Michel Foucault has written of a ‘great confinement’ of the poor that peaked between 1650 and 1789, as punishment of the body was replaced by a regime of surveillance in the prison. Yet even a cursory look at modes of punishment beyond the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ shows that the 20th century, rather than the 18th, was marked by the incarceration of vast masses of people, to such an extent that Alain Besançon has characterised the period as ‘the century of concentration camps’. Foucault’s vision of herding paupers and vagrants into countless new hospitals and prisons not only confused intended policies with actual practices, thereby overstating the extent of incarceration in France before 1789 – the philosopher seemed to miss the world around him. Over the course of the 20th century, confinement spread across the world to become the only recognised form of punishment alongside fines and the death sentence; countries differing widely in political ideology and social background replaced existing modes of punishment – from exile and servitude to the pillory and the gallows – with the custodial sentence. Prisons now span the globe, from communist China to democratic Britain, as ever-larger proportions of humanity find themselves locked behind bars, doing time for crime. Rates of incarceration have varied over the past century, but the trend is upwards, as new prisons continue to be built and prison populations swell in the Americas, Europe, Asia and the Middle East.
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East-West meeting space
Singapore’s Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong delivered the keynote speech at the November 2005 East-West Dialogue in Barcelona*: ‘After Amman: Uniting to Defeat Terrorism’ saw Goh address what he considers to be the greatest threat to humankind today.

One of the main feeding grounds for terrorism is racial and religious tension. Following the 1960s racial riots in Singapore, the government of the multi-religious, multi-racial society adopted an ‘overlapping circles’ – or ‘melting pot’ – approach to foster racial and religious harmony, where each community can be seen as a circle with its own values, beliefs and culture. Where the circles overlap is the common space where we interact freely. We try to expand and maximize this space. The space which does not overlap is the community’s own space where they are free to speak their own language, practice their own religion and have their own way of life. This way, each community retains its separate identity and yet is bound to each other through common national values.

Against the backdrop of the recent riots in France, Goh’s words have become more pertinent in the context of East-West dialogue. After all, it was the same Goh Chok Tong who more than ten years ago as prime minister of Singapore developed the idea of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) to improve dialogue between Asia and Europe, at a low ebb since decolonization. He pleaded for cultural rapprochement, for which he delineated three stages.

In the first, networking phase, gaps in knowledge of each other’s cultures need to be filled. Although this is a never-ending process, the past decade has witnessed deepening in our knowledge of each other’s cultures. We are now passing through the second phase, that of constructive dialogue, where common concerns take center stage in discussions on issues like terrorism, racial tensions, natural disasters, SARS, AIDS and avian flu – phenomena that underline our ever-growing interdependence. Focusing on common concerns help erase xenophobic notions of each other’s cultures, so counter-productive to shaping our common future.

We as Asian scholars can facilitate this process by further strengthening academic cooperation between Europe and Asia in the form of joint research projects and student exchanges. These pave the way for the third or conscious-building phase where shared values develop – which, in the long run, will enlarge our ‘common space’ within the East-West encounter.†

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS

* The second East-West Dialogue was organized by Casa Asia, the Asia Europe Foundation, the Club of Madrid, UNESCO, and the Forum Foundation, and held in Barcelona, 16–17 November 2005.

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IIAS values dynamism and versatility in its research programmes. Post-doctoral research fellows are temporarily employed by or affiliated to IIAS, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme or on an individual basis. In its aim to disseminate broad, in-depth knowledge of Asia, the institute organizes seminars, workshops and conferences, and publishes the IIAS Newsletter with a circulation of 25,000.

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

IIAS also administers the secretariat of the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance: www.asia-alliance.org) and the Secretariat General of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS: www.icasseneticariat.org). Updates on the websites of the Asia Alliance and ICAS are published in this newsletter.
Greening Industries in Newly Industrializing Economies
Asian-Style Leapfrogging
Edited by Peter Ho

This innovative work uses new evidence to challenge previous views on the prehistory and origins of Japanese society and identity. The changes in society in Japan between the Jomon and Yayoi cultures were unique, going far beyond those of the so-called Neolithic Revolution in other parts of the world. Uniquely, they included bronze and iron production, as well as a new architecture with symbolic significance, a new religion and a hierarchical social structure. This edited interdisciplinary volume uses case studies of all the important newly industrializing economies of Asia to address these vitally important questions. It makes an important contribution to the large international body of studies on environmental management and the greening of industries. It’s findings are relevant to all developing countries, as well as to those with a particular interest in contemporary Asia. The work also addresses a wide range of professionals and consultants in various state institutions and international development agencies, such as the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Program, the Ford Foundation and the Asian Development Bank.

Purdah
The Status of Indian Women From Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century
Freida Haussworth

Purdah, which can be formal law or informal custom, involves keeping women segregated from society, restricting their independence, and obliging them to dress in clothing that fully covers them. First published by Kegan Paul in 1932, this was a seminal book for the women’s rights movement in general, and the Indian Woman’s Movement in particular, and remains highly relevant today, as Indian, Islamic and Asian women continue to feel the conflict between modernity and tradition. Being born in the Vedic period, she shows how the institution of purdah developed over time, describes purdah as long practiced in India, and then details the various reform and suffragette measures undertaken to eradicate it and the effect of the Nationalist movement on Indian women’s freedom. There are clear parallels with women in other countries. This important work gives insight into the roots and strength of this tradition.

Indo-China
Naval Intelligence Division

Prepared by the British Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty during World War II and released in 1943, this handbook is now an important geographical and historical reference work, documenting the region’s environment as they were before the developments of recent decades, and describing traditional culture, infrastructure, administration and the extent of foreign influence as it then was. It covers the areas of the present-day countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. Unrivalled in the scope and the quality of information current at the time of first publication, this volume is an essential foundation for all researchers and students interested in the history and background to the contemporary dynamics of the region.

China
Mortimer Menpes and Henry Arthur Blake

China in the closing days of its Imperial era are captured in the drawings and paintings of the artist Mortimer Menpes, noted for his portrayals of the Far East, with text of symbolism in Brussels (Belgium), Cape Town (South Africa), Quito (Ecuador), Delft (The Netherlands), Kingston (Jamaica), Ljubljana (Slovenia), Paris (France) and cities in Italy and Indonesia, amply demonstrates that the time has come for an in-depth study of the history of ideas, political science, the sociology and anthropology of business, comparative cultural studies and economics or other disciplines related to contemporary East and South-East Asia where the subject of alternative modernities is relevant.

Kegan Paul
Spring 2006 New Titles

Purdah: The Status of Indian Women From Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century
Freida Haussworth

Japan and Asian Modernities
Edited by Rein Raud

The effect of Japan on the challenges and complexities of the modernisation process that globalisation has brought to the fore in Asia are the subject of this interdisciplinary volume by leading scholars in the field. Using fascinating examples drawn from current business and organisational practice in Asia, it focuses on the impact that Japanese modernity has made in Asia as a model to be imitated because of its apparently successful in adopting western technologies while retaining its own cultural identity. Besides Asian and Japanese Studies specialists, Japan and Asian Modernities is addressed to a larger audience of academics and specialists working in the areas of history of ideas, political science, the sociology and anthropology of business, comparative cultural studies and economics or other disciplines related to contemporary East and South-East Asia where the subject of alternative modernities is relevant.

Indo-China: Naval Intelligence Division

This volume, which presents a detailed introduction to the distribution and consumption of symbols and meanings in urban space, timely concerns in an era of increasing globalisation and competition between mega-regions. This volume, which presents a detailed introduction to the new fields that deal with the production, distribution and consumption of symbols and meanings in urban space, timely concerns in an era of increasing globalisation and competition between mega-regions. This volume, which presents a detailed introduction to the new fields that deal with the production, distribution and consumption of symbols and meanings in urban space, timely concerns in an era of increasing globalisation and competition between mega-regions. This volume, which presents a detailed introduction to the new fields that deal with the production, distribution and consumption of symbols and meanings in urban space, timely concerns in an era of increasing globalisation and competition between mega-regions.
While the prison has become ever more entrenched on a global scale, it also represents an incontrovertible failure, in theory and in practice. While their proposed missions have varied—from retribution and incapacitation to deterrence and rehabilitation—prisons from the very beginning resisted their supporters’ intended purposes, generating wretched institutional conditions where humanitarian goals were heralded. The road to hell is paved with good intentions and the great expectations placed on prisons to perform often-contradictory goals (how is punishment compatible with reform?) stand in stark contrast to the climate of violence within its walls. A chasm separates proclaimed intentions from actual practices: monuments of order on paper turned into squalid places of human suffering confined by walls of bricks and mortar. Envisaged as a haven for repentance—a machine to grind rogues honest—according to Jeremy Bentham—prison is often no more than an enclave of violence, producing caged misery at worst, enforced lethargy at best. Contrary to the workhouse or the lunatic asylum, the prison is a failed invention of modernity that has yet to be dismantled. Prisons do not reform criminals, do not reduce re-offending rates, and do not address the social problems conducive to crime; if anything, incarceration produces violence and generates crime by meeting harm with harm. In the meantime, the prison has become all the more inexcusable as it has become firmly established, rarely challenged by political elites and ordinary people alike.

It is precisely the singular resilience of this failed institution that makes a history of the prison so urgent. It is not just another trendy topic of cultural history claiming a global dimension as just one more unremarkable aspect of a vast history of state institutions, but an inquiry into the formation of an incarcerating society in which we all live. A first step towards a global history of the prison is to recognise that elites around the world were generally fascinated by the penitentiary ideal and eager to embrace it, rather than compelled by the dark forces of imperialism to adopt it. The prison epimorphed from the dreams of state officials and local authorities in Latin America, while confinement was praised as a viable alternative to the first Qing envoy to Europe who visited Pentonville Prison in the 1860s. In colonial contexts, prisons were part and parcel of the ‘civilising mission’ of colonisers as existing penal practices, often based on physical punishment, were viewed as ‘barbaric’ and ‘uncivilised’. Yet post-colonial regimes more often than not consolidated rather than dismantled the prison for their own purposes.

The transfer of penal discourse and penitentiary institutions was not a one-way process. Diversity rather than uniformity characterised the use of the custodial sentence as prisons both changed and adapted to existing notions of crime and punishment. In the case of Burma, as That Thet Winlin and Ian Brown show (p. 5), the colonial imposition of a penitentiary scheme resonated with earlier forms of punishment, as various forms of confinement, in contrast to most parts of India, existed in pre-colonial Burma. As ideas moved across borders, they were appropriated by modernising elites and transformed by distinct local political, economic, social and cultural conditions. Underneath an overarching rationale based on the idea of humane punishment, the prison was walled-in, capable of being adopt ed in a variety of mutually incompatible environments, from the bauge in Vietnam and the cellular prison in China to the concentration camps of South Africa. Confinement, it is argued, acquired specific cultural and social dimensions which help to explain its extraordinary resilience across the globe.

Foehracht deserves credit for having transformed the history of the prison from an obscure field of institutional history into a thriving and exciting area of cultural studies. But too many of his followers have taken on board his vision of the prison as the perfect realisation of the modern state. Archival evidence—which allows us to move away from official rhetoric and lofty ideals towards the messy realities of incarceration—on the contrary, highlights the very limits of the state. As Carlos Aguirre has pointed out in a recent book on the prisoners of Lima, the constant lack of financial resources, poor strategies of personnel recruitment, lack of control over prison guards and corruption inside the penal system meant that the authorities who operated the prisons had great discretion in dealing with prisoners and often did not support the main goals of prison reform. Entirely absent from ambitious explanatory schemes about the panopticon are the prisoners themselves. Just as the continued use of violence by prison guards created penal realities that had little to do with grand designs on paper, prisoners were never the passive victims of a great ‘disciplinary project’.

A comparative history of confinement that puts prison life back into the picture not only tells us much about the agency of ordinary people supposed to be captives, but also illustrates how and why prison fails to be redemptive. As David Arnold notes in his paper (p. 6), prisoners were seldom entirely compliant; in the long history of the colonial prison, there were many ways for prisoners to evade or resist the restrictions prison authorities sought to impose upon them. Emile Durkheim observed long ago that the core problem of the prison as a form of discipline resides in the lack of inclination among the majority of prisoners to participate in the process of ‘reformation’. In other institutional situations such as the school or the factory, the individual must to some extent share the goals of the disciplinary process for discipline to be effective. By robbing prisoners of respect—incentive to central to self-discipline—the prison did not produce ‘disciplined subjects’, but hardened residuals.

If prisoner experiences are central to understanding the actual workings of the penitentiary project, the question of genres is also important, even if the prison was generally for male captives. Tony Gorman (p. 7) captures the many ways in which women in the Middle East suffered greater social stigma from being viewed as criminal deviants. Created and controlled by men, the prison system was not isolated from the larger society outside, but permeated by its political and social relations. This is true too of work: most prisons emphasised industrial work as a chance for redemption and reformulation, thus shaping the prison as a male-centred institution. Prison work on Japan’s northern frontier is the topic of Piag Vogler’s contribution (p. 8), where she focuses on the prison’s permeability. In Hokkaido even the children of guards were instructed in classrooms behind prison walls until 1886.

Most historians have written about the prison in society, but as these articles point out, we need a history of society in prison. Moving away from the serene panopticon we find that the boundaries of most prisons were porous as guards succumbed to prisoners and, ideas and objects (drugs or books) moved in and out of confinement, and, more generally, religious, social, ethnic and gender hierarchies were replicated inside the prison, undermining the very notion of equality among prisoners to create social exclusion. Society colonised the prison and undermined discipline to a much greater extent than discipline ever managed to move out of the prison to order society. And where states did succeed—against all odds—to build more centralised and better policing prisons, it has generally been to maintain social inequalities and politically repressive regimes rather than to reform the alleged criminal hard questions raised by the global prison need to be faced, lest we unwittingly contribute to the legitimacy of an institution which most penal specialists, including prison directors themselves, wisely see as a failing sanction of last resort only.

References

- Frank Dikötter is Professor of the Modern History of China at the School of Oriental and African History, University of London, on leave as Chair of Humanities at the University of Hong Kong. He has published a series of micro-studies on the history of modern China, including Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China (2002, Columbia University Press) and Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China (Hurst, in press).
Colonial Burma’s prison: continuity with its pre-colonial past?

The practice of confining convicted criminals in prison for a stipulated period of time – to punish or reform – is a modern western innovation. Pentonville in north London, opened in 1842 and said to be the first modern prison, had four wings radiating from a central hub from which guards could observe every cell, each holding a single prisoner. The ‘modem’ prison then became one of many western innovations (including the railway, scientific medicine and the filing cabinet) transported to the colonial world from the mid-19th century.

The Pentonville model, most dramatically the Pentonville architecture, could soon be found across the world, and not just in the colonial world. Aerial photographs of the Rangoon Central Jail (now demolished) and Insein Prison clearly show the central hub, from which radiate, like spokes of a wheel, the long prison wings in which the convicts were held and observed. As the ‘modern’ prison was transported to the colonial world, it was transformed, or modified, partly by local circumstances, including colonial attitudes to the potential for reforming the character of native peoples. But innovation had to take account of existing indigenous practices of punishment, and in many cases had to adjust substantially to them.

Breaking with the past

At first sight, there appears to be the clearest contrast between the punishment regimes imposed by Burma’s kings before British conquest and the prisons and practices constructed by the colonial rulers. Convicted criminals in pre-colonial Burma were most commonly punished by flogging, execution or exile; alternately, they were tattooed, often on the face, to indicate their crime – ‘murderer’, ‘rapist’ – or had their bodies mutilated. At some point in the judicial process, individuals would be held in confinement while their alleged crimes were investigated or during trial. They could also be held in order to be tortured to secure an admission of guilt, and if guilty, were held until the sentence was carried out. Thus the pre-colonial prison was a site in which important stages of the judicial process took place; confinement in a prison was not, however, in itself one of the punishments imposed by the pre-colo- nial state. In sharp contrast, by far the most common punishment imposed in a modern judicial system is confinement for a stipulated period.

There was also the sharpest contrast in the physical structures of the pre-colonial and colonial prison. The former had relatively flimsy outer walls, essentially bamboo fences. The main building was a single-block, housing all the inmates, who were fettered to prevent escape. The colonial prison was the familiar structure of thick, high, stone walls and double gates; the central hub and radiating wings; and within the prison compound, separate buildings and dividing barriers to ensure the separation of different categories of prisoner and the different aspects of prison life.

Continuities

On closer reflection, the contrast between the prisons of pre- colonial Burma and the prisons and prison system construct- ed by the British is less sharp. Important aspects of the prison under the Burmese kings were carried over into the British period and are still present, while some of the ‘innovations’ introduced by the British had pre-colonial antecedents.

Both the Burmese kings and the British colonial regime made considerable use of convict labour outside the prison. The kings would put convicts to work building irrigation canals and cultivating rice fields. The colonial regime used convict labour to construct roads and, again, irrigation works. In January 1810, the 240th (Burmese) Jail Labour Corpo, made up of 1,734 convicts, left Rangoon for service in Mesopotamia. In the late 1920s, camp jails were established in two government-owned stone quarries in distant parts of the province. Under the Burmese kings many convicted criminals were exiled far from the capital; the colonial regime also sent large numbers into exile, the vast majority to the penal settlement in the Andaman Islands.

There was also striking continuity in the use of convicts as jailors. In pre-colonial Burma, few individuals freely sought work in prison, particularly in the lowest grades or for positions involving the most gruesome tasks. It was therefore common for convicts, indeed the most violent and degraded, to be par- doned in return for performing the duties of prison executioner, flogger, or interrogator. Clearly they were men of consider- able power in the pre-colonial prison. Similarly, convict staff – long-serving and trusted inmates who were appointed night watchmen, overseers, or convict warders – were essential in the running of colonial Burma’s prisons. Indeed the position of convict officers was pivotal. Since senior staff in the prison, from the superintendent down to the warders, was exclusively European or Indian. Burmese convict warders were the only ones able to communicate easily with the mass of inmates. It was a position they could use to protect fellow inmates, but perhaps also to exploit and abuse them.

There may also have been continuity in the use of the prison to punish. As noted earlier, the prison in pre-colonial Burma was a site to hold the accused – a place for torture, interrogation, and execution – but not for the confinement of convicts who had received custodial sentences. But in practice, individuals were often held for long periods – the remainder of their natu- ral lives – in effect as a punishment, perhaps also as a deter- rent. Monks claiming supernatural powers and disturbing the social order could be confined, for the king would be reluctant to challenge those powers by executing or exiling the alleged offender. Political opponents, dishonest officials and debtors could also find themselves put away for a long time.

