted by her admonishment, Akbar visits Agra's main market in disguise and comes to see the plight of his ordinary subjects. He listens to their many grievances and complaints in person for the first time. It opens his eyes to the inadequacies of his rule and he realises the truth of Jodha's words.

Thus, Jodha humbles him every step of the way – as a ruler, as an individual. His kind heart is honed and nurtured under her care, and gradually, over the course of the film, we see him develop from an emperor of vast territories to a true ruler of his people. And in acknowledgement of this, his subjects honour him with the title 'Akbar' (the great).

What is most interesting about Gowariker's film is the way in which the secular strand is inextricably linked with the love story. The film shows a young Akbar, who is still a long way away from the man who

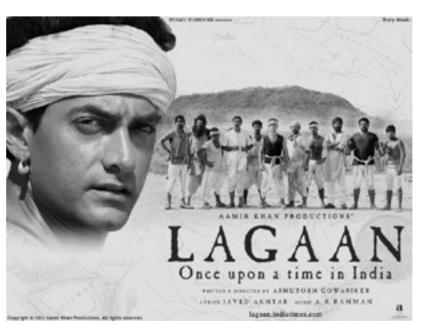
started the cult of *Din-i-Ilahi*. But the filmmaker successfully shows the beginning of that journey towards a secular ideal. And it is beautifully summed up in Akbar's pronouncement at the end of the film: "For the final time, I want to make it clear to my ministers present here and to all my subjects that Rani Jodha is a Hindu Rajput, is my Begum, and is also the empress of Hindustan. Taking any step against her would mean taking a step against the Mughal Empire itself. Let this also be known to you all — only the desire to respect and tolerate every community in India can guarantee its future well-being.'

If we trace the trajectory of Gowariker's films, we will see that they are inspired by Indian themes and India – its present, its past, the Indian nation and its character. With great élan, he has used his films to re-define patriotism, trace its secular ideals, and show a moment of self-assertion. In a way, Gowariker's films are essays in fashioning the idea of a nation - defining its nature and character, and prescribing what it should do to create and maintain its identity.

#### Re-imagining the past

In trying to re-create the past, both Gowariker and Rushdie have re-imagined it. Both have been careful in reminding the audience about the historicity of their subject-matter – the filmmaker by a disclaimer at the beginning of the film, saying he has used only 'one version' of history; and the novelist (for all his flamboyant entangling of histories), by adding a five-page Bibliography at the end of the novel.

Essentially, Gowariker tells a love-story - but tells it in a refreshingly new way. Rushdie's novel, on the other hand, is impossible to essentialise. An epitome of post-modern fiction, it can mean all kinds of things to all manner of people. Akbar is a protagonist in both the texts. Jodha, however, is not. Unlike the film, she plays a cameo in the novel – but her role in Akbar's life is just as important. If she is muse to Akbar in Gowariker's film, inspiring him to see himself and his rule in new ways, then she is balm for his disturbed soul in Rushdie's novel. Most importantly, in both the film and the book, Akbar is perceived (to a great extent) in relation to her. And in doing that, both the novelist and the filmmaker have not only re-imagined the past, but almost re-invented the greatest Mughal emperor of India.



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# The Internet in China: a liberating force?

RUTH CHERRINGTON

f you are seeking information about the key issues and trends of Internet development in China, the second largest national cyberspace in the world, then this book provides a good starting point. Much of what is said here is already history: such is the danger of writing about the fast developing world of cyberspace. The number and profiles of users and the official countermeasures deployed to control them change daily. What might have appeared as a 'hot topic' (a somewhat over-used term in several chapters) in the early 2000s, when most research for this book was carried out, is by now superseded by something else.

However, there is still much valuable material here that makes the book worth reading. Most chapters address the struggles and compromises between the state, at both the local and national levels, and business, both national and international, as well as the impact of globalisation. Questions about e-commerce and e-government and the controversial subjects of content and censorship are also raised, while who, or what, is leading the race into cyberspace in contemporary China is an underlying theme throughout.

The articles that comprise this volume can be seen as detailed snapshots of the situation in the early 2000s. In chapter one, editors Jens Damm and Simona Thomas provide a useful introduction with relevant background information about technological changes. Contextualising the Chinese Internet boom and how it might affect political arrangements, they acknowledge that the technological determinism view might prevail but explore some of the concrete social and political effects.

# Bloggers and P2P networkers: a 'netizen' liberation force?

In fact, politics is the main question at the centre of this edited volume: to what extent will the Internet's rapid technological development bring about political change in China? Every chapter seems to address this question, which makes the book an engaging read. Under a still authoritarian regime, cyberspace might appear to be a democratic realm with 'liberating' effects on the populace. Some commentators argue that official controls over the media have already softened and see this as a continuing trend. Others, such as Chase et al., write that, 'Technology alone is unlikely to motivate political change in China' (p.93), because more direct political changes are required to diminish centralised control. Technology might drive some changes, but on its own it cannot determine political reform in China.

Eric Harwit and Duncan Clark focus on government policy and political control over the Internet over the past decade. They provide quality background information, facts and figures about the 'typical'

Internet user and debunk the idea that the Internet is a 'liberating' force: whilst the number of users runs into the tens of millions, they hardly represent the whole population. Internet access remains limited, and most users are young, male and likely to be living in large cities or developed coastal regions.

One of the most pertinent chapters in terms of newsworthiness is Johan Lagerkvist's 'In the crossfire of demands: Chinese news portals between propaganda and the public'. Here we read about the increasingly important role played by bloggers or 'netizens' in news-gathering and dissemination. Technology and globalisation have broken down strict controls over the traditional news media.

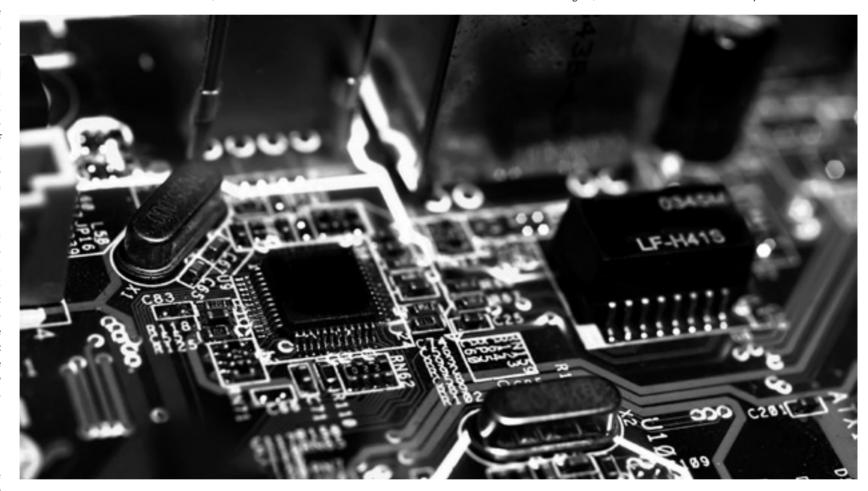
Nina Hachigan. They address the impact of the P2P phenomenon on the balance of power between the state and its citizens. The basis premise is that P2P networks bypass centralised servers, thus providing freer networking and the possibility to exchange possibly contentious material and information. The researchers predict that 'P2P technology will undermine the ability of authorities, be they corporations or governments, to control content or its distribution' (p.65). They provide examples of citizens exchanging information about actual events in China, especially during times of crisis. For example, mainline users can read The Tiananmen Papers, which are deemed politically sensitive and yet have been made available to those linked to P2P networks. The researchers also raise intersurveillance, self-censorship, the fear of getting caught and arrested is enough to deter some potential users from straying onto contentious sites, be they political or pornographic. And no matter how huge the Chinese Internet audience may seem, it is not a universal phenomenon; so many are still outside of this revolution because cyberspace is far from accessible to all.

#### Not just politics

Many Chinese, of course, don't necessarily use the Internet because they're obsessed with politics and want to see regime change. Several authors cite entertainment as motivating Internet use, a salutary reminder of what we ourselves do in the West when we access the Internet: chat with friends or strangers, view film

provides commentary by Internet content producers, audiences and audience-producers. The book is also worth reading for the problems encountered while trying to conduct research on the Internet in China. For example, Jens Damm's case studies of e-government in Guangdong and Fujian not only provide useful data about how local government uses new technology; they are also fine models of how to conduct such research.

Some chapters would have benefited from drawing upon media and cultural theory more directly and comprehensively. The discussion of bloggers, netizens and P2P networks, for example, struck me as being quite relevant to Fiske's uncited work on semiotic democracy. Readers must fill in



and the possibilities for ordinary citizens to present alternative versions of the news to official websites is explored here. Again, the key question about the web's liberating effect is addressed but the conclusions are mixed. Web users exercise a degree of selfcensorship and discipline their use of sites that might be deemed controversial or as containing unacceptable material. It would appear that old habits die hard and the fear of punishment can be enough to limit cyberspace freedom. Additionally, Lagerkist concludes that the general public still trusts the official news media more than unofficial ones, though the wider Chinese audience outside of China, which is also a key player, undoubtedly differs.

Specific information on bloggers, 'comrade to comrade networks' and peer to peer (P2P) networks is presented by Michael Chase, James Mulvenon and

esting points about the limitations of P2P networks, including self-censorship and official technological countermeasures. The conclusions are once again mixed: technology does create the potential for freer exchange of information among citizens, but some restraints remain and technology itself can be a limiting factor, such as slow Internet speeds and lack of access. Technological processes and networks are examined in perhaps too much detail, as the lay reader will find the excessive jargon difficult to absorb.

All authors concur that the Internet has to some extent weakened some controls, as cyberspace is harder to police than traditional media. But they also cite the Internet's limitations and how the government always finds a way to respond to technological advances. Surveillance remains in place, and sometimes self-

clips and shows or download music. As Harwit and Clark point out, 'many current chat groups seem to contain rather bland discussions' (p.33). Sports, travel, games and food seem to motivate chat, rather than more serious topics. Simona Thomas addresses one of the key forces driving China's Internet expansion, the desire to increase business and commerce, reminding us once again that the Internet is not only about politics. Meanwhile, Xie Kang's relatively short 'Industrialization supported by Informatization' provides some good context, but reads as though out of place in this volume.

The book in general offers examples of strong research methodology. Statistical data, surveys and samples are employed, and primary interview data is liberally featured in fields such as the media. The interview material is particularly valuable, as it

theoretical gaps for themselves, as this is very much an issue-based and fact-finding project. Overall, however, the book will interest students and teachers of contemporary Chinese politics, culture, economics and media. It is also of value to general media studies researchers and scholars, because while the trends in China occur within their own specific circumstances, globalisation makes them applicable elsewhere. Those who want to know more about news media, entertainment and politics in China, and those who desire insight on how to conduct such research for themselves, should read this book.

