

Reviews

HEINZ BECHERT, *Eine regionale hochsprachliche Tradition in Südasiens: Sanskrit-Literatur bei den buddhistischen Singhalesen*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Bd. 718; Veröffentlichungen zu den Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens, Heft 37). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005. 173 pages, € 29.90. ISBN 3-7001-3361-8.

The outstanding German indologist Heinz Bechert (*26.06.1932, †4.06.2005) published his *Habilitationsschrift* (which had already been accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz in 1963) only in the year of his death, 2005. This last of his many published books contains the sum of his life-long research on Sanskrit literature as cultivated and preserved on the island of Sri Lanka among the Sinhalese and their Buddhist culture. Only short passages of this book deal with Sanskrit literature that was actually written in Ceylon by Sinhalese authors. It is predominantly concerned with texts originating from the Indian Sanskrit tradition and handed down and studied by Sinhalese Buddhists (the Sanskrit literature of the Sri Lankan Tamils being excluded).

It is not easy to find an appropriate English translation for the main title of the book under review. *Hochsprache* usually means a standard language, as opposed to colloquial idioms, dialects or sociolects. The standard language of the Sinhalese however is literary Sinhala which considerably differs in many respects from colloquial Sinhala. What Bechert seems to have meant by *Hochsprache* ('high-level language') is rather an ancient cultivated language used for literary and scientific purposes. As Bechert points out in his book, the standard cultural languages used by the Sinhalese are either literary Sinhala (also called Elu in its more ancient variant), or, of course, Pāli. It is proof of the cultural supremacy of these two languages (Sinhala and Pāli) on the island of Ceylon that, despite the strong pressure exerted by the overpowering Indian Sanskrit tradition, Sanskrit as a medium of literature found only small niches in the literary landscape of the Sinhalese culture where it was able to hold its own against the indigenous Sinhala and Pāli traditions. On the other hand, similar to Latin and Greek in European contexts, Sanskrit vocabulary has always been and still is used as an inexhaustible source of loanwords and neo-sanskritisms in literary as well as colloquial Sinhala.

As Bechert points out in his introduction, Sanskrit literature as a whole falls into a number of regional Sanskrit literatures. Each of these regional Sanskrit literatures can be defined, according to Bechert, only by its individual script.

Thus the Sinhala Sanskrit tradition, in Bechert's definition, consists of those Sanskrit texts written in the Sinhala script. Accordingly, for example, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta (as well as any other Indian Sanskrit text) becomes part of the Sinhala Sanskrit tradition as soon as it is copied in Sinhala *aksharas*.

This approach opens vast fields of the Sanskrit literary landscape. Being no longer restricted to Sanskrit texts created by Sinhalese authors, Bechert even includes, and painstakingly identifies, quotations from otherwise well-known Indian Sanskrit texts that can be found in Sinhala and Pāli texts as preserved in manuscripts and printed editions. Starting his survey with Buddhist Sanskrit literature (although 'no canonical or semi-canonical Buddhist text in Sanskrit has found its way permanently into the Sanskrit literature of the Sinhalese', p. 52), Bechert then treats the literature connected with the cults of Sinhala deities (like Upulvan, Kataragama, Saman, and Pattini). He demonstrates how, typically, hymns (*stotras*) excerpted from the Viṣṇu-, Padma-, or Skanda-Purāṇa, originally composed in praise of Hindu gods, have been adopted and transformed into glorifications of folk deities of the Sinhala sub-stratum (p. 98).

Bechert makes it clear that Sanskrit was only exceptionally used as the classical medium for religious texts, Buddhist or Hindu. Buddhist texts were usually translated into Pāli which thus largely replaced the use of Sanskrit on the island; Hindu texts (like the Vedas or the Bhagavadgītā) which were of course not compatible with Sinhala Buddhist doctrines were largely ignored or deliberately excluded from the Sinhala Sanskrit tradition. Consequently Sanskrit became the medium of secular literature: gnomic sayings, didactic treatises, texts on politics, jurisdiction, the social structure, history; philological disciplines like grammar, metrics, lexicography; medicine and pharmaceuticals; mathematics, astrology with its preparatory astronomical literature, and finally the so-called *śilpa-sāstras*, which deal with a large spectrum of technical and cultural skills. All these different kinds of texts, mainly of quite recent origin, were adopted from the relevant Indian tradition, but compiled, studied and handed down in Sinhala script.

The book has two indexes, 'Sanskrit texts handed down in Sri Lanka', and a 'General index'. For the benefit of those readers who wish to know at a glance (without having to browse through the whole book) which texts of this rich and diversified Sanskrit tradition have not been adopted from India but composed by Sinhala authors in Sri Lanka itself, I add the following exhaustive list of 28 titles, all mentioned by Bechert (in brackets the pages):

- 1) Kuccavēli rock inscription (5th–8th century), containing a Bodhisattva vow, the oldest Sanskrit inscription in Ceylon (66)
- 2) Mahāyāna Buddhistic inscription of Tiriyāy (7th–8th cent.) (66)
- 3) Anuruddhaśataka, a Buddhist kāvya, 12th cent. (74–77)
- 4) Bhaktiśataka, a praise of the Buddha (stotra), 15th cent. (77–80)
- 5) Vṛttamālākhyā, 15th cent., Buddhist kāvya (80)

- 6) Nāmāṣṭaśataka, Buddhabhakti of unknown origin (81)
- 7) Buddhagadya (stotra), 17th cent. (82–84)
- 8) Poems by the Buddhist monk Karatoṭa Śrī Dharmārāma (1734–1826), one of these praising King George III (86, 136f)
- 9) Saddharmamakaraṇḍa, a biography of the Buddha by Śīlaskandha (1848–1924) (87)
- 10) Saṃbuddhacaritakāvya (published 1956 = the year 2500 Buddhist Era, the so-called Buddhajayanṭī year) (87)
- 11) Saddharmaśataka (1960) along with other recent titles (87)
- 12) Jetavanārāma inscription, 9th cent.?, possibly by an Indian author (88f)
- 13) Devapūjāvaidhi, rituals for the cult of Sinhalese deities (101)
- 14) Jānakīharaṇa (110–113) by Kumārādāsa, 7th–9th cent., an adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa, influenced also by Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa (110–113)
- 15) Sīhalaṇīti (Siṃhalaṇīti), a gnomic poem preserved only in Myanmar (127)
- 16) 17 short historical Sanskrit inscriptions (135)
- 17) Śokaprakāśa poems (obituaries) from the 19th cent. (137)
- 18) Yogaśataka, an Āyurvedic compendium, before 7th cent. (151)
- 19) Ariṣṭaśataka, Āyurveda (152)
- 20) Abhinavayogamuktāvali, Āyurveda (152)
- 21) Vaidyottaṃsa, Āyurveda, published 1919 in Madras in Nāgarī script (152)
- 22) Gadaviniścaya, Āyurveda, 1926 (152)
- 23) Vanavāsanighaṇḍu, pharmaceuticals (153)
- 24) Vāsudevanighaṇḍu, pharmaceuticals (153)
- 25) Siddhausadhanighaṇḍu, pharmaceuticals (153)
- 26) Sarasvatīnighaṇḍu, pharmaceuticals (153)
- 27) Daivajñākāmadhenu, astrology, 13th cent. (155)
- 28) Horābharaṇa, astrology (155).

One further remark – Ludwig Alsdorf's dating of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā in the 1st–2nd century can no longer be upheld (Bechert p. 69, n. 5). Alsdorf based his dating on the assumption that the stanza (*gāthā*) of the Śaśa Jātaka had been transferred from Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā to the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka. And because the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka was translated into Chinese in as early as the 3rd century A.D., Āryaśūra must have lived, according to Alsdorf, considerably earlier. Alsdorf's argument is however shattered by the fact, as Marion Meisig (*Ursprünge buddhistischer Heiligenlegenden*, Münster 2004, pp. 77f.) has shown, that the Śaśa stanza is not contained in the Chinese Avadānaśataka.

Heinz Bechert's last book is a valuable contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature in general and the Sinhalese regional tradition in particular, which includes Pāli and Sinhala literature, especially the literary commentaries in Sinhala (so-called *sannaya*). The reader marvels at the abundance of bibliographical and library material which will be welcomed both by Sanskritists and specialists in the Sri Lankan history of literature and religions. In many respects, for example as regards the relation between Hindu cults and the veneration of Sinhalese folk deities, or the intertextuality between Sinhala and Tamil Sanskrit literature, Bechert's rich collection of hitherto unknown manuscripts and rare printed books opens fresh questions which will certainly also require new and appropriate approaches.

Konrad Meisig

THOMAS OBERLIES, *Die Religion des Ṛgveda. Erster Teil: Das religiöse System des Ṛgveda*. (Publications of the Nobili Research Library 26). Wien: Institut für Indologie, 1998. XIV, 632 pages, € 67.59. ISBN 3-900271-31-3

THOMAS OBERLIES, *Die Religion des Ṛgveda. Zweiter Teil: Kompositionsanalyse der Soma-Hymnen des Ṛgveda*. (Publications of the Nobili Research Library 27). Wien: Institut für Indologie, 1999. XX, 313 pages, € 26.07. ISBN 3-900271-32-1

Ten years ago, Thomas Oberlies, Indologist at the University of Göttingen, began to publish his multi-volume study of the Ṛgveda. In his preface to the first volume he announced a third volume on sacrifice and rituals, for which I was waiting in order to jointly review all three volumes. But it seems unlikely that the third volume will be brought out in the near future. This explains, but does not justify the delay of this review.

