

zweiten verbesserten Auflage – nur eins, was ich vermisse: ein Porträt der Autorin, die dieses Lehr- und Übungsbuch mit viel Herzblut, Umsicht und einer großen Erfahrung mit deutschen Hindilernenden geschrieben hat.

Die Quintessenz? Bei einem moderaten Kaufpreis ist der Konversationskurs Hindi erschwinglich, nützlich, lehrreich – und er macht Spaß!

(Jutta Watzlawik)

**Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Hg.):
Southeast Asia Europe**

Dialogue + Cooperation 2/2007, Singapore:
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2007, EUR 0,00

The volume presents selected papers of the conference “Ten Years after the Asian Crisis: Assessing the Economic and Political Landscape in Southeast Asia” in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

The eight articles the booklet contains are clearly laid out in two sections. The first section contains articles about the economic and political situation in Southeast Asia before and after the Asian financial crisis, the second section focuses on India, as the rising ‘soft power’ of the southern world. Both parts are intersected with voices from the People's Republic of China and the Union of Myanmar.

Suthipand Chirativat's article (pp.1-24) provides an overview over the causes and consequences of the Asian financial crisis, the bitter medicine international institutions, e.g. IMF, administered the ailing patients and the lessons learnt over the last decade.

For him the breeding ground for the financial crisis were the structural weakness of local financial institutions, excessive risk taking without adequate risk management, massive short-term and foreign currency borrowing. The crisis surfaced, when in the 1990s the US-economy recovered and the exports of Southeast Asian states became

more expensive. The unannounced devaluation of the Chinese *renminbi* tipped the scale to a free fall into recession. The austerity programs IMF and World Bank Group imposed on those countries consisted of a billion USDollar rescue package and the demand to overhaul the financial system of the respective country. The economic lessons learnt are: it is crucial for Asian markets to develop a sound financial system that will buffer future crisis, to establish an Asian bond market and to strengthen intra-Asian cooperation. Yet the question why neither of the two major international organizations, World Bank Group or IMF, nor any other financial or non-governmental organization issued a stern warning beforehand.

Prior to the Asian Financial Crisis, the so-called Asian values and their working miracles on the economic performance of any economy, when applied properly, were on everyone's lips. Julio C. Teehankee examines in his paper (pp. 25-41) what is left of the Asian values. He scans the post-crisis political development of five Southeast Asian countries, namely Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, in the context of the “development versus democracy debate”. In post-crisis Southeast Asia ‘good governance’ emerged as the silver bullet against corruption and associated vices and the mantra of donor organisations. The ‘good governance’ political concept and the affiliated harsh economic measures, caused a surge of populism in the region. Presently, the ‘Asian value’ discourse resurfaced again and Japan and South Korea, not the Western democracies, are the template of the region's political leaders: a disciplined developmental state, in other words: Asian collectivism contra Western individualism.

Pang Zhongying (pp.41-46) contributed his personal view of People's Republic of China's (PRC) foreign policy to this volume. He insists that PR China engages in an ‘economic diplomacy’ free of any ideological ulterior motives and a custodian of and

maintainer of the international order. With her Asian neighbours, PR China enjoys now the fruits of 'common development' and with the African countries she adheres to the rules of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs. According to Pang, PR China sees the world divided into a grid of regions and fully committed to interact peacefully with these regions.

The second section focuses on India and her neighbours and the Sino-Indian cooperation.

Ummu Salma Bava (pp.47-56) explores how India is redefining her position as a global and regional actor in post-Cold War Asia. India engages in four sets of relationships: the immediate region of South Asia, the three major powers (USA, EU and Russia), Southeast Asia, Western Asia and Central Asia and at the outmost destination Latin America and Africa. Freed from the ideological and structural limitations of the Cold war, India is building strategic and economic alliances at all levels. The key to enhance India's status as a global 'soft power' alternative to PR China is to ensure the stability within the region. India's version of the 'Look East policy', her stunning successes in the field of high technology and her legacy as a democracy, was awarded with the respect of the regional and global leaders. Three factors impede India's rise to an acknowledged global power: the lack of a cohesive security concept, the lack of a dynamic neighbourhood and an outdated overly rigid bureaucracy.

Tan See Seng (pp.57-69) analyses how Southeast Asian countries react to PR China's rise to an economic and military power. The major fault lines are between continental and maritime Southeast Asia. While continental Southeast Asia exists in the immediate shadow of PR China and forged the closest economic links with their giant neighbour, they try to find shelter under a multilateral security umbrella. In contrast, maritime Southeast Asia prefer an equidistance to PR China and the USA, economically and security wise.

Hank Lim's article (pp.69-83) explores how India is perceived by her Southeast Asian neighbours. India as the acknowledged voice of the South and a useful counterbalance to PR China's geographical dominance. Her economic success symbolizes an alternative recipe of success to Japan's highly disciplined approach. The trading volume between the two is still very low due to high Indian trade barriers.