There is one final continuity of particular importance for the historian seeking to understand the daily conditions and administration of Burma’s pre-colonial and colonial prisons. The sources for the pre-colonial and colonial prisons are strikingly different, but both tend towards what might be termed ‘an exaggeration of authority’. For the pre-colonial prison, the most vivid descriptions are provided by European residents who experienced it first hand. A comparable exaggeration is Henry Gouger’s Narrative of a Two Years’ Imprisonment in Burma, first published in 1860 and reprinted in 2001, an account of the author’s incarceration in Ava’s death prison. Let ma yoon between 1824 and 1826 during the first Anglo- Burmese war on suspicion of being a British spy. In words and striking line drawings, Gouger conveys the stark horror of the place – the fierce brutality of the laborers, the penal condition of the inmates, the diet and smell.

Pentonville remains a case-study in animal and vegetable stuff... the stale flames from thousands of tobacco-pipes... the scattered secretions of the pulp and liquid from their everlasting betel, and other nume- rous abominations, still more disgusting... the exudation from the bodies of a crowd of never-washed convicts, encouraged by the ther- mometer at 100 degrees, in a den almost without ventilation – it is possible to say what it smell like?

In using such contemporary western descriptions, some allowance must be made for cultural positioning. But perhaps more importantly, and as a close reading of Gouger’s own account makes clear, it was common for those unfortunate held in the prisons of pre-colonial Burma to avoid or lessen the most brutal conditions by paying off the jailors. Horrors surely took place, but in day-to-day existence, the brutal authority of the prison regime was often exaggerated.

A comparable exaggeration, although for quite different rea- sons, can be seen in the material on the colonial prison. Per- haps the most striking feature of this material is its sheer vol- ume and obsessive detail. The annual reports on the prison administration of British Burma each run to 50 pages or more, come laden with statistical appendices, and are supplemented with reports by India-wide jail commissions, jail riot enquiries, and special investigations. The number of inmates who con- tracted malaria in the Rangoon Central Jail in 1928, the num- ber flogged at Mandalay in 1930, the details of diet and death are all recorded. This detail, in particular its sheer volume, gives the impression of a colonial prison administration with immense control and authority, with extraordinary capacity and reach. But the day-to-day dynamics of colonial Burma’s prisons may well have been very different. As indicated earlier, author- ity within the prison lay less with the European superintend- ents or the Indian warders, but with the Burmese convict staff. Physically, culturally, and linguistically close to the mass of inmates, they were decisive in the running of the jails, and often used their position for personal gain, but in ways that eased the harshness of the prison regime.

Both the pre-colonial and colonial prison in Burma can eas- ily be portrayed as immensely powerful institutions – the former with a frightening capacity for horrific brutality, the latter, for harsh regimentation. In reality, that power was an exaggeration, undermined and weakened by the pivotal position occupied by the jailor staff and by the inmates them- selves.

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India: the prisoners' revolt

British India operated one of the largest prison systems in the world. During the 1860s the inmate population averaged 70,000, rising to 100,000 by the 1900s and 130,000 by the 1930s. Two to three times those numbers passed through the prisons in a single year owing to short-term sentences, numbers matched or exceeded only by the United States and Russia. The prison— an institution lacking extensive pre-colonial precedents— exemplified the British determination to control India.

Partly in response to such defiant episodes, from the mid-19th century the colonial authorities embarked on a jail construction programme memorialised by the colonial prison in London. Extra-mural labour was scaled down and emphasis given instead to the creation of jail industries that would ensure a more disciplined labour force. Jail administration weapons were reorganised to meet the costs of jail administration. These changes reduced but did not eliminate prisoners’ opportunities for escape. In fact, jail industries gave rise to new forms of resistance. In the 1840s, prisoners in Kandahar and 700 refused similar tasks, they were put on a reduced diet, but this merely seemed to make them determined to ‘resist even more obstinately than before’. They were flagged as an attempt to reduce them to submission.

Massing with caste

The colonial authorities attempted another reform in the 1840s: replacing money dues given to prisoners to buy and cook their own food with a system of common messings. The authorities hoped that this would improve discipline, but they also believed that caste ‘privileges’ were incompatible with the functions of a modern prison system. At Chapra jail in Bihar, in June 1842, the 620 prisoners were divided into 52 messes, each with its own cook. The cooks, however, were first to rebel, as common messings violated caste hierarchies by forcing lower and lower castes together. Ten cooks were whipped for disobedience, but then the prisoners revolted en masse, though unable to break out of the jail. Some 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners paraded and dosed with quinine as a prophylactic against fever and from the jail workshop, and at Palayamkottai in 1925, where further unrest occurred, the jail was surrounded by troops, stationed with orders to break locks and fetters. The use of convicts to repair the jail was temporarily stopped, and emphasis given to the creation of jail industries that would ensure a more disciplined labour force. Jail administration was reorganised to meet the costs of jail administration. These changes reduced but did not eliminate prisoners’ opportunities for escape. In fact, jail industries gave rise to new forms of resistance. In the 1840s, prisoners in Kandahar and 700 refused similar tasks, they were put on a reduced diet, but this merely seemed to make them determined to ‘resist even more obstinately than before’. They were flagged as an attempt to reduce them to submission.

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Further mess-related disturbances resulted in the deaths of 22 prisoners at Allahabad and Patna jails in 1845. By the end of that year, the massing system had been introduced, wholly or partly, into some 23 jails in the northwestern provinces, but many officials continued to believe that it was unenforceable. Although high-caste prisoners— Brahmins and Rajputs, whose caste status seemed most at risk from massing, rebelled most actively against the new system, the authorities admitted that ‘the prisoners one and all are opposed to it’. It was possible to see prisoners’ invocations of caste as something of a catch-all category. One official remarked how, when common messings were introduced, ‘it was a matter of great surprise how many [caste] subdivisions arose, which nobody had heard of before’. Some, he thought, were ‘got up by the prisoners them- selves in order to throw obstacles in the way of the scheme’. Nonetheless, the Bengal and NWP governments felt obliged to proceed with caution and without doing violence to the prejudices or the feelings of the people. The accommodation of caste within the prison ensured that the social hierarchy outside the prison was replicated within it: low castes were obliged to proceed with caution and without doing violence to the prejudices or the feelings of the people. The accommodation of caste within the prison ensured that the social hierarchy outside the prison was replicated within it: low castes were obliged to proceed with caution and without doing violence to the prejudices or the feelings of the people. The accommodation of caste within the prison ensured that the social hierarchy outside the prison was replicated within it: low castes were obliged to proceed with caution and without doing violence to the prejudices or the feelings of the people. 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In her aunt’s house: women in prison in the Middle East

According to an Arab saying, ‘Prison is for real men’ (al-sijn lil-jad’an). But it was also a place for women. The development of female imprisonment sheds light not only on the cultural and social meanings of the prison in the Middle Eastern context, but on how its acculturation intersected with indigenous attitudes towards women and crime.

Anthony Corman

Imprisonment in the Middle East blossomed during the 19th century, supplanting older practices of corporal and capital punishment and financial penalties. The confinement of women was not a new phenomenon: previously it had existed within families on a personalized basis. While the traditional women’s quarters, the hareem, has long had a grip on the western imagination, lesser known institutions such as the Dar al-nisa (House of Treasures) – where couples were confined by order of the mullah to work out marital difficulties – existed in Tunisia from the 16th century. Another customary practice, the Dar Jawad, a place for the confinement of a disobedient or rebellious woman, represented a more openly repressive instrument of the patriarchal order. By the late 19th century, these practices had extended to women’s prisons such as the Dar Addl (House of Justice), presumably in response to the perceived threat of social deviance and greater insecurity among state authorities. Their emergence marks the beginning of a new development even if the continued use of the word dar (house) makes clear the domestic lineage of the institution.

As western political power encroached upon the Middle East, it sought to exert its civilizing influence on state institutions and governance. Prisons were particularly targeted. In 1831 the British government conducted a damning survey of Ottoman prisons, but singled out the separate imprisonment of women as one of the few causes for praise, something which one official put down to ‘Western civilization’. The epidemiological practice of the time was to hold convicted women in the house of their relatives, more than anything else a reflection of the patriarchal status of women propagated by the Islamic legal tradition. Such cases underline the dependence of women on men, and the need to ensure that they stayed within the traditional definition of women’s activities. Education for women prisoners in Egypt in the 1940s included the teaching of housekeeping and embroidery.

Conditions and work

Prison conditions for women varied widely in the 19th century. There was less corporal punishment and women sometimes enjoyed greater comforts: in Algerian prisons, women slept on beds instead of mattresses. Abuse no doubt occurred. Violation of inmates were reported in the women’s prison in Damasc in 1848, in Beirut’s jail accused of attempting to convert women to Islam. Other prisons did not segregate the sexes – a great humiliation in a sexually segregated society. A woman from Egypt under British occupation, rights for female prisoners were enshrined in the prison regulations of 1884, which stipulated special consideration for pregnant women and those with young children, and that only female officers search women prisoners. Women were later exempted from whipping and being put in irons, or if, pregnant, from execution. As with male prisoners, women of higher social status could receive better treatment than those of lower social standing or prostitutes, but this was not routine. By virtue of the Capitulations, foreign women enjoyed better prison conditions; after the abolition of extra-territorial rights, new regulations in 1949 instituted differential treatment for Egyptian women, categorized as class A or B, depending on their social class.

Women were an integral part of the Egyptian penal labour system. From the late 1820s convict labour became part of the programme of economic modernization pursued by Muhammad Ali and his successors. The government administered the Lazaret, the old hospital in Algeirs, to the main women’s prison with separate sections for long and short-term prisoners, for those awaiting trial and young detainees.

Across the Middle East, women were proportionally less prominent in prisons than, for example, in France. From the early 19th century women represented between 2 and 5% of all prisoners in Egyptian prisons – a proportion that stayed consistent over the following decades – compared to 12-18% in French prisons during the last quarter of the 19th century. (Elsewhere in the region, the figures seem less distinct; in Turkey the numbers approached 10% in 1950). The female prison population reflected the role of the female society: outside marriage, women in urban areas numbered less than half of all prisoners; in the countryside, women were more prominent in local than central prisons, such as the Lazaret, where they were held for lesser serious offences. Prostitutes numbered about a third of all prisoners in central prisons.

The offences for which women were imprisoned tell us much about the social position of, and expectations placed on, women. In Tunisia in the 1840s, women were imprisoned for debauchery and violence, theft and debt in roughly equal proportion. Forty years later in Egypt, the main offences were assault, theft, and a wide range of minor violations. That women were found guilty of adultery out of proportion to their numbers is unsurprising, but their conviction in a disproportionately number of defamation cases, an offence of the verbally strong but physically weak, is intriguing. The imprisonment of women for political offences illuminates female participa-

tion in public life: with the development of mass politics, women were detained as anti-colonial nationalists, communists and Islamists. Women were imprisoned not only for offences they had committed, but because of their association with those who had. The principle of collective punishment applied in Algeria by the French, employed particularly in dealing with so-called bandit tribes, meant women suffered interment, relocation and exclusion. Women were also imprisoned when the authorities were unable to apprehend a male family member, or joined their husbands in prison because of economic dependence. Such cases underline the dependent status of women propagated by the judicial system.

Women in prison were not only prisoners. Female guards were widely employed as early as the mid-19th century even if some women’s prisons, such as those in Iran in the late 1940s, preferred elderly guards. As visitors to inmates, women provided social contact and sustenance, particularly before the state provided food to prisoners. As mothers, wives and sisters of prisoners (and even, on occasion, of guards) women were at times vocal in demonstrating and protesting injustices of the system.

Uneven reform

Despite authorities’ unanimity on the need for gender segregation in prisons, women did not significantly figure in discussions on prison reform, perhaps due to their relatively small numbers and their marginality within the institution. While a reformatory was set up for male recidivists in Egypt in 1907, no equivalent institution was established for women repeat offenders. Girls were the exception: a reformatory at Giza tested to the belief that youths were more malleable than adult criminals. Public concern with prison conditions, particularly as they affected women, had to wait for women’s associations and organizations to take them up. The Société to Stop Crime and Improve Prisons set up in Beirut by Adalayish Rishani in 1928 conducted prison inspections and delivered clean clothes to inmates. In the 1940s the Iranian Women’s Party sought and received permission to inspect women in prison.

Little work has been done on the culture of women’s prisons but, as with men’s prisons, it is clear that there were established hierarchies. Drug dealers, for example, were at the top of the prisoner pecking order. Emotional and physical relationships between inmates moderated interactions in the prison. Tattoos, such as the flower, were used to emphasize a personal connection, or a professional affiliation, with the symbol of a woman with swords being favoured by prostitutes. Women prisoners made collective demands on authorities who alternatively repressed, negotiated with and accommodated them.

The phenomenon of women in prison in the Middle East offers many complex readings. The prison memoirs of activists such as Nawal al-Sa’dawi and Farida al-Naqshbendi spoke of the relationship between political and non-political prisoners, between women guards and prisoners, between literary political prisoners and uneducated guards. Women were more marginal in prison than their male counterparts, and suffered greater social stigma. Political prisoners suffered a sense of reproach for ‘neglecting’ their proper duty, their children. Created and controlled by men, the prison system was not separate from society outside, but permeated by its political and social relations. Pull of contradictions, it was an encompassing, all-embracing male institution that could still be conceived of in feminine terms: the ‘aunt’s house’ (dar khalūt) or the ‘great vagina’ (bao dahaj).}

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Hokkaido did not exist as a political entity before the Meiji period (1868-1912). Only the southernmost part of Ezo, as the Japanese called these northern territories, was administratively incorporated into the Tokugawa state. Against the backdrop of modern nation-building and fear of a Russian invasion, the incorporation of Ezo into the Japanese state became a priority for the early Meiji authorities. In 1869 Ezo was renamed Hokkaido and the colonization of the island formally began. Recruitment of a labour force from mainland Japan was an indispensable precondition for the agricultural development of these vast and largely unsettled lands. Yet the initial recruitment of unverifi- ed peasant volunteers and samurai failed to meet politicians’ expectations; a larger work force was needed to accelerate colonization.

While peasantry and former aristocracy engaged in modest settlement activities in northern Japan, southern Japan experienced political unrest owing to local elites’ resistance to the new Meiji-gov- ernment’s political and social agenda. Satsuma rebellion alone produced 43,000 political arrests that resulted in the execution of 37 individuals, to imprisonment and forced labour. The existing system of town gaols was unprepared for such a large number of convicts. Inspired by Western reformist ideas on prisons and punishment, Meiji authorities ordered the establishment of Japan’s first modern prison in the north ern prefecture of Miyagi. In 1879, a clus- ter of central prisons on Hokkaido was also suggested.

Hokkaido was seen as the perfect place for prisons, as prison labour could accel- erate exploration. In addition, Hakka- do was far away from the political hot spot of Kyushu and therefore perceived as an ideal place for isolating ‘politically dangerous elements’ from mainland Japan. A third incentive was the hope that, once relocated, former inmates would stay in Hokkaido and contribute to an increase in the population. Five prisons were thus established on Hokkaido between 1881 and 1893, Kaba- to, Sorachi and Kusshu were the central prisons; Abashiri and Tokachi served as branch institutions. Each central prison held a particular inmate population: political convicts were mainly held in Kato, felons were sent to Sorachi, and prisoners escaping from the military and police went to Kushu.

Prison in society, society in prison

Contrary to the colonists and other ‘delicate’ institutions provoking ambiva- lent sentiments among residents of neighbouring communities, a closer look at the interaction of prisons with their environment often reveals complex relationships between social spaces meant to be separate. Indeed, the example of early modern Hokkaido illustrates how the presence of prisons stimulated fruitful socio-economic exchange between the local society and the prison population.

Immediately after their establishment, the prisons were actually running local politics. When the first two penal institutions opened in 1881 and 1882, the directors of the Kato prison in Tsukigata and the Sorachi prison in Ichik- shiri (present-day Makas) started broad political influence in their regions. Tsukigata Kyoshi, director of the Kato prison, served as chief of Kato, Uryū and Kamiwaga counties, and from 1882 he was chief of the local police and postal service. Tsukigata’s importance was reflected in how the local population addressed him: tōmoku- sama (Mr prison director) or tōn’gaku (his excellency, the prison director). Thanks to his director’s various posts the prison was equipped with unique communication technologies and served as a central hub for com- munication between Hokkaido and Tokyo. Instructions from the Ministry of the Interior to the surrounding settler society, for example, were transmitted through the prison.

Almost 500 inmates were transferred to Kato two months after its inaugura- tion, followed by another 500 one year later. Kato prison already employed 140 people, but that would not be enough. A wave of political arrests in mainland Japan rapidly increased inmate numbers during the following years, which brought new immigrants, especially from Northern Honshu, but also from Kagoshima, in search of employment as prison personnel. In addition to employment, local villagers also benefited from prison services. In both Kato and Sorachi prisons doctors received inmates in the morning and residents of surrounding villages in the afternoon. In the absence of a primary school building, the children of prison personnel were taught in ‘classrooms’ within the prison until 1886.

As a local political personality, Sorachi prison director Watanabe Kureaki was deeply involved in the region’s develop- ment. After the prison’s establishment in 1884, drilling revealed the poor qual- ity of the local ground water. Watanabe immediately contacted the Ministry of the Interior to request the construction of a pipe to provide the village with potable water. When the Ministry reject- ed his request, Watanabe himself initi- ated exploration and discovered an ade- quate source. The construction of the water pipe was later approved, and in 1888 Ichikishiri became the first place in Hokkaido and the second in Japan (after Yokohama) with a modern water pipe (Shigematsu 1970:2.37). Prisoners then constructed a dam and reservoir to irrigate the fields of neighbouring com- munities. By that time 2,832 people were residing in Ichikishiri; 1,630 of them were inmates.

This development of local infrastructure through the prisons actually increased the attractiveness and economic poten- tial of the respective locations. Kushiro prison in Shibecha also attracted modern technology to eastern Hokkaido, where U.S. agricultural methods enabled rice cultivation for the first time in that north- ern region. Because of its many agricul- tural activities, locals saw the prison as a place for agricultural testing, and since convicts were clearing land that was immediately sold to settlers and distributed to new settlers, the prisons attracted still more newcomers.