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## Call for Panels and Papers



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organized by a group of different

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constituted and sponsored by an

institution, an association or a network

Submission of abstracts and panels is possible as of 15 March 2008 at the ICAS website

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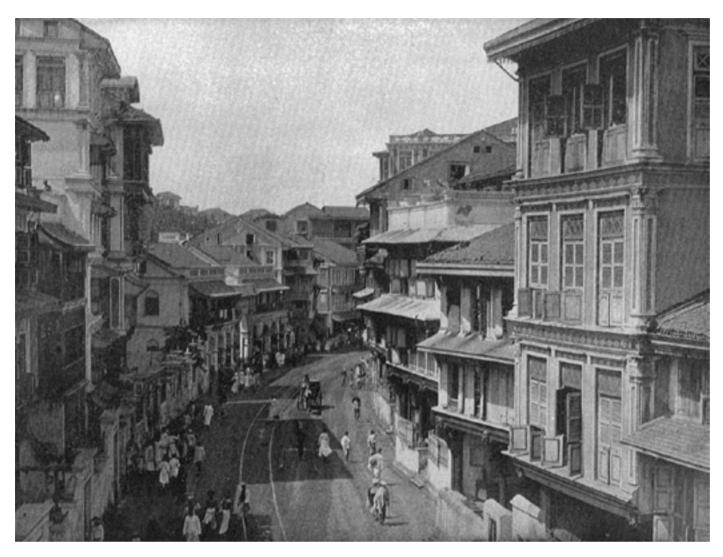
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Kidambi, Prashant. 2007. The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920. Aldershot: Ashgate, Historical Urban Studies. 268 pp. ISBN 978 0 7546 5612 8 (hardback)

## Bombay on the brink of modernity



Bombay, Kalbadevie Road, 1890.

Hans Schenk

The core of this book covers a rather short period of Bombay's social history: 30 years that spanned the turn of the 20th century and included the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. Using an enormous amount and variety of primary and secondary sources, Kidambi analyses important changes in the relationship between society and local government.

#### The plague and the poor

After an introductory chapter on the 19th century, the author addresses three areas of governmental action: its responses to a major outbreak of plague, attempts to engage in social housing and restructuring of the local police. In Chapter 4, on fighting the bubonic plague epidemic of the late 1890s, Kidambi describes the two prevalent ways of approaching and fighting plague. The first addressed the disease as a product of locality-specific conditions of filth and squalor, while the second emphasised the human body as a disease-carrier that required quarantine. Kidambi presents a thorough, impressive and sophisticated essay on these two approaches, but he fails to point out the obvious role played by rats (and fleas). As Tindall writes in her book on Bombay, 'the generally accepted view was that...it was rat-borne' (page 253).

The plague epidemic made local elites realise that the miserable and unhealthy living conditions of the urban poor had to be improved. That meant demolishing dilapidated slums and building social housing, a responsibility that fell to the Bombay Improvement Trust. Kidambi concludes, after another impressive and detailed analysis, that the Trust largely failed to improve housing and sanitary conditions of Bombay's poor; it functioned more effectively in demolishing dilapidated houses than in creating new housing units. Hence the urban poor became more vulnerable in 1920 than they were a few decades earlier, while many remaining houses became even more overcrowded. Kidambi shows how the Trust became powerless in the power politics of a wide range of local elites, notably the propertied Indians.

Though social housing proved to be woeful, Kidambi shows how sanitation practices, housing and the creation of a restructured police force transformed Bombay into a modern city according to the British model. The key to success was the increasing interventionist approach in urban governance in contrast to the erstwhile apathetic attitude among local rulers towards the growing 'unintended' city and its inhabitants.

#### Civil society and the pre-Gandhian roots of social service

The author next addresses the growth of civil society and its institutionalisation. Many of the clubs, societies and trusts that proliferated were of what Kidambi calls a 'hybrid' organisational nature, combining voluntary and ascribed membership criteria. Some dwelled on caste or religion, while others were built upon Western norms of association and goals. Thus the emerging civil society showed a remarkable hodgepodge of organisations, through which Kidambi skilfully pilots the reader. He discusses a novel aspect of civil society: its educated elites began to participate in forms of social activism aimed at uplifting the masses. The term 'social service' is used in this respect, a term that is normally associated with Gandhi but that should also invoke its pre-Gandhian roots, such as those in Bombay. Moreover, Kidambi

observes that the emerging practice of social service was undertaken not by members of empowered sections of local society, but by outsiders: the Anglophone intelligentsia took charge of this new social reform movement.

Present-day societal characteristics and comparisons appear (surprisingly) in the conclusion. Comparisons of the failures of the Bombay Improvement Trust can be made with attempts by (semi)public bodies in independent India to house the urban poor, say, from the 1950s onwards. The tragic failures to act beyond demolishing the houses and huts of the urban poor and provide some sort of social housing reveal a macabre comparison to the failed civic consciousness of present-day local elites with those of Kidambi's Bombay.

Kidambi's book is an excellent study. Bombay emerges as a modern Indian city ruled according to the Western norms and ideas of running a city and shaping its civil society. Any student of Indian urban history should read it, though it is not entirely without its faults, however minor they might be. Bombay was obviously not made between 1890 and 1920. It is even debatable whether these three decades form a 'watershed era in Bombay's evolution as a modern city', as Kidambi claims (page 9). The city's social history began in the 17th century, and the mid-19th century was a dramatic episode of industrialisation, technological development and adaptations to changing societal conditions. Dossal and Albuquerque show the impact of the Industrial Revolution on Bombay society, including the emergence of an industrial proletariat. The author could have given more attention to earlier economic foundations that influenced subsequent social changes. Nevertheless, Kidambi has written a fascinating book.

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 $\label{eq:continuity} \textbf{Dr Hans Schenk} \text{ is a Professor at the AMIDSt Research Institute, University of Amsterdam.} \\ Schenk1937@planet.nl$ 

Jannetta, Ann. 2007. The Vaccinators: Smallpox, Medical Knowledge, and the 'Opening' of Japan. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. 245 pages, ISBN-10: 0 8047 5489 6

## Against all odds:

### vanquishing smallpox in far-flung Japan

PENELOPE SHINO

In Japan, one barely needs to scratch the surface of its history and literature to find the scourge of smallpox. For instance, the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji temple in Nara was erected to propitiate the gods after a 737 smallpox epidemic had killed four grandsons of Fujiwara no Kamatari. Biographies about one of Japan's greatest writers of the Edo period, Ueda Akinari, inevitably refer to his childhood case of smallpox, which left him partially paralysed in his hands, eventually blind, and with a major chip on his shoulder accounting for the misanthropic nature of his writing. One of the favourite *bunraku* plays, *Tsubosaka Kannon Reigenki*, features the protagonist Sawaichi, blinded by smallpox and disfigured by its scars. Vaccinations against smallpox were still mandatory in 1979 for visitors to Japan.

Thus it is not surprising to find considerable scholarship on this topic. Ann Jannetta, Professor of History Emerita at the University of Pittsburgh and author of *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton University Press, 1987), has made a major contribution with *The Vaccinators: Smallpox, Medical Knowledge, and the 'Opening' of Japan*. It is also an inspiring celebration of 'human ingenuity and international cooperation' (page xvi), and not without contemporary relevance in this post-9/11 era when bio-terrorism threats (including the re-introduction of smallpox) abound, and we are constantly reminded of the imminence of pandemics such as avian flu or influenza

The Vaccinators provides a meticulously documented and compelling account of the invention and spread of smallpox vaccination and the vicissitudes of its introduction into Japan in the early 19th century. The work's main theme is the crucial role played by human networks. Other strands of inquiry include the extent to which Japan had in effect already 'opened', at least in the area of medicine, well before 1868, and the reasons why so many of the new Meiji bureaucracy were recruited from the ranpō (Dutch medicine) community. Though ranpō practitioners had been persecuted and purged some decades earlier by the xenophobic bakufu (Japan's military government), the role special expertise (in this case proficiency in Dutch and other Western languages) played in social and political advancement soon became significant.

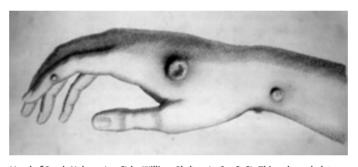
The book's first chapters contextualise Jannetta's study. She sketches the history of smallpox in the world and in Japan (where it had become endemic and a killer of children from at least the 12th century), and then describes, in fascinating detail (though perhaps not recommended for the squeamish), early attempts to combat smallpox by fine-tuning the technique of 'variolation' (creating immunity by deliberately infecting a patient with a mild case of smallpox). Variolation was the main defence against smallpox before the invention of vaccination and was practised with considerable success in China, Turkey and Britain but never really caught on in Japan. This anomaly allows Jannetta to engage in one of her major arguments: the extent to which the propagation and life-saving effects of new therapies are dependent on the infrastructure of a medical establishment that publishes journals and creates associations that spur their discussion and dissemination. Although such networks existed in Western Europe and America, they did not exist in Japan when variolation techniques were first introduced, and thwarted their adoption. The same situation applied when the first news of the vaccination technique reached Japan, but this was no longer the case when at last the vaccine safely arrived approximately 50 years later.

#### From cows to humans to Japan: a cause célèbre

Jannetta proceeds to document the process by which Edward Jenner invented his method of vaccination against smallpox through inoculation with cowpox virus in Britain in 1798. She provides a minute but absorbing account of how vaccination techniques and the highly fragile, heat- and humidity-susceptible cowpox vaccine reached far-flung corners of the globe, including the Philippines, Macao and Canton. The pre-requisite for such transmission was the existence of human networks, be they political, religious, commercial or personal; indeed, human contact was crucial to the vaccination process, as 'arm-to-arm' inoculation (the transference of cowpox lymph directly from a pock on the arm of the donor to a scratch on the recipient's arm) was the only reliable method of transmission. Jannetta reaches the inevitable conclusion that 'Places and people that were disconnected...were unable to claim the benefits of this diffusion of knowledge about Jenner's cowpox vaccine. The Japanese Islands were just such a place' (page 52).



The Great Buddha at Tōdaiji temple in Nara was erected to propitiate the gods after a smallpox epidemic in 737.



Hand of Sarah Nelmes (1798) by William Skelton (1763-1848). This coloured plate appears in the first edition of Edward Jenner's An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Variolae Vaccinae and depicts the cowpox pustules on the hand of dairy-maid Sarah Nelmes. Cowpox matter from these pustules was used to vaccinate the boy James Phipps in 1796.