The first volume – interestingly dedicated to Burkhard Gladigow, Oberlies' teacher of Science of Religion, and not to the late Paul Thieme, one of his indological teachers – introduces the reader to the Ṛgveda and thereafter deals mainly with Soma, whom Oberlies considers – together with Indra – as the most important deity of the Ṛgveda (vol. 1, p. 152). Chapter 1 (“Soma und die ṛgvedische Religion”) deals with the Ṛgvedic religion and ritual in general. In chapter 2 (“Gesellschafts(ordnung) und religiöses System”), Oberlies discusses the social system and the cosmogony. Chapters 3 (“Soma, Macht und Herrschafts(legitimation)”) and 4 (“Der Soma-Rausch und seine Interpretation”) focus on Soma, power and legitimation, the contests between Soma and Indra, and the intoxication from the hallucinogenic *soma* drink. In the fifth and final chapter (“Form und Funktion der Soma-Hymnen”), Oberlies analyzes structure and function of the Soma hymns.

The second volume (a revised version of Oberlies' habilitation thesis from Tübingen) continues the discussion of the composition and structure of the Soma hymns, especially of the comparatively stereotyped 114 hymns of the 9th book of the R̥gveda (ch. 6: "Die Kompositionslehre der Soma-Hymnen"), dwelling in particular on aspects of space and time (ch. 7: "'Raum' und 'Zeit' als Ordnungsprinzipien der Kompositionselemente"). Interspersed are sections on various topics such as the duties of the king or the Vedic chariot. In chapter 8 ("Vājasāti I: König Somas Kriegszug") and 9 ("Vājasāti (II): Der Siegeslauf des Rennpferdes und des Streitwagens Soma"), Oberlies deals with the Vedic warrior culture.

Oberlies seeks explanations for seemingly unconnected and at times even contradictory passages in the R̥gveda by elaborating common structures underlying them. Some of these structures are related to Vedic ritual.

In the decade since publication considerable progress in Vedic research has been made. Thus, a new translation of the first books of the R̥gveda by the renowned Vedic scholars Michael Witzel and Toshifumi Goto (with an excellent introduction to the R̥gveda) has since been published (*Rig-Veda. Das Heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Übers. von Michael Witzel und Toshifumi Goto. Frankfurt am Main/ Leipzig: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2007), while Oberlies' work relies to a certain extent on Karl-Friedrich Geldner's famous translation (a low-priced reprint, edited by Peter Michel, has just appeared 2008 in the German Marix Verlag). Currently Oberlies himself is preparing a new introduction to the religion of the R̥gveda announced for 2009 by the Verlag der Weltreligionen, in which he might respond to the critical objections that have been articulated by several reviewers, e.g. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 95 (2000): 313–321 (H.W. Bodewitz), *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 95 (2000): 526–539 (B. Schlerath) or *History of Religions* 41.2 (2001): 180–183 and 40.4 (2001): 387–390 (both St. W. Jamison).

Most of these reviewers praised Oberlies for his meticulous work, ambitious scope, learnedness (137 pages of bibliography in the first volume!) and rich discussion of many topics and particular issues. However, some also criticized the author for his concentration on the R̥gveda (neglecting post-Vedic sources) and the Soma hymns in the ninth *mandala*, the lack of quotations from the original text, the incoherent structure of the two books, or certain lacunae: thus, among the deities of the Vedic pantheon that Oberlies describes in the first volume, Agni, to whom most hymns are addressed, is missing (however, he intended to discuss Agni in the third volume). Several reviewers criticized the misleading title chosen by Oberlies, because it is not so much a book on the religion of the Veda but a study of several aspects therein.

I cannot but agree with these overall assessments. The two volumes cannot substitute the classic and still highly inspiring book on the Veda by Hermann Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1894; 2. Aufl. Stuttgart/Berlin: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1917), which Oberlies

wants to replace (vol. 1, p. IX). Neither in substance nor in style is this immodest claim acceptable. To be sure, no serious scholars of the R̥gveda can in future ignore Oberlies' book, even though it cannot be recommended for beginners or students of religion without a substantial indological background. Since a considerable part of his arguments is based on a particular understanding of Vedic ritual, it is to be hoped that Oberlies will present the announced third volume in due time.

Axel Michaels

IMTIAZ AHMAD / HELMUT REIFELD (eds.), *Lived Islam in South Asia. Adaptation, Accommodation & Conflict*. Delhi: Social Sciences Press, 2004. XXV, 308 pages, Rs. 695. ISBN 81-87358-15-7

The volume under review presents the proceedings of a conference which was organised in Goa in December 2002 by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in collaboration with the Foundation Maison de Sciences de L'Homme. In his preface, Helmut Reifeld outlines the main aims of the papers: to contribute to correcting the imbalance in literature on Islam which tends to neglect South Asia, to dispel some of the misconceptions about Muslims, to "counterbalance negative stereotypes, to find common ground of interests and values, but also to clearly identify differences", "to broaden our knowledge and thus contribute to a better mutual understanding" (viii). In his introduction Imtiaz Ahmad discusses the two conflicting perspectives on Islam – as the unfolding of a common, uniform pattern, or as evolving in response to local demands, thus creating a distinctive pattern of belief shaped by temporal and environmental conditions (xii). But he goes on to stress: "The contributions to this volume do not select relevant materials according to some standard truth, but consider the systems in their entirety. In this way, a multiplicity of cultural meanings is explored and developed. There are no privileged expressions of truth." (xvii)

The book is divided into four parts. "Part I: Concepts and Interpretations" addresses questions of identity formation, ethnicity and coexistence between Hindus and Muslims. In his contribution "Mapping Muslims: Categories of Evolutionary Difference and Interaction in South Asia" Peter Gottschalk shows that with regard to the expansion of Islam in South Asia, the conventional perception of centre and periphery does not apply. He goes on to stress the roots of South Asian Muslims in the subcontinent and the multiple identities of individuals (17).

In "Ethnicity? Being Hindu and Muslim in South Asia" Shail Mayaram probes into the liminal space of the religious existence of Meos and Mers. She locates her analysis within van Gennep's concept of liminality, which was originally applied to the study of rituals, and pays special attention to shared

ritual spaces, networks across religions and interaction in 'medical pluralism' (19). The concept of liminality is discussed in more detail on pp. 25–27 and then applied to the religious traditions and practices of the Meos. Finally, Mayaram also contrasts the concepts of liminality and syncretism (30–32). Jackie Assayag's "Can Hindus and Muslims Coexist?" is based on fieldwork in South India (Shahabandar village in North Karnataka) in the 1990s. He describes some roots of Islam in South Asia as a form of 'integrated' acculturation and discusses communal conflict and co-existing religious traditions as dynamic processes in a competitive relationship between social groups. He warns against idealizing references to past events and underlines how the continuous process of integrative and antagonistic acculturation "has allowed each tradition to preserve its peculiarities and maintain a demarcation between Hindus and Muslims." (55)

Part II "Lived Islam and its Historical Context" opens with Muhammad Ishaq Khan's article "The Rishi Tradition and the Construction of Kashmiriyat". Khan critiques the term "Kashmiriyat" as defined in synthetic and syncretic terms by official and semi-official media to serve the ideological interests of the Indian state after the Indira-Shaikhkh-Accord of 1975 (64). He distinguishes different interpretations of the term according to changing historical contexts and explains the special role of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din and Lalla in the lives of ordinary people and in folk culture. He concludes: "While apparently accommodating local Hindu-Buddhist practices to the Islamic framework, the Rishis gradually paved the way for the assimilation of the Kashmiris in the Islamic identity. What is, however, unique about this identity is not merely the assimilation of the Kashmiris in Islam over a period of six centuries or more but, more importantly, their urge to live with their Pandit compatriots in a symbiotic rather than syncretic relationship." (80) Aparna Rao's paper "Debating Religious Practice in Cyberspace: Lived Islam and Antinomian Identities in a Kashmiri Muslim Community" focuses on the discourse about religious practice among lay people and non-specialists. It opens up a new and fresh perspective. While Rao attests the resilience of lived practices in Islam due to an unconscious pragmatism, she also observes the loss of this resilience when a self-conscious questioning of religious practice sets in – under the impact of insecurity created by social, political and economic transformations, and the Orientalist privileging of religion as the foremost site of essentialized difference (102). As a result, the fear of morally wrong practices takes over (101), and "many long for clear-cut behavioural prescriptions and sanctions that require little or no negotiation." (102)

"Lived Islam in Nepal" is discussed by Sudhindra Sharma. Starting with a historical and sociological classification of Nepal's Muslim population, he then turns to the Islamic-Hindu interface, common pilgrimage destinations, the situation of religious minorities in Nepal and the increase in religious antagonism in the 1990s. The second part of the paper is devoted to Hinduism and the 'Hindu'-State in Nepal. His findings indicate that there is a strong tendency to

‘internal conversion’ among Muslims in Nepal, which means that Muslims from India or the Gulf countries or those educated there indoctrinate the “culturally assimilated Nepali Muslims”, and that non-Nepali clerics are invited to propagate a ‘correct’ Islam (116).

Part II is entitled “Conflict and Accommodation”. Mariam Abou Zahab takes up the very important subject of “The Sunni-Shia Conflict in Jhang (Pakistan)”. She analyses the social, political and criminal dimensions and the evolution of the problem and arrives at the conclusion that sectarianism is here linked with a power struggle, brought about primarily by socio-economic tensions and functioning as a temporary substitute identity and a vehicle of social change (148). In “Language as a Marker of Religious Difference” Asha Rani analyses “Hindustani” as a potential syncretic category – as a “*discourse*, a *practice* and an *identity*” (151). She outlines the history of the debates about the national language of India and the institutionalization of Hindustani, but fails to point out the limitations of the concept of Hindustani as a common language and a repository of “Hindu and Muslim cultures, histories, religions, and traditions” (163). Yoginder Sikand’s paper “Shared Hindu-Muslim Shrines in Karnataka: Challenges to Liminality” demonstrates how religious traditions are transformed from “being a means of bringing people from different communities together to arenas of inter-communal rivalry” (167), which is exemplified by five case studies. His findings show the gradual “Brahmanization” of Sufi shrines which is directed as much at the Muslims as at the ‘low’ castes associated with the shrines. Sikand remarks that situations of liminality are equally unacceptable to the VHP, the Waqf Board and modern government bureaucracies. As in the case of the Thinthini Mouneshwar/Moinuddin tradition, Hinduization can also be a sign of social mobility for ‘low’ caste Hindus because it provides them with a higher status (177). Concluding, he outlines how socio-political changes after 1947–1948 as well as the hostility of the Tablighi Jamaat toward Sufi cults helped to accelerate the Hinduization of the shrines.