The influx of immigrants increased demand for skilled craftsmen. Prison- ers were trained to fabricate furniture for private households. As craftsmen, they were not confined to prison work- shops, but also worked in the houses of their clients. The prison labour force was not only tapped by local residents. Local businesses employed convicts in their factories, such as Tsuchida Masujirō, who, in 1885, took over a car- petry workshop, a tailor studio, a vat factory and a shoe factory previously owned by the Kato prison. To keep production costs low, Tsuchida success- fully applied for permission to hire pris- oners (ASHK 1993:386).

As a result of this mingling of convicts and locals, various goods and materials found their way into and out of the pris- ons. In 1885 the Kato prison began making soybean paste (miso) and soy sauce in its brewery, eventually produc- ing enough to cover prison consump- tion and, in some years, to sell surplus to merchants in the surrounding region or in the cities of Sapporo and Otaru. In addition to these official eco- nomic exchanges, prisoners also traded with community members working alongside them. In the Hokurai coal mines, for example, convicts secretly produced rice wine (sake) in their sub- terrain workspace.

Banning prisoners from community life

Although welcomed at the beginning, the permeable character of Hokkaido’s prisons eventually became problematic, both on the macro and micro levels of society. In 1886 policies shifted and pris- oners were largely stripped of their local autonomy. Moreover, it became eco- nomically possible to force the support of prisons in everyday settler life. It was therefore easy to marginalize convict labour and, from 1886 onwards, pris- oners were mainly employed in coal and sulphur mines and road construction.

The segregation of prisoners from every- day community life contributed to a grad- ual shift in the settler population’s per- ception of convicts. Newspaper editors eagerly picked up stories of (mostly unsuccessful) escape attempts, con- structing an image of ‘dangerous muggs’ who, once escaped from prison, would attack settlers. Influenced by such mass media, settlers indeed became afraid of prisoners. As the influx of mostly male job-seeking immigrants was accom- plished by the establishment of morally ambiguous recreational sites such as bathing houses and sake bars, locals began to blame the prisons for ‘moral decay’. Politicians and residents also wor- ried that the label ‘prison island’ created a general perception of Hokkaido that would deter immigration. Against this backdrop, popular campaigns achieved the implementation of a regulation pro- hibiting released convicts from settling on the island in 1894, marking the end of an era in relations between prisons and surrounding settler communities.

Large-scale interaction of prisons and society on Hokkaido lasted for only five years, but studying this sliver of Japan- ese prison history is insightful. Con- finement appears to have been a sec- ondary function of early Hokkaido prisons; rather than being mere disci- plinary institutions, prisons served as socio-economic hubs and linked metro- politan elites with settler societies on the nation’s periphery. Further, the exchange was not one-sided: both the prison populations and neighbouring communities took advantage of people, goods and knowledge permeating prison and settler institutional boundaries both groups shaped each other’s environment. Tending to local economic needs, rather than trying to apply theoretical models through national policies, determined the struc- ture and function of the prisons and the societies that surrounded them.

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Blurring the boundaries: prisons and settler society in Hokkaido

During the second half of the 19th century five high security prisons were established on Japan’s northern island of Hokkaido. What impact did they have on the settler communities in these northern territories? Close proximity between convicts and free citi- zens usually does not sit well among the latter, but the peculiar socio-economic aspects of confinement on Hokkaido spurred both inmates and locals to permeate prison walls for mutual benefit.
Pulau di atas pulau
Untuk Tilbong dan Nahum

Island on an Island
for Tilbong and Nahum

Between then and now this journey’s map unfolds
Experiences abound
Tall mountains stand alone

Between the Strait of Malacca and Indonesia’s ocean
stretches the island of Sumatra,
with the Barisan Range straddling it from end to end,
and on it a lake, and on the lake an island:
my beloved Samosir

Six continents,
the seven seas I’ve traveled
Which is the most beautiful?

The answer has long been known
Which is the most beautiful?
the seven seas I’ve traveled
Six continents,

Island on an Island
Pulau di atas pulau

ISLAND ON AN ISLAND
Translation

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Six continents,
The prose of the world: the field speaks for itself

The procession advances slowly. The courtesans... perform obscene dances; ... the drums, trumpets, and all sorts of musical instruments give forth their discordant sounds. ... Those who have nothing else to do shrieke and shout.... To form a proper idea of the terrible uproar and confusion that reigns among this crowd of demons one must witness such a scene. As for myself, I never see a Hindu procession without being reminded of a picture of hell.

Participant observation is the key to the entire process of data collection, data analysis and their representation. Endless participation of concept and data, interaction and co-authorship of their roles in digital form. The user can no longer touch props and costumes are all foreground to a compelling story, as they travel at random and at leisure into underlying layers of information, stories, songs, dances, iconographies and material culture. This investigation and experimentation with multimedia representations as innovatory methods for qualitative research seeks a new coherence in scholarly argumentation and communication: a prose of the world – a digital language that speaks for itself.
Ancient Chinese ritual dances

From his arrival in China in 1730 as a young Jesuit missionary, Joseph-Marie Amiot took interest in ancient Chinese dances. In his eyes, they were part of a civilization dating back to those distant centuries “when Europe and most of the other known regions offered only forests and ferocious animals as inhabitants”. But beyond his own writings and two brief articles written in the early 20th century, the topic hardly attracted the attention of European scholars.

Nicolas Standaert

In 1761 the French periodical Journal Étranger published two of Amiot’s articles and he sent two more manuscripts to Paris in 1788 and 1789. Though they remained hidden in European libraries, these manuscripts can truly be considered forerunners to the field of ethnochoreography.

The French scholar Joseph-Marie Amiot (1704-1791) lived in China from 1730 to 1785, where he cultivated his interest in the study of Chinese culture. During the 18th century, Europe was undergoing a cultural awakening that included an increasing interest in the East, particularly China. Amiot’s works on Chinese culture, including his descriptions of Chinese ritual dances, were instrumental in bringing these traditions to the attention of European scholars.

In his book, Amiot describes two types of Chinese ritual dances: those performed as part of state sacrifices and those performed as part of the annual spring cleaning ceremonies. He notes that the former were more formal and structured, while the latter were more spontaneous and free-flowing. Amiot’s descriptions of these dances were based on his own observations and interviews with Chinese scholars.

Amiot’s attention to detail was evident in his descriptions of Chinese dance positions. He noted that Chinese dancers often paused in their movements to create a sense of stillness and symbolism. These pauses were seen as a reflection of the Chinese belief in the importance of harmony and balance in all aspects of life. Amiot also noted that Chinese dancers often used symbolic hand gestures and facial expressions to convey meaning and emotion.

In his description of the ritual dances performed during state sacrifices, Amiot notes that the dancers were required to follow strict procedures and that their movements were carefully choreographed. He describes the dances as being performed in a slow, measured manner, with the dancers moving in a coordinated and rhythmic manner. Amiot notes that the dances were performed in groups and that each group had a specific role to play in the ritual.

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In his description of the annual spring cleaning ceremonies, Amiot notes that the dances were more spontaneous and free-flowing. He describes the dancers as moving in a fluid and graceful manner, with their movements flowing together in a harmonious and rhythmic pattern. Amiot notes that the dances were performed in a circular formation, with the dancers moving around a central point.

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Amiot’s work on Chinese dance positions and ritual dances has been influential in the field of ethnochoreography. His descriptions of Chinese dance positions and movements have been used as a basis for the study of Chinese dance and its relationship to other forms of East Asian dance.

For further reading:


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K.U. Leuven, Belgium
At the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama's birth in 1617, Tibet was in a state of religious, social and political turmoil. Political power was shared among various factions supported by different Buddhist religious orders who not only wished to propagate their teachings, but also to establish their economic power and political influence. The circumstances and strife surrounding the Fifth Dalai Lama's birth are crucial to understanding the decisive role this exceptional man played in Tibet's reunification.

Samten C. Karmay

The Great Fifth

Tibetan, religious, political and economic power have always been intertwined. Tibetan political theory is based on a confluence of politics and religion in the form of Lamay, finding its expression in choyos, a 'precceptor-patron' relationship in which both parties are considered equal. The term was often used to designate the relationship between a Tibetan lama and the leader of a foreign country, such as that of Phagga Lotro Gyatso (1359-1406), the head of the Sakya Order, and Kubilai Khan, the Mongol emperor, in the 13th century.

Turmoil in Tibet

In 1548, the aristocrat Shingzhag Tshetsen Dorje was appointed governor of Tsong province by the ruler of Central Tibet, a Rinrung lord. Shingzhag supported the Karma Kagyu Order and was the senior lama in the Dadruptse castle (also called Shigele), near the Gelug monasteryTrashilhunpo. Soon after, he rebelled against the Rinrung lords and proclaimed himself King of Tsang. Together with his nine sons he gradually expanded his kingdom and established control over U and Tsang, central Tibet's two main provinces.

The new government wanted to revive the institutions of the imperial period and to bring peace and prosperity to the country through a five-point policy, the so-called 'Five Great Actions', supported by various religious orders including the Sakya, the Jonang and the great Karmapa hierarchy. As the legitimate representative of authority, Shingzhag also maintained good relations with the Gelug abots of Trashilhunpo, though the latter remained suspicious of the new dynasty's intentions.

In 1577-78 the conversion to Buddhism of Allan Khan, the leader of the Tungrs Mongols, and all his subjects by Sonam Gyatso (1545-1588), the Abbot of Drepung Monastery (who received the title Dalai Lama from the Khan and was later recognized as the Third Dalai Lama) was a spectacular success for the Gelug Order. The secular government in Samadruptse, however, viewed the event as a politico-religious alliance between the Gelug and a foreign power.

In 1589, the conflict was exacerbated when the Gelug recognized a child born that year to a Mongol family as the reincarnation of the Third Dalai Lama. The royal government took this as a clear indication of the Gelug Order's intentions. After the death of the Third Dalai Lama in Drepung Monastery and enthroned as his abbot, Mongol intervention in the Gelug Order, and therefore in Tibetan affairs, increased. However, he died shortly thereafter, in 1616, and the royal government forbade the search for his reincarnation.

Against this backdrop of turmoil, in 1617, a son was born to the famous noble Zahor family. Since the 14th century the family had lived in the Tagtse castle, the Tibetan kings' former stronghold. The child born to the Zahor family seemed the most convincing candidate. At least two other Buddhist orders sought to claim the child as the reincarnation of one of their lamas who had also died in 1616. The family resisted their tests. Later, when he became my tutor, he would often admonish me and say: ‘You must work hard, since you were unable to recognize the object!’

Sonam Choeple (1535-1667), treasurer of the Ganden Palace, was the prime architect of the Gelug’s rise to political power. Later he received the title Desi, meaning ‘Regent’, which he would earn through his efforts to establish Gelugpa power. He sought the support of the Dzungars of Western Mongolia and inspired them with a military strategy of attacking Mongol tribes sympathetic to the king of Tsang, then the eastern Tibetans of Khams, who were also partisans of the royal government, and finally the king and his entourage in Tsang, resulting in Gelugpa political and religious supremacy.

Gushri Khan: king of Mongols, patron to the Dalai Lama

The Dzungars had indeed been actively supporting the Gelug in their own country. In 1616, one of their leaders, Gushri Khan of the Qoshot tribe, attacked the Mongol tribe of Choghur, an ally of the king of Tsang. Originally from Khalkha, Choghur’s tribe had been expelled from Central Mongolia in 1605 and had settled in the Khokon region in Amdo, northeastern Tibet. In 1617, having defeated Choghot and his 40,000 men in Kokonor, Gushri Khan settled there and soon became leader of the region. He and several of his men traveled to Central Tibet that year disguised as pilgrims in order not to raise suspicion of other Mongol factions. He received an audience at the Fifth Dalai Lama’s court, before the holy image of the Buddha in the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, bestowed on him the name of Tenzin Choqgyal, the King of Religion, the Holder of Doctrine, for having defended Gelug interests in the Khokon region. The meeting would have far-reaching historical consequences.

In 1642, 1 year after a fighting in Khams, Gushri Khan defeated the king of Beri, an ally of the king of Tsang and a Bon practitioner. Gushri Khan’s prestige as a warrior was now as unequalled among Tibetans as it was among Mongols. During the campaigning, Gushri Khan told the Desi discussed whether Gushri Khan and his men should return to Khonkor from Khams. They decided to send an emissary to Khonkor to contact the Mongol chief. In the presence of both the Dalai Lama and the emissary, the Desi pretended to agree with the Dalai Lama that Gushri Khan should return to Khonkor. But just as the emissary was about to leave, the Desi ordered him to tell Gushri Khan to lead his army against the king of Tsang.

In early 1642, when news of Gushri Khan’s victory in eastern Tibet and his army’s advance against Tsang reached Lhasa, surprising the Dalai Lama, the Desi finally told him the truth that he had issued this order in the Dalai Lama’s name. The Dalai Lama was dismayed and remarked that the Desi had gone too far. However, it was now out of the question to turn back the Mongols. Shortly after, Gushri Khan’s army confronted the king’s troops in what was a long and bloody war. Towards the end of 1642, having resisted the Mongols and the Gelug Tibetans for almost a year, the king and his two ministers finally surrendered.

Immediately, the Dalai Lama was invited to Samdruptse castle, where he was enthroned as the temporal leader of Tibet and Gushri Khan offered him his conquests of central and eastern Tibet as a gift. For the first time in Tibetan history, a Dalai Lama, previously merely the abbot of a monastery and leader of one religious order, became the country’s leader. Soon after, the Desi took on the function of Regent, and became responsible for government affairs, while Gushri Khan, who never claimed a political position, retained his role as the new government’s defender, always ready with his army if the need arose. The Fifth Dalai Lama continued to address him as ‘king’ because he was still the king of the Mongols of Kokonor (and not because he was ‘the king of Tibet’ as has often been claimed). Thus the new state’s political structure took shape: the Dalai Lama, as head of state, was placed above the choyos, the ‘preceptor-patron’ relationship. The Desi assumed the role of preceptor and Gushri Khan that of patron, even though he was not really considered a foreigner, since he had established himself in the Tibetan region of Kokonor and placed himself entirely at the service of the Dalai Lama.

The Ganden Palace in Drepung Monastery no longer belonged to the purposes of the new state, as the monastery could not be considered Tibet’s political capital. This was equally true of Gongkar castle, Gushri Khan’s residence. So Keshog Choeple (d. 1646), one of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s spiritual masters, suggested potato hill as an ideal site for constructing a palace that could be used as the seat of government, as it was situated between the monasteries of Drepung and Sera and the city of Lhasa. Construction of the Potala palace began in 1645 and the Fifth Dalai Lama and his government moved into its eastern section, the White Palace, in 1649.

The Dalai Lama as leader of Tibet

During this time a new power, the Manchus (who spoke Tungts), emerged in the east. They had conquered China and established their capital, Beijing, at the site of Mongol (today’s Outer Mongolia). The Fifth Dalai Lama had considerable religious and political influence not only in Mongolia, whose majority had converted to the Gelug Order, but also...
in the Kokonor region. Thus he played an essential role in the maintenance of peace, which the Manchus, fearing Mongol attacks, desperately needed.

After receiving several invitations from the Manchu Emperor Shun-chih to visit Peking, the Fifth Dalai Lama finally accepted in 1654. He set out with an entourage of 5,000 men and the journey lasted nine months. Near Peking, the Manchus built the Yellow Palace specifically for the Dalai Lama to reside in during his visit, which lasted two months and was marked by two grand imperial receptions in his honour.

For having successfully completed this long and hazardous journey, he was welcomed home by all of Lhasa. In return for the Buddhist teachings he provided throughout his journey to Amdo Tibetans, Mongols, Manchus and Chinese, he was given thousands of horses, camels and precious objects.

In 1674, the Fifth Dalai Lama received the Karmapa Choying Dorje (1604-1658) at the Potala Palace, a reconciliation welcomed by both parties after the many conflicts and misunderstandings between 1612 and 1624. But he was not so lenient towards other religious orders, banishing the Jonang from Central Tibet to Amdo, and forcing some Bonpo monasteries to convert to the Gelug tradition. But the new government’s attitude was actually determined by political rather than religious considerations.

Two other incidents during the Fifth Dalai Lama’s rule provide insight into era’s court intrigues and the link between religion and politics and its effects, which are still felt today. Among the three candidates for the reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama was Dragpa Gyaltshen, recognized as the reincarnation of another important lama of Drepung Monastery. As a result, he was seen as a rival of the Fifth Dalai Lama even though he invariably proclaimed himself to be his disciple. In 1654 he died under mysterious circumstances. Afterwards, it was believed that his spirit had returned as a sort of ‘protector of the Buddhist religion’. This marked the beginning of his reign, by the Gelug Order, as a protective deity named Dorje Shugden. However, the cult has been controversial and was recently banned by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama named Dorje Shugden. However, the cult has been controversial and was recently banned by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

For despite his political achievements, the Fifth Dalai Lama was considered masterpieces by all Tibetan Buddhist orders. Thus his legacy had a profound effect on almost every aspect of the country’s culture, notably architecture, poetry, historiography, civil administration, painting and, of course, philosophy and meditation. He was remarkable as both statesman and monk, embodying the Buddhist ideal of a ‘great being’; Tibetan tradition still venerates him as Ngapa Chenpo, the ‘Great Fifth’. His strict monastic discipline concealed his great interest in tantric, magical rituals, and his affinity for mystical meditation, which provided him with visionary experiences throughout his life. These he revealed only in his writings, largely unknown during his lifetime, which show his never ceasing concern for the welfare of his people and country. The Fifth Dalai Lama continued to write until his death, in 1682, at age 63.

For further reading

Samten K. Karmay, Directeur de Recherche émérite, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, avec Nomaste Visiting Professor at Leiden University and an IIAS visiting fellow from February 15 until July 1 2005. The life of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his work on Dzogchen meditation were the subject of two of his 15 lectures while at IAS.
Kala-azar is an infectious disease caused by a protozoan parasite called Leishmania donovani, transmitted to humans by certain species of sandfly, and characterised by sometimes acute fever of long duration, enlargement of the spleen and frequently the liver, anaemia and progressive emaciation. It was first thought that carriers carried the disease to the region after the advent of British rule, the Geais in Assam described as kalar or kalar vai as British Government disease.

Medical knowledge

The disease seemed to have been brought under near control after 1910 as diagnostic, curative and preventive measures were developed and implemented. Successful treatment started with the introduction of iodine (the first effective antidote to kala-azar), which from 1915 was spread through propaganda campaigns, legal measures and medical research. The number of special kala-azar hospitals and dispensaries increased thereafter in Assam and Bengal. By the mid-1920s, more efficacious drugs were found, the most successful being urea stibamine. Treatment with these drugs reduced mortality rates and the government of Assam made treatment compulsory under the revised kala-azar regulations in 1920 under the Epidemic Diseases Act.