And so the focus moves to Japan and its tenuous points of contact with the rest of the world. The pivotal setting is the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki, where strictly controlled official foreign trade was permitted with the Dutch. It was here that news of the Jennerian vaccination technique first entered Japan, conveyed by a warehouse master at the Dutch Factory to a young Japanese interpreter, Baba Sajurō, in 1803. However, written details of this technique didn't begin to circulate for almost 20 years, even though Baba had heard about vaccination techniques three separate times (and even after having refused a gift of cowpox scabs from a British commercial ship captain in 1818; accepting gifts from foreigners violated Japanese law). He finally completed his translation of a Russian vaccination tract in 1820.

By 1817, a solid state vaccination programme existed in the Dutch East Indies. Initiated by the Dutch, numerous attempts to transport viable cowpox virus from Batavia (today's Jakarta) to Japan failed, despite assistance by Japanese physicians well-acquainted through various circulating translated texts with cowpox inoculation. From 1823, Dutch Factory physician Philipp von Siebold (German court physician to William I of Holland, the 'Merchant King', who was intenōōt on improving trade with Japan) established networks among his former students who made 'Jennerian vaccination their *cause célebrè* [sic]' (page 101). In 1849 viable cowpox virus was at last successfully imported to Nagasaki and three Japanese children were vaccinated. The narrative becomes a real nail-biter here, as only one vaccination 'took', leaving 'the entire supply of cowpox vaccine in Japan...contained in the pocks on the arm of Narabayashi Kensaburō' (page 133).

#### The roles of ranpō, the daimyo, the bakufu and the 'founding fathers'

Miraculously, vaccination spread rapidly and widely. The author focuses on the vital role played by the local *daimyo*, who led by example, allowing their own children to be vaccinated, and by *ranpō* physicians who had laid the groundwork by educating the *daimyo* about the benefits of vaccination and creating networks throughout Japan across social and domainal

divides along which inoculation could rapidly spread. Consciousness of the need to convince more physicians and the general public was also clearly a major contributor to the successful dispersal of smallpox vaccination: within months of the first successful vaccination at Nagasaki, numerous publications about it were available to the medical profession, while fliers and woodblock prints convinced the general public of the procedure's merits.

Until this point, the propagation of vaccination had been a largely private endeavour, endorsed actively by domainal lords but not the *bakufu*. Jannetta suggests possible reasons behind this detachment, and proposes her own convincing theory that the *bakufu* position was in fact not opposition but 'tacit approval' (page 158): a shrewd 'turn a blind eye' but also 'wait and see' strategy. Once it became clear that the risks were low, the *bakufu* was willing to engage in vaccination. By 1858, the *bakufu* had been persuaded to build a vaccination clinic in Kanda, Edo. A direct descendant of this clinic, the Otamagaike Vaccination Clinic, was the Tokyo Imperial University Medical School. The Clinic's sponsors, including four of von Siebold's students and many younger generation physicians, are regarded as the 'founding fathers of modern medicine in Japan' (page 164).

In 1858 the *bakufu* opened the Western-style Nagasaki Medical School, followed three years later by a Western-style teaching hospital. In these institutions Japanese physicians could train and work openly with Dutch physicians for the first time. Several were descendants of the early vaccinators in Japan and became major figures in the new Meiji bureaucracy. Their policies ensured that from 1872 all infants were required by law to be vaccinated and that vaccinations were free, an unbelievably progressive public policy just four years after the fall of feudalism.

This thread provides one of the work's intriguing fairytale-like narratives: how the marginalised and at times persecuted  $ranp\bar{o}$  doctors ended up in key positions at the very centre of the new Meiji government, formulating its public health and medical education policy. Expressed a different way, Jannetta shows how expertise in medicine, especially  $ranp\bar{o}$ , attracted social opportunity and power, thus many of these individuals came from peasant or low-ranking samurai backgrounds.

#### Details, details... but in a good way

An impressive and formidable piece of scholarship, one of the book's great strengths is its extensive use of primary and contemporary sources written in several languages: Japanese, French, Dutch, German and Russian. It is meticulously footnoted and documented; Chinese characters in appendices are provided for all Japanese personal names and glossary terms (but not, inexplicably, for tennentō, "smallpox"). These details ensure that *The Vaccinators* will become a vital reference for researchers.

It is by no means an easy read: although exceedingly well written, the enormous amount of detail and proliferation of names at times is overwhelming. However, Jannetta has spun an intricate web of detail from an exceptionally strong structure, progressing ineluctably from periphery to centre, deftly steering and propelling the reader. Her details are rarely gratuitous: for example, the biographies of seven  $ranp\bar{o}$  physicians who played a key role in introducing vaccination serve as cogent case studies of the expanding  $ranp\bar{o}$  network in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, so crucial to the vaccination's eventual success. And some of the detail is riveting: the bakufu purges of von Siebold's students in 1829, resulting in several executions, and again ten years later, ending in deaths or suicides, demonstrate that involvement in  $ranp\bar{o}$  implied extreme risk. Jennetta's details support her central theme of the crucial role that institutions, networks and authority play in effective public health operations. And yet her central plot is utterly simple: the discovery of vaccination and its introduction to Japan.

This is a work of immense value to scholars and students of late Edo and early Meiji history, society and culture, the history of rangaku (Dutch studies) and  $ranp\bar{o}$  (Dutch medicine) in Japan, the history of science and medicine, public health and epidemiology. Jannetta is to be congratulated on her prodigious achievement.

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# NETWORK ASIA

## COMMENT

# Will the Olympics change China, or will China change the Olympics?

KERRY BROWN



Among many other things, this year's Beijing Olympics was meant to showcase China's 'green' credentials. From quite early on after Beijing was awarded the games they were being heralded as the 'Green Olympics'. Much of the infrastructure and many of the buildings built (at a cost of \$US40 billion) to host the many different events were meant to be sustainable and carbon neutral. The huge tree planting plan, started in the 1990s, to 'wall' Beijing with over a billion trees has gone hand in hand with a massive project to clear out heavy industry from the city, and dramatically improve the air quality so that at least athletes could perform without the chance of keeling over! By August 2008 we were to see a Beijing which is 'friends with all the world' (one of the official logos painted all over airport hoardings and public places in Beijing) creating a 'new city, new life' (another, less used logo).

At the recent G8 meeting in Japan, which China's president Hu Jintao attended as an observer, this commitment to be a global stakeholder in the world's environmental problems and their solutions was strength-

ened. China denies that it is the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases, and still feels that developed countries should take more responsibility in cutting greenhouse gases and tackling climate change. But at least the central government is willing to clearly admit that it must do better in its environmental performance, and has set targets in the latest five year plan.

The 'Green Olympics', among many other things, offers a chance at least to see how big the gap is between what the government says it aims to do, and what it is actually achieving. The key question is whether or not Beijing, after all the investment and rebuilding, stands as the model of what a sustainable modern city should look like? Can the city act as an example for the region, or, for that matter, the rest of the world? It has built new underground lines, a new train line from the airport to the city, a massive new airport terminal (one of the biggest buildings in the world), and a raft of other fine structures. These will be the backdrop to the games, and define the capital for years to come.

Even so, as long term Beijing resident, journalist Jasper Becker wrote in his just published, 'Beijing, City of Heavenly Tranquility' (Allan Lane, 2008), there is little to celebrate in the Beijing that greets us today. A city with a thousand years of history, and one of the world's great spiritual centres (it had, on one estimate, 2700 temples at the end of the Qing dynasty), it was also a centre of culture, politics, and a place where most of the key events in China's dynastic development over the last millennia have taken place. But Becker's finely written book reads more like a lament. Most of Beijing's material heritage was broached in the 1950s when Mao Zedong, aiming to create what he felt was a modern, socialist city, took as his model the grand boulevards and vast empty spaces of Moscow, the only other capital city that he had visited. Overruling Liang Congjie, his main architectural advisor, he had the medieval walls ripped down, and large swathes of the city rebuilt. But the real damage was done around the time Beijing was awarded the Olympics, when a massive 'renovation' project was launched. Hutongs (narrow streets or alleys) were razed, people shifted - with little heed of legal niceties - out of places they had lived for decades, into heartless suburban ghettos. Massive new roads and structures were built, cutting across the historic shape and arrangement of the city.

All of this was happening in a city which, as Becker makes clear, has good claim to be one of the least sustainable sites for a major population centre

in the world. It has no major river, suffers from terrible, dry weather, made worse by the desertification over the last century to the north of the city which has led to the famous sand storms that occur each spring. The clogged up roads and general lack of infrastructure show that the city, far from being a candidate for the world's greatest green capital, must be a better candidate for seriously now looking to try to move as much as possible of it elsewhere. Indeed, the shifting of large industrial plants away from Beijing was a belated acknowledgement that, as an industrial centre at least, the capital wasn't a candidate.

Hosting the Olympics and its potential contribution to creating a 'green city' is symptomatic of the games' likely contribution to other areas in China's development and growth. A great deal of the interest, negative and positive, that this games has provoked has overlooked the fact that this is a very short event – a mere three weeks. It is occurring in a country that has been modernising and developing for over a century, and which is looking at long term challenges and projects, of which this games forms only a tiny element. People can barely remember the games in Athens, Sydney, or Atlanta, except for a few moments of sporting excellent, and the occasional traumatic event (Atlanta's bombings).

Legacy seems to be a key promise for those hosting large public events like the Olympics. Since the 1960s, there has been more talk of games making a lasting contribution to the change in a country's image and development. With these games, though, we have one of the few global 'brands' bigger than the 'Olympics'. China has been around a lot longer, is a lot bigger, and has a far, far greater impact in any particular area. Its hosting the games has impacted more on the brand of the Olympics, rather than the Olympics being able to somehow recreate and 'refresh' its image. Another western-style import into China has been modified, challenged, and, no doubt, changed by the touch of China. At the end of August, the legacy in one area at least will be that the Olympics as a movement will not be the same again, no matter what impact hosting it will have on China. China's challenges, in the environment, energy, in terms of its economic development, its battle with water supply, its need to deliver with a unique political structure a sustainable future for its massive population, will shape the course of world development in the years ahead. The idea that the Olympics will somehow play anything more than a small role in that will, I am sure, prove right, quite quickly after the games are over.

## New editor, new impetus for Indo-Iranian Journal

Jonathan Silk



Most academic journals covering the premodern worlds of Asia are publications of learned societies, venerable titles such as Journal Asiatique, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, and so on. In 1957, however, two Leiden professors, J. W. de Jong and F.B.J. Kuiper, founded the Indolranian Journal as a venue for the publication of the highest quality work spanning their fields of interest: Classical India and Iran, with a focus on languages and religions, and Buddhism, including that of Tibet. For half a century the Indo-Iranian Journal has been a flagship for philologically reliable studies on these subjects.