The Union of Myanmar is the problem child of ASEAN and India. Tin Maung Than provides an overview over the last fifty years of foreign relation between PR China, India and Myanmar. The Sino-Myanmar relations experienced many ups and downs. They experienced a new boost after 1989, when consulates were established in Mandalay and Kunming. Myanmar's natural riches enticed the Chinese leadership to court her south-western neighbour. India's past relationship with Myanmar was marked by even more downs than ups than PR China's. In the mid-1990's, India took a pragmatic stance toward Myanmar and engaged the Union in talks about trade and border issues. A peaceful and stable border with Myanmar is also of vital importance to India for the economic development of her north-eastern provinces.

The contributions of the present volume provide a detailed insight over the events of the last decade in Asia in general and in Southeast Asia especially. Except for the last article, which is not readable, only renown scholars from Southeast Asia, India and PR China have contributed to this volume, obviously to stress the regional character of the booklet. Unfortunately, all of the contributors use only English secondary sources to unfold their discussion. This gives the reader the feeling that she/he has already heard many of the arguments. The title of the booklet 'Southeast Asia - Europe' is also misleading, because none of the papers even touches upon the topic of the European-Southeast Asian relationship. There more inconsistencies, e.g. Suthipand Chirathivat leaves one of the major questions, why the

international institutions did not foresee the looming crisis, unanswered. An answer could have been: "Who would have listened to them?". The Asian miracle existed only in the imagination of European and American minds. Julio C. Teehankee leads the reader through a maze of socio-political terms, he did not bother to define beforehand, neither within the western, nor the Asian context. Pang's new interpretation of PR China's foreign policy objectives is amazing. The events of the last three months proved him wrong.

The volume is edited in a very negligent way. Quotations, paragraphs, are higgledy-piggledy arranged and the last article is not readable, since two pages are missing (blank pages). At least in this case, Friedrich Ebert Foundation should title their publication, casual and occasional papers.

(Eva I. Goldschmidt)

Genia Findeisen: Frauen in Indonesien – Geschlechtergerechtigkeit durch Demokratisierung? Eine Analyse des Demokratisierungsprozesses aus Frauenperspektive

Wettenberg: Johannes Herrmann J&J-Verlag, 2008, 434 S., EUR 24,00

Die Transformation autoritärer politischer Systeme in pluralistische Demokratien, über die Grenzen Osteuropas hinaus, wurde ab den 1990er Jahren zu einem der zentralen Themen in der Politikwissenschaft. Doch selten vereinen Beiträge der Transitionsforschung Ansätze feministischer Demokratietheorien mit ihrem Forschungsgegenstand. Noch seltener kommen auf Asien bezogene Untersuchungen, die sich mit Systemumbrüchen befassen damit in Berührung.

Wer darüber hinaus, nach umfassenden wissenschaftlichen Darstellungen und Analysen des Demokratisierungsprozesses in Indonesien und dessen Effekte auf Frauen sucht, wird rasch feststellen, dass der dies-

bezügliche Korpus an Literatur recht übersichtlich ist.

Genia Findeisen, an der Universität Hamburg ausgebildete Politologin und Indonesistin, legt eine ambitionierte Studie vor, die beide Lücken zu schließen sucht.

Sie stellt die grundlegende Frage: Haben die durch den Demokratisierungsprozess erweiterten zivilgesellschaftlichen Handlungsspielräume eine Neuordnung der Geschlechterverhältnisse und damit eine Verbesserung der politischen Position von Frauen in Indonesien gezeitigt?

Der Versuch einer Fragestellung dieser Größenordnung beizukommen scheint einem enormen Kraftakt gleichzukommen: Seit Ablösung der autoritär-zentralistischen *Neuen Ordnung* durchlebt Indonesien gigantische Umwälzungen; die Gesellschaft ist gleich in mehrerer Hinsicht hochgradig diversifiziert und die innenpolitischen Konfliktlinien sind mannigfaltig.

Doch von der Überlegung geleitet, dass eine demokratische Ordnung erst dann als verwirklicht gelten kann, wenn alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger gleichermaßen von ihr profitieren können und anerkannte Menschenrechtskonventionen umgesetzt werden, stellt sich die Autorin dieser Herausforderung.

Was dabei herauskommt ist eine detailgenaue Studie, die nicht nur theoretische, historische und internationale Zusammenhänge herausarbeitet, sondern diese auch mit einer Fülle an zusammengetragenen Fakten zu einer plausiblen Analyse verbindet.

Die allem vorangestellte, an demokratiethoretischen Debatten orientierte Erörterung bildet die Klammer für eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit den normativen Aspekten der Geschlechtergerechtigkeit. Denn wie, so fragt die Autorin, kann an der universellen Gleichheit als Norm festgehalten werden? Wie kann ein gerechtes Verhältnis zwischen den Geschlechtern hergestellt werden und wer legt die Kriterien für die Gleichbehandlung fest? Und zwar ohne dass Geschlechterunterschiede ausgeblendet, oder die Inte-