Public health a low priority

India’s public health services lagged abysmally behind progress made in western countries. Besides kala-azar diseases such as malaria, cholera, and tuberculosis caused havoc among India’s rural population, even in the 1940s. Many of these diseases were rampant in England and other European countries up to the mid-19th century, though the neocolonial literature has portrayed India, in particular, as a quagmire of lethal diseases and epidemics. Some recent writers have taken a more critical view, arguing that European commercial and political penetration in the 19th century and the creation of colonial infrastructure – roads, railways, plantations, and labour migration – facilitated the dissemination of diseases. Kala-azar was also associated with unsanitary conditions in the tea gardens. Planters were reluctant to spend money on sanitary improvements and Indians were blamed for their apathy and resistance to sanitary programmes.

The colonial investment in both sanitary reform and research into kala-azar made a vast difference between the tropical and temperate zones. Cholera is a case in point: it was rampant in England and in India in the second half of the 19th century. While sanitary reforms eradicated this waterborne disease in the West, nothing similar was carried out in India. Although changes were made in the 19th century, the measures made after considerable bureaucratic foot-dragging. It is difficult to ascertain how much of the revenue collected in India was spent on health and sanitation, but it was certainly not more than a fragment. It is undeniable that low priority was accorded to the health of India’s rural population.

The Medical Department, perhaps more than any other, felt the effect of financial stringency. Fund retrenchment in medical research occurred frequently and eradicated even up to the 1940s because of inadequate funding and medical infrastructure, and because of the deplorable environmental conditions in the ‘voolie’ lines of tea gardens, villages and towns in Assam, Bengal and Bihar.

Deficient measures

The public health service was only partially developed in India and consequently diseases were widespread. In Bengal, the recorded incidence of kala-azar (probably a fraction of the actual incidence) had been steady from 1942 to 1943. After 1942, responsibility for tackling the disease was left to local authorities, who had inadequate resources (Ray 1958; 71-72). Affected villages were often left to their fate and doctors, Arthur Dash, Secretary to the government of Bengal in 1957 depicts in his memoirs a dismal kala-azar dispensary in Bengal, staffed by unskilled medical practitioners. Though the disease was showing signs of regression in certain districts in West Bengal by 1944, the incidence was increasing in a number of districts in East Bengal, particularly Chittagong, Dacca, and Faridpur. From in Calcutta, part of which had been a focal point of infection in 1930-21, the disease was not only more prevalent in 1947 in that area, but had spread to other areas as well (Sengupta 1947: 281-286).

Caretive and preventive measures to control the incidence were also prevalent in Assam. There had been several kala-azar epidemics and the incidence there was higher in the 1940s than in the previous decade. Inadequate arrangement for the treatment of diseases in rural areas of Assam was reported in public health reports (1933, 1944). The number of kala-azar patients at the CSTM became so large that the staff were unable to cope.

Moreover, no effective measures of prevention based on the epidemiological basis of the disease was devised. Medical research had provided important clues pointing to the sandfly as the vector, but even after 1942 when the transmission agent was confirmed and the Director of Public Health in Assam advocated further preventive measures, means for controlling the vectors were not found. Continuous surveillance in key areas could have helped to prevent the spread. But surveillance could not be carried out because of a paucity of doctors. Nothing was done to prevent the spread of disease by attacking the transmitting agent. There were neither short-term nor long-term projects for vector control, either by spraying insecticides or by providing better sanitation, even after the War.

Improvement of sanitation in rural areas and liberal use of lime wash might have been effective in making conditions unfavourable for the sandfly. But sanitary conditions in most towns in Assam, Bengal and Bihar, as in other parts of India, remained unsatisfactory until the end of British rule. In rural areas there was no conservancy system or protected water supply. Though polulation of mosquitoes was not direct-ly connected with the prevalence of kala-azar, it is justifiable to suppose that defective conservancy left to itself has been a determining environmental factor.

In 1953 the government appointed the Health Survey and Development Committee (Bhore Committee), as part of the measures to control the spread of infectious diseases in India and take necessary measures for improvement. The report portrayed a shameful picture and décided that steps for controlling lethal diseases and improving public health.

Health policy changing following independence

Control of epidemic diseases received priority and modern medical research was increasing, both preventive and curative measures were emphasised. Based on the Bhore Committee’s recommendations, the government of India launched health programmes and action plans for the control and eradication of major communicable diseases. The National Malaria Control Programme, launched in 1955, was one of the earliest effective steps in combatting malaria. Results were achieved and subsequent advice from the World Health Organization and other countries, the government launched the massive National Malaria Eradication Programme in 1958. Matching assistance from the central government, hitherto unavailable for any other public health programme, was given to assure the states’ participation. Indoor residual spraying with DDT in appropriate rea-sons and fortnightly surveillance, fol-lowed by treatment of all detected cases, reduced the incidence of malaria from 73m in 1947 to 0.1m cases annually by 1965, and deaths due to it were almost eliminated (Swarth Hind 1956: 27). As a result of this, not only was kala-azar transmis-sion also reduced and eventually prevented even after 1953, kala-azar transmission so decreased that negligible propor-tions and death due to it reached almost nil by the mid-1960s.

References

- Achintya Kumar Dutta, Black Fever, or kala-azar, was a major health problem in northeast India under British rule from the 1850s. It affected Assam, Bengal and Bihar, both epidemiologically and endemically, and was a major cause of mortality. The disease attacked all economic classes and social groups, although it was less frequent among British and Indian troops. It led to depopulation and desertion, and affected the cultivation of tea and other crops, plantation profits and government revenue.
Urban elections in the People’s Republic

From the 1990s onward, residents’ committees were established in China’s urban areas to ensure social and political control. Until the late 1990s, these committees consisted primarily of elderly women with little education. More recently, economic reform, social change and increased mobility have altered the structure of urban residential areas – the closure of state enterprises, the end of lifelong employment and social welfare, and an increasing floating population have necessitated new organizational structures.

Thom Heuber

Old residential areas based on affiliation to state-owned economic or administrative work units (danwei) are now disintegrating. The decline of previously privileged groups (e.g. urban skilled workers), the rise of new elites (private entrepreneurs, professionals, new middle-class consumers and government officials) and a swelling population mean many neighbourhoods today are divided into areas inhabited by groups of different status – members of still existing or former danwei, members of the local political and economic elite who have purchased new flats, migrants from rural areas or other cities, and others.

With the decline of the danwei, increased unemployment, urban poverty, and the erosion of family structures and public order, traditional residents’ committees could no longer maintain order and security. Thus, at the end of the 1990s, residential areas were merged and reorganized into larger ‘neighbourhood communities’ (shequ) headed by ‘neighbourhood residents’ committees’. The population of these new communities ranges from 9,000 to 16,000.

The 1985 Organizational Law of Urban Residents’ Committees outlines these two major tasks: to support the government in preserving social stability, and to promote health and social security benefits. Currently, their responsibilities include many previously assumed by the state: birth control, welfare, job creation, improving social welfare, job creation, improving public security. Thus, at the end of the 1990s, residents knew that in Shenyang’s Tiexi district a residents’ committee had been removed by residents when it failed to resolve the problem of a polluted nearby water supply. They were aware that such a procedure could apply in their own neighbourhoods too.

In Shenyang a number of informants argued that although residents’ committees had become more important to the development of a neighbourhood than elections. This argument derives from traditional political culture in its notion that unelected officials who operate according to the ‘principle of justice’ will be more respected than elected ones who do not, and reflects long experience of paternalism. It also reflects the fact that the residents’ committee is identified with the government. As individuals can have no influence on the state, they are reduced to hoping that their leaders will be qualified persons who will act in the interest of the people – hence the vital importance of a ‘benevolent leader’ at the top.

Direct or indirect?

Current voting procedures continue former practice: the residents’ committee selects the director and the councilors, and a group of hand-picked people vote – procedures that result in low voter interest. While many residents support direct elections, they support indirect voting, believing conditions for direct elections do not yet exist. Supporters of direct elections argue they would better represent the opinions of voters. More people would understand the work of residents’ committees and thus more people would participate; direct elections would make more explicit their responsibility to voters.

Those who argued against direct elections, particularly officials, said they were too expensive. Chinese social scientists have calculated direct elections in a single shequ in Beijing would cost about 100,000 yuan in publication expenses, administration costs, remuneration and gifts for polling assistants, etc. In Chongqing alone, a city with 1.95 million shequ in 2003, this would total 175 million yuan. Neither cities nor neighbourhoods can raise such amounts. Officials also fear they will be blamed for low turnouts; they see little benefit flowing from the extra work and costs. The voters interviewed saw things rather differently, with supporters of direct elections predicting high turnouts.

Residents are unhappy with indirect elections. Moreover, indirect elections are detrimental to the prestige of elections and of residents’ committees. As residents have little influence on the selection of candidates, their interest in voting is low. Furthermore, they have the impression that the authorities are not interested in genuine voter participation. Currently, the central government plans to popularize direct elections throughout the country. But there is strong resistance among urban authorities, who fear they will lose control over voters and candidates, reinforcing conflicts between the population and local authorities.

Residents’ committee elections are a new, developing phenomenon. As they continue, voters will identify with the process and become more involved. This will increase citizens’ demand for information and participation, and candidates will find themselves conducting more substantial campaigns to be elected or re-elected. The introduction of direct elections would therefore support the development of trust and legitimacy.

The power of elections

Increasing participation is a crucial element of political modernization. Even if shequ elections are still a delegated form of voting we should not deny their participatory character. Admittedly, the party-state selects the candidates and – in the case of indirect elections – determines the composition of the electoral bodies. Even then, elected political parties (such as the right to vote), the election that follows the regulations, and the possibility of voting out poorly performing officials may be internalized and eventually lead to more autonomous patterns of participation. Furthermore, delegated elections create opportunities for electors, for example to make specific requirements of candidates or to demand an account of their work. It is therefore too simple to argue that elections are merely a way of legitimizing authoritarian structures or monitoring people, despite their ambiguous character.

In contrast to indirect elections, direct elections allow people a greater degree of participation. Elections generate support for a political regime, theories of democracy show a correlation between election turnout and regime legitimacy; fair and regular elections create a sense of trust and empowerment and therefore of legitimacy. That is why the Chinese leadership strives to learn from electoral processes: it intends to increase the state’s capacity for governance. (TH)

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This article is based on the preliminary findings of the research project Porosity, citizens and electoral intensity in urban areas of China: the case of Chongqing (supported by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung for Asian Studies, the Office of the Governor of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, the German Research Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service, the University of Düsseldorf, and the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung). This project was funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Düsseldorf). For the research project Porosity, citizens and electoral intensity in urban areas of China: the case of Chongqing (supported by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung for Asian Studies, the Office of the Governor of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, the German Research Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service, the University of Düsseldorf, and the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung). This project was funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Düsseldorf). This project examines the political awareness of urban citizens and officials in terms of participation, elections and trust.

Research
Rendering history through the Sinhala novel

Sinhala scholarship was traditionally rooted in the Buddhist clerical establishment, and the vast majority of ancient and mediæval literary works were of a religious nature. Except for a few political treatises, there were virtually no distinguished works of secular interest. From the late 19th century, however, a multitude of secular literary (prose) works began to appear; the close link between modern history and the evolution of the Sinhala novel can be traced back about seven decades.

According to K.M. De Silva, "in the first decade of the twentieth century there was a perceptible quickening in the pace of political activity in the island after the near immobility in the four or five quarters of the nineteenth century.1" The early 1920s saw unrest among skilled workers; encouraged by influential political leaders, they demanded better working conditions and higher remuneration. Marxism entered Sri Lankan politics around 1926 through the Suriya Mal movement and gained ground in the 30s, eventually resulting in the establishment of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in 1936.

Although independence was gained through a peaceful electoral process in February 1948, the post-independence history of Sri Lanka is spattered with blood. The passing of the 'Sinhala Only' Act in parliament in 1956 heightened tensions between the Sinhalese and Tamil minorities. With the opening of the economy in the 1960s, Sinhalese felt the economy was their domain and that their knowledge of English was poor compared to Tamils who had close contact with English missionaries. Unemployment among Sinhalese youth contributed to the birth of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), which called for the liberation of the Sinhalese people from the shackles of post-colonialism and led to the youth insurrection of 1971.

Difference in political status, the rift between English and non-English speakers, and measures taken by the Sinhalese government to create a Sinhalese society, contributed to the Tamil community. Evolving through mergers and splits over 35 years and using guerrilla and terrorist attacks to achieve their ends, this group is known today as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). In the early 1990s the dormant conflict over land flared up, and the late 80s saw a period of virulent conflict over land. The LTTE’s cessation of hostilities in 2009 led to hopes of a lasting peace. However, it is argued by some that the peace will be fragile: any imbalance in one area will give it prominence over the others, thereby creating social and political unrest. From its beginnings up to the early post-independence period, the Sinhala novel depicted history mainly as the result of changes in cultural and political outlook; economic trends were given greater prominence from the 1960s. Some Sinhala novelists set their work against a historical background, some treat events historically, while others favor the symbolic representation of particular events which make up history.

History and the novel

In examining how the Sinhala novel reflects Sri Lankan history, I consider history as being disfigured from a national, cultural, political or economic life. These closely related aspects are in fragile equilibrium: any imbalance in one area will give it prominence over the others, thereby creating social and political unrest. From its beginnings up to the early post-independence period, the Sinhala novel depicted history mainly as the result of changes in cultural and political outlook; economic trends were given greater prominence from the 1960s. Some Sinhala novelists set their work against a historical background, some treat events historically, while others favor the symbolic representation of particular events which make up history.

Wusasanaththa Pawula haa Kukakannhi Pawula (The Fortunate and the Unfortunate Family, 1866) by Isaac Silva (1840-1907) can be considered the forerunner of the Sinhala novel. More than a novel, the tone is one of debate. In contrast, Silva’s contemporary Rentita Albert Costa Silva (1861-1910), known for Vimula (1893) and Adare Hanuma (Lover Letter, 1894), manipulates the imaginary to create atmosphere. Although works of fiction, these authors’ writings cannot be classified as novels since they lack many of the features of the genre.2

Although secular prose works had been appearing for some 25 years, the first writer to deal with history as a central theme was Piyadasa Sirisena (1875-1949), whose works reflect his commitment to safeguarding the values of traditional society threatened by the anglicization overtaking Sri Lankan society. His pre-independence novel Kukulathikku Preeti (Dry That Which Has been Used to) and Kusihale Galarusna (Managed to Escape at Last) represent the views of this highly nationalistic writer as well as the period’s cultural climate.

K. Jayatilaka’s Parisalkiya (The Defeated, 1969)6 depicts the political and social realities of the 1960s. These emerge in the obstacles to social advancement which confront Udeni, a young man from the village, and his gradual study of history. From its beginnings up to the early post-independence period, the Sinhala novel depicted history mainly as the result of changes in cultural and political outlook; economic trends were given greater prominence from the 1960s. Some Sinhala novelists set their work against a historical background, some treat events historically, while others favor the symbolic representation of particular events which make up history.6


With the cenotaph of the birth of the Sinhala novel falling this year, it is hoped that this paper can serve as a tribute to it, by tracing its evolution and the many ways the novel can and has been used to illustrate modern Sri Lankan history.}

Notes
6. Along with the centenary of the birth of the Sinhala novel falling this year, it is hoped that this paper can serve as a tribute to it, by tracing its evolution and the many ways the novel can and has been used to illustrate modern Sri Lankan history.
The expedition departed from the court of Majapahit, during the day of the full moon on 8 September 1359. The royal caravan drove in ox-carts, with dozens or possibly hundreds of followers on foot; together they covered over 900 kilometres in two months.

R.A. Kern’s overlooked but nearly complete map of Hayam Wuruk’s journey through East Java in 1359. We followed the royal tracks in a 900-kilometer jeep expedition in June 2005 and discovered that many of the places can still be identified.

Amrit Gomperts

In the footsteps of Hayam Wuruk

In the Old Javanese text Nagarakertagama or Desawarnana (1365), the Buddhist poet Prapanca describes King Hayam Wuruk’s journey through East Java in 1359. We followed the royal tracks in a 900-kilometer jeep expedition in June 2005 and discovered that many of the places can still be identified.

Amrit Gomperts

The reconstruction of Hayam Wuruk’s journey through East Java in AD 1359.

The reconstructed tracks of Hayam Wuruk’s journey through East Java in AD 1359.
Very little is known about the history of South Asians in East Africa, while much of what we know comes from foreign sources. This is not due to a lack of literate qualities; we know that South Asian merchants kept highly professional account books and corresponded regularly with distant markets. When the occasion demanded, they learned English, Arabic, Swahili and Portuguese to complement their knowledge of Gujarati and Kutchi. The historian could conclude that these men preferred to remain faceless – neither their family histories, nor even their community’s history, was for sale.

Pictures and paintings may reveal new knowledge and insights on South Asian lives in East Africa. Taken for specific purposes, such as weddings or the beginning of pilgrimages or tours to India, they literally present ‘faces’ and ‘real images’ of the past. At the same time, they remain constructions of the photographer, whose intentions often remain unknown. The scenes often represent photographic styles which go beyond the East-African context – as cultural constructions, they belong to international photography.

These pictures give an idea of the ‘faces’ of South Asians in East Africa at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet the exercise has limited potential, for in many cases we do not know when, why and by whom the picture was taken. Nevertheless, the history of these images gives some insight into how some South Asians in East Africa wanted to be represented, either to their families or to a wider audience.

For more information:
www.asiansinafrica.com

The original headquarters of the Karimjee Jivanjee enterprises, Zanzibar, 1924. Front row, left to right: Mohamedali A. Karimjee; Yusufali Karimjee; Mr. Boyac and Tayabali H.A. Karimjee. The picture was taken on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Boyac from Texas Company to finalise an export deal to Tanganyika with Karimjee Jivanjee and Company as sole agents. The members of the family wear formal dress, with long sleeves according to Muslim fashion. Typically, the European representative is in the middle of the photograph.