“Devotional Practices among Shia Women in South Asia” are the topic of Diane D’Souza’s contribution. Based on field research conducted in Hyderabad from 1994 to 2000, she describes in great detail some of the rites performed by Ithna Ashari (‘twelver’) Shia women in their houses or in *ashurkhanas* (shrines housing sacred icons) of the city as intervention in times of need (*amal*) or as rituals of celebration and hope (*dastarkhan*). Apart from helping women to deal with challenges, the rituals provide them with an important opportunity to come together and deepen a supportive relationship with God.

Part IV: “The Presence of Sufism” is opened by Dominique-Sila Khan’s “Liminality and Legality: A Contemporary Debate among the Imamshahis of Gujarat”. After outlining the background of the originally Nizari Ismaili sect and discussing the terms syncretism and liminality, which to her often present an outsider’s view, she analyses the developments at the Imamshai/Satpanthi shrine at Pirana (near Ahmadabad) since 1931 which have brought the shrine

closer to 'mainstream' Hinduism. The ensuing judicial tangle "had its roots in the colonial power that ultimately opted for clear-cut categories that were later introduced into the Constitution and personal law in independent India." (228) Situated in the same region is Helene Basu's contribution "Ritual Communication: The Case of the Sidi in Gujarat". She describes the '*Jamat*' of low-class Sidis at the interface of social order and explains how their shrine in South Gujarat was transformed into a more homogeneous Islamic site in the 1990s. Ute Falasch's paper is entitled "The Islamic Mystic Tradition in India: The Madari Sufi Brotherhood". While taking up the issue of labelling of the Madari community, she turns to the term "liminal" as 'in-between', 'transitional', 'neither nor', thereby implying something opposite the mainstream. Dennis B. McGilvray's "Jailani: A Sufi Shrine in Sri Lanka" concludes the volume. It relates the history of the shrine on Adam's Peak, describes the '*urs*' rituals and festivities and deals with the controversy over the site which is also claimed as a sacred site by Sri Lankan Buddhists.

The contributions to this volume present empirical data on local practices and insights into a number of lesser-known religious traditions as well as into modern controversies about religious sites and religious identities in South Asia. They are thus a valuable addition to the body of knowledge and the ongoing discourse about Islam. Several authors also discuss the much debated terms "syncretism" and "liminality". However, as Ahmad states in his preface, the anthropological approach, which is prominent in the present volume, while contesting an understanding of Islam by the written text alone, also tends to fix fluid and indeterminate concepts and, more often than not, treats the elite version as religion and reduces other interpretations to some forms of deviance (xvi). Falasch adds: "The question that arises here is, how far is it possible to define a religious 'mainstream'." (255) Thus, the volume provides interesting points of departure for further discussions on textual vis-à-vis practised or local versus universal Islam, and on terms such as syncretism, liminality and 'mainstream' religion.

Christina Oesterheld

HERMANN KREUTZMANN (ed.), *Karakoram in Transition: Culture, Development, and Ecology in the Hunza Valley*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006. VII, 419 pages, figures, maps, tables, color and b/w photographs, Rs 895.00. ISBN 978-0-19-547210-3

The Hunza Valley in the Northern Areas of Pakistan has fired the imagination of outsiders as a remote and isolated haven hemmed in by mountain walls, in which mysterious languages survive, and where locals enjoy longevity thanks to a frugal diet. Isolation and harsh living conditions have been a fact throughout much of the history of the states of Hunza and Nager in the Hunza Valley, but

conditions have been changing since the British incorporated the valley into their Empire in 1891 and, most notably, since the completion in the late 1970s of the Karakoram Highway, which passes right through the Hunza Valley. Hermann Kreutzman is the foremost expert on the Hunza Valley, and thus the best possible choice for coordinating a comprehensive study of change in this area. He first visited Hunza in 1981, published his dissertation on socio-economic change in the Hunza Valley in 1989, and subsequently continued research in the valley and in other parts of the Karakoram in the context of the Pak-German Research Project Culture Area Karakorum (CAK) and other ventures. Hermann Kreutzmann has been able to bring together a remarkable array of authors including scientists from a wide range of disciplines, development practitioners, professionals, as well as a mountaineer cum political representative.

Beside the focus on transition, the book is also intended to provide a state-of-the-art account of scholarship on the Hunza Valley, which justifies the relatively conventional arrangement of chapters: section 1 is devoted to the environment and resources, section 2 is on history and memory with a focus on linguistic diversity and oral traditions, and section 3 treats culture and development, and contains most of the chapters that deal more specifically with the theme of transformation.

The focus of the environment and resources section is on glaciers and glacial landforms, but also on vegetation, which had been a neglected aspect of Hunza's environment prior to the CAK project. Climate and hydrology are dealt with in the context of geomorphology and vegetation ecology. Water, at least, should have merited a more thorough treatment in a section on resources. A highlight is the paper on glaciers by Kenneth Hewitt, which provides an excellent geoecological analysis of glaciers as phenomena which, like no other, exemplify the interplay of climate, topography, and other factors of the natural environment, and which, in turn, influence the landscape of the Hunza Valley profoundly. The importance of glaciers in the morphology and hydrology of the Hunza Valley is also emphasized in the paper by Edward Derbyshire and Monique Fort, alongside their role in causing natural disasters. The historical approach to glaciology is represented by Matthias Kuhle's attempt at reconstructing glaciation of the Hunza Valley during the Last Ice Age, and by Lasafam Iturrizaga's paper on transglacial landforms, i.e. on debris accumulations that can be linked to the prehistorical extent of glaciers, according to the terminology used by the author. Readers may be confused by the proliferation of terms such as proglacial, paraglacial, periglacial, and transglacial, which even the authors in this book do not apply in a consistent manner.

The vegetation of the Hunza valley is dealt with in two papers. The paper by Einar Eberhardt, Bernhard Dickore and Georg Miede provides an overview of vegetation types in terms of their diversity and distribution on the basis of extensive field work and a specimen database of the entire Karakoram, which

contains about 152,000 data records. Udo Schickhoff has contributed a paper on the forests of the Hunza Valley, focusing on their degradation as a result of improved access due to the Karakoram highway, limited institutional capacity to deal with overuse, and the reduced capacity of forests to regenerate under current climatic conditions. The link between forest condition and wildlife conservation is made in Ruedi Hess' paper on the forest-dwelling goat species markhor, which is endangered by forest degradation.

Goats also figure prominently in the petroglyphs of Haldeikish in the Hunza Valley, left behind by early travelers. They were discovered during construction of the Karakoram highway, and form the topic of chapter 11 by Jason Neelis at the beginning of section 2 on history and memory. The polyphony of these inscriptions indicates the historic role of Hunza as a crossroads between Central Asia, Iran, and South Asia. This role is also explored in Imtraud Stellrecht's chapter "Passage to Hunza", which argues that position in the route network linking the highlands of Northern Pakistan with Central Asia has been a decisive factor in state formation, i.e. that the state of Hunza evolved mainly in order to resist pressures from outside to gain control over the passage through the Hunza valley. Ironically, two hundred years later, the State of Hunza was abolished for precisely the same reason: the position of Hunza along the Karakoram Highway, which made it advisable for Pakistan to secure full control over this strategic area. The paper by Stellrecht is largely based on oral sources, which is one of the unifying themes in this section. The paper by Wolfgang Holzwarth shows that written records on the history from 1500 to 1800 were based mainly on information that had been transmitted orally for several generations, while Jürgen Wasim Frembgen uses oral sources to provide an inside perspective on one of the most crucial events in the history of Hunza: the battle of Nilt in 1891, which brought the Hunza Valley into the orbit of British India. A variation on the theme of oral transmission is provided by Julie Flowerday's exploration of visual legacy in the form of a comparison of photographs from 1934 to 1935 by Lorimer, the pioneer of studies on the Burushaski language, and her own photographs from the 1990s.

Another focus in this section is on the linguistic diversity of the Hunza valley. Georg Budruss gives an overview of linguistic research on the four most important languages, of which Burushaski has attracted the greatest interest of linguists, mainly because it shows relations to no other existing language. Hugh van Skyhawk is an expert on Burushaski, and has contributed the text and translation of a narrative from his collection of oral texts from Hispar. Linguistic diversity is one of the aspects of Hermann Kreutzmann's paper on settlement history of the Hunza valley, which also provides insights into the links of settlement pattern with natural disasters and population growth.

The focus of section 3 is on the momentum provided by restoration projects, and on the prominent role in the development of the Hunza Valley played by the Aga Khan Trust (AKT). The papers by Stefano Bianco and by Richard Hughes

and Didier Lefort show how the conservation of Baltit Fort has had a decisive influence on raising awareness of the value of historic buildings and traditional building techniques, and how this project became the starting point for more wide-ranging development efforts such as improving sanitation in historic settlements and the formation of civil society organizations such as the Karimabad Town Management Society (see also the contribution by Masood Khan) and the Karakoram Area Development Organization (contribution by Amin Beg and Khawaja Khan). The overall positive picture is reinforced by Sabine Felmy's study on the improvement in the education sector, and the enthusiastic analysis by Abdul Malik and Mujtaba Pirache of economic transition brought about by the Karakoram Highway. Interesting "sideshows" are explored in David Butz's paper on portering for tourism, and in Anna Schmid's paper on buildings in the village of Mominabad as identity markers for its socially inferior inhabitants. Hermann Kreutzmann's study of the transformation of high mountain agriculture shows how larger socio-economic transformations can have different effects in different sectors, i.e. intensification and commercialization in the cropping sector and decline in the livestock sector. The final chapter "Story of our transformation" by the mountaineer and politician Nasir Ahmad Sabir concludes the book with an inside perspective on future development needs.