Moreover, it is widely known for its extensive and detailed reviews of scholarly publications. Although the Netherlands is a small country, it has always been a matter of pride that its academic contributions rank with those of much more populous nations, with Indo-Iranian Journal standing as an excellent example in its field.

In 2007 Jonathan Silk was appointed at Leiden University as Professor in the Study of Buddhism, to the Chair first held by J. W. de Jong. Now Silk is taking over from the German Oskar von Hinüber as co-editor of this journal, working with the other

editor-in-chief Hans Bakker of Groningen. This move brings the journal wholly back to the land of its birth.

Silk says that he hopes to carry on the great traditions of the journal, the strengths of which are its willingness to support philologically sometimes obscure and seemingly arcane areas of research, and technical publications less likely to be widely appreciated in a market-based economy of trendy and popular work whose value is, however, short-lived. He expects that the Indo-Iranian Journal will continue to provide an excellent forum for the dissemina-

tion of information in fields as diverse as the study of the newly discovered earliest Buddhist scriptures in Afghanistan and the poetics of the earliest Indian poetry in the Vedas. Since the journal also happily publishes illustrations, he is looking forward to more art-historically oriented articles.

Publishers who wish their new publications to be reviewed in the Indo-Iranian Journal should contact Silk directly, as should authors who may wish to place their articles in the journal:

j.a.silk.IndoIranianJournal@gmail.com.

# Tak-Wing Ngo appointed IIAS Extraordinary Chair for the History of Asia

Tak-Wing Ngo came to the Netherlands in 1995 after finishing his PhD at SOAS, London. Since then he has been teaching Chinese politics at Leiden University. After 13 years in the Netherlands, Ngo says he feels at home (except for Dutch food and weather!). During this period he has built up a considerable body of research on the political economy of Asia, in particular East Asia. "I'm interested in state-market

the disciplinary focus on political economy within the faculty." Ngo's appointment is set to bring new impetus to the existing comparative focus. "So far the strength of this research group lies in sociology, anthropology and history. Political economy will be a new addition to the existing specialisations. I am very happy to work with a group of scholars who share similar concerns about history, development, and



Tak-Wing Ngo: "In the future Asia will develop its own social theories, methodologies and concepts applicable not just to Asia, but also in analysing the West".

relations, not in the sense of micro-economic calculus of business and political exchanges, but more the political-economic configurations of power." In fact, Ngo's research has focused on how political and economic power mingles and is exchanged within the constitution of a particular society. He believes that we tend to gloss over the idea of the state and the market, and take them as being universal. "I depart at this point and take the nature of the state and the nature of the market as distinctive in each country. I'm trying to see how we can look at these kinds of institutions from an Asian perspective; see how they are historically constructed, and how they are contingent upon specific circumstances in each country." To pursue his enquiries, Ngo has engaged in a number of comparative studies. One of his projects in the past compared the East Asian situation with that of Latin America.

#### New impetus for Asian Studies

In May 2008 Ngo was nominated as the IIAS Extraordinary Chair for the History of Asia at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. The idea behind the Chair Professorship is to stimulate Asian studies at a Dutch university that does not primarily focus on Asia, and/or stimulate a specific field of study within an Asian faculty. Both missions can be found in this new appointment. "The Faculty of History and Arts in Rotterdam has a small but vibrant group of researchers working on the non-Western world. The Chair will serve to strengthen the area focus on East Asia as well as

society, and yet approach the problems in different ways. I'm looking forward to doing more comparative research with colleagues in Rotterdam."

In this regard, Ngo is exploring a couple of initiatives, including the possibility of setting up a joint centre for the study of regulatory governance in China. Ngo's current project on rent seeking in China is also on-going. "It's a rather ambitious project. We have a team of eight researchers comparing rent-seeking regimes in five industrial sectors across several regions. I want to engage Rotterdam in this project so as to expand our research profile and to strengthen the comparative vigour."

In addition to research, the Chair Professor is responsible for arousing the interest and enthusiasm of the student population for Asian studies. In the academic year of 2008-09, Ngo is offering an MA course on the 'Political Economy of Development in Asia'. The course analyses economic development as a political process and explores the intricate relationships between politics and development. Ngo believes that it will "attract students to study in this particular area".

#### **Challenging vision**

One of the reasons why Ngo was chosen as the IIAS Extraordinary Chair was a recognition of his challenging vision for the future of Asian Studies. "So far all our conceptual lexicons, all the theoretical tools used by social scientists derive exclu-

sively from the West. We've been applying these theories and methods throughout the world with considerable success, and yet not without problems, especially in a place like Asia with its long indigenous traditions of organising social relations, its own norms about power, and its legacies of implementing rule." Ngo firmly believes that as Asian countries become increasingly prominent players in the world, there will come a point when we recognise that the region has something to offer in the development of social sciences. "At the moment academic attention is focusing more and more on Asia, but the communication is still one way. We're still imposing our analytical framework onto Asia. In the future I hope, and I think this will happen, that Asia will be able to develop its own social theories, methodologies, and concepts applicable not just to Asia, but also in analysing the West. By then we will have a more nuanced perception of the world, one which is more historically and culturally sensitive. It will also be a more pluralistic and less hegemonic understanding of humanity."

But Ngo is clear that this is a very long term goal. While scholars working in many areas have been searching for a new way forward, it is not something that is easy to achieve. One of the major problems is the limitation set by our own analytical language. "We need to be able to communicate and exchange our ideas. At the moment we use English as our common analytical language. The problem is that even the most basic terms such as society, rights, citizen, authority, etc. are endowed with layers of meanings deriving from European histories. When we use them to analyse other societies we unconsciously import the historical traits hidden behind those terms. Avoiding this trap is tricky, because if we abandon terms like politics, community, enterprise, etc. in our discussion, we will have a conceptual void." Ngo cites an example of a project on state and state making, on which he collaborated with a colleague some years ago. "We encountered a serious problem about using the term 'state', because the state immediately invokes a whole set of presumptions about citizenship, individuality, public-private divisions, sovereignty, etc. Not all of these components are applicable in other places. But currently there's no other substitute for the term."

Ngo suggests one possible step forward is the development of new conceptual lexicons. "In China studies for example the term guanxi is now widely used to describe specific inter-personal relationships. We need to develop a lot more concepts like this before we have sufficient stock in our conceptual basket to complement the existing analytical language. This will be the prerequisite to theorise modern society from an Asian perspective. Sounds daunting, doesn't it?"

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

The Department of History, University of British
Columbia (Vancouver) invites applications for a
tenure-track appointment at the rank of assistant or
associate professor in the history of pre-20th-century
China from the Song period onward.

Effective 1 July 2009.

Candidates must have a Ph.D. (or be near completion), and are expected to provide evidence of innovation and excellence in research, as demonstrated by their published contributions or potential contributions to scholarship in the field. A strong commitment to teaching excellence at both the graduate and undergraduate level is also required.

Candidates interested in the academic programs of the department should follow the Research Clusters link on our departmental website at www.history.ubc.ca/. The University of British Columbia hires on the basis of merit and is committed to employment equity. We encourage all qualified candidates to apply; however, Canadians and permanent residents will be given priority. This position is subject to final budgetary approval. Salary will be commensurate with qualifications and experience

Applications should include a C.V., a description of current and future research interests, evidence of teaching effectiveness, and letters of reference from three referees (under separate cover). Applications may also include up to three reprints or unpublished papers or chapters. Application materials should be received no later than 30 October 2008 and should be addressed to:

Dr. Timothy Cheek
Chair, Search Committee in Chinese History
Department of History
University of British Columbia
#1297-1873 East Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1
Canada
tcheek@interchange.ubc.ca

The Department of History, University of British Columbia (Vancouver) invites applications for a tenure-track appointment at the rank of assistant professor in the history of international relations

in the 20th century.
Effective 1 July 2009.

All applications are welcome, but preference will be given to applications from scholars working on Africa, South Asia, or the Middle East, and on such topics as international law, non-governmental organizations, transnational cultures, imperialism and post-colonialism, conflict and violence, or globalization.

Candidates must have a Ph.D. (or be near completion), and are expected to provide evidence of innovation and excellence in research, as demonstrated by their published contributions or potential contributions to scholarship in the field. A strong commitment to teaching excellence at both the graduate and undergraduate level is also required, and the successful candidate will teach regularly, though not exclusively, several history courses in the university's undergraduate program in International Relations.

Candidates interested in the academic programs of the History Department should follow the Research Clusters link on our departmental website at www.history.ubc. ca/.Information on the university's program in International Relations can be found at www.arts.ubc.ca/International\_Relations\_Program.4630.o.html.

The University of British Columbia hires on the basis of merit and is committed to employment equity. We encourage all qualified candidates to apply; however, Canadians and permanent residents will be given priority. This position is subject to final budgetary approval. Salary will be commensurate with qualifications and experience.

Applications should include a C.V., a description of current and future research interests, evidence of teaching effectiveness, and letters of reference from three referees (under separate cover). Applications should also include up to three samples of scholarship, including published articles, unpublished papers, or book chapters. Application materials should be received no later than 1 October 2008 and should be addressed to:

Dr. Jessica Wang
Chair, Search Committee, 20th-Century International Relations
Department of History
University of British Columbia
#1297-1873 East Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1
Canada

jessica.wang@ubc.ca

# Announcements

## Music & Ritual in China and East Asia 13th CHIM,

16 – 19 October, 2008 Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, USA

The 13th International CHIME Conference will take place at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, USA, from 16 to 19 October 2008. The theme is Music and Ritual in China and East Asia. The deadline for submitting papers has now passed, but we welcome everyone interested (scholars, musicians and general afficionados alike) to attend this meeting. A preliminary list of speakers and topics will soon be published on the CHIME website: http://home.wxs.nl/~chime. We have just posted information on the CHIME website about local accommodation. We strongly recommend early booking, since the meeting will take place during the crowded autumn season, when lots of 'leaf-peepers' visit upstate New York for outdoor tours.

We look forward to an exciting programme of papers, discussion panels and concerts (ranging from contemporary Chinese music to traditional ensemble music from Vietnam). For more details, visit our website, or contact the conference's Chair, Professor Mercedes Dujunco, Bard College Music Program, P.O. Box 5000, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 12504-5000, USA, tel. (+1)-845-758.6822, ext. 6294, fax 845-758.7896, email: dujunco@bard.edu.

CHIME, European Foundation for Chinese Music Research
P.O. Box 11092, 2301 EB Leiden,
The Netherlands
Visiting address Chime: Gerecht 1,
2311 TC Leiden
Tel 071-5133974 / 5133123
Fax: 071-5123183
E-mail: chime@wxs.nl
Website: http://home.wxs.nl/~chime

#### Symposium Age and power: Ageing and deciding in the city

8 - 9 October, 2008 Rouen, France

The Madrid Plan of Action adopted within the Second UN Assembly on aging in 2002 called on member States to consider the social and economic challenges of the global population aging. In its statements and resolutions the UN emphasized the importance of senior citizens' participation to decision-making within the public and the private spheres.