The picture of the Hindu Lohana Nanji Damodar was taken by an Indian photographer in Mombasa around 1920. In the tradition of ‘swagger portraits’, the picture bears, like European photographs of the same period, diluted traces of painted portraiture. Here Nanji Damodar is portrayed with a book in hand, suggesting a learned and intellectual background, while he may not have been a great reader at all. As in the case of the Karimjee family, dress is an important marker of identity. Here Nanji Damodar wears his black Hindu Nehru cap and white Indian dress. His shoes are too large, and may not have been his own: they are unpolished, unthinkable for a man of his standing. The photographer may have suggested he wear shoes to present a more formal character.

Three typical images of male members of the Karimjee Jivanjee family bear striking similarities. All look straight into the camera with serious, self-conscious expressions. Dressed for the occasion, they wear the Bohra turban, signifying their importance within the Bohra business community. Note that Yusufali, the family’s representative in the European market, is wearing a tie and a western business suit, testament to the adaptability of dress within the context of Bohra identity.

Asians in Africa: images, histories and portraits
The virtual second generation: negotiating ethnicity on the internet

Umrla Goei

About 45,000 Indian citizens live in Germany. They are relatively few compared to other ethnic minorities such as the Turks, fewer also than Tamils from Sri Lanka or refugees from Afghanistan. Indian migration to Germany started in the 1950s and 60s with individual young men coming as students, interns and professionals. In the late 1960s they were joined by young nurses from Kerala. From the 1970s on, entry to Germany became increasingly restricted and Indians came either as asylum seekers or illegal workers. The latest phase of Indian migrants, from 2000 onwards, is comprised mostly of IT specialists.

The early migrants from the 1950s and 60s started to found families in the 70s. Many of the nurses from Kerala married men from their own places of origin and thus a Malayali community developed in Germany. The Punjabis, who came from the 1970s on, have their Gurdwaras and places to meet, but many live in illegally insecure situations without families. Bengalis meet regularly to celebrate Durga Puja; IT specialists have their internet meeting places. But in general, Indian German families live dispersed in the country and have little everyday contact with others of the same ethnic background. From the middle of the 1990s, members of the second generation began to search for and create their own spaces, organising parties and experimenting with the internet.

In the summer of 2000, Germany began discussing Chancellor Schröder’s plan to give ‘Green Cards’ to foreign IT specialists. The opposition began a campaign to give Green Cards only to computers with internet access. Three young Indian Germans began exchanging emails and cartoons on the topic. The idea of an internet (network of Indians) developed, which led to the website theinder.net. Wanting to interlink with websites of other Indians in Germany, they began contacting others of the second generation. The website grew: new technical features like chat and a guestbook were included, new content was put online, the editorial team expanded and traditional print media began reporting on the project. During the India boom in Germany the interest of Germans in the website increased and today thousands of users click on theinder.net every month.

The research project The virtual second generation analyses and focuses on questions of ethnicity, community and online-offline interaction. I interviewed the editors, users and non-users of theinder.net as well as other founders of ‘Indian’ projects in Germany to gain insight into the relevance of this internet portal.

Marginalised groups online

The internet seems to be the right tool at the right time for second generation Indian Germans. Since the second half of the 1990s, the second generation no longer wanting to follow their parents, but wanting to do something on their own, has been growing. Own spaces are sought and created; the internet appeals especially to young males. theinder.net develops where there is a general search for own spaces and the majority of the second generation has internet access.

The internet is a particularly suitable media for marginalised groups, requiring only access to computers with internet connections and basic computing skills. It works almost independently of offline hierarchies and dominant discourses, and can link dispersed members of marginalized groups. For some, like homosexuals, the anonymity of the internet is an important factor; for others, like ethnic minorities, it is the possibility for fast and cheap transnational communication. For dispersed Indians in Germany it seems to be the only space where many can meet regularly.

Marginalised groups can use the internet to create their own spaces on their own terms – spaces where they can meet others like themselves, where they can discuss and negotiate their ‘we-ness’. They define and negotiate the rules, discourses and contents among themselves, and thus also their representation to a larger public. Theoretically, the public is more restricted, as with the mass of information online, it needs good links and advertising to make the space known to a wider public.

These are also the self-defined aims of theinder.net: communication and information. The editors want to provide a space where the community can interact and where those interested in India can get information. The form and content are shaped by them, not by their parents or host society. This independence is important for the editors and users. Most of them stress the importance of meeting others like themselves, as there are so few Indians in Germany, this is something that hardly happens offline. theinder.net is thus one of the few spaces which is their own, where they do not have to explain themselves, where they can just ‘be’.

At first glance theinder.net appears to be a transactional website. It offers not just a German, but also an English and a Hindi version. There are special offers for IT Indians coming to Germany. The mixture of English and German in the name theinder.net makes Germans think it is also designed for an English-speaking audience. On a closer look, however, theinder.net is very German, or rather, German-speaking. The English version has little content, the Hindi almost none. The language used in the interactive elements is German. Sometimes Indian languages – or in some cases Swiss German – are used, but never for long, as one or another user will complain that she does not understand theinder.net is a transnational local website, a German-speaking portal for ‘Indians’ and images of India in the German-speaking world.

This localisation is not only evident in the language, but also in the content. theinder.net is not a detached virtual space, but closely linked to the physical space of Germany, the reason for its relevance. A major feature of the portal is the announcement of events, especially parties, and later the reporting on them, with pictures. The virtual space makes it possible for the dispersed second generation to get information on what happens offline and thus makes meetings in physical space possible. Furthermore, the interactive elements are used to get to know other second generation members, to flirt and to eventually meet offline.

A virtual community?

To talk of a virtual community nonetheless does not seem adequate. Although there is a feeling of community for many individuals, community offline is hardly established. Each part of the internet portal has its own life, and its users do not meet as theinder.net community offline. Shared boundaries and symbols are lacking; theinder.net caters to the longing for community without being one – it provides a space to meet and network, from where further activities can take place, which might create communities.

In contrast to the ethnic societies of the parents, theinder.net is pan-Indian. Regional conflicts, especially between South and North Indians, occasionally occur in the interactive areas. But as long as the common language is German, there is a sense of Indianess bridging language, regional and religious differences. Many of the second generation consider it a special success to overcome the regional divisions lived by their parents and in India itself.

But theinder.net is not only inclusive; it also marginalizes. Although some Muslims and Pakistanis use the portal and some are even on the editorial team, the dominant Indian patriotism fostered on theinder.net develops around Hinduism and Hindi. Hindu nationalistic rhetoric appears in many places; most do not care, and others are put off. Similarly, homosexuals have the impression that theinder.net is homophobic. In both cases, this is due less to particular articles that are clearly marginalizing – the editorial team prevents this – but rather, through the atmosphere created in the interactive discussions, the selection of articles and images. Exclusion occurs by what is missing rather than what is there.
Rem Koolhaas. Co-founder and partner of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and initiator of AMO, its think-tank/mirror image, Koolhaas’ projects include de Kunsthal in Rotterdam, Guggenheim Las Vegas, a Prada boutique in Soho, Casa da Musica in Porto and most spectacularly, the new CCTV headquarters in Beijing. His writings range from his Delirious New York (1978) to his massive 1,500 page S.M.L.X (1995), several projects supervised at Harvard including Great Leap Forward (2002) and Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping (2004) to his most recent volume between a book and a magazine, Content (2005). On these pages of the IIAS newsletter, itself a strange animal between an academic journal and newspaper, we explore why Koolhaas’ last book invites us to Go East; why he has a long-time fascination with the Asian city; why the Metabolists have always intrigued him; why OMA has developed an interest in preserving ancient Beijing; and, perhaps most importantly, why he thinks architecture is so closely connected to ideology.

SKYSCRAPERS AND SLEDGHEAMMERS

The 10th IIAS annual lecture was delivered in Amsterdam on 17 November by world-famous Dutch architect and Harvard professor Rem Koolhaas. Co-founder and partner of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and initiator of AMO, its think-tank/mirror image, Koolhaas’ projects include de Kunsthal in Rotterdam, Guggenheim Las Vegas, a Prada boutique in Soho, Casa da Musica in Porto and most spectacularly, the new CCTV headquarters in Beijing. His writings range from his Delirious New York (1978) to his massive 1,500 page S.M.L.X (1995), several projects supervised at Harvard including Great Leap Forward (2002) and Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping (2004) to his most recent volume between a book and a magazine, Content (2005). On these pages of the IIAS newsletter, itself a strange animal between an academic journal and newspaper, we explore why Koolhaas’ last book invites us to Go East; why he has a long-time fascination with the Asian city; why the Metabolists have always intrigued him; why OMA has developed an interest in preserving ancient Beijing; and, perhaps most importantly, why he thinks architecture is so closely connected to ideology.

Japan and warchitecture

Koolhaas began his talk by tracing the development of the Asian city from the 1930s to today. Analyzing macro-political structures and how they effectuated urban change, he discussed architecture under fascism, democracy, communism and the market economy, the four great ideologies that have dominated East Asia for the past 75 years. What emerged over the course of his lecture was that whatever the name of the political regime, it was authoritarianism – veiled or unveiled – which was the motor of East Asia’s rise.

Through the study of strategic infrastructure, Koolhaas showed how Chinese and Japanese governments have reformed the Asian cityscape. Despite change in name and appearance, their deeper ideas of political/architectural normality remained. Japanese fascism always implied Japanese democracy. Chinese capitalism always implied Chinese communism. Differently articulated, differently performed, but similar, emblematic of that urban idealism which considers the utility of the mountain its ability to fill a hole. Two political/architectonic regimes that had big consequences for the Asian city and its architecture. Big in every sense of the word.

Japan and warchitecture

Koolhaas began his talk with memories from early childhood. At eight, his family moved to post-war Jakarta, a conglomerate of kampong, the village structure found everywhere in Indonesia. In Jakarta, the kampong appeared in its most condensed form, making the city very different and much more modern than the ones he knew from Holland. Another thing he remembered from his Indonesian years was that Indonesians regarded the Japanese, at least at the start of their rule, as their liberators.

The Japanese invaded territories in search of lebensraum. Like the Germans with their autobahns (and the Italians with their overlooking villaes in Ethiopia), the Japanese radically restructured the new lands as extensions of their own territory; architectural troops began planning new roads and railways to connect the new land and cities to the old. We can see this as a crime, but it was definitely not the first time architecture and crime proved such a fruitful combination.

Japanese fascism was the second wave of architectural modernism after the European invasion. Every extension of the Japanese empire was – at least in theory – rigorously overcoded by modern planning, offering opportunities for great architects to rise. Here Koolhaas makes the key argument of his talk: war, painfully enough, is good for architecture. Architecture has little to expect from civil society. It is under autocratic, despotic or anti-humanist rule that architecture thrives, because the architect finds a colossal canvas on which to test his principles.

This is an argument that can already be found in Koolhaas’ early writings. Delirious New York, his architectural manifest of 1978, argues that the grid, the uniform black structure of 13 avenues and 136 streets, gives the town island its unique appearance. The production of the Manhattan Grid was ‘the most courageous act of prediction in Western civilization...’ (1978:18). But it was not an act of empathy. It was an autocratic act, which – not for the first time – was good for architecture.

In his lecture Koolhaas gave another example discussed in S.M.L.X: the city center of Rotterdam, which would never have become a national and international center for architecture, had Nazi Germany not bombarded it in May 1940. We cannot but conclude that imperialist, autocratic regimes are good for architecture. They gave rise to the most daring architects and the most spectacular buildings.

To Back to Japan’s imperial ambitions. Here too we see a group of young architects benefiting from opened land. Among them, recent graduate Kenzo Tange, 1000-to-be of the Master. His Metabolist movement was the Japanese version of the fascist regime. In the postwar period, a democratic government that, as Koolhaas and his team found out, bought architectural competitions by corrupting judges. Tange was the true Machiavellian Candidate, Koolhaas claims, as shadowy politics turned this veteran of the fascist order into the face of the new democratic architecture that placed Japan on the world map. Tange, backed by his administrative creator Shimskobe and talented ghost-writers, brought the Metabolist’s their world-wide fame at the 1960 World Design Conference. Their zenith was at the 1970 World Parliament of this kind. The spatial revolution, he discussed architecture, that accompanied communist revolution. Despite rigorous and often brutal spatial reforms following the revolution, things really took off under Deng Xiaoping. ‘To get rich is glorious’, stated the paramount leader. And it showed, especially in town planning and in the ultra-fast-composition of stacks of concrete that only vaguely remind us of the city as defined in the post-industrial West.

With his students, Koolhaas studied developments in the Pearl River Delta, five cities from Hong Kong to Macau, very different in character but linked in their growth. It is estimated that these five cities today house 40 million people, and will, in less than 20 years, turn into a single urban conglomerate of 36 to 40 million inhabitants. Of nightmarish proportions, the largest in the world.

What is happening today in the Pearl River Delta, Koolhaas notes, is not very different from what happened in Masculia 65 years ago. Here, too, land is colonized, regardless of inhabitants. Nature is flattened with unusual rigor, railways and highways laid down, territory straightened to the party’s demands. The government’s ruthless optimism and ‘blackboard-urbanization’ in these Special Economic Zones of unbridled capitalist experimentation is, moreover, a continuation of Maoist tradition. The only difference is that market capitalism has today brought party officials money they previously lacked, providing the regime with the tools to radically restructure territory, in ways the hammer and sickle just weren’t capable of.

In the meeting at the Netherlands Architectural Institute, Shanghai-based architect and theorist Zheng Shiling argued that whereas Japan had succeeded in going from a new Asian modernity, the current building boom in China has not led to a new ‘Chinese’ architecture. Anne-Marie Brodheads’s study of construction for the Beijing Olympics indeed showed the participation of major architects from the West (Zaha Hadid, Zaha Hadid, among others). But no Chinese master builder is involved in any of these $500m projects. It is difficult to say why. One could argue that Chinese architects have (out of necessity) specialized in quantity rather than quality. But it may be more plausible to conclude that Chinese officials are only interested in getting China on the world map. And world recognition means the participation of world-famous architects, Zheng sadly concluded.
rem koolhaas \MIXED\ annual lecture

WELCOME TO PHOTOSHOPOLIS!

There is one thing Koolhaas tries to grasp in his writings, it is how cities of today perform a different logic than cities of the past. A logic he continuously conceptualizes in neo-logos. Koolhaas is not interested in clarifying, nor in framing history. He writes experiences, swapping us with images and signs of the unknown, the unheard of, urging us to think the social, cultural, political and architectural consequences of these new forms of life.

So what makes the Chinese contemporary cityscape? Looking at the urbanization of the Pearl River Delta, of the Three Gorges region, of the deconstructed cities of Shanghai and Beijing, Koolhaas overcomes us with questions from what he sees, hears and feels. Isn’t it strange that the city centre of Shenzen is a golf course? What of our idea that skyscrapers form urban conglomerates, when, in China, a ten-story building is as readily built in a ‘rural’ environment? And how come the government and private organizations have no qualms about the enormously expensive Wu Freeway (it hardly touches the ground) which leads to nowhere?

Koolhaas poses these questions not necessarily to answer but to conceptualize them. The building of seemingly unnecessary infrastructure and even complete towns, he captures in words like ‘POTEMKIN CORRIDORS’ or ‘POTEMKIN CITIES’. The urban landscape no longer grows in harmonic concentric layers, separated by time, united by space, but consists of atomic fragments pressed into one another like felt, ‘the generic city’. Only gravity makes it stick, an urban form that lacks urbanity, that negates traditional differences between city and countryside, that thickens the body of the earth with a plaque of urbainity and more and more organized by time, less and less by space. And what about Zhuhai, a non-city without public spaces or people, that exists on the horizon but evaporates as soon as you near it? Isn’t this merely an Announcement of the City?

In his lecture, Koolhaas stressed the sheer speed by which Chinese cities erupt. Shenzhen, not yet a teenager, already claims several million inhabitants. Everywhere in China, building occurs at great speed, often the product of a simple apple computer in the kitchen of the parental home. Skyscrapers are designed within weeks. Koolhaas states that the Chinese architect is the most important in the world – the way his product is conceived requires a deep and thorough understanding of the laws of architecture. Or rather, it presupposes a radical unlearning of the laws of architecture which have made it such a cumbersome and lethargic practice.

Such rapid designing cannot happen with pencil and ruler, the standard equipment of architects not long ago. One needs AUTOCAD, or better, PHOTOSHOP, the tool that combines such rapid designing cannot happen with pencil and ruler, the standard equipment of architects not long ago. One needs AUTOCAD, or better, PHOTOSHOP, the tool that combines everything possible in one frame. To cut and paste 200 meters of skyscraper in 20 days. This new way of designing has enormous consequences for the kind of city that results. For cutting and pasting does not lead to cities where different styles and forms of building achieve melodic coexistence. The city produced by PHOTOSHOP is the city of frantic coexistence. It is the true ‘City of Exacerbated Difference’.

rem closed his lecture by admitting that his bureau has begun doing things he wouldn’t have dreamt of ten years ago. A project he considers most eccentric: the preservation of cultural heritage in Beijing. Should traditional hutongs, square court-yards enclosed by houses now giving way to modern high rises, be protected for future generations?

The problem with preservation, Koolhaas argues, is that it leads primarily to gentrification, best intentions notwithstanding. It is unlikely that people who lived there will still live there. Preservation is most often thought of in terms of authenticity, the restoration of buildings. But what forms a particular site? Showing a picture of daily life in a Beijing hutong, Koolhaas argued that what should be kept was its atmosphere, for it is here that these miniature social units differ most from their modern high-rise counterparts. This way, preservation is not only about stones or buildings, but keeping what cannot survive in modern environments: the life articulated between the buildings and its inhabitants. Nor does it limit the architect to preserving buildings, or forbid new constructions. But it may also ask the architect not to take action... something which comes unnaturally to him, Koolhaas admitted.

In S.M.L.XE, Koolhaas explains ultimate architecture, what mobilizes architecture’s full intelligence. He conceptualizes it as ‘BIGNESS’. It began about a century ago, paralleling other modernist revolutions in the arts, a time when creative spirits like Picasso, Marinetti and Joyce radicalized their fields, united by a quest for what their particular artform or medium of expression was all about. Picasso experimented with painting as a two-dimensional play of colours and lines; Joyce worked the margins of literature by messing with language, signs and print; Marinetti, frontman of the Italian Futurists, revolutionized art by introducing speed and volatility into presumably static forms.