In his introduction Hermann Kreutzmann points out the need for scholarly books even in the age of the Internet. This production is proof of the superiority of such books over the Internet, which for the untrained user can be a surprise packet with dubious content. The consistently high standard of nearly all contributions shows the skill of the editor in selecting the right authors, as well as his meticulous editorship. The usual complaint concerning books which cover as wide a range of topics as this one is the lack of a synthesis chapter that ties together the various strands elaborated on by the individual contributors. Such a chapter is also missing in this book, though it would have posed a challenge given the great diversity of topics treated and the limitations of space. Since Hermann Kreutzmann is not only an excellent editor, but also a prolific writer, one can but hope that his next go at the Hunza Valley may be a single-authored book that provides just such a synthesis.

Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt

AYESHA SIDDIQA, *Military Inc. Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. London: Pluto Press, 2007. XI, 292 pages, € 30.00, \$ 35.00, £ 19.99. ISBN 978-0-7453-2545-3 (pb)

Discussing freely a possible US intervention in Pakistan during the election campaign is a clear indication that the hopes of the USA in Pakistan and its leadership have not yielded the results expected: Pakistan is no longer the "most allied" ally and preferred partner in the War against Terrorism;

geographically it is, however, of utmost strategic value. The roller-coaster relationship between Pakistan and the USA goes back to the early years of independence of the South Asian states. Right from the beginning, Pakistan was in search of a reliable and powerful partner as a counterbalance to India while the USA tried to fill the South Asian gap in its bulwark of regional defence alliances against the "red tide", i.e. the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Pakistan, originally comprising also the Province of East Pakistan, served the purpose only to a limited extent. The USA aligned itself with Pakistan in its early and formative phase when the country was still discussing its future form and the role of Islam; it took two Constituent Assemblies and nine years to agree on a first constitution. Pakistan was then still under a civilian, although rather authoritarian, government.

Before any national elections could be held under the constitution, the country was put under martial law in 1958; generals Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan ruled for more than a decade. When they were finally forced to hold the first national elections in the then 24-year-old history of the country, they refused to accept the public verdict. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, had campaigned for (East Pakistan) regional autonomy and won the absolute majority of seats in the National Assembly. The army and the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had come out of the elections only second, but had won the majority of seats in West Pakistan. The army and Bhutto refused to let the newly elected parliament assemble (and Mujib become prime minister). After public protest the army clamped down in Bangladesh and started systematically to wipe out the politically active elite; after a brutal civil war in East Pakistan, a humiliating defeat of the Pakistan army by the Indian army and the loss of half the country, the army finally handed power back to Bhutto as president and Chief Martial Law Administrator; later he assumed the office of prime minister. Ironically, at the end of his rule and after violent street protests in reaction to the massive rigging of the 1977 election, he again called in the army (in the main cities), only to be ousted by the military.

Another general (Zia ul Haq) took over and ruled with an iron fist until he died in a plane crash in 1998. After a rather tumultuous period of civilian rule, the military returned to power for a third time in 1999. The elections of 2008 brought back a civilian government. The question is, how long will the army stay away from power this time.

But the army has been and still is more in power than it would appear from outside. The latest dictator (Pervez Musharraf) had written a national security council into the constitution, a body that gives the army a say in all important state matters. Furthermore, the army has gained substantial economic clout and has developed into the country's biggest commercial enterprise, very different from their comrades in uniform in neighbouring

India. This is why Ayeasha Siddiqua has titled her book on Pakistan's military economy "Military, Inc.". Her main thesis is that the army has developed into a state in the state and has become the biggest player in the country's economy. What Dwight D. Eisenhower had described as the "military-industrial-complex", warning his countrymen against its "unwarranted influence" in his farewell speech in 1961, she calls "Milbus", basing her definition on a study of the Bonn International Center for Conversion: "I define Milbus as military capital used for the personal benefit of the military fraternity, especially the officer cadre, which is not recorded as part of the defence budget or does not follow the normal accountability procedures of the state, making it an independent genre of capital. It is either controlled by the military or under its implicit or explicit patronage". (p. 5). Not only is there no civilian control of military expenditure. It is also not known how the military spend their money. Until recently, defence expenditure was just a single line in the national budget. Only after the book under review had been published, has some more information been provided in the current budget of 2008-2009. Defence expenditure absorbed up to more than half of the budget for many years. In the meantime debt services surpass defence. The enormous debt, in national currency and in foreign exchange, however, just reflects generous defence expenditures in previous years. No wonder that questions have been raised in the US Congress about where the more than 11 bn US\$ aid to Pakistan after 9/11 have gone.

On the other hand, many Pakistanis question the value of US assistance: In 1962 the American president tried to persuade Ayub Khan to come to the help of India in its war against China; in the wars of 1965, 1971 and 1999 (Kargil) Pakistan did not get the support from the USA that it had hoped for. President Musharraf described in his autobiography how Pakistan was forced into the War against Terrorism.

The army is the biggest employer and purchaser in the country. All the forces, i.e. army, air-force and navy, have their own foundations that control a large number of enterprises. The National Logistics Cell (NLC) has become the largest transporter by far (although most probably employing fewer personnel than the railways). This is a long way from colonial times, when military enterprises were ordinance factories and military farms. Land grants to military personnel, especially the higher ranks, however, have a long tradition on the subcontinent, right from pre-colonial times. Irrigating vast tracts of (almost) barren land from the mid-19th century onwards provided the colonial power with a tool to reward its followers with agricultural land. As far as Pakistan is concerned, much of the newly irrigated area is in southern Punjab and Sindh whereas most army personnel come from northern Punjab and the Frontier. Land grants have changed demography and the regional balance in Sindh. A common complaint there is that regional quotas for rural Sindh in public service and education are snatched by non-Sindhis who had moved into the irrigation areas.

Driven by a belief in their organisational if not moral superiority, the armed personnel, especially the higher ranks, think that they are better and more competent managers. That has not helped them, as Dr Siddiqi tells us, from many failures and setbacks, even where they enjoy a monopoly. This is very much in line with the observation of this reviewer, who remembers the manager of the largest military textile mill complaining about the difficulties in making any profit, although he had the market for uniforms and tarpaulin almost for himself.

The author is in a unique position to tell the story of "Military Inc.". With a PhD in War Studies from the United Kingdom she served a number of years in the navy until the "bloody civilian" (as she put it at a talk in Germany) decided to quit. The book can be highly recommended to everyone who wants to understand the political economy of Pakistan. Pakistan's economic and social history is highly intertwined with politics and national security. It is amazing to learn how an army that had played no role in the independence movement could rise, in almost no time, to become such a prominent institution in the country, with doubtful "successes" in the Kashmir war of 1947/48. Every time the army took over government they increased their economic power without really giving up any in the years of civilian rule. This was possible because civilian governments needed army backing. The years following army rule, i.e. after 1971 and after 1988, were marked by economic crises and, with the free fall of the Pakistan economy, the latest move "back to the barracks" in 2008 seems to follow the same pattern. It has to be seen what role a much stronger "Milbus" will play this time.

Wolfgang-Peter Zingel

MARGRIT PERNAU, *Bürger mit Turban. Muslime in Delhi im 19. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008. XI, 404 Seiten, 2 Grafiken, € 49,90. ISBN 978-3-525-36843-5

Für ein europäisches und gar ein selbstgefälliges deutsches Lesepublikum mag allein schon der Titel dieses Buches eine Provokation darstellen. Ist nicht der Bürger samt seiner im 19. Jahrhundert sich formierenden Klasse, dem Bürgertum, etwas spezifisch deutsches, nicht dem französischen Bourgeois und der Bourgeoisie vergleichbar? Besitzt nicht der Bürger weder im zeitgenössischen Russland noch in Großbritannien oder in den anderen europäischen und amerikanischen Staaten kein Äquivalent? Wie kann er dann in Indien, der britischen Kolonie, die politisch und kulturell-zivilisatorisch nach landläufigem Verständnis per se nachgeordnet ist, auftauchen? Dieser höchst spannenden Frage geht Margrit Pernau in ihrem Buch nach. Sie stellt dazu historisch-methodisch direkte Vergleiche zwischen Deutschland und Indien an und betont gleichzeitig

den in den internationalen Geschichtswissenschaften im Verlauf der letzten beiden Jahrzehnten entwickelten Aspekt der *entangled histories*, also der verflochtenen Geschichte, hier von Briten und Indern, zum einen in Südasien, zum anderen aber, rückwirkend, auch in Großbritannien.

Die jüngere vergleichende Forschung zum Bürgertum hat gezeigt, dass der Begriff durchaus auf andere westeuropäische Gesellschaften des 19. Jahrhunderts übertragbar ist, ebenso wie dies für osteuropäische Länder der Fall zu sein scheint. Daher ist es keinesfalls abwegig, solch eine komparatistische Fragestellung für eine Weltregion aufzuwerfen, die von Klassenbildungen als Kennzeichen der modernen (westlichen) Gesellschaften angeblich unberührt geblieben sein soll. In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten konnte nämlich gezeigt werden, dass auch in den wenigen Industriemetropolen Britisch-Indiens in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Arbeiterschaft als Klasse für sich entstand. Dem aktuellen Zeitgeist scheint es nun zu entsprechen, die Formierung von Eliten, hier nun den indischen unterm britischen Kolonialregime, nachzeichnen zu wollen. Delhi, seit der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Befreiungskrieg von 1857–9 Residenz der Moguln und anschließend britische Verwaltungsstadt in Nordindien bis zur Verlegung der Hauptstadt Britisch-Indiens von Calcutta ins zu bauende New Delhi im Jahr 1911, stellt den historischen Grund, auf dem der Bildung eines Bürgertums nachgegangen wird.