In September 2007 at the University Paris Descartes/ La Sorbonne (France) 75 contributors from eight different countries convened to analyze macro-social perspectives on the issue and share experiences on national policies in this field.

To foster a larger international debate on this topic, a second symposium will take place on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of October 2008 in Rouen (France, Normandy). This scientific meeting will be open to researchers in the in the field of citizenship, social movements and seniors' participation to

public and private decisions. The focus of the symposium will be centered on the integration of the elderly into the public policy sphere at the local level. The micro-level of decision will also be at stake, and participants to the symposium are welcome to propose contributions on empowerment and power relations between older persons and individuals interacting directly with them (social workers, caregivers, volunteers, family members).

This issue of power in the field of ageing raises the question of capabilities of elderly individuals to influence decisions at various stages of decision-making processes. A comparative approach seems relevant when considering countries with different traditions of state intervention. How do power relations between older people and local power holders work in centralized countries with a strong Welfare state such as France, or in federal countries with a lesser interventionist approach, like the USA? What is the power of local government and to what extent are senior citizens entitled and able to participate in decision-making processes? What is the status of elderly persons as individuals, but also as citizens and members of a social group within local communities?

The 2008 conference is a multidisciplinary scientific event across many disciplinary boundaries It aims to combine the diversity of perspectives and approaches from different social sciences.

The international conference is divided into four main issues.

- The first topic involves many levels of integration of elderly citizens in institutional arrangements within different fields encompassing aging issues like public transportation, housing, safe neighborhoods, and a senior friendly environment.
- Resources and capacities, discusses material or cultural resources necessary for a genuine implementation of senior citizen's inclusion within decision-making processes.
- Power as a culture of relationship, provides an interpretation of power and participatory processes as a malleable culture of social relations and interactions, and not only as a result of structural and institutional arrangements.
- Choices in situations of mobility/ immobility relates to different methods of senior integration in the design of responses to their needs for mobility and social inclusion in different situations of constraint due to age or impairments.

This congress gives an opportunity to debate conceptual frameworks, but also to discuss field research results on the issue. It aims

to create a better understanding of the differences and similarities between countries based on economic, cultural and institutional differences.

The official languages are French and English. Plenary sessions and roundtables will be translated to help intercultural and comparative perspectives.

#### Host institutions & Organisers:

- UMR CNRS I.D.E.E.S. (Identité et Différenciation de l'Espace, de l'Environnement et des Sociétés /CIR-TAI
- University of Rouen & Le Havre (NOR-MANDY)
- REIACTIS (Réseau International d'Étude sur l'Age, la Citoyenneté et l'Intégration Socio-économique / International Research Network on Age citizenship and Socio-economic integration)

#### Place :

Maison de l'Université, Place Émile Blondel, 76821 Mont Saint-Aignan, Rouen, Normandy

Contact: 2008symposium@gmail.com

#### Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Washington DC

Until 2010

#### Taking Shape: Ceramics in Southeast Asia

The exhibition presents 200 diverse and visually striking pots, jars, bottles and bowls from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma (Myanmar), and southern China, within a narrative that focuses on the interplay of earthenware and stoneware ceramics within the region; the cross-fertilization of ideas about ceramic use, form, glaze, and decoration; and the dispersal of ceramics through local, regional, and international trade.

Mainland Southeast Asia is one of the few areas of the world hosting parallel traditions of both earthenware and stoneware technologies. The exhibition includes a short video showing earthenware and stoneware production processes (also viewable online) and samples of earthenware cooking pots and stoneware mortars to handle.

Taking Shape draws on a group of nearly 800 ceramics donated to the Sackler by brothers Osborne and Victor Hauge and their wives Gratia and Takako. The Hauges were drawn to types of pottery that few other collectors paid attention to, such as cooking pots from the central highlands of Vietnam and storage jars from Laos and Thailand. Many are wares that had not yet been identified when the Hauges found them in the 1960s and early 1970s. The collection's incomparable variety and depth will allow the museum to chart new territory in public programs and scholarly projects.

Currently in preparation is an online catalogue of the Hauge collection and related materials in the adjacent Freer Gallery of Art. The dynamic and interactive site will invite user commentary and will grow and evolve as new discoveries and research are incorporated. The site will make information on the museum's Southeast Asian ceramics available around the world as at the same time as it solicits information "from the field" and becomes, we hope, a sort of gather-

ing place for people interested in the varied dimensions of meaning of ceramics in Mainland Southeast Asia. We trust it will serve as a resource for teaching. The site will include a steadily-growing library of specially-commissioned essays, translations of key texts from Japanese, Thai, and other languages, and reprints of hard-to-find publications. It will also offer a extensive bibliography. The Web-based catalogue will launch in late spring.

The full collection may be studied by appointment. Please contact Louise Cort, Curator for Ceramics, cortlo@si.edu.

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

1050 Independence Avenue SW Washington DC 20560

T +1 202 633 0396 www.asia.si.edu/exhibitions/current/TakingShape.htm

# Call for papers Rethinking Visual Narratives from Asia: Intercultural and Comparative Perspectives

Department of Fine Arts, University of Hong Kong 8-9 June 2009

The Department of Fine Arts at the University of Hong Kong will host an international conference on Rethinking Visual Narratives from 8-9 June 2009. The conference will bring together approximately fifteen scholars presenting new and original research to discuss how visual narratives function in different cultures and exploring connections and interactions both within Asia and between Asia and the West. The papers and discussion will consolidate academic understanding of visual narrative theories and augment them through analysis of their potential as a tool for exploring inter-cultural interactions and questioning cross-cultural assumptions. The focus will be on the visual with a cross-cultural dimension and dating to any time period within a broadly defined art historical discipline and material culture studies.

Possible panel topics include, but are not limited to:

The place of narrative: architecture and the disposition of imagery
Theories of narration

Word and image: illustration and interpretation

Printed texts and images: semiotic dialogue
The social embeddedness of narrative

Narratology The role of non-narrative or anti-narrative elements in imagery

Papers will be hosted on the conference website by the end of April 2009. It is expected that a conference proceedings will be published.

Abstracts due on 5 September 2008 by email to -

Dr. Alexandra Green Research Assistant Professor Department of Fine Arts, University of Hong Kong Email: greenar@hkucc.hku.hk

# Call for papers The First International Graduate Students Conference on Indonesia

15 -18 December, 2009 Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Deadline abstracts: November 2008

We are very pleased to inform you that the Academy Professorship Indonesia in Social Sciences and Humanities (KNAW-AIPI) and the Graduate School of Gajah Mada University Yogyakarta will organize the First International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia. The international conference will be held on December 15-18, 2009 at Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, with the theme:

"(Re) Considering the Contemporary Indonesia: Striving for Democracy, Sustainability and Prosperity".

The Steering Committee of the international conference are glad to invite the Indonesian/foreign graduate students to participate by submitting their abstracts by the end of November, 2008.

The Steering Committee will do review on the abstracts related to the theme of the conference from various disciplinary backgrounds with the focus on social-cultural-humanities dimension of the contemporary Indonesia. The information and the form for abstract submission can be downloaded at http://www.api.pasca.ugm.ac.id/en/program\_api.php

We would appreciate any collaborative assistant from your behalf, in particular in assisting and facilitating your graduate students to participate in that conference. Should you have any queries, please don't hesitate to contact us at the address below. Thank you very much for your kindly thought and collaboration

Sincerely yours, Director, The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University Prof. Dr. Irwan Abdullah

Academy Professor in Social Sciences and Humanities,
Director, The Graduate School
Gadiah Mada University

Director, The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University MA. Yunita T. Winarto, Ph.D.

For further information: Siti Nur Hidayah, M. A (Organizing Committee)

Academy Professorship in Social Sciences & Humanities,

The Graduate School Gadjah Mada Uni-

4th Floor, Room 402 Jl. Teknika Utara.

Pogung, Sleman Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia

Phone/Fax: +62 274 564239 (ext. 401),; +62 274 7110145

Handphone: +62 85228585969 Email: figcindonesia@gmail.com Website: http://www.api.pasca.ugm.ac.id

#### Call for Papers/Abstracts/ Submissions 7th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Arts & Humanities

January 9 - 12, 2009 Honolulu Hawaii, USA

The 7th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Arts & Humanities will be held from January 9 (Friday) to January 12 (Monday), 2009 at the Hilton Hawaiian Village Beach Resort & Spa, in Hono-Iulu, Hawaii.The conference will provide many opportunities for academicians and professionals from arts and humanities related fields to interact with members inside and outside their own particular disciplines. Cross-disciplinary submissions with other fields are welcome.

#### Submitting a Proposal:

You may now submit your paper/proposal by using our online submission system! To use the system, and for detailed information about submitting see: http:// www.hichumanities.org/cfp\_artshumanities.htm

To be removed from this list, please click the following link: http://www.hichumanities.org/remove/ or copy and paste the link into any web browser.

Hawaii International Conference on Arts व् Humanities

P.O. Box 75036 Honolulu, HI 96836 USA Telephone: (808) 542-4385 Fax: (808) 947-2420 E-mail: humanities@hichumanities.org Website: http://www.hichumanities.org

Sponsored by: University of Louisville - Center for Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods The Baylor Journal of Theatre and Per-

formance

#### Call for Papers International Conference Debt and Slavery: the History of a Process of Enslavement

7-9 May 2009 Indian Ocean World Centre (IOWC) McGill University, Montreal

An interdisciplinary conference on **Debt** and Slavery: the History of a Process of Enslavement will be held at the Indian Ocean World Centre, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, from Thursday, 7th May to Saturday, 9th May 2009. The conference will cover all geographical areas and time periods.

Papers should be in English or French. Deadline for submission of abstracts (title and 1-2 paragraphs) is 1st October

Papers selected for the conference must be submitted no later than 1st February 2009.

A wide range of relevant subjects will be given consideration but prospective participants are asked to give special consideration to the following themes:

- indebtedness and enslavement
- structures of enslavement for debt
- legal and religious prescriptions governing servitude for debt

- debt bondage
- pawnship
- the sex and age profile of debt slaves
- gender and debt slavery
- credit and debt within slavery
- debt repayment in slavery
- agency for debt-slaves
- manumission and liberty for debt slaves

The conference will follow the Avignon model: Papers will be grouped according to theme, and a summary presented by a discussant during sessions devoted to each theme. Individual authors will NOT present papers. Papers will be posted on the IOWC website (http://indianoceanworldcentre.com/) after 1st February 2009.