With Mies van der Rohe, Gropius and Lloyd Wright, architecture began a productive period of experimentation, a search that Koolhaas summarizes under five themes: a search for multiplicty, for elevation, for the facade, for a dissimulation of the urban tissue and most important, for a new ethics, beyond good and evil, beyond the imaginable. These themes give rise to Bigness. A true Nietzschean search for inhuman quantity: because architecture in the end can only achieve its goal by becoming ultrabig and fiercely inhuman. Can CCTV architecture therefore be bad, as Xing Ruan asked Rem after his lecture? No it cannot. It can never be. Architecture works with crime, with despotic regimes, because this is the way to its goal: to achieve bigness. CCTV is no doubt the biggest building Rem Koolhaas has made. It performs the ultimate REMOLOGY.

rem koolhaas \MIXED\ annual lecture

DOWNFALL OF THE SKYSCRAPER

The history of the skyscraper is of eastward travel. Starting in the 1920s in New York and Chicago, it arrived in Europe and Africa after the Second World War and then on to China. In the meantime its functions and meanings changed. The skyscraper has always been a capitalist tool, but there is no single way for capitalism to use it. Differences are easy to find. New York’s Seagram Building is a capitalist machine made of steel and glass, because the building integrates spaces and times, within and without. How different are these complex early 20th century constructions from the high-rises now merely collecting bureaucrats and businesses in Pudong, the new Shanghai? One dimensional compositions, created merely to impress the Great Wall of Pudong, the Oriental Pearl TV Tower. A building that hardly has an inside, a sign of potentiality, only to be admired from the other side of the Huangpu River, the new Bund/the old City. The skyscraper is the emblem of the market economy, of ultra-democracy, of Viagra-potency. Koolhaas claims he could realize his CCTV non-skyscraper only in Beijing, in the still Communist heart of increasingly capitalist China. CCTV is a statement against the banality of the skyscraper, an exploration of the space of communism for architecture today. And thus Koolhaas, in Content, invites us to KILL THE SKYSCRAPER!

Koolhaas’s new CCTV headquarters is 230 meters high and has a floor area of 160,000 square meters. Its novelty lies in its incorporation of every aspect of TV-making (administration, news, broadcasting, studios and program production) in a sequence of interconnected activities. The building is a monolith, a block with continuous loops of horizontal and vertical sections, an urban site rather than a finger pointing to the sky. The irregular grid on the building’s facades is an expression of the forces traveling throughout its structure, western and Chinese and neither.
Kakawin are usually inspired by the great Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata and focus on romantic love, poet­ic love-making, idealized marital relationships and heroic bat­tles. Kakawin were written in Java, and after the fall of the Hindu empire of Majapahit in the 15th century, in Bali. Most manuscripts containing kakawin texts were copied and com­posed in Bali, where the practice has continued to the present day. Gems from the Javanese period include the kakawin Ramayana, Bharatayuddha, Samaranustaka, Smanasudhana and the popular Arjuna­wata. The Balinese period includes the Parthayana (edited by Helen Creese), Subandnumuha and many more.

Kakawin are, or used to be, transmitted on palm leaf manu­scripts in Old Javanese script. Nowadays they are also pub­lished on paper, sometimes with a Balinese translation. A (small) number of them have been edited by scholars in Dutch, Indonesian or English. Helen Creese is the most knowledgeable and is publishing a book on the subject today.

Women of the Kakawin World leaves the battles and concen­trates on aspects of love, courtship, marriage, and their intri­cacies. The role of women – as exemplary daughters, wives and widows – are explored in great detail through Javanese and Balinese kakawin. Their role in the Indic courts was restricted, but by no means insignificant – mostly noble women lived sequestered from the outside world in the inner courts of the palaces, closely guarded by their male relatives and female attendants. The role they played in courtship, mar­riage, love-making and death is described in relation to the men they court, marry and follow in death.

Despite its title, my sense is that the book is not so much about women and female sexuality as it is about gender relations as seen by women. The book presents these female roles by fol­lowing lives from birth to death. The author has also linked the kakawin world to remaining temple relics in Java and to Balinese illustrations of Old Javanese literature, evoking a con­tinuum between the literary world and the world as it might have existed, describing the world depicted in kakawin in such detail as to enable us to form an idea of the world outside the confines of the literary tradition.

The book is peppered with quotations from 15 kakawin from the Javanese period and 14 from the Balinese period. The English translations provide the reader a unique opportu­nity to appreciate the beauty of the poems; it is to the great credit of the author that she has translated the Sanskrit-like titles into English to make the poems and her book as acces­sible as possible. Helen Creese has done an admirable job and has succeeded in opening up the hidden kakawin world for a public much wider than ever before. The book is there­fore a must for anyone seriously exploring Asian literature in its widest sense.

Dick van der Meij
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The study takes place at a key juncture in Japanese welfare history. Ideas about welfare and responsibility for older care are being renegotiated, while the actual practice of welfare provision is radically changing following the introduction in 2000 of the new Long Term Care Insurance system (LTCI). With it, institutionalisation and formal old-age care, traditionally considered acts of government benevolence, are redefined as the right of every elderly person. This redefinition is not taking place smoothly or uniformly. One of the great contributions of the right of every elderly person’s care and indulgence, is central to intergenerational<br>Engagement theory, are outdated; even in the topical area of elderly women themselves, is considered unacceptably
The book’s strengths lie in the detailed descriptions of life in the home, and the perspectives on Japanese society that are opened up through the actions and statements of people associated with the home. In reading about one elderly resident’s earlier neglect of his family when he was successful, or another’s involuntary confinement to a mental institution by his mother when he was young, we are reminded that even in the past Japanese family solidarity could not be taken for granted. And lest we rush to the conclusion that whole-sale institutionalisation of elderly people is likely in the near future, consider the following statistic and anecdote. In 1955, less than 2% of people aged over 65 in Japan resided in some kind of old-age institution. (This fact actually renders the book’s title misleading). One young trainee caregiver, impressed with the quality of food in the home, took some for her grand-mother to taste, but she flatly refused. The trainee apologised: ‘to her, the food in a home for elderly is dirty. There is still prejudice towards institutions’ (p. 146).
This prejudice is doubtless waning, partly due to the introduced of the entitlement-based care insurance system. In one of the best chapters of the book, Wu reports on attitudes to the new law before its implementation and assesses its implications soon after its introduction. The picture that emerges is far from rosy. Cuts in government fees and the exclusion of ‘non-essentials’ have led to the home's renowned dietary section being threatened, and resources for maintaining the autonomy and well-being of more independent residents. In a market-based environment, aspects which contributed most to residents’ quality of life (leisure activities, excellent food, an emphasis on Japanese traditions) ‘a loving heart’ among the criteria by which employees were hired are sadly no longer assets.
We has succeeded in portraying both institutional old-age care, and the ambivalences surrounding the question of how best to manage care for frail elderly people, in such a way that the reader does not – and can’t – become alien to his or her mind made up. The author’s perceptive description of the institution and its elderly and non-elderly members avoids judgment and thereby does justice to the sensitivity and complexity of intimate care at the end of a person’s life.

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Caring for Japan’s elderly


Individual US$ 120, Institution US$ 450

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The elderly in the study experience the tension between the ideal of co-residential family-based care and the reality of their lives, often characterised by a lack of family or family conflict, economic vulnerability or severe care needs. Consid-ering they belong to cohorts in which institutional care was associated with earlier neglect of the stigma of char-acter, their capacity for adaptation and positive reinterpretation of their situations is remarkable. One elderly woman, for example, felt her tensions ease when she created in her son’s marital household and then found the non-normative solution of living with a married daughter embarrassing and constraining. Despite expressing disap-pointment, even humiliation, at not receiving the custom-ary care she feels she earned by serving her parents, hus-band and children, this woman actively sought admission to the residential home and thrives on its leisure activities and services.
Optimism among many older residents is not easily recon-ciled with the pity with which some staff and visitors view them. Their negative views are epitomised by the head matron, who tells the author: ‘Look at the residents ... aren’t most of them unfortunate people? ... I think many elderly here will pass away in misery. This is their fate’ (p. 162-3). Most mid-dle-aged care staff and visitors have ambivalent feelings about institutional care, claiming to prefer it for themselves over ‘becoming a burden’ on children, yet eschewing institutional solutions for their own parents. It is only the youngest cohorts – young care staff and students on placements – who seem to have embraced the view of welfare as entitlement. Wu shows that normative consensus exists most readily where severely frail or impaired elderly people are concerned. Residents, staff and visitors agree that the quality of care the home can offer such patients far surpasses what families could provide, while the burden of such care on family caregivers, many of whom are elderly women themselves, is considered unacceptable high.
The book’s drawbacks lie in its weak theoretical underpinnings and discussion. Its focus on the discourse dealt with, like dis-Engagement theory, are outdated; even in the topical area of quality of life, more recent works are not considered. In the empirical chapters, links to theory are brief and closely confined to footnotes. The discussion of the empirical material remains too close to the case studies which form its core; greater abstraction and critical commentary by the author would have been desirable.
That said, Wu’s analysis of Japanese cultural constructs sur-rounding family relationships and their applicability to institu-tional care is fascinating. For example, the notion of amae, which refers to a person’s ability to presume upon another person’s care and indulgence, is central to intergenerational family relations and has been invoked to explain Japanese eld-erly people’s care towards institutions’ (p. 146).

The Wardrobe

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Recently, an increasing number of books have dealt with museum-related issues and with material culture. From the perspective of many working in the intersection of these areas, however, the number of books on material culture in museums is still relatively small—despite Kerlogue’s suggestion to the contrary in her introduction. True, there are now classic volumes (such as Karp and Lavine 1991), together with works on museums and material culture in terms of cultural property or colonialism or both (e.g. Peers and Brown 2003, Bennett 2004). A growing number of volumes also deal with collection histories and practices (e.g. Shellen 2001a and 2001b, Gosden and Knowles 2001). Yet overall, there are still relatively few works dealing with the huge and important subject of material culture in and of museums.

New books in this area are thus usually welcome, and this one is no exception. The result of a 2001 conference of the Association of Southeast Asian Studies in the UK, its regional focus also makes it of significant interest to area specialists. Kerlogue, who does not have a paper of her own in the book, applies the theoretical approaches to the lives of objects by comparing museum objects with stage actors. The objects’ ‘performance’, she argues, emerges when they are utilised in exhibitions; curators provide their ‘lines’ in the form of labels and text panels. When they are back in the museum store, they are ‘resting’, like actors between roles. We may, she suggests, question these objects’ roles, their dynamic stories the stories they tell during a ‘performance’, and how their role in a museum can be reconciled with their previous ‘roles in real life’ as opposed to ‘stage life’.

While interesting, this object/actor analogy is problematic. I am not sure, for example, that objects ‘rest’ when not on display. They may still be experienced and interacted with by museum staff and others, and their traces—material, textual, imaginary—may linger in places other than their current one. Similarly, I am not sure the museum lives of objects are less ‘real’ than their pre-museum lives: rather than being synchronously juxtaposed to reality as museum objects are less ‘real’ than their previous role in ‘real life’ as opposed to ‘stage life’.

Preservation, posterity and pusaka

The opening chapter questions the very notion of museums and what they do, and challenges the conventional view that preserving objects for posterity in museums is largely a Western idea. Christina Kreps explores the Indonesian concept of pusaka both as a ‘non-Western form of cultural heritage preservation’ and in terms of ‘how practices surround the care and treatment of pusaka constitute forms of museological behaviour’ (p.1). By problematising the idea that only in the West is there a concern for the care and preservation of cultural heritage, Kreps seeks—and it is a large extent succeeds—to both undermine arguments used to legitimise keeping others’ cultural property in Western museums and to question the ‘imposition of Western-style systems of cultural heritage management’ (p.2).

The book then considers the sociopolitical uses and histories of museum in Southeast Asia. Katherine McGregor’s case study of the colonial-era Batavia Museum’s transformation into the Indonesian National Museum draws on Anderson’s ideas about national identities (1991), and Nicole Tarlevic’s examination of the Singapore National Museum’s presentation of history largely on Foucauldian approaches. Both are well-written and useful case studies, but without new theoretical contributions to analysis of nationhood and the representation of history. Laurens Bakker, in the book’s only chapter dealing solely with representations examines the differences between representations of the island of Nias in ethnographic museums in the Netherlands and in Indonesia (including on Nias itself). Dutch museum representatives and their focus on religious belief and practice are at odds with changes in recent decades in the importance of these issues on Nias itself. Bakker uses this to discuss the problem museums face in keeping up with socio-cultural shifts within the island communities and how they represent these changes in their displays. This well-written chap-

The fabric and performance of life

The book then moves to collections and collecting. Geneviève Dugaug’s chapter is a richly detailed, though uncritical account of textile traditions on Savu and the contemporary process of documenting and collecting textiles and related materials for the Horniman Museum.

The book then considers the sociopolitical uses and histories of museums in Southeast Asia. Katherine McGregor’s case study of the colonial-era Batavia Museum’s transformation into the Indonesian National Museum draws on Anderson’s ideas about national identities (1991), and Nicole Tarlevic’s examination of the Singapore National Museum’s presentation of history largely on Foucauldian approaches. Both are well-written and useful case studies, but without new theoretical contributions to analysis of nationhood and the representation of history. Laurens Bakker, in the book’s only chapter dealing solely with representations examines the differences between representations of the island of Nias in ethnographic museums in the Netherlands and in Indonesia (including on Nias itself). Dutch museum representatives and their focus on religious belief and practice are at odds with changes in recent decades in the importance of these issues on Nias itself. Bakker uses this to discuss the problem museums face in keeping up with socio-cultural shifts within the island communities and how they represent these changes in their displays. This well-written chapter is one of the most valuable in the book, although its conclusion would have been enhanced had Bakker presented a more detailed description of how museums might begin to tackle these problems.

The closing chapter by Andy West on contemporary material culture and urbanisation in southern China asks if and how museums should reflect rapid socio-cultural change. In some ways this goes back to the relationship between collections and representations of cultures raised in previous chapters. It also returns to the wider questions on the very nature of museums, what they do, and how and why they do it.

In general, this is an ethnographically rich and thematically wide-ranging book. It is also, as with other books in this Horniman Contributions in Critical Museology and Material Culture series, nicely produced with black and white illustrations, and is a pleasure to read. The reader will not find in-depth theoretical analysis, but hopefully they will come away feeling they have gained new insight into the ethnographic content and themes raised. I regret that the book has so little on mainland Southeast Asia, and I would also have liked an index.

References


Sandra Dudley
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Bringing Indonesian media history to life


David T. Hill

The appearance within the past year of these English-language books about the Indonesian press says a lot about both the rebirth of the publishing industry in Indonesia and the burgeoning international interest in – and increasing quality of research about – that country’s media. From the same innovative English-language publisher in Jakarta, the books focus on different, but overlapping, aspects of the Indonesian press. Importantly, each offers a new and exciting approach to the writing of media history, setting them apart from previous studies.

Steele, a specialist in Media and Public Affairs at George Washington University, came to Indonesia in 1970-71 as a Fulbright professor. While teaching about American mass media at the University of Indonesia during the final assault against the New Order, she was drawn inexorably to that community of activities involved in the Indonesian media’s struggle against government constraints, an agglomeration of media workers that gravitated around the memory of Indonesia’s most prominent newsmagazine, Tempo. When Tempo was banned by the Soeharto regime in June 1995 (together with two other weeklies, Detik and Epattern) it spawned waves of protest around the country, and came to symbolise the middle-class’s broken hopes for political openness. Ex-Tempo staffers mobilised above and below ground against the New Order, and generated a substantial part of the agitation that was to bring the regime down in May 1998.

Steele’s engagement with the spirited staff of Tempo through this period led her to delve more deeply into what made them tick. She pushed back into the history of the magazine’s establishment, ranged over its various crises and bans, through to its resurrection after the eventual fall of Suharto. Returning regularly to Indonesia, spending extended periods living, researching and teaching in the capital, Steele acquired a valuable insight into the ethos and camaraderie of these media workers and the principles around which they coalesced. Wars Within opens up this circle of journalists, their motivations, their conflicts, and their commitments.

For Steele, as for a generation of Indonesians, Tempo had come to symbolise the best of Indonesian journalism; it was passionate, probing, innovative, articulate, upfront, and prepared to take the consequences. Yet Tempo was also, in some senses, politically compromised; a product of the early New Order’s regime of fear, a result of the New Order’s alliance with the anti-Sukarno student movement in eliminating the Left, the magazine enjoyed the backing of figures such as Golkar’s treasurer Eric Samola, who became Tempo’s publisher. Steele writes with great sympathy of the complexities of operating a news publication in an authoritarian political environment, in which the cultivation of close relations with power-brokers was part of a necessary balance between idealism and pragmatism.

Wars Within is more than an academic account of the rise, fall, and rise of one Indonesian newsmagazine. Based on thorough research, it is engagingly readable, with characters – both well-known and those behind the scenes – emerging from the pages with the texture of well-crafted fiction. Steele echoes the conventional unfolding of arms-length history to tell the reader of her own interactions with, and attempts to understand, the community and events she uncovered for us. The text never lapses into name-dropping. Her insights provide an entrée into the Tempo community, and, through it, a broader understanding of the cultural politics of the New Order.

State terrorism

If one can read Wars Within for all the pleasure of a tale well-told, ‘The Invisible Palace’ takes us a step further to a re-telling of history as ‘faction’. Steele’s account of Tempo is one of uplifting spirit and determination in the face of a repressive state; Tesoro’s subject matter is the gruesome underbelly of state terror. He lays bare the circumstances surrounding the murder of Indonesian journalist Faud Muhammad Syafruddin in August 1996, and the cover-up of the state’s involvement.

Syafruddin, known commonly as Udin, was a journalist with the local Jogjakarta daily paper Bima. He had stirred the ire of local political figures including the rogue (Ret) Colonel Sri Roso Sudarmon with his forthright exposure of corruption and malfeasance. After the more routine forms of verbal intimidation failed to silence him, this unsurprising small-town reporter was beaten to death one evening at the door of his modest home. Government investigations ignored evidence pointing to the involvement of political figures and instead framed a scapegoat in an attempt to deflect public criticism and close the case. Despite tireless efforts by journalists colleagueagues and press organisations to focus evidence upon more credible culprits and to press for their conviction, no one has been found guilty of the murder, nor have any officials been jailed for the miscarriage of justice which accompanied the state cover-up.

Tesoro’s goal was to examine ‘how injustice functions’. What happens when, in the wake of a crime, the authorities seek not to punish the perpetrator but to hide him and not to discover the truth but to bury it’ (p.25). Despite the separation of the Indonesian Police Service from the Armed Forces after the fall of Suharto, Tesoro’s account of the botched police investigation, including the failure to protect evidence, may be of added interest given heightened curiosity about the conduct of recent high profile arrests in Indonesia.