Im Zentrum der Betrachtung stehen, so die Verfasserin in der Einleitung, deshalb auch die Berufsgruppen, die in Deutschland (und Europa) die konstituierenden Elemente des Bürgertums ausgemacht und ein Selbstverständnis von Bürgerlichkeit entwickelt haben, darunter prominent Ärzte, Anwälte, Gelehrte und Verwaltungsangestellte, Verleger, Journalisten und Literaten, Großhändler, Financiers und Unternehmer. Allerdings mit einer Einschränkung – untersucht werden lediglich die Muslime Delhis. Das ist nur schwer nachzuvollziehen, war doch im 19. Jahrhundert das, was die Briten bei ihren Bevölkerungszählungen nahezu willkürlich als Muslime und Hindus kategorisierten, demografisch etwa gleich stark verteilt, womit die Formierung eines Hindu-Jaina-Bürgertums a priori unbeachtet bleibt; mehr noch, eines Bürgertums, das über die Religionen hinweg sich als ein solches hätte konstituiert haben können. Das schließt freilich nicht aus, dass sich gerade in Delhi während des 19. Jahrhunderts eine spezifisch muslimische Identität entwickelte, die sich unter anderem auch an britisch-christlichen Werten orientierte. Dann wäre es allerdings mindestens ebenso interessant, die „andersgläubigen Partner“ des gesamten Delhi-Bürgertums kennen zu lernen und einzubeziehen.

Allein das Argument, dass es dazu mehr Sprachkenntnisse als Hindi und Sanskrit bedurft hätte, mag nicht hinreichen, ein solches Potenzial an Klassenbildung von vornweg zu eliminieren. Zudem wird auf diese Art noch der britischen Historiografie und ihrer wirkmächtigen Tradition auch in Südasien Vorschub geleistet, die die Gesellschaften des Subkontinents primär nach Religionsgemeinschaften und -gruppen organisiert sah und vielfach noch sieht.

Ebenso wenig mag der Satz überzeugen, dass der „Blick über die Grenzen daher notwendig punktuell und einseitig, auf den Blickwinkel der muslimischen Bürger beschränkt bleiben [muss]“, weil die gesellschaftlichen Unterschichten nur mit anderen Instrumenten als denjenigen, die dem Historiker zur Verfügung stehen, erfassbar sind, wie angeblich die Schule der Subaltern Studies belegt haben soll (S. 2). Doch die hat gerade bewiesen, dass es explizit historische Werkzeuge sind, mit denen man die Subalternen, zu denen nach Definition dieser Schule eben nicht nur die Unterschichten gehören, aufspüren kann.

Lässt man dieses Manko einmal beiseite, so entfaltet die Verfasserin ein brillantes Panorama der Stadt Delhi und ihrer muslimischen Elite seit der Besetzung der Stadt durch die Briten im Jahr 1803. Aus der doppelten Autorität, die aus den britischen Besatzern und dem residierenden Mogul entstand, ergaben sich zunehmende Spannungen politischer und kultureller Art, die sich im Befreiungskrieg von 1857–9 gewalttätig gerade auch in Delhi entluden. Bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg formierte sich dann ein muslimisches Bürgertum, das sich an der britischen Macht orientierte und im Zuge dessen ein eigenes Selbstverständnis entwickelte. Frömmigkeit, so die These der Verfasserin, „und zwar nicht nur eine private, sondern gerade eine demonstrative und öffentliche, wurde sogar zur entscheidenden Antriebskraft für den Aufstieg sozialer Schichten und die Integration des Bürgertums.“ (S. 348). Ähnlich dem Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts kam es auch in Delhi zu einer Aufweichung und Verwischung der alten Standesgrenzen, dort Adel und Gemeine, hier *ashraf* und *ajlaf*, als unter *ashraf* nicht mehr der Immigrant und unter *ajlaf* der südasiatische Konvertit gemeint war, sondern *ashraf* gerade in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts den Bürger meinte, der sich durch gewerblichen Fleiß, erworbene Bildung, auch für die weiblichen Mitglieder der Familie, und gelebte Frömmigkeit definierte.

Signifikanter Ausdruck dieses neuen Selbstverständnisses waren Turban und Fez, mit dem das sich formierende Bürgertum nach oben zur britischen Elite und nach unten zu den indischen Unterschichten abgrenzte. Gerade der aus dem Osmanischen Reich seit den 1870er Jahren übernommene Fez, der im indisch-kolonialen Kontext in seiner äußeren Form dem bürgerlichen Zylinder der britischen Elite nicht unähnlich war und ihn vielleicht als dessen Imitation (und eben nicht Provokation) zielsicher adaptierte, zeigt, wie innovativ kulturalistisch-komparative Studien sein können. Das neue muslimische Bürgertum Delhis demonstrierte seine gewachsene gesellschaftliche Stellung und seinen neu erworbenen Status durch gelebte Frömmigkeit und philanthropisch motivierte Mildtätigkeit wie der Gründung von Madrasen und Moscheen; gemeinnützige Aktivitäten, die eher mit einem deutschen oder englischen Bürgertum in Verbindung gebracht werden. In einer spezifischen historischen Konstellation sorgten die Repräsentanten des Reformislam für die Inkorporation dieser neuen kapitalkräftigen Schichten, nachdem die konservativen islamischen Gelehrten sich sämtlichen Reformversuchen widersetzt hatten.

Höchst bemerkenswert aber ist, und das kann die Untersuchung plausibel aufzeigen, dass ein Muslim seinen Glauben durchaus als Privatsache verstehen kann, der nicht mit einem öffentlichen Islam einhergehen muss. Hierin liegt innovatives Potenzial, denn es läuft der gängigen Wahrnehmung des Islam entgegen, er sei per se und aus sich heraus der Säkularisierung nicht fähig, weshalb er einer von außen erzwungenen Öffnung, vulgo Krieg bedarf. Umgekehrt scheint es ein durchaus lohnendes Objekt, dem Verhältnis von Bürgerlichkeit und Frömmigkeit in Großbritannien nachzugehen, wo das indische Modell eines formativen Einflusses der Religion auf die Bürgerlichkeit anwendbar zu sein scheint, im Unterschied zum kontinentaleuropäischen Spannungsverhältnis von Aufklärung und Religion, Glauben und Zivilgesellschaft. Indien und die Muslime Delhis wären damit weder Imitatoren noch Spiegel, sprich passive Rezipienten eines europäischen Diskurses, als vielmehr zeitgleiche Akteure in einem global an verschiedenen Stellen der Welt zu beobachtenden Prozess der Verbürgerlichung. Hierin besteht der Reiz von Untersuchungen im Rahmen vergleichender Forschung inklusive der *entangled histories*.

Margrit Pernaus Studie stellt einen überaus gewichtigen Beitrag zur Geschichte Südasiens dar. Einige wenige kritische Hinweise seien noch erwähnt. Generell dürfte es problematisch sein, einen etablierten Begriff wie Bürgertum auf einen anderen Kulturkreis zu übertragen, auch wenn die Analogien und Ähnlichkeiten frappierend sein sollten. Aber die Verfasserin hat doch gerade die Spezifika der *ashraf* aufgezeigt bzw. die historische Konstellation, in der es zu deren Erweiterung und Neuformierung kommen konnte. Das rechtfertigt allemal, die Selbstbezeichnung als einen eigenständigen Begriff einzubringen, so wie es mit der *bhadralok* Calcuttas geschehen ist. Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass aus einem konstruierten Defizit nun eine auch im „Orient“ äquivalent zum europäischen (und deutschen) Bürgertum anzutreffende Klasse gefunden wurde, die es rechtfertigt, in besagtem „Orient“ nicht mehr das „Andere“ zu sehen. Vielleicht wäre es angebrachter gewesen, die *ashraf* als innovativen Terminus in den Sozialwissenschaften zu Südasiens zu etablieren und, allgemein gesprochen, die gesellschaftlichen Kräfte und Entwicklungspotenziale Südasiens nicht erneut ins zweite Glied zu stellen, was wohl kaum in der Absicht der Verfasserin gelegen haben dürfte.

Zu den Stärken der Studie gehört zweifelsohne die penible Recherche sowohl der relevanten Literatur als auch der Quellen zum Thema. Daher verwundert es ein wenig, dass zu manchen Abschnitten die jüngste erschienene Literatur nicht ein- oder nachgearbeitet wurde. Das gilt insbesondere für die sozialen Unruhen in Delhi zwischen 1807 und 1857 (vgl. S. 102–104; 158–166) sowie für die infrastrukturellen Maßnahmen zur „Modernisierung“ der Stadt, an der sich in wachsendem Maß auch eine bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit zeigte (vgl. S. 280–286). Des weiteren ist es etwas bedenklich, bei allgemein einführenden Absätzen wie etwa zur Landwirtschaft und Grundsteuerveranlagung als der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Grundlagen der *ashraf* die wenigen, einschlägigen Werke nicht heranzuziehen und stattdessen, unter anderem, auf tendenziell veraltete Werke

zu rekurren, so dass ein bisweilen etwas grobes Bild der historischen Situationen entworfen wird (vgl. z. B. S. 172–174).

Auch wenn die Studie an ein deutsches Lesepublikum gerichtet ist, so ist doch nicht nachvollziehbar, warum der Moghul manchmal schlicht als solcher, mitunter aber als „Moghulkaiser“ und dann wieder als „Moghulkönig“ bezeichnet wird. Letzteres nimmt die zeitgenössische britische Nomenklatur auf, die den Mogul nach 1803 despektierlich „King of Delhi“ nannte. Der Begriff „Kaiser“ suggeriert Assoziationen aus dem europäisch-christlichen Raum, die für Südasien nicht zutreffen. So ist der Kaiser nicht nur „Mehrer des Glaubens“, sondern nimmt bekanntermaßen als *defensor ecclesiae* eine innerkirchliche Stellung ein, was der Moghul nicht kann, da es keine islamische Kirche gibt. Die Titulatur „Kaiser“ rührt von dem unbeholfenen Versuch der Europäer her, einen derart machtvollen Herrscher mit einer vertrauten Kategorie in Einklang bringen zu wollen.