Each session will involve a presentation by the discussant, followed by general discussion.

As it is our intention to publish selected papers, participants should submit only original unpublished material, and grant conference convenors exclusive publication rights to their paper for a period of one year following the conference.

A registration fee of \$150 US (\$60 US for students) is payable by 1st March 2009. The late registration fee (after 1st March 2009) is \$200 US and \$80 US for students (McGill students pay no registration fee).

For further information and an application form, please contact: iowc@mcgill.ca, or Gwyn Campbell,

Department of History, McGill University, 855 Sherbrooke St.W., Montreal, P.Q., Canada H3A 2T7

#### Religion and Globalization in Asia: Prospects, Patterns, and Problems for the Coming Decade.

13 - 14 March, 2009 USF Center for the Pacific Rim, University of San Francisco.

Join us in beautiful San Francisco as keynote speakers Mark Juergensmeyer (UC Santa Barbara), Saskia Sassen (Columbia), Nayan Chanda (Yale) - and ten other presenters - explore the dynamics of globalizing forces on the established and emerging religions of South and East Asia. How do communication technologies, capital flows, security issues, transnationalism, immigration and migration, and identity politics contribute to social conditions in which some kinds of religious belief and practice prosper and proliferate, while others are adversely affected? Additional themes and issues can be found on our website at http:// www.pacificrim.usfca.edu/religionandglobalization.html.

If you wish to present a paper, please submit a 200 word abstract and brief CV to the CFP address listed on our website. Each presenter will be awarded an honorarium of \$350 to help defray travel and conference expenses. Open registration for the conference - which will be limited to 120 participants - will begin August 15 and end November 30, 2008. Sponsored by the USF Center for the Pacific Rim.

John Nelson, Associate Professor Conference Chair

Dept. of Theology and Religious Studies University of San Francisco Email: nelsonj@usfca.edu Visit the website at http://www.pacificrim.

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John Nelson, Associate Professor Conference Chair Dept. of Theology and Religious Studies University of San Francisco Email: nelsonj@usfca.edu Visit the website at http://www.pacificrim. usfca.edu/religionandglobalization.html

#### Call for Papers South Asian Studies Association (USA) SASA 2009 Florida, USA

Deadline for proposals: 30 November

South Asia was home to one of the ancient world's greatest achievements, the Indus Valley Civilization. Today South Asia is once again poised to become a world leader. The intervening 5,000 years have witnessed a remarkable story filled with transitions, tribulations and triumphs of the human spirit in every sphere of endeavor - political, economic, social and cultural. The SASA 2009 conference seeks to explore South Asia's myriad pasts, understand her present, and look forward to a future full of promise and hope yet inevitably characterized by still more transitions, tribulations and triumphs. We invite papers from all academic disciplines and all periods of time that address the rich tapestry that is South Asia's past, present and future.

Our co-sponsors for the SASA 2009 conference are the University of Central Florida's Office of Global Perspectives, India Program, Department of Political Science and College of Business Administration. UCF has 41,320 undergraduates, making it the second largest undergraduate institution in the nation. A graduate student enrollment of 7,177 is distributed across 97 master and 28 doctoral programs. Overall, UCF is the sixth largest university in America. SASA is honored to be part of the launching of UCF's new India  $Program. \ We \ intend \ to \ grow... \ together.$ 

About the Conference: We encourage you to join us for a stimulating, intellectually refreshing confluence of scholars from across the world.

SASA enjoys a solid reputation as the place to network in the most congenial, relaxed atmosphere to e found in academia. Just be attending you will be sending a strong signal that South Asian Studies programs need to figure prominently in university life across the country and around the world.

The deadline for submitting proposal abstracts to Dr. Chandrika Kaul (program@sasia.org), program chair, is November 30, 2008.

Visit the SASA website for additional details: http://www.sasia.org

Academic groups sharing compatible interests are encouraged to co-locate with us. Send an email to info@sasia. org mailto:info@sasia.org to initiate a

If you are not on our email list please visit our website, http://www.sasia.org and sign up. It is the only way to be certain you are up to date on all SASA activities.

[advertisement]



Third Text Asia (TTA) is an interdisciplinary scholarly journal, dedicated to providing critical perspectives on art and visual culture, published from Karachi twice a year. Although it is an extension of the main Third Text, established in 1987 and published from London, the objective of TTA is to develop a critical space for the scholarship of art criticism and art history fundamental to the understanding of art's complexity and significance, not only in relation to Asia's own prevailing traditions and contemporary cultures, but also within global modernism whose roots still lie in the West. It is imperative that Asia develops its own modern discourse that will not only represent its own independent world view but also challenge the West's position as ultimate arbiter of what it judges historically significant. TTA can provide means to overcome the difficulties posed by Asia's vast and conflicting cultures by opening the channels of communication, dialogue and exchange of ideas between them, so that Asia can gain its own independent voice and place in the

#### Issue number 1 **Spring 2008**

Rasheed Araeen Why Third Text Asia? An Introduction Abdul-Rahim Al-Shaikh A Palestinian Tale of Enlightenment: Towards a Foucault-Kantian Geography of Meaning Osman Jamal E B Havell: The Art and Politics of Indianness David Clarke Contemporary Asian art and Its Western Reception Geeta Kapur Globalisation and Culture Shigemi Inaga To be a Japanese Artist in the So-Called Postmodern Era Xiaoping Lin Red Corner: An Orientalist Nightmare in a Globalised World Tallin Grigor Of Metamorphosis: Meaning on Iranian Terms Ziauddin Sardar Walt Disney and the Double Victimisation of Pochahontas Rasheed Araeen The Story of Third Text

#### Subscription Rates

Asia, Africa, Latin America: Individual \$50; Institutions \$90 Europe, North America and Oil Rich Countries: Individual \$70; Institutions \$120 Send your subscription to: FOMMA, Lakson Square, Building No. 2, Sarwar Shaheed Road, Karachi 7400, Pakistan. email: fomma@hotmail.com

# IIAS Research

#### **Programmes**

#### **NEW! Science and History in Asia**

The complex links between science and history in Asian civilisations can be studied on at least two levels. First, one can focus on the ways in which the actors have perceived those links; how, on the one hand, they have used disciplines that we now categorise as sciences, such as astronomy, for a better understanding of their own past; and, on the other hand, how they have constructed the historicity of these disciplines, giving them cultural legitimacy. Secondly, one can reflect on historiographical issues related to the sciences. How can the sciences be incorporated into historical narratives of Asian civilisations? This question is crucial, given the dominant 19th and 20th century view that science is a European invention, and that it has somehow failed to develop endogenously in Asia, where "traditional science" is usually taken as opposed to "Western" or "modern science". This project will address various approaches to the issue by organising five international workshops in Cambridge, Leiden and Paris.

Sponsored by: NWO Humanities, Needham Research Institute, Recherches Epistémologiques et Historiques sur les Sciences Exactes et les Insitutions Scientifiques (REHSEIS), and IIAS

Coordinators: Prof. Christopher Cullen (Needham Research Institute) and Prof. Harm Beukers (Scaliger Institute, Leiden University)

#### **Asia Design**

This programme consists of a number of individual projects related to graphic design - from classical graphics in art and communication to the rapidly emerging fields of cyberculture (New Media, videogames, etc.) and animanga (anime and manga) in East Asia - and architectural design in Asian megacities. The projects address both the physical and social aspects of design.

Institutes involved: IIAS, Modern East Asia Research Centre (MEARC), Delft School of Design (DSD)

Sponsored by: IIAS and Asiascape

#### Coordinators: Prof. Chris Goto-Jones and Dr Manon Osseweijer

c.goto-jones@let.leidenuniv.nl m.osseweijer@let.leidenuniv.nl

#### **Catalogue of Sanksrit manuscripts**

In 1929, two crates of 17th and 18th century Sanskrit manuscripts arrived at the Kern Institute, University of Leiden. This Gonda/IIAS project is preparing a scientific catalogue of the roughly 500 South Indian Sanskrit manuscripts written on palm leaves in ancient Indian scripts such as Grantha, Telugu, Malayalam, Nagari and Nandinagari.

#### Coordinator: Saraju Rath

s.rath@let.leidenuniv.nl

#### **Energy Programme Asia - EPA**

Established in September 2007, this programme addresses the domestic and geopolitical aspects of energy security for China and the European Union

The geopolitical aspects involve analysing the effects of competition for access to oil and gas resources and the security of energy supply among the main global consumer countries of the EU and China. The domestic aspects involve analysing domestic energy demand and supply, energy efficiency policies, and the deployment of renewable energy resources. Within this programme scholars from the Netherlands and China will visit each other's institutes and will jointly publish their research outcomes.

Institutes involved: Institute of West Asian and African Studies (IWAAS) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) Sponsored by: KNAW China Exchange Programme and IIAS

#### Coordinator: Dr Mehdi Parvizi Amineh

m.p.amineh@uva.nl

#### Gender, migration and family in East and Southeast Asia

Developed from an earlier research project on 'Cross-border Marriages', this project is a comparative study on intra-regional flows of migration in East and Southeast Asia with a focus on gender and family. It aims at studying the linkage between immigration regimes, transnational families and migrants' experiences.

The first component of the project looks at the development of the immigration regimes of the newly industrialised countries in East and Southeast

Asia. The second component looks at the experiences of female migrants in the context of the first component. To investigate these issues, this project will bring together scholars who have already been working on related topics. A three-year research project is developed with an empirical focus on Taiwan and South Korea as the receiving countries, and Vietnam and the PRC as the sending countries.

Coordinators: Dr Melody LU (IIAS) m.lu@let.leidenuniv.nl Prof. WANG Hongzhen (Graduate School of Sociology, National Sun Yat-Sen University, Kaoshiung, Taiwan)

#### Illegal but licit: transnational flows and permissive polities in Asia - IBL

This research programme analyses forms of globalisation-from-below, transnational practices considered acceptable (licit) by participants but which are often illegal in a formal sense. It explores limitations of 'seeing like a state', and instead privileges the perspectives of participants in these illegal but licit transnational flows.

Sponsored by: NWO and ASiA

#### Coordinator: Willem van Schendel

h.w.vanschendel@uva.nl

#### Socio-genetic marginalization in Asia - SMAP

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

Sponsored by: NWO, IIAS, ASSR

#### Coordinator: Margaret Sleeboom-Faulkner

m.sleeboom-faulkner@sussex.ac.uk

#### Searching for sustainability in Eastern Indonesian waters

The threat of biodiversity depletion calls for the establishment of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs), especially in rich natural environments like the marine space of eastern Indonesia. Most approaches to the establishment of MPAs, however, are science-based. Several interconnected developments demand a constructive analysis of the societal impacts of a predominantly technical and science oriented approach to the establishment of MPAs around the world. This new programme focuses on MPAs in eastern Indonesia (Wakatobi, Komodo, Derawan, Raja Ampat) and will facilitate the exchange of Dutch, Indonesian, German and Austrlian researchers. The aims of the programme are to (1) engage in a methodological training workshop for the three Indonesian partners plus six of their colleagues/staff members and (2) to collectively write a research proposal (2009-2013) on the social-economic and governance conditions of Marine Protected Area development.