A Philippine-born journalist and Yale graduate, Tesoro was based in Indonesia for Ansorak from 1997 to 2000, when he resigned to write The Invisible Palace. In it, he has attempted to unravel hundreds of pages of court transcripts, legal mem-
Language and politics in Mao’s China


Manfred B. Sellner

Imagine that George Orwell’s account of an imaginary future society is actually a meticulous copy of 50 years of Chinese Communist Party control over thought and language eliminating with the Cultural Revolution. Imagine that Orwell’s ‘newspeak’ of Nineteen Eighty-Four owes its model not to Nazi Germany but to the mechanisms of linguistic engineering (the attempt to change language in order to affect attitudes and beliefs). In Orwell’s ‘newspeak’ you will then realize that Orwell’s utopia is not a novel-ist’s fantasy, but, for the most part, a hard account of the possibilities of mind and language control of a society.

It is well known and documented that the Chinese Communists were firmly committed to language reform after the Chinese Communists were firmly committed to language reform after their 1949 takeover. They initially concentrated on simplifying the traditional writing system and on a massive literacy program (about 80% of the population was largely illiterate at the time of the proclamation of the People’s Republic). Their less successful endeavours were the unification and dissemination of pinyin, or ‘common language’ (actually, the speech of Beijing), and the popularization of the phonetic transcription-system, known as jyinyin, in order to phoneticize the script and thus abolish the traditional writing system. Most forcefully propagated and enforced, however, was the successful program of linguistic engineering before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It was used as an instrument of ideological persuasion to create new, revolutionary human beings.

‘Love’

Ji begins by reviewing the possibility of guided interpretation of messages and the relationship between language and thought, as initiated and covered by the Whorfian-Hypothesis and Relevance Theory. She subsequently reviews in detail linguistic engineering before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: how information was controlled and disseminated by several government agencies from the beginning of the communist takeover in 1949, how radio, newspapers, film, school lessons and discussions with communist cadres in schools and workplaces propagated political information in a linguistic form that even illiterates could process, grasp and memorize. The author gives numerous examples of strategies that included the propagation of a personality cult (quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong), numerical formulation of various kinds (‘the Three “isms”’: collectivism, patriotism, socialism), keyword slogans (the ‘Great Leap Forward’), and even Chinese character slogans (such as the ‘eight character constitution’ to popularize agricultural policy). Its success was so great that even illiterate peasants began to use ‘ideological vocabulary’ in daily life. The vocabulary of everyday life was thus extended structurally to conform to Party policy and to show the user’s commitment to the Party and especially to chairman Mao. Thus ‘revolutionary love’ became the basis of the relationship between husband and wife, while ‘hot love’, pertaining solely to the Party and Chairman Mao, showed one’s ‘Mao worship’. At the same time, the distinction between ‘blood relatives’ and ‘party associates’ was semantically and politically eliminated, so that all Chinese became ‘quin ren’ (relatives) or ‘xiangdi’ (brothers and sisters) of one another.

The red and the black

Linguistic engineering was driven to its extreme during the Great Cultural Revolution. Ji gives convincing examples to show that Mao’s words became the stock phrases of everyday life and communication. People fought ‘quotations war’ (da yulu chang) to win arguments, while streets, shops, theatres, and even people and children (the name ‘Wenge’, for example, meaning ‘Cultural Revolution’) were (re)named to conform to Mao’s revolutionary spirit. Simultaneously, one was afraid to commit a ‘one-character-mistake’ (yi zi zhi), all of which contrasted with ‘black’ (hei), symbolizing all evil in Mao’s empire. It is not surprising that the so-called ‘Public Criticism Meetings’, in which suspected opponents of the communist regime were verbally and physically dehumanized, were also macro-structured to consist of rituals and formulæ. Ji argues that these were the agents of persuasion and control of the people that permeated all public and private life: even traditional greeting habits were changed, and characters in the new model revolutionary opera spoke in standardized scripts that revealed their class and exposed their ideological standpoint, thereby following Mao’s dictum that art should be secondary to politics. The result was a culture lacking literary imagination. Hardy’s novels were published between 1966-1972, while Mao’s works were published en masse.

When life is primarily a class struggle against the ‘black evil’, school instruction is of primary importance to its rules. The study of English survived the Cultural Revolution, probably owing to Mao’s 1956 remark that ‘it’s good to know English’. Yet, as Ji illustrates nicely, the method of instruction was completely void of any foreign cultural reference. It lacked any sense of structured curriculum, because instruction was based on themes of Mao worship and reciting stock phrases of propagandists that ignored structured grammatical foreign language instruction.

Because of the Revolution’s apparent success, it comes as a surprise that a monograph that can summarize 50 years of indoctrination by concluding: ‘The Maoist dream of a revolutionary utopia sustained by formulæ, propaganda, and directives to follow the right path remained a fantasy’ (p. 245). But as we all know, a great deal has changed with the rise of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, when the Party moved away from most of its totalitarian goals and the people followed suit at breakneck speed.

Ji’s book makes fascinating reading. She brings much new information to the attention of people interested in ‘Chinese Affairs’, to socio-linguists interested in language planning and policy, and to historians and political scientists who want to know more about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its foundations. The linguistic part of the book is written non-technically, in a clear style, and thus makes pleasant reading even for a wider audience. She includes so much background information that history and politics stifle the emphasis on linguistics, resulting in a pace that sometimes drags. Neverthe- less, it should be on the bookshelf of every non-totalitarian-oriented reader as a constant warning against the possible impact of ‘the people’s democratic dictatorship’ that is now trying to pro- tect its people by formulating new directives of censorship.

Notes

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Globalization and local development in India

Hans Schenk

The nation-states of the world open up from above and from below, write editors Landy and Chaudhuri in their introduction. The interaction of globalization and localization — i.e. 'the progressive extension to the entire planet of exchanges of all kinds' (p.7) and increasing political power at the local level — challenge the national role in economic development. The editors question how these interacting forces affect development processes at local, regional, national and global levels.

The volume contains nine case studies, each focusing on problems and developments in a specific economic sector. Beginning with the overall opening of India's economy in the 1990s, the reader moves to India's health systems (western and indigenous), electricity supply, the leather industry in Tamil Nadu, diesel engines in Maharashtra, a hydro-electric plant in Madhya Pradesh, oil-seeds, dairy in Gujrat and Haryana, and finally, to food security and fertilizers. Each case study makes for interesting reading. Lachauer's contribution on the successful adaptation of erstwhile diesel pump builders to the sophisticated demands of the multi-national car industry and Kennedy's study of the strategies of leather industry to cope with national anti-pollution measures convincingly demonstrate the interplay between forces operating at several levels influencing the fortunes of local actors. Heuze's intriguing case study deals with a large development project in the middle of nowhere, ongoing for over four decades, which I will discuss here in detail.

Heuze presents the complexity of a large-scale development project in which all possible levels from local to global are present: a public sector hydro-plant on the borders of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The author discusses the project's impact from 1960 onwards. 80,000 local peasants were the first victims of the project; they were displaced and provided with scant agricultural land and few project-related jobs. Private companies moved into the area as it developed into a new industrial region. New forms of administration — Special Area Development Authorities — replaced existing village and district councils. Economic, social and administrative changes led to a re-valuation of current hypes. The book gives insights into the often contradictory mechanisms that determine India's development. The framework, into which the case studies are squeezed, would have benefited from a historical perspective that could perhaps have led to a re-evaluation of current hypotheses.

Globalization is defined in a neutral way: the progressive extension to the entire planet of exchanges of all kinds is supposed to operate in all directions, in this case to and from India. In the case studies, however, most of the exchanges come to India (harming a few exceptions, such as the export of India's traditional medical system, and of footwear). Many of the global actors remain by and large the familiar ones from the pre-globalization era such as the World Bank, foreign NGOs and multinationals. Foreign involvement in India's economic development is stronger than it was a few decades ago. Private capital investments are now easier to make (e.g. the Japanese automobile industry) and not-sourcing by Western companies has become fashionable (the IT sector), but the pattern has not really changed: the exchanges come mainly to India, for a simple reason — to make profits. Few profitable exchanges from India to the world exist. Globalization can hardly be called a neutral process.

One wonders, therefore, whether development guided by globalization is substantially different from the worldwide development paradigm of the 1950s and 1960s: western-styled modernization. One may wonder as well whether the impact of globalization should not be described in terms of the 1970s — those of unequal economic and political power, such as centre versus periphery or dependence relations. The editors only casually mention the former, exploitative and unequal character of world economic relations (p.13), and add that exclusion is now replacing exploitation. Discussion on the inequalities of both the progressive extension of exchanges and its exploitative/exclusive impacts would have enriched the book. Are not exploitation and exclusion basic elements of international economic relations and of economic development within India?

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Lafren, Karidd. 2005 Bhainavas: iconography of the terrible form of Shiva in South India Pondichery: Institut Francais Pondichery CD ROM

Southeast Asia

Notes
Dr KATO Masae (Japan) Research fellow within the IIAS/NIOD programme ‘Socio-Genetic Marginalisation in Asia’ (SAMA). A comparative study on socio-genetic marginalisation: Japan in Asia in relation to the West as a reference group 1 April 2005 – 1 April 2008

Janne-Liik Leppanen MA (Finland) Research fellow with the IIAS/NIOD programme ‘Socio-Genetic Marginalisation in Asia’ (SAMA). Socio-genetic marginalisation and vulnerable ethnic groups in Southeast China 1 February 2005 – 1 February 2009

Rhoda Schuling, MA (the Netherlands) Research fellow with the joint NWO/Universities of Leiden & NIAS research programme ‘The Syntax of the Languages of Southeast China’ (Zhidang yanwu) 15 September 2005 - 15 September 2006


WONG Ida, MA (China) Research fellow with the joint NWO/Universities of Leiden & NIAS research programme ‘The Syntax of the Languages of Southeast China’ (Zhidang yanwu) 13 September 2004 - 13 September 2006

Dr Wu Qun (China) Affiliated fellow A survey of homonuclear and homocentric documents and references in the Van Gogh collection. A contribution to the project 'Homorrhsexism in Imperial China': key concepts. Document search by Van der Meulen. 1 April 2006 - 31 May 2006

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Major international sporting events have an extraordinary capacity to generate emotionally powerful and shared experiences. Events like the Olympic Games, the Football World Cup, and other major sporting events reveal both the appeal and elusiveness of sport. In the age of global television, the capacity of major sports events to shape and project images of the host, both domestically and globally, make them highly attractive for political and economic elites.

The pursuit of hosting major (or ‘mega’) sports events has become increasingly popular among governments, corporations, and civic ‘booster’ worldwide. They argue that major economic, developmental, political, and socio-cultural benefits will flow from them, easily justifying the costs and risks involved. Numerous studies fuel the popular belief that sport is a generator of national as well as local economic and social development. Economically it has been viewed as an industry around which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies. Socially it has been viewed as a tool for the development of urban communities and the reduction of social exclusion and crime.

Most of these studies, however, have been conducted in advance of the events on behalf of interested parties without adequate measurement of final and intermediate outputs as well as impacts. Critical post event studies point to their uneven impacts. Research shows that costs have usually been underestimated while beneficial impacts have been overestimated. Regarding social regeneration, there is an absence of systematic and robust empirical evidence on the social impacts of projects in order to improve research standards, participants at the workshop ‘Hosting Major International Sports Events: Comparing Asia and Europe’ addressed methodological, theoretical and empirical issues gained from mega-event research in specific localities and temporalities.

The papers were arranged in sessions according to the following topics: bids and successful bids; nation and economy building; assessing the costs and benefits for developed and newly industrializing economies, identity politics and political identities; evaluating the economic and sporting impact of sports events and promotional activities, and case studies of impacts and outcomes.

Harada Munehiko (Osaka University of Health and Sport Sciences) focused on the City of Osaka’s unsuccessful bid to host the 2008 summer Olympic Games. He argued that failure was due to Osaka’s minor global importance and to external factors, including the other Asian competitor, Beijing. Critics pointing to the huge costs and poor state of public finance in Japan were silenced by the powerful image of the Tokyo Olympics. Harada argued that despite lack of success, Japan’s second largest consortium area had the basis to pursue urban revitalization. Initial losses can spur cities onto later gains, even though delayed benefits for communities (in terms of ‘pay-chic income’) that arise from the bidding process are difficult to measure. John Horne (University of Edinburgh) addressed the North American experience of hosting major sports events to offer a contrasting view on the over-estimated benefits and under-estimated costs of hosting. He suggested that adopting ‘boosterism’ or ‘dyscapitalism’ were difficult to avoid in assessing impacts. Even where economic analyses demonstrate that profits can be made on the operational costs of sports mega events, much of this can be accounted for by the labour force enabled by the volunteer force enlisted to help run such events.

Nicholas Aplin (National Institute of Education, Singapore) described local sporting traditions and the influence of the past, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew as the main reasons for Singapore’s resistance to the allure of sports mega events. In some ways this was similar to the People’s Republic of China’s previous resistance to competitive sport. Yet in Singapore, the alternative choice of a sports-for-all policy failed to realize sustainable mass participation rates. Yi Jianda (Beijing Sport University) presented a roadmap to zero of sports events’ hosting in China. Data never seen before outside China provided ample evidence of China’s pursuit of the Beijing 2008 Olympics for both status and economic investment purposes. In discussion it was questioned how long the investment would last and how even if the benefits would be spread. While hosting certainly is popular with the political elite, larger parts of the Chinese people might have different ideas.

Gerd Ahlert (Institute of Economic Structures Research, Osnabruck) outlined a robust econometric forecasting model that has been applied to the Football World Cup 2006 in Germany. The calculation based on the Sport Satellite Account predicts huge pre-event investments and low direct economic impacts. But economic impacts can be made indirectly through marketing and naming branding. Sombat Karnjanakit (Chulalongkorn University) argued that Thailand has already reached a saturated level of modernity, allowing the city to host and perform credibly in multi-sport events, as demonstrated by the Asian Games in 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1938. The problem for countries such as Thailand – already established on the global tourist route – is the unpredictability of economic benefits.

Salome Muiruoti (University of Coimbra) outlined research on the European Football Championships held in Portugal in 2004. and introduced the challenge of the area’s media into the workshop’s discussions. Her paper considered the impact of the mediated event on the internal imaginary space.

Wolfram Manzenreiter (University of Vienna) discussed the winners and losers among cities in Japan that hosted half the 2002 FIFA Football World Cup. While the regional impact was overestimated in most economic dimensions and in each of the ten host regions, the social benefits received overtly positive appraisal. With the increase in size of the conurbation which the hosting occurred and its rise of importance on the national map, satisfaction with the impact of the multi-site event decreased. Most participants, Manzenreiter noted, were in favour of more transparency in the bidding process and more research to explore the possibilities of expanding social benefits deriving from the mega-event experience. Mustafa Ishak (National University of Malaysia) demonstrated that events such as the Commonwealth Games in 1998 and 2010 Grand Prix (Formula One) car racing had put Malaysia on the global sporting map. He argued that these events had helped the country to acquire modern state-of-the-art sports facilities, spurred huge infrastructure investments and fostered an enhanced sense of national pride. Hence he emphasized the importance of sport to processes of economic development in newly industrialized countries and nation building in multi-ethnic societies. Finally Francisco Muñoz Ramirez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain) identified the importance of place in determining the success or failure in hosting sport events. An illustrated guide to pre-Olympic Barcelona, Olympic Barcelona and post- Olympic developments in the city revealed the importance of partnerships – public and private, and across different sectors of public life – to create ‘transversal synergies’ and to include the whole of the community in the mega-event projects. Barcelona has benefited from continuity in strategic thinking on revitalisation and architecture as a means of urban redevelopment.

The final discussion summed up the issues presented in the papers. First, there was a need to distinguish more clearly between increasingly commercial international sport ‘mega-events’ such as the Olympics and the Football World Cup, ‘big sports events’ that generate large national audiences and media audiences abroad but are closed to competitive bidding, and other ‘major sport events’ with different scope and effect. Second, the dichotomies of post-colonialism (such as Asia–Europe) were reflected in differences in approach towards mega-events by developed and newly industrialised economies, established and emerging nations. Third, mega-events were considered of utmost importance for the projects of modernity as well as post-modernity, albeit with distinctive goals. For modernizing nations, hosting a mega-event is a clear-mark of international esteem for developmental achievements; in post-modern societies, events large and small fulfill the role of image generator. Fourthly, economic gains are less likely than social benefits, though this kind of legacy is difficult to plan and control.

While the subsequent direction of the research agenda stimulated by the workshop, participants at the workshop stressed the necessity of multi-disciplinary research and international collaboration to go beyond the limits of one’s own research perspective. Our view was that the workshop succeeded in that it enabled all to share greater awareness and recognition of the differences and similarities between the experience of hosting major international sports events by developed and developed nations, modern and post-modern cultures, and post-industrialised and newly industrialised economies.
The European Alliance for Asian Studies and the Asia-Europe Foundation welcome proposals for workshops on themes of common interest to Asia and Europe, to take place in 2006/2007.

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- www.aefs.asef.org

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**The Annual Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) on 15 February 1997.**

**ASEM COUNTRIES:**
- Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

**For more information:**
- www.asef.org
- www.aewst.org
IIAS research programmes, networks & initiatives

Programmes

Care of the aged: gender, institutional provisions and social security in India, the Netherlands and Sri Lanka

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

Coordinator: Carla Risseuw

Energy programme Asia

This programme on the geopolitics of energy focuses on Chinese, Indian, Japanese and South Korean strategies to secure oil and natural gas from the Caspian region (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and Russian). The programme is institutionally supported by IIAS and the Clingen-dael International Energy Programme (CFEP), Den Haag.

Coordinator: Mehrdad Panahi-Aminah

Indonesianisation and nationalization

From the 1930s to the early 1950s, the Indonesian economy transformed from a ‘colonial’ economy, dominated by the Dutch, to a ‘national’ economy in which indigenous business assumed control. This NIOD project explores this transformation, studying the late-colonial era as well as the Japanese occupation, the Revolution and the Sukarno period. Two issues are given special attention: Indonesianisation (increased opportunities for indigenous Indonesians in the economy) and nationalization, in particular the expropriation of Dutch corporate assets in Indonesia in 1937–58.

Coordinator: J. Thomas Blomblad

Illegal but licit: transnational flows and permissive policies in Asia

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.

Coordinator: Willem van Schendel

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: ala’ma (religious scholars) and fatwās (religious legal orders); da’wah (propagation of the faith); and education.