Schließlich sei vermerkt, dass in Anbetracht der neueren Forschungen zur Globalgeschichte (Global Studies) mit ihrem polyzentrischen Welt- und Geschichtsverständnis Kategorien wie „europäisch“ im Gegensatz zu „außereuropäisch“, worauf die Verfasserin in der Einleitung ganz besonders und abschließend im letzten Absatz nochmals abhebt, nicht mehr zeitgemäß sind. Die höchst spannende wie innovative Fragestellung der Studie wäre folglich auch nicht in diesem Gegensatzpaar, das die Welt in zwei Sphären einteilt, zu suchen als vielmehr in einem global anzustellenden Vergleich bürgerlicher Formierungsprozesse. Kurz gefragt: woran misst sich ein katholisches Bürgertum in Mexico oder ein (buddhistisches) in Japan im Vergleich zu dem in Deutschland und den USA? Um dem nachzugehen, braucht es gewiss noch diverser länderbezogener Untersuchungen, aber der Rahmen sollte von vornherein weit gesteckt werden. Das drängt sich nach der Arbeit von Margrit Pernau geradezu auf.

Dem wissenschaftlich weitreichenden Anspruch und der großen Tiefe der Studie kann die vorgebrachte Kritik nur wenig Abbruch tun. *Bürger mit Turban* hat es verdient, mehr als nur von einem deutschsprachigen akademischen Publikum rezipiert zu werden. Es bleibt daher zu hoffen, dass die Verfasserin ihren innovativen Ansatz in einschlägigen englischsprachigen Zeitschriften einer internationalen, um nicht zu sagen globalen Wissenschaftlergemeinschaft zugänglich macht, die dann den weitreichenden konzeptionellen Entwurf im Rahmen der Bildung von Nationalbewegungen und Nationalstaaten, aber eben auch einer transnationalen Geschichte im Sinne von global zu beobachtenden Klassenbildungen unter kapitalistischen Wirtschaftsbedingungen weiter entwickeln kann. Darin läge auch ein Potenzial zu geschichtswissenschaftlichen Beiträgen, die die Globalisierung als ein historisches Phänomen des 19. Jahrhunderts erklären könnten.

Michael Mann

JOHANNES VOIGT, *Die Indienpolitik der DDR. Von den Anfängen bis zur Anerkennung (1952-1972)*. (Stuttgarter Historische Forschungen, Bd. 5). Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2008. XVIII, 717 Seiten, € 69,90. ISBN 978-3-412-18106-2

In keinem zweiten Land der Welt hat die DDR sich so sehr um die Aufnahme diplomatischer Beziehungen bemüht wie in Indien. Warum gerade in Indien? Indien galt seit Mitte der fünfziger Jahre als das Schlüsselland der „Dritten Welt“. Wenn Indien die DDR anerkennt, wird die übrige Dritte Welt folgen, so war das Kalkül der Ostberliner Außenpolitiker. Entsprechend tat die Bundesrepublik alles, um eben diese Anerkennung zu verhindern (Hallstein-Doktrin). Auf fast 700 Seiten werden im vorliegenden Buch die vielfältigen Bemühungen der DDR um diplomatische Anerkennung durch Indien nachgezeichnet, die 1972 endlich zum Ziel führten. Wegen des Untergangs der DDR stehen ihre Akten dem Historiker schon jetzt zur Verfügung. Die Arbeit beruht auf den Akten der beiden DDR-Ministerien für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten (MfAA) und für Außenhandel (MAI), außerdem des Archivs der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (SAPMO). Für die westdeutsche Indienpolitik verweist der Autor auf die 2004 erschienene Arbeit von Amit Das Gupta „Handel, Hilfe, Hallstein-Doktrin“, die allerdings 1966 endet. Die indischen Akten sind nicht berücksichtigt, da sie größtenteils noch nicht zugänglich sind.

Es war ein mühsamer Weg, den die DDR in Indien gehen musste, bis sie diplomatisch anerkannt wurde. Nicht nur der Widerstand der Bundesrepublik und Indiens eigene Interessen standen dem entgegen, sondern auch interne Widersprüche, wie z. B. der Konflikt zwischen ideologischen Prämissen und pragmatischen Notwendigkeiten. Anfangs gab es nämlich kein Interesse an Indien, denn die SED betrachtete, darin den sowjetischen Genossen folgend, das unabhängige Indien als kapitalistisches Land und damit dem Klassenfeind zugehörig und ohnehin nur als von den amerikanischen Imperialisten beherrschte „Halbkolonie“.

Mit der Hinwendung des Ostblocks zur Dritten Welt und speziell zu Indien bekamen die Handelsvertretungen, die die DDR seit September 1955 zunächst in Bombay und Kalkutta, später auch in Delhi und Madras unterhielt, einen besonderen Stellenwert. Nun wurde es zum obersten Ziel der DDR-Politik, die volle diplomatische Anerkennung zu erreichen. Im Interesse dieses Ziels wurden die ideologischen Vorbehalte nur noch intern geäußert und nach außen hin ein positives Indienbild propagiert. Allerdings machte Ende 1962, als China Indien angriff, die Regierung der DDR kein Geheimnis aus ihrer Parteinahme für China. Erst als die Sowjetunion auf die Seite Indiens umschwenkte, änderte auch die DDR-Führung zögernd und widerwillig ihren Kurs.

Das Streben nach diplomatischer Anerkennung machte das Verhältnis zu den indischen Genossen von der Communist Party of India (CPI) schwierig. Man wollte der indischen Regierung als Staat gegenüberreten, nicht als Verbündeter einer bestimmten Partei. Viel wichtiger als die CPI war unter diesem Gesichts-

punkt für die DDR die regierende Kongresspartei. Nur die SED hielt Kontakt zu den indischen Kommunisten, was nach deren Spaltung zu einem weiteren Problem führte. Zu welcher der beiden kommunistischen Parteien sollte man halten? Voigt spricht von einem doppelten Spagat, den die DDR vollführen musste: einen ideologischen zwischen den beiden kommunistischen Parteien und einen diplomatischen zwischen dem Indischen Nationalkongress als Regierungspartei und den Kommunisten (563).

Dass sich Indien nicht dazu herbeiließ, die DDR anzuerkennen, hatte vor allem zwei Gründe: man wollte der Wiedervereinigung kein Hindernis in den Weg legen, vor allem aber war die Bundesrepublik wirtschaftlich für Indien viel interessanter, weshalb man es sich nicht mit ihr verderben wollte. Nehru, dessen Sympathien für den Sozialismus bekannt sind, war Realist genug, um allen Pressionen von Seiten der DDR zu widerstehen, und offensichtlich bestens über die Lage in Mitteleuropa informiert. So fragte er Grotewohl, als der ihn auf einer angeblicher Durchreise (in Wirklichkeit war Delhi alleiniges Ziel) besuchte: „Warum verlassen so viele Menschen die Deutsche Demokratische Republik?“

Zunächst versuchte man über den Handel, der Anerkennung näher zu kommen. Dafür kam die DDR Indien weit entgegen, indem sie sich ihre Lieferungen in Rupien bezahlen ließ, was aber nach der Abwertung der Rupie 1966 zu großen Schwierigkeiten führte, u. a. zu einem langwierigen, dem Ansehen der DDR in Indien höchst abträglichen Gerichtsprozess mit der Firma Birla. Insgesamt blieb der Indienhandel enttäuschend gering, in seiner Bedeutung für Indien marginal und daher als außenpolitischer Hebel unbrauchbar.

Auch mit der Kulturpolitik hatte man wenig Erfolg: man verfügte weder über eine Symbolfigur, wie die Bundesrepublik mit Max Müller, noch über ein Kulturzentrum (545). Mit Bertold Brecht konnte die DDR nur begrenzt trumpfen, denn erstens setzten ihn auch die Westdeutschen in ihrer Kulturarbeit ein und zweitens wurde er in Westbengalen von der CPI (M) in Beschlag genommen, mit der man sich seit dem indo-chinesischen Grenzkrieg nicht zu deutlich identifizieren wollte.

Den größten Trumpf allerdings hatte die DDR in der Person Herbert Fischer, der seit Ende 1957 zuerst stellvertretender, später Leiter der Handelsvertretung in Delhi und seit der Anerkennung erster Botschafter in Indien wurde. Herbert Fischer stammte aus Herrnhut, hatte 1933 Deutschland verlassen und war Ende 1936 in Indien gelandet, wo er sofort von Mahatma Gandhi aufgenommen wurde. Während des ganzen Krieges wurde er, obwohl es keinen Zweifel an seiner antinazistischen Gesinnung gab, von den Briten interniert. Laut Fischers Akte, die Voigt in der India Office Library in London fand, wollte Fischer nach seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland für die Quäker in der amerikanischen oder britischen Besatzungszone arbeiten, aber stattdessen trat er in den Schuldienst der damaligen Sowjetischen Besatzungszone ein. Er war Rektor einer Schule in Ostberlin, als ihn ein Vertreter des Ministeriums für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten aufsuchte und ihn bat, für die DDR nach Indien zu gehen. Herbert

Fischer war also ein Außenseiter im diplomatischen Dienst, und das bekam er auch immer wieder zu spüren. Seine „individualistisch“ geführten Unterredungen mit Indern auf Hindi riefen das Misstrauen seiner Kollegen hervor. Andererseits wurde er gerade wegen dieser Kontakte und Landeskenntnisse als Aushängeschild und Trumpfkarte von der DDR eingesetzt.

In den späten sechziger Jahren endlich, mit dem Linksschwenk der Regierung Indira Gandhi, änderte sich das politische Klima in Indien. Jetzt konnten die indischen Ableger der sog. Freundschaftsbewegung gedeihen, die Anfang der sechziger Jahre in Ländern ohne diplomatische Beziehungen mit der DDR ins Leben gerufen worden waren. Nach dem Vorbild der am 11. August 1962 gegründeten Indo-GDR Friendship Society entstanden im Laufe der Jahre lokale und regionale Freundschaftsgesellschaften im ganzen Lande, nach außen hin rein indisch erscheinend, aber tatsächlich am langen Arm von Ostberlin gefördert und gelenkt. Ihnen gelang es bei ihren jährlichen gesamtindischen Treffen, die Aufmerksamkeit der Presse und des Parlaments, ja sogar der Regierung auf sich zu ziehen. Am 18. Dezember 1968 kam es sogar zur Gründung eines aus 60 Abgeordneten bestehenden Parlamentarierkomitees für die Anerkennung der DDR, zu der nicht nur CPI- und Kongress-Abgeordnete gehörten, sondern erstaunlicherweise sogar Vertreter der Swatantra-Partei und des Jana Sangh (Vajpayee!). Die „freundschaftlichen“ Mitglieder des indischen Parlaments forderten von Indira Gandhi die Anerkennung der DDR, was durch einen förmlichen Beschluss der Rajya Sabha am 21. März 1969 bekräftigt wurde. Dennoch dauerte es bis Oktober 1972, als endlich das Ziel erreicht wurde. Die DDR hätte gerne den 7. Oktober als Tag der Anerkennung gehabt, also ihren Geburtstag, die Bundesregierung drängte Indien, noch bis zum Abschluss des Grundlagenvertrags zu warten. Indira Gandhi wählte den 8. Oktober als Termin der Anerkennung.