Sponsored by: KNAW, IIAS, Wageningen University, Australian Research Council, Center for Tropical Marine Ecology Bremen (ZMT), Germany Partner institutes: Wageningen University, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), The Nature Conservancy, Murdoch University (Perth, Australia), ZMT (Bremen, Germany)

#### Coordinators: Prof. Leontine Visser (WUR/IIAS) and Dr Manon Osseweijer (IIAS)

m.osseweijer@let.leidenuniv.nl

#### Networks

#### Ageing in Asia and Europe

During the 21st century it is projected that there will be more than one billion people aged 60 and over, with this figure climbing to nearly two billion by 2050, three-quarters of whom will live in the developing world. The bulk of the ageing population will reside in Asia. Ageing in Asia is attributable to the marked decline in fertility shown over the last 40 years and the steady increase in life-expectancy. In Western Europe, ageing populations developed at a slower pace and could initially be incorporated into welfare policy provisions. Currently governments are seeking ways to trim and reduce government financed social welfare and health-care, including pensions systems, unleashing substantial public debate and insecurity. Many Asian governments are facing comparable challenges and dilemmas, involving both the state and the family, but are confronted with a much shorter time-span. This research programme, in short, sheds light

## Important Announcement: Schedule Change

#### Asia- Europe Workshop Series 2010

Every year, the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in Singapore and the European Alliance for Asian Studies (secretariat at IIAS) in Leiden organise the Asia-Europe Workshop Series.

This grant scheme provides six workshop conveners with a subsidy of  $\leqslant$  12,500 to organise an academic workshop with European and Asian participants from ASEM countries, dealing with themes of common interest.

The next scheme will be applied to the calendar year 2010.

The European Alliance for Asian Studies and the Asia-Europe Foundation welcome proposals for workshops in 2009, to take place in 2010.

#### Important dates:

January 2009 Announcement "Call for Proposals" Online application form ready for use

1 July 2009 Deadline for sending in workshop proposals

For detailed information on the Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2010 scheme, please check our website www.iias.nl or contact our secretariat at iias@let.leidenuniv.nl / +31 71 527 2227.





For details: www.iias.nl



on how both Asian and European nations are reviewing the social contract with their citizens.

Research network involved: Réseau de Recherche Internationale sur l'Age, la Citoyenneté et l'Intégration Socio-économique (REIACTIS)

Sponsored by: IIAS

#### Coordinator: Prof. Carla Risseeuw

c.risseeuw@let.leidenuniv.nl

#### ABIA South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology index

The Annual Bibliography of Indina Archaeology is an annotated bibliographic database for publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. The project was launched by IIAS in 1997 and is currently coordinated by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology of the University of Kelaniya, Colombo, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www. abia.net. Extracts from the database are also available as bibliographies, published in a series by Brill. The project receives scientific support from UNESCO.

Coordinators: Ellen Raven and Gerda Theuns-de Boer

e.m.raven@let.leidenuniv.nl www.abia.net

#### Islam in Indonesia: the dissemination of religious authority in the 20th and early 21st centuries

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

#### Coordinator: Nico Kaptein

n.j.g.kaptein@let.leidenuniv.nl

# IIAS fellows

#### CENTRAL ASIA

#### Bertine Kamphuis, MA

Development and security in conflict-affected Afghanistan

1 September 2008 - 1 September 2009

#### Dr Irina Morozova

Moscow State University, Russian Federation

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam  $\& \ \mbox{Leiden}$ 

Sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung

Conflict, Security and Development in the post-Soviet Era: Towards regional economic Cooperation in the Central Asian Region 24 April 2003 - 31 December 2008

#### EAST ASIA

#### Dr Mehdi P. Amineh

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam & Leiden

Programme Coordinator of Energy
Programme Asia (EPA)
Sponsored by KNAW/CASS
Domestic and Geopolitical Energy Security
for China and the EU

1 September 2007 - 1 September 2010

#### **Prof. Wim Boot**

Leiden University, the Netherlands Japanese and Korean Languages and Literatures

1 September 2006 - 1 September 2009

#### Prof. Ian Buruma

Bard College, New York, United States of America Stationed at the Branch Office

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam

Cleveringa Professor 2008 at Leiden University; recipient of the Erasmus Prize 2008

The New Cosmopolitan 5 - 9 November 2008

#### Dr Katia Chirkova

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale, Paris, France Shixing, a Sino-Tibetan language of South-West China: A grammatical Sketch 1 April - 31 December 2008

#### Prof. Hei-yuan CHIU

Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

IIAS Professor, holder of the European Chair of Chinese Studies Sponsored by BICER

Religion, Occultism and Social Change in

1 September 2007 - 1 September 2008

#### Prof. Shi DAN

Energy Economic Research Centre, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China

Research fellow within Energy Programme Asia (EPA)

Sponsored by CASS/KNAW

Domestic and Geopolitical Challenges to
Energy Security in China and the EU
1 June - 31 October 2008

#### Prof. Hsin-chuan HO

National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan IIAS Professor, holder of the European Chair of Chinese Studies

Sponsored by BICER and the Ministry of Education Taiwan

1 September 2008 - 1 September 2009

#### Dr Masae KATO

Japan in "Asia" in relation to the "West" as a Reference Group

1 May 2008 - 1 September 2009

#### Dr Hui-wen KOO

Department of Economics, National Taiwan University, Taiwan

The Deer Hunting License and Its Impact in Taiwan under the Dutch Rule

1 August 2008 - 31 January 2009

#### Mr Jan Eerik Leppanen, MA

Research fellow within the Socio-genetic Marginalisation in Asia Programme (SMAP)

Sponsored by NWO
Socio-genetic Marginalisa

Socio-genetic Marginalisation and Vulnerable Ethnic Groups in Southwest China 1 September 2005 - 1 September 2008

#### Dr Melody LU

Sponsored by MEARC and IIAS
Gender, Migration and Family in East and
Southeast Asia

1 February 2006 - 1 September 2009

#### Dr Shao-li LU

Department of History, National Chengchi University, Taiwan Sponsored by NSC

Homo Alchemy: Japan's Chemical Industry and the Transformation of the Culture of Body in Colonial Taiwan

1 October 2008 - 31 March 2009

#### Dr Fuyuko MATSUKATA

Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, Japan

The Start of the Dutch-Japanese "Contract-Trade" in the 18th Century

20 August 2008 - 20 September 2008

#### Prof. Tak-Wing NGO

Extraordinary Chair at the Faculty of History and Arts, Erasmus University of Rotterdam

History of Asia

1 May 2008 - 1 May 2012

#### Prof. Carla Risseeuw

Leiden University, the Netherlands Ageing in Asia and Europe 1 January 2008 - 1 January 2010

#### Prof. Hyun Joon SHIN

Institute for East Asian Studies, Sungkonghoe University, Korea IIAS Professor, holder of the European

Chair of Korean Studies
History and Present of Popular Culture in

History and Present of Popular Culture i Korea from Inter-Asia(n) Perspective 21 January 2008 - 21 January 2009

#### Dr Margaret Sleeboom-Faulkner

Programme Coordinator of the Sociogenetic Marginalisation in Asia Programme (SMAP) Sponsored by NWO Human Genetics and its political, social, cultural and ethical Implications

17 September 2001 - 1 September 2009

#### Ms Suli SUI, MA

Research fellow within the Socio-genetic Marginalisation in Asia Programme (SMAP)

Sponsored by NWO

Socio, ethical and legal Issues of genetic Testing in Chinese Context - A Socio-science Approach to the Practice of genetic Testing in China

1 September 2005 - 1 September 2008

#### Dr Takayo TAKAHASHI

Waseda University, Japan Ethnic Identity of Okinoerabu Islanders in Japan

1 January - 31 December 2008

#### GENERAL

#### **Prof. Chistopher Cullen**

Needham Research Institute, Cambridge, United Kingdom Sponsored by NWO/NRI/REHSEIS Science and History in Asia

1 September 2008 - 31 December 2010

#### Dr Catherine Jami

REHSEIS, Paris, France
Sponsored by NWO/NRI/REHSEIS
Science and History in Asia
1 September 2008 - 31 December 2010

#### SOUTH ASIA

#### Dr MariaPiera Candotti

1 May - 30 September 2008

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris,

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation The metalinguistic Chapters of Nārāyana Bhatta's Prakriyāsarvasva

#### Dr Peter Custers

Religious Tolerance and Intolerance - The Historical Experience of Bangladesh 22 October 2007 - 22 October 2008

#### Dr Silvia d'Intino

Collège de France, Institute d'Extreme Orients, Paris, France

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation The Skandasvamibhasya on the Rgveda. A critical Study.

1 May - 1 September 2008

#### Dr Jyotsna Gupta

Research fellow within the Socio-genetic Marginalisation in Asia Programme (SMAP)

Sponsored by NWO

Reproductive Genetics and Counselling in India: Decision-making regarding Genetic Screening and Prenatal Diagnosis 1 September 2004 - 1 September 2008

#### Prof. Dr Jan Houben

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, France

Vedic Ritual in Asian-European Context 1 July 2008 – 1 July 2009

#### Dr Alex McKay

School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, United Kingdom The History and Culture of the Indo-Tibetan Himalayas

1 October 2000 - 1 May 2009

#### Dr Prasanna Kumar PATRA

Research fellow within the Socio-genet-

ic Marginalisation in Asia Programme (SMAP)

Sponsored by NWO

Cross-cultural comparative Study of genetic Research in India and Japan

15 December 2005 — 1 September 2008

#### Dr Saraju Rath

Sponsored by GONDA

Scanning, Preservation, and Translitteration of Selected Manuscripts of the Taittirya Tradition

5 January 2004 - 5 January 2009

#### Ms Rituparna Roy, MA

From across the Shadow Lines: Tracing the Trajectory of Bengali Hindu Refugees in the Novels of Amitav Ghosh

1 January - 31 December 2008

#### **Dr Markus Schleiter**

Sponsored by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung Localized Statehood: Social and Cultural Practices of a 'Tribal' Development Project in India

1 April 2008 - 30 September 2009

#### Dr Marta Sernesi

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation A Preliminary Study of the Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of Blo-Idan sNying-po (14th Century): a Contribution to the Study of the "latter Transmission Period" (phyi-dar) based on Bon Textual Evidence 1 October 2008 - 28 February 2009

#### Prof. Alexander Stolyarov

Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russian Fed-

Annotated Database of Early Mediaeval North Indian Copper Plate Grants 1 October - 30 November 2008

#### Dr Shilpa Sumant

Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune,

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation A Joint Edition of the First Section of Śridhara's Karmapanjikā (General Paradigms of Ritual) with Arlo Griffiths

1 October 2008 - 31 March 2009

#### Mr Vincent Tournier, MA

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris,

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation Enriching an Ongoing Study on the textual History of Mahāvastu I.1-338 and the Settlement of a specific Conception regarding the Career of Bodhisattva

#### Mr Rajesh Venkatasubramanian, MA

1 December 2008 - 30 April 2009

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, India

Sponsored by the J. Gonda Foundation The Recovery and Reception of Classical Tamil Literature in late 19th and early 20th Century Colonial Tamilnadu

1 October - 31 December 2008

#### Southeast Asia

#### **Dr Birgit Abels**Ruhr University Bochum, Germany

Sponsored by NWO/Rubicon
Sounds of (Be)longing. Islam, Place and

Music in the Philippine Sulu Archipelago: The Bujau.