Coordinator: Nico Klaptein

Socio-genetic marginalization in Asia

The development and application of new biomedical and genetic technologies have important socio-political implications. This WWO/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, as well as various ethical and biomedical and agricultural practices in various Asian religious and secular cultures and across national boundaries.

Coordinator: Margaret Sleebom-Paulkner

Syntax of the languages of southern China

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

Coordinator: Rint Sybesma

Trans-Himalayan database development: China and the subcontinent (Phase II)

The project’s main goal is to combine the database of cognate words in Tibet-Burman languages, maintained by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) with language data of the George van Driem Himalayan Languages Project (Leiden University) to create a joint, online database of Tibet-Burman languages with a mirror site in Leiden. The project’s second objective is to continue documentation of endangered Tibet-Burman languages in China in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology.

Coordinator: Katia Chirkova

Networks

ABIA South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology index

The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology is a global network of scholars co-operating on 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.

Coordinator: Ellen Raven

www.abia.net

Changing labour relations in Asia

This programme aims towards a comparative and historical understanding of labour relations in different parts of Asia, including changes within national economies, links to international markets and the nature of state intervention. It focuses on five overlapping themes: the labour process, labour mobility, labour consciousness, gendered labour and labour laws and labour movements.

Coordinator: Reina Saptari

Transnational society, media, and citizenship

This multidisciplinary network studies the complex nature of contemporary cultural identities and the impact of the globalisation of information and communication technologies on the reconstruction of these identities. The programme is based in the Netherlands while the projects are carried out at numerous fieldwork sites.

Coordinator: Peter van der Veur

IIAS initiatives

Development of space technology in Asia

The space age has dramatically impacted all nations. In Asia, the ‘space-faring nations’ of India, China and Japan have successfully developed space technologies and applications. Asian nations have readily adopted these applications, including satellites for telecommunications, for gathering data on the weather, and environmental and earth resources. IIAS is launching this new research initiative and has initiated a series of workshops on the topic.

Coordinator: David Soo

Piracy and robbery on the Asian seas

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

Coordinators: Wim Stokhof and John Kleinen

For more information on IIAS research: www.iias.nl

Comparative Intellectual Histories of Early Modern Asia

IIAS Masterclass

30 May - 2 June 2006
Leiden, the Netherlands

Led by:

Sheldon Pollock (William B. Ransford Professor of Sanskrit and South Asian Studies, Columbia University, New York, USA)

Benjamin Elman (Professor of East Asian History, Princeton University, USA)

Quentin Skinner (Professor of History, Cambridge University, UK)

How to understand the logic of an intellectual order founded upon ideologies of continuity and preservation, rather than ideologies of improvement and obsolescence? A comparative intellectual history of the early modern world (1500–1800) can address this question more effectively and develop a more heuristically powerful theory than can any one scholarly tradition investigated in isolation. This masterclass will bring together experts in the field of Smology, Indolology and Middle Eastern studies to consider shared issues not only in the historiography of early modern knowledge, but also in the theoretical challenges we must confront in writing the intellectual history of the non-West, where even the terms of the theme ‘intellectual’ and ‘history’ do not go without saying. The focus will be put on three forms of knowledge: aesthetics, political thought, and moral philosophy.

Also presenting:

Michael Cook (Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, USA)

Deepti Baxi (Columbia University, New York, USA)

Deadline for registration:
15 March 2006

For more information:
www.iias.nl
Fellowships at the International Institute for Asian Studies

IIAS invites postdoctoral researchers to apply for fellowships in Leiden or Amsterdam. The institute focuses on the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia in the humanities and social sciences, and their interaction with other sciences. IIAS research covers South, Southeast and Central Asia. IIAS Fellows are offered office facilities, while the institute will mediate in gaining access to libraries, archives and other institutions in the Netherlands. Fellows may be asked to give a lecture or organise a workshop, remain in contact with European researchers, and make due reference to IIAS institutions in the Netherlands. Fellows may be asked to give a lecture or organise a workshop, remain in contact with European researchers, and make due reference to IIAS institutions in the Netherlands. Fellows may be asked to give a lecture or organise a workshop, remain in contact with European researchers, and make due reference to IIAS institutions in the Netherlands. 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Dealing with the Gods 
(De Goden Verzoeken)

Exhibition on rituals in the Hindu religion
17 December 2005 - 10 September 2006
Tropenmuseum Amsterdam

On 17 December 2005, the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam launched the exhibition Dealing with the Gods: Rituals in Hindu Religion. The display introduces visitors to the deities, traditions, fragrances and colours of Hindu religion. Following the path of wealth, wisdom or love, visitors make their way through the Hindu world. Hundreds of items are presented, ranging from domestic shrines, prints and objects to temple statues made in India especially for the exhibition. A highlight of the collection is a 1,000-year-old figure of the Hindu sun god Surya.

The central topic is contact between Hindus and their gods; many different rituals make this contact possible. Exuberant celebrations mark festivals such as Holi and Diwali, other customs relate to birth, marriage and death, while many simple practices are for everyday use. Whether it’s in the temple or at work, at home or in the car, the gods, for Hindus, are everywhere.

With India as backdrop, the imagery of Bollywood and the hundreds of objects presented in the exhibition provide a magnificently colourful and theatrical show. Rarely shown exhibits from the museum are displayed alongside remarkable loans from museums as well as private collections. A range of audiovisual material accompanies the classical Indian objects.

Visitors have a choice of three personal routes through life to experience the exhibition: the path of wisdom (linked to the god Ganesha), the path of love (linked to the goddess Lakshmi) or the path of wealth (linked to the goddess Gauri). Each path provides a key with which to start interactive presentations. This allows visitors to participate in rituals, to receive small (digital) gifts and to find extra information. Each path teaches visitors how to Deal with the Gods.

For more information and visual material:
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the Tropenmuseum
T. +31 (0)20 - 5688418
a.brolsma@kit.nl
http://home.planet.nl/~j.e.m.houben
www.jyotistoma.nl

Oral masterpieces online
New Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity Ceremony www.unesco.org/culture/intangible-heritage/103eur_uk.htm

For submission of article please contact: s

APAN aktuell
Japan aktuell is an internationally refereed academic journal published by the Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg that focuses on current developments in Japan. The bimonthly journal has a circulation of 500 copies and reaches a broad readership in academia, administration and business circles. Articles to be published should be written in German or English and submitted exclusively to this publication.

Japan aktuell is devoted to the transfer of scholarly insights to a wide audience. The topics covered should therefore not only be orientated towards specialists in Japanese affairs, but should also be of relevance to readers with a practical interest in the region. The editor welcomes contributions on contemporary Japan that are concerned with the fields of international relations, politics, economics, society, education, environment or law. Articles should be theoretically grounded, empirically sound and reflect the state of the art in contemporary Japanese studies.

All manuscripts will be peer-reviewed for acceptance. The editor responds within three months.

Research articles should not exceed 10,000 words (incl. footnotes and references). Manuscripts should be submitted to the editor in electronic form (stylesheets: www.duxi.de/ifa/stylesheet). Manuscripts must be submitted in electronic form (stylesheets: www.duxi.de/ifa/stylesheet).

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• Collective identity between Japan and the US after September 11th, 2001 (in German)
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A tale of two museums

Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past

The exhibition Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past will be on show in De Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam from 17 December 2005 until 17 April 2006. The result of co-operation between the Museum Nasional of Indonesia (MNI) in Jakarta and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in Leiden, the exhibition is drawn from the collections of both museums, often referred to as the best Indonesian collections in the world.

Piet ter Keurs

Since January 2004, staff from both museums have been co-operating in an intensive programme addressing storage facilities, registration, conservation, training programmes, research and, last but not least, the creation of a large-scale exhibition from the collections of both museums. Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past enabled the project team to combine training with practical results, providing a successful formula for further co-operation. The exhibition and catalogue – both addressing the two institutions’ collecting histories – are the most visible results thus far.

Many similarities exist between the MNI and RMV collections as they often originate from the same source. Finds from archaeological sites or ethnographic collections were often (not always) divided between the colony and the motherland. This is the central focus of the exhibition as well as of the preparatory research. The division of ethnographic collections became official policy in 1862, but collections were often separated before then. A team of curators from both museums worked for two years to compare documentation, to update information about the MNI collections from old Dutch sources, to develop the storyline, and finally, to write the articles for the catalogue.

The Museum Nasional is the successor of the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Bataavische Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) founded in 1778 by VOC officer J.C.M. Radermacher. The Dutch Society of Sciences began its activities in 1752; Radermacher proposed a branch in Batavia, which eventually became the independent Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. The Genootschap – a typical Enlightenment institution – stimulated research in the cultures and nature of the archipelago and collected archaeological and ethnographic material. During the English period in the early 19th century, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles backed the Genootschap’s activities, while Dutch authorities under King William I developed in the following decades a keen interest in the cultures and nature of the East Indies. Although there was scientific interest, politics and economics were never far removed.

Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past features some of the most spectacular Hindu-Buddhist statues collected in the early 19th century. The main display concentrates on the Singasari period (end of the 13th century), including six large Singasari statues from the Leiden collection and the Prajñaparamita from the Jakarta collection. Also included are the finds of Muteran, Combre and Puger Wetan. In all cases the artefacts were divided between Leiden and Batavia.

C.B.H. Baron von Rosenberg is a good example of an early collector of ethno-graphic material who played a major role in producing the first catalogue of the Bataviasch Genootschap’s collections. Other 19th century scientific expeditions include those by the Naturalkundige Commissie (Natural Science Committee), the Nederlandsch Aardrijks-kundig Genootschap (Dutch Geographical Society) and A.W. Nieuwenhuis’ travels through Central Borneo.

Interest in the archipelago went beyond the scientific. The last decades of the 19th century saw European imperialism at its height, and although the search for ethnographic ‘treasures’ was never used to justify military involvement, some superb collections were found in the palaces of local rulers, in particular in North Sumatra and on Bali and Lombok.

The exhibition will display examples from all three parts of the Lombok treasure.

Not all Indonesian rulers were at war with the Dutch; many tried to develop friendly relations by exchanging gifts, whose value depended on the receiver’s status. Many colonial officers brought their gifts to the Bataviaasch Genootschap, while others brought some superb objects to Holland after retirement and donated (or sold) them to the museum in Leiden.

Some Dutch developed an interest in ‘kunstnijverheid’ (applied art) as part of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. G.P. Rouveraux, who together with H.H. Jynjsboll wrote a standard work on bark, can be seen as part of this tradition. Another important figure, J.E. Jasper, was a colonial officer who organized fairs/markets (annual markets), usually in Batavia or Surabaya, where products from all over the country were sold. Jasper worked with the Javanese artist Max Piringadi to publish major volumes on Inlandse Kunstnijverheid (Local Arts and Crafts). N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt of the Protestant Mission in Central Sulawesi documented, collected and stimulated trade in decorated barkcloth from Central Sulawesi. Both the MNI and RMV collections include examples (traditional cloths) from Adriani and Kruyt with their price tags still attached.

The exhibition and catalogue also focus on collecting in East Indonesia: scientific expeditions such as the military exploration of West New Guinea (A.J. Goosen), and by missionaries (B.A.G. Vroklage, P. Middelkoop), civil servants (J.G.F. Riedel, G.W.W.C. van Hoevell) and scholars (P. Wirz). All contributed to the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap and the RMV and can be seen in the exhibition at De Nieuwe Kerk. They reveal the story of colonial collecting and of contact between Europeans and local people. They tell a story of appreciation, but also a story of image-building by means of collections. They show images Europeans had of ‘the other’ and – less explicitly – how ‘the other’ thought of Europeans. On this last issue, however, much more research is necessary to understand how local people experienced the arrival of the colonizer.

Piet ter Keurs

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

For further information on this project and upcoming exhibition please visit www.rmv.nl and www.vrouwkerk.nl. The conference Collecting cultural heritage in Indonesia: ethics, science and politics, co-organised by IAS, will be held in Amsterdam, 25-29 March 2006. Contact person: Piet ter Keurs: terkeurs@rmv.nl

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selected from over 500 entries.

France
National Museum of Asian Art - Guimet
6 Place d’Orléans
75006 Paris
T +33 1 44 51 35 35
www.museeguimet.fr

25 March - 14 May 2006

Videographies: the early decades: from EMST`s collection

The exhibition includes 80 representative sin-
gle channel video works by some of the most
important video artists, including Muna
Hatoum and Nam June Paik. It is a complete
presentation of the basic post-modern trends of
contemporary international art, which ad-
opted this technological medium from the mid-
1960s to the 1980s.

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France
National Museum of Asian Art - Guimet
6 Place d’Orléans
75006 Paris
T +33 1 44 51 35 35
www.museeguimet.fr

25 March - 14 May 2006

Videographies: the early decades: from EMST`s collection

The exhibition includes 80 representative sin-
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important video artists, including Muna
Hatoum and Nam June Paik. It is a complete
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Gao emphasizes the contemplation of the inner vision as the crux of painting.

Asian Civilisations Museum
1 Empress Place
Singapore 929800
T +65 6332 7298
www.nhm.gov.sg/M¢/about/overview.htm

Ung 9 April 2006
Nobuyoshi Araki documents social taboos surrounding sexuality and death. This exhibition encompasses contemporary Japanese society, with works from the artist's personal collection and portraits of his friends from the Edwardian era to today, including New Guinea. (See p. 35 in this Newsletter.)

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Singapore

Singapore Art Museum
71 Bras Basah Road
Singapore 138503
T +65 3377315
www.nhm.gov.sg/SAM

Ung 1 January 2006

Barbican Art Gallery
In our time, Arguable is the only way to depict the new race of human beings. Gao Xingjian's work can be understood as a metaphor for the contemporary world, where the traditional boundaries of art and politics have blurred.

Until 1 February 2006

Japan Society
533 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017
T +212 723 1015
www.japansociety.org

Until 19 February 2006

Hiroyuki Sugimoto: History of Art

Hirako's series is known for his photo series of empty movie theaters and drive-in screens, evoking the aura of the past. This exhibition juxtaposts Sugimoto's exquisite minimalist works, selected from the photographer's most recent series, with fossils, artworks and religious artifacts ranging from prehistoric to the 21st century, all drawn from his own collection. The results are an extended exploration of life, time and spirituality in the contexts of nature and history.

Norton Simon Museum of Art
411 W. Colorado Boulevard
Pasadena, California 91101
T +626 449 6480
www.nortonsimon.org

Until 27 March 2006

Delta, empowering guides, nurturing mother

This exhibition explores the incantations of the Hindu Goddess, focusing on images of Durga. Approximately 70 artworks from India, Tibet, Nepal, and Southeast Asia are featured, among them rare works on paper and carefully crafted female and male mannequins, a festival altar, and exceptional bronze and stone sculpture, many of which have been acquired by the museum. This exhibition illustrates the dual nature of the Goddess: as both a nurturing mother and a fearsome warrior.

The Textile Museum
2335 S. SW
Washington, DC 20008-4088
T +202-667 0441
www.textilemuseum.org/

Until 12 February 2006

Rizome master of Japan

This exhibition features the work of 10 contemporary Japanese artists—navigating screens, scrolls, panels and kimonos—a common medium, unified and diverse in expression. "Japanese artists have a way of creating a world of their own, a world that is both familiar and strange. This exhibition is not only a celebration of Japanese art, but also an exploration of the unique qualities of the Japanese people and their culture." (Pierre Bismuth, Curator)
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27 - 29 March 2006

Austin, United States

Home away: historical and contemporary perspectives
first biennial conference of the Gujarat Studies Association
information: m.wani@gujaratstudies.org
www.gujaratstudies.org/

24 - 25 June 2006

Beijing, China

The Surgghurg, United Kingdom

19th Suktsent conference organized by International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IAS) and Asian Studies (LIG).
The University of Edinburgh
J. L. Buckingham
P.Dunda@ed.ac.uk
http://arties.ucal.edu/san/19thWSC

August 2006

1 - 4 August 2006

Chicago, USA

Annual conference of the Association of Asian Performing Arts
information: psula@hawaii.edu
www.yavanika.org/apaponline/

3 - 4 August 2006

Singapore

Rationalizing China’s place in Asia, 1800 to 2005
conference organizer(s): Zheng Yangwen & Liu Hong
organized by Asia Research Institute
information: arizyw@nus.edu.sg & chsliuh@nus.edu.sg
contact: Layne Little
little@stlawu.edu
http://tamil.berkeley.edu/TamilConference2005/tamilweb.htm

27 - 31 March 2006

Cambridge, United States

Kavli: invention, imagination, transmission of the temples of Tamil Nadu
U.C.Berkeley Kavli Conference
organization: Rint Sybesma
rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

30 April - 1 May 2005

Bangkok, Thailand

Tourism and the new Asia: implications for research, policy and practice
conference
organized by Center for South Asia Studies and Department of South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California
contact: Michael Nijhawan
msnijhawan@gmx.de
http://ias.berkeley.edu/cseas

12 - 14 July 2006

Shanghai, China

Tourism in the new China: implications for research, policy and practice
information: w.fengery@belhotel.com

24 - 26 August 2006

Dakar, Senegal

Youth and the global South: religion, politics and making of youth in Africa, Asia and the Middle East
conference
organized by African Studies Centre (ASC), ISIAM, COSDIFRA
contact: Manon Osseweijer
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

25 - 26 August 2006

Camden, Australia

Asia-Pacific missionaries: at home and abroad second biennial ANU missionary history conference
conference organizer: Australian National University
organized by NAP
information: ian.welch@anu.edu.au

30 December 2005 - 3 January 2006

Königswinter / Bonn, Germany

14th annual ASIANetwork conference
conference
organized by IIAS
contact: Manon Osseweijer
iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
information: iats2006@uni-bonn.de

17 - 20 May 2006

London, United Kingdom

The social history of mining: 19th and 20th century
advanced seminar
organized by ESTER European graduate School in Training in Economic and Social Historical Research
contact: Klaus Tenfelde
klaus.tenfelde@ruhr-uni-bochum.de
www.rug.nl/posthumus/ESTERinternationalProgram

19 - 30 May 2006

London, United Kingdom

London, United Kingdom

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contact: Klaus Tenfelde
klaus.tenfelde@ruhr-uni-bochum.de
www.rug.nl/posthumus/ESTERinternationalProgram

27 August - 2 September 2006

Köln/Graz/Innsbruck/Bonn, Germany

15th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies
information: iatss2006@uni-bonn.de
www.iatas.uni-bonn.de

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