Ohne Zweifel handelt es sich bei diesem Buch um eine Pionierarbeit, die sich akribisch und dicht an den Quellen bewegt. Auf die Befragung von Zeugnisaussagen hat der Autor allerdings bewusst verzichtet, da „nach allgemeinen Erfahrungen der Ertrag meist den Aufwand nicht lohnt“, wie er gleich im Vorwort schreibt. Über das 1998 von Joachim Heidrich herausgegebene Buch „DDR – Indien: Partner auf Zeit. Erfahrungen und Einsichten“ heißt es an gleicher Stelle, mit diesem Buch „sei einer historisch-kritischen Aufarbeitung wenig gedient“ (vii). Gewiss sind die meisten Aufsätze darin apologetisch und beschönigend, aber der Beitrag von Herbert Fischer z.B. ist nicht ohne Selbstkritik. Die einschlägigen Werke aus der Zeit vor 1989, z.B. das von D. Weidemann und N.L. Gupta von 1980 und das von S. Misra von 1986 und das westdeutsche Werk von E. Schneider von 1978 hätten wenigstens in der Bibliographie erwähnt werden können. Vielleicht werden wir ja noch in Zukunft ehrliche und offene Innenansichten von Beteiligten bekommen. Überhaupt regt das spannend zu lesende Werk – nicht nur für diejenigen, die die Zeit miterlebt haben – zu weiteren Spezialstudien an: Herbert Fischer als herausragende, wenn auch widersprüchliche Persönlichkeit (Gandhi und Kommunismus!) ver-

diente eine Biographie, auch das Thema Freundschaftsgesellschaften der DDR in Indien sollte als lohnendes Thema weiterverfolgt werden.

Jürgen Lütt

MANFRED DOMRÖS (ed.), *After the Tsunami: Relief and Rehabilitation in Sri Lanka...restarting towards the future*. New Delhi: Mosaic Books, 2006. 228 pages, Rs 350/€ 20.00. ISBN 81-85399-20-4

This book is a collection of papers on various aspects of the relief and recovery process in Sri Lanka following the December 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. The papers are written by past German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) fellowship holders, and were originally presented at a workshop that took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in October 2005. Although most of the contributions deal with technical issues, for example the geophysical dynamics of tsunamis, water, ecosystem and agriculture issues, the volume also includes commentaries on community-based relief efforts and security issues for women after the disaster. The authors stem from a range of institutions, but unfortunately a list of workshop participants or further information about the workshop is not included in the volume. The overall message garnered by the reader is that the relief process in Sri Lanka was in many ways flawed and the recovery process painfully slow.

Because the book dates from 2006 and discusses developments in the reconstruction process up to that point, it no longer provides much value as a reference on the state of recovery in Sri Lanka. Given that the civil war restarted as a result of the political tensions over resources following the tsunami, this somewhat limits the usefulness of the volume. References to the number of people still without income or still living in temporary shelter, for example, are totally inaccurate now. The book does, however, serve to document the relief and early stages of the recovery process, demonstrating strengths and weaknesses in the Sri Lankan socio-cultural fabric, the dynamics of foreign and Sri Lankan aid and the numerous issues that arose immediately following the tsunami. All of these are an important reminder for anyone involved in disaster risk reduction, regardless of hazard or country of interest.

While several chapters strike a critical note in their discussion of the relief process, others are more factual, focusing on quantitative findings of the impact on various sectors. Both styles are at odds with the introductory chapters, which tend to forget about the human dimensions of vulnerability – characterising the country as a helpless victim, both during and after the tsunami – not mentioning that the war that has ravaged Sri Lanka for several decades should be seen as a major factor underlying Sri Lanka's social and physical vulnerability to natural hazards. These initial chapters are out of tune with the more critical contributions which for example describe how physical and sexual abuse – unfortu-

nately common themes in Sri Lankan society – continued throughout the relief and recovery phases.

The book suffers from a repeated use of the term ‘natural disasters’ and rhetoric that borders on the preachy, such as comments on the ‘beautiful’ Sri Lankan coastline, and other melodramatic language that seems out of place in an academic review of the relief and rehabilitation processes. Most significantly, the volume lacks a critical overview of the situation in Sri Lanka prior to the tsunami, which would have helped explain not only the significant impacts on livelihoods, but also the prolonged nature of the recovery process and the character of the relief process.

As a result, a number of key issues in Sri Lankan society affecting the country both prior to and after the tsunami are only skirted. The introductory and framing chapters make no mention of one of the most important, and, certainly at the moment, most striking features of Sri Lankan society – namely the civil war that has ravaged the country for several decades. The conflict is first mentioned on page 79, a third of the way through the volume, but rarely reappears in the following chapters. As a direct result of the relief after the tsunami, Sri Lanka is once again deeply embroiled in conflict, and without doubt the development pattern prior to the tsunami can be attributed in part to the conflict. Consequently, Sri Lankans’ vulnerability to the tsunami was largely determined by factors related to the war. At the time the book was printed, the war had not officially broken out again, but even without the luxury of hindsight, the lack of attention to this major factor in Sri Lankan politics, society and economics is a major weakness. Although the issue of environmental degradation is raised, including the fact that this is caused by poor settlement planning, it is not treated critically enough.

The quality of the chapters is somewhat inconsistent. The standard of English is on occasion subpar, with various typos (‘threat’ instead of ‘thread’, ‘prolonged’ instead of ‘pronged’) that are clearly the result of poor editing. It would have been useful to have organised the chapters around themes, rather than mix them, which breaks any intended narrative, and prevents the chapters from building on each other.

On the whole, this book is useful for those interested in perspectives on the tsunami relief process in Sri Lanka shortly after the disaster occurred. It could be worth comparing the views in the book with current understandings of the process, which may be more critical with regard to some issues, and more optimistic with regard to others. Although the quality of the contributions varies, there are a number of useful insights, for which it is worth ploughing through the less brilliant observations. It is encouraging to see so many studies on the impacts of the tsunami, and in some ways apt that the book is still being considered for review four years after the disaster – to remind us of the consequences of faulty development and the urgent need to reduce vulnerability to natural hazards world-wide.

E. Lisa F. Schipper

CHRISTIANE NOE, *Soziale Netzwerke und Gesundheit: Health Vulnerability städtischer Marginalgruppen in Colombo/Sri Lanka*. (Studien zur Geographischen Entwicklungsforschung, 34). Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, 2007. XX, 238 pages, € 30.00. ISBN 978-3-88156-793-0

Since the WHO meeting in Alma-Ata in 1978 “Health for all” is considered as an important issue for equal development and equal opportunities to secure a decent life. In 2000 Gro Harlem Brundtland advocated “placing health in the centre of human development”. In development discussion and in international preambles like the Millenium Development Goals, the eradication of health threatening situations, manifested in respective indicators, is crosscutting. Good health and the opportunity to secure health depend not only on individual genetics but also on factors like access to and availability of health services, socio-political and economic circumstances and the physical and social living environment. “There is in fact much empirical evidence that vulnerability is closely connected with characteristics of the location.”

The author Christiane Noe examines the connectivity of health and living environment/location in four marginalized urban settlements in Colombo/Sri Lanka and explores to what extent the state of health, coping with health hazards and situations of ill-health is linked to the location and social environment of individuals. The research work is embedded in the new geographical field of Geographies of Health and is linked to the vulnerability and social capital discussion. The strength of the study is the comprehensiveness of the theoretical discourse and how health is introduced into the two concepts of vulnerability and social capital. In a detailed theoretical chapter the author makes clear how health is crosscutting in social, political and economic life and the development of a society/state as a whole. The research enhances the geographical discussion with the development of the DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework into the operational Health Vulnerability Framework and demonstrates social capital functioning in the role of a social immune system for communities and individuals. Furthermore, it reflects health vulnerability and resilience in regard to health-related livelihood security.

In the changing socio-political context of Sri Lanka with generally good health indicators the research work focuses on marginalized urban settlements. This focus integrates theoretical discussions on urbanisation, transformation and marginalization processes and on the importance of social networks within groups and how they influence the health vulnerability and resilience of the urban poor. Participatory methods form the basis of research. In addition, detailed housing surveys of 300 households were conducted upon which the analysis and conclusions are based. The circumstances of the settlements vary, two are resettled squatter projects and the other two are unauthorized communities.

In the analysis the different health vulnerabilities of the households and communities are evaluated and correlated with the social immune system of the inhabitants and their ability to use their social networks as part of their “immune system” in order to deal with sickness and to sustain health. The findings show that transformation and modernisation processes within the society modify the social networks and their composition, which in turn has a tremendous impact on coping strategies and the mechanisms for sustaining and/or improving health, and in the long term increases health risks.

The changes in Sri Lankan society will pose new challenges for the stakeholders at state, community and individual level. Further study will have to focus on evolving health challenges posed by elderly and disabled people. Based on the operational framework developed in this study, these challenges and the implementation of respective research can be translated and integrated into policy strategies for improving the health-related livelihood security of marginalized groups and whole societies.

With this research work the vulnerability and social capital discussion receives another important aspect on which the existence of society is grounded: Health.