#### 1 October 2007 - 1 October 2008

#### Prof. Leonard Andaya

University of Hawaii, Department of History, United States

Sponsored by Fulbright-Hays

A World beyond the Center: Interlocking Regional and Local Socio-Economic Networks in Eastern Indonesia, c. 1400-1800 29 May - 28 August 2008

#### Dr Greg Bankoff

School of Asian Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Cultures of Coping: Community and Natural Hazard in the Philippines

1 September 2004 - 31 August 2008

#### Dr Michele Ford

The University of Sydney, Australia
In the Shadow of Singapore: The Limits of
Transnationalism in Insular Riau
1 January 2008 - 1 January 2010

#### Ms Yetty Haning, MA

Centre for Studies & Advocation of Human Rights of Nusa Cendana University, Indo-

Sponsored by UNDANA
Timor Sea Border Issues

#### 1 September 2008 - 1 September 2010

**Dr Hashim Ismail**Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Malaysia

The Malacca Law: Collections of Manuscripts at Leiden University

1 October - 31 December 2008

#### Dr Nico Kaptein

Leiden University, the Netherlands Islam and State in the Netherlands East Indies: The Life and Work of Sayyid 'Uthmân (1822 - 1914)

1 May 2006 - 1 May 2009

#### Dr Lenore Lyons

Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies, University of Wollongong,

Stationed at the Branch Office Amsterdam from 11 August – 4 September 2008

In the Shadow of Singapore: The Limits of Transnationalism in Insular Riau
1 January 2008 - 1 January 2010

#### D. Divile Melleria

**Dr Dipika Mukherjee**Negotiating Languages and Forging
Identities: Surinamese-Indian Women in the
Netherlands

1 December 2006 - 1 January 2009

1 March 2007 - 31 August 2008

#### Dr Nathan Porath

Sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Islamic Education, Secular Education and Civil Society in South Thailand

#### Prof. Hein Steinhauer

Department of Southeast Asian
Languages and Cultures, Leiden
University, the Netherlands
Ethnolinguistics with a special Emphasis on
Southeast Asia

1 September 1998 - 1 September 2008

# International Conference Agenda

#### August 2008

#### 8 - 9 August 2008

#### Bandung, Indonesia

Creative communities and the making of place conference convenor(s): Organizing Committee, Arte-Polis2 organized by Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB) contact: Dr. Woerjantari Soedarsono artepolis@ar.itb.ac.id

#### 15 - 18 August 2008 Hanoi, VietNam

www.ar.itb.id/artepolis2

The Harvard Project for HPAIR 2008 Academic Conference conference convenor(s): Harvard University Cambridge, MA organized by Harvard University help@hpair.org http://www.hpair.org

#### 21 - 24 August 2008

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

HPAIR Business Conference 2008 conference convenor(s): Harvard University Cambridge, MA organized by Harvard University help@hpair.org http://www.hpair.org

#### 29 - 30 August 2008 Leiden, Netherlands

Empires and Emporia: the Orient in World-Historical Space and Time conference convenor(s): Jos Gommans organized by Leiden University contact: r.j.wensma@let.leidenuniv.nl

#### SEPTEMBER 2008

#### 1 - 3 September 2008 Leiden, Netherlands

Art, Ritual and Justice in East Asia Symposium organized by Leiden University and Kyoto (Supported by Japan Society for the **Promotion of Science** and the Hulsewé-Wazniewski Foundation)

#### 1 - 5 September 2008 Leiden, Netherlands

The 12th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeology (EurASEAA) conference convenor(s): Marijke Klokke organized by IIAS contact: Martina van den Haak euraseaa12@let.leidenuniv.nl www.iias.nl/euraseaa12

#### 1 September - 1 November 2008 Bangkok, Thailand

4 6

The 10th International Conference on Thai Studies conference organized by Thai Khadi Research

Institute, Thammasat University contact: Anucha Thirakanont thaiconference@gmail.com www.thaiconference.tu.ac.th

#### 18 - 21 September 2008 Washington, D.C., United States

Central Eurasian Studies Society Ninth Annual Conference (2008) conference convenor(s): Center for Eurasian, Russian & East European Studies organized by Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

#### 19 - 22 September 2008

CESS@muohio.edu

#### Buggiba, Malta

The Social Capitol Foundation (TSCF) conference convenor(s): Dolmen Resort Hotel, Buggiba organized by TSCF Belgium conference@socialcapital-foundation.org www.@socialcapital-foundation.org

#### OCTOBER 2008

#### 1 - 5 October 2008

#### Gangtok, Sikkim, India

Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture' conference convenor(s): The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology organized by NIT Gangtok2008@gmail.com

#### 15 - 16 October 2008

Leiden, Netherlands

The Indonesian Economy in the Early Post-Independence Period: Challenges and Achievements workshop convenor(s): Leiden University contact: Dr. J. Thomas Lindblad thomaslindblad@hotmail.com

#### 16 - 19 October 2008 Wisconsin, United States

#### Annual Conference on South Asia

conference convenor(s): The Madison Concourse Hotel, Madison organized by University of Wisconsin-Madison conference@southasia.wisc.edu http://southasiaconference.wisc.edu

#### November 2008

#### 14 - 17 November 2008

#### New Delhi, India

International Association of Historians of Asia, 20th Conference conference convenor(s): prof. Deepak Kumar organized by Jawal Nehru University contact: prof. Deepak Kumar iaha2008jnu@yahoo.co.in www.jnu.ac.in/conference/IAHA

#### 15 - 17 November 2008

#### Vancouver, Canada

Contemporary Monoglia-Transitions,

Development and Social Transformations conference organized by Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, UBC contact: Dr. Julian Dierkes mongolia@dierkes.net

#### 16 - 19 November 2008

#### **Boston, United States**

Rebuilding Sustainable communities for children and their Families after Disasters conference convenor(s): College of Public and Community Service organized by The University of Massachusetts Boston contact: Adenrele Awotona rsccfd@qube.cpcs.umb.edu

#### www.cpcs.umb.edu/rsccfd DECEMBER 2008

#### 9 December 2008

#### Centre for Intercultural Studies, Portugal International Conference on Intercultural

Studies conference convenor(s): Clara Sarmento, CEI organized by Centre for Intercultural Studies, CEI contact: Clara Sarmento cei@iscap.ipp.pt

www.iscap.ipp.pt/~cei/congresso.htm

The First International Graduate Students

#### 15 - 18 December 2008

#### Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Conference on Indonesia conference convenor(s): Gadjah Made University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia organized by Academy Professorship Indonesia in Social Sciences and Humanities (KNAW-AIPI) Gadjah Mada contact: S.N. Hidayah figcindonesia@gmail.com www.api.pasca.ugm.ac.id

#### January 2009

#### 9 - 12 January 2009

#### Honolulu Hawaii, United States

7th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Arts & Humanities conference convenor(s): Hilton Hawaii, USA humanities@hichumanities.org www.hichumanities.org

#### FEBRUARY 2009

#### 5 - 7 February 2009 Lisbon, Portugal

4th International Sinology Forum: Rock-Paper-Scissors: Dynamics of Modernity in

China forum organized by The Portuguese Institute of Sinology contact: Dora Martins

#### 12 - 14 February 2009

ipsinologia@gmail.com

#### Oporto, Portugal

4th International Sinology Forum: Rock-Paper-Scissors: Dynamics of Modernity in China forum

organized by The Portuguese Institute of Sinology

contact: Dora Martins ipsinologia@gmail.com

#### March 2009 6 March 2009

#### Amsterdam, Netherlands

The First World War and the End of Neutrality conference organized by Netherlands Institute for War Documentation & UvA

contact: S. Kruizinga s.f.kruizinga@uva.nl

#### **APRIL** 2009

#### 18 - 19 April 2009

#### Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, **United States**

6th Annual Global Health & Development Conference 'Achieving Global Goals Through Innovation' conference convenor(s): Yale University New Haven, Connecticut

organized by Unite for Sight

www.uniteforsight.org/conference

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**Journal of Current Chinese Affairs** 

#### Japan aktuell

**Journal of Current Japanese Affairs** 

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# > IIAS who & where

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Prof. Dr Tak-Wing Ngo

Extraordinary Chair at the Faculty of History and Arts, Erasmus University of Rotterdam 'History of Asia' 1 May 2008 - 1 May 2012

Hein Steinhauer

Special Chair at Radboud University Nijmegen
'Ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia
1 September 1998 - 1 September 2008

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Naviguer à la mode butonaise : l'institution du *kapiompu* et l'organisation sociale des expéditions maritimes à Buton (Sulawesi Sud-Est)

Daniel Vermonden

The Fate of Federalism: North Sulawesi from Persatuan Minahasa to Permesta David Henley

Représentations architecturales et processus identitaires : le cas de l'Indonésie.

Antonio Guerreiro

Of Negotiable Boundaries and Fixed Lines: Practices and Views of the Border in the Apo Kayan Region of East Kalimantan Cristina Eghenter

Grand-parentalité et mobilité : le vieillissement et l'impact des migrations sur les relations intergénérationnelles en Indonésie

Laurence Husson

#### **REVIEWARTICLES**

Les rites de la mort à Bornéo : séparation ou renaissance ? Actualité de Robert Hertz Pascal Couderc

Parenté, alliance, organisation sociale et cohabitation religieuse pacifique dans le domaine Est indonésien Nao-Cosme Rémon

REVIEWS: Books, Music, Exhibitions

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## > Colophon

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