Since the study is written in German, the valuable findings will unfortunately not be accessible to the broad readership they deserve.

Pia Hollenbach

MICHAEL VON HAUFF, *Economic and Social Development in Burma/ Myanmar. The Relevance of Reforms.* (Schriften zur Wirtschaft Asiens 1). Marburg: Metropolis-Verlag, 2007. XI, 171 pages, 6 maps, € 19.80. ISBN 978-3-89518-635-6

The book summarizes the findings of a research project of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation devoted to the “Structural Characteristics and Development Prospects of the Labour Market in Burma/Myanmar”. The study is based on information gathered by the author during three research trips to the capital Yangon in 2002, 2004 and 2006, before Burma attracted world attention through the demonstrations against the ruling junta in autumn 2007, led by well-known dissidents and leading monks. Chapter 2 presents a short introduction to the country’s political and economic development following independence in 1948. It covers the short phase of parliamentary democracy from 1948–1958, the Burmese Way of Socialism from 1962–1988 and the following more market-oriented period under military government up to the present. The interim process of democratization in 1990 was stopped after the unexpected victory of the opposition party. For a better understanding of the complicated initial political situation of the country, Burma’s heritage of ethnic conflicts from the past should perhaps have been recognized. About 40 different ethnic

groups exist, Shan, Karen and Kachin as important minorities also settle in the neighbouring countries. Armed conflicts with separatist movements took up the greatest part of the state's budget from the 1960s onwards. Therefore, the attempt to place Burmese development in the context of other countries in the region neglects one of the most important Burma-specific determinants for the economic prospects.

The theoretical discussion of good governance as a condition for positive economic development looks likewise a bit academic given the frame of the junta's policy. Following Wladimir Andreff the author points out that Burma/Myanmar is currently in a double transition from underdevelopment and from socialism. In addition, according to Zaw Oo a third area of transition may be considered, namely from military rule to more democratic development. As von Hauff emphasizes in the introduction, the book concentrates primarily on economic and social factors. However, the recent political events in Burma clearly show the great interdependences not only between the first two areas of transition but also of both with the third one.

The data presented in the study demonstrate that Burma, as a resource-rich country with a great potential, has shown a rather poor economic performance in the past. The structure of the economy is still one-sided with the contribution of the agricultural sector as a share of Gross Domestic Product near to 60%. The industrial sector in 2002/03 is reported to amount to only 9.2 %, and the total secondary sector to 13.6%. Thus the agricultural growth rate is still of paramount importance for the growth of the Burmese economy. Problems of the sector are stagnant or decreasing yields of food crops, the small size of farms, subsistence farming, farmers' lack of access to the financial sector and government price setting below market price.

The dominance of agriculture and stagnation of industrialisation is traced back in part to the poor performance of the state-bank dominated financial sector and other institutions. Small companies have difficulties in getting bank loans. The population of the rural regions is almost completely excluded from the financial sector. As a major reason for the low private investment the control exercised by the Ministries of Light and Heavy Industry on manufacturing enterprises (p. 31) is identified.

General remarks on the relationship between economic development and social security lead to the discussion of the social sector development in Burma/Myanmar in Chapter 4. It is shown that the social security system is inadequate to cover the risks of everyday life such as sickness, accidents, and unemployment (p. 53). A large section of the Burmese population live in poverty, and health and education reveal considerable deficits. Statistical data from national sources on the social sector are scarce, thus the study is based mainly on official available statistics e.g. from the World Bank, UNDP and the Asian Development Bank. Information from the Human Development Index indicates a poor performance with respect to infant mortality and life expect-

tancy at birth compared to other Asian countries. Spending in education and the health sector has decreased since the beginning of the 1990s and is internationally at a very low level. Parallel to the state-run health system, a private system has developed that serves a few privileged groups, like high-ranking military and government officials. There is no great imbalance in income distribution because the bulk of the population has such a low level of income that one cannot identify any great differences (p. 61). In part this is due to the distribution of real property during the socialist phase when landownership was restricted to a maximum of nine to ten acres per landowner, and the dominance of micro and small enterprises in the private sector.

Chapter 5 contains theoretical remarks on labour markets in developing countries, forming the introduction to the discussion of the institutional conditions and structural characteristics of the labour market, while chapters 6 to 8 provide some information on the situation of women and children. The problems of getting information in a country like Burma becomes obvious in the presentation of occasionally rather old statistics. Thus figures on the regional distribution of the labour force date from 1990. Suggestions for reforms are presented in the concluding chapter. More attention should be given to the relation between economic and social development. In the labour market placement efficiency must be improved and alternatives to state placement will have to be created.

The attempt to analyse the economic and social development in Burma on a comprehensive theoretical basis is very ambitious for a small book, and distracts from the specific conditions of a country that, in addition, was hit by a disastrous hurricane in May 2008. The study nevertheless offers valuable insight into what is documented on the economic and social development in a country where only limited information is available.

Axel Sell

WILL O. DIJK, *Seventeenth Century Burma and the Dutch East India Company 1634–1680*. (NIAS Monographs 102). Singapore/Copenhagen: Singapore University Press and NIAS Press, 2006. XVIII, 348 pages, 12 maps, € 24.90/£18.99. ISBN 978-87-91114-69-4

In its “golden age”, the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was virtually omnipresent in Asian waters and ports. However, while its commercial strategies, economic performance and exchange with places producing spices or textiles are well documented and intensively researched, some of the more peripheral regions of its colonial empire were almost forgotten. Burma (comprising both the Burmese heartland and the coastal strip of Arakan, which had little to do with central Burma) is one of these regions that do not figure pro-

minently in studies of the VOC's activities in Asia. But quite in contrast to the few references normally found in scholarly literature, the VOC was for several decades actively engaged in the trade with Burma, which is borne out by an extremely rich, detailed and well preserved body of files relating to this trade. Wil Dijk has for the first time combed these files systematically and described the VOC's trade with Burma.

Two phases of the VOC's activities in Burma can be distinguished. The first phase, from 1634 to 1648, begins with the year in which the Burmese king Thalun retransferred the capital of his kingdom from Pegu to Ava, and ends with the death of this king. The transfer of the capital had consequences for foreign traders as well, as they normally had to go up the Irawadi to pay a tribute visit to the king, in addition to sailing to Pegu which remained the kingdom's major trading port (though the river running from Pegu was gradually silting up, making access to the city increasingly difficult). In this phase, the VOC's administrators in Batavia were about to abandon trade with Burma altogether (p. 97).

Their decision to stay was rewarded with what Dijk calls the "golden age" of trade during the years 1648–1670. Reading between the lines, it appears that the VOC's economic success may have been related to the relative weakness of the Burmese government following the death of Thalun. The internal strife at the court of Ava was accompanied by a series of Siamese invasions of Lower Burma, possibly driving the respective kings of Ava to a more liberal attitude towards trade as a means to finance their wars. However, while trade from Pegu into the Bay of Bengal became easier and more profitable for the Dutch, the Burmese kings at Ava were still able to control and occasionally intercept the trade with China flowing along the Irawadi through their country. Access to China's treasures through the backdoor had always been one of the reasons why the Dutch Governor in Batavia continued trade with Burma, especially after the VOC's factory in Taiwan was closed in 1662. The VOC indeed succeeded in procuring Chinese copper cash from Burma (in the years after 1650 this metal would normally account for almost two thirds of the VOC's total exports from Burma), but failed to put the overland trading connection on a secure and permanent basis.

In the end, political instability in Burma combined with a structural change in Asian trade to drive the VOC out of Burma. Before the mid-17th century, intra-Asian trade to which Burma contributed products such as dyes, teak wood, and the universally acclaimed Martaban jars, had usually added more to the company's profits than shipments of Asian goods to Europe. But as Europe recovered from the effects of the Thirty Years War, its consumption picked up, eventually culminating in the Baroque craze for "Chinoiserie", East Asian luxury items such as porcelain, tea, and silk textiles. As this demand made home shipments lucrative again, the relative importance of intra-Asian trade gradually

declined. Consequently, the VOC withdrew from Burma, closing the factory in Pegu in 1678.

All of Dijk's findings are amply supported by evidence and presented in a convincing manner. A special service to future researchers is a CD-Rom enclosed with the book which contains about 140 pages of statistical appendices, compiled from the files Dijk has worked herself through. Not only economic historians will find this an extremely useful collection of data. However, while acknowledging the vast amount of time and labour invested in the study of the files and the compilation of the statistical appendices, it should not be overlooked that the study leans heavily towards the sources and hardly ever engages in discussing the material in the context of general works on Dutch/ European trade with Asia in its regional or global dimensions. Reid's influential and much debated theory of a 17th century crisis in Asian trade, for example, is not mentioned at all. That methodological squibble aside, Dijk's book is a solid economic history and fills a major gap in the history of Euro-Asiatic trade.

Tilman Frasch

ANNA-KATHARINA HORNIDGE, *Knowledge Society – Vision and Social Construction of Reality in Germany and Singapore*. (ZEF Development Studies 3). Berlin, Münster: Lit Verlag, 2007. XVII, 408 pages, € 34.90. ISBN 978-3-8258-0316-2

The effective governance of knowledge is a key enabler of economic growth in an era where the creation of wealth from immaterial production (services, computer-assisted production etc.) exceeds that of material production. One international think-tank which has been at the forefront of critical reflections on the rise of knowledge is the Centre for Development Policy (ZEF) in Bonn, Germany, with its research group 'Culture, Knowledge and Development'. *Knowledge Society* by Anna-Katharina Hornidge evolved in this fertile ecosystem, and clearly goes beyond economic debates about knowledge-based development. Inspired by sociological concepts of knowledge, she argues that the hype about 'information economy', 'knowledge economy' or 'information and knowledge society' (terms which are often used interchangeably and without precise definitions) is "socially constructed" and that this "new reality" so orients and motivates actors that they finally create what they conceive as being objective.

The internationally most influential publication in the field of social construction was *The Social Construction of Reality* by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). They argued that people who interact with each other form, over time, mental models of each other's actions. These typifications eventually become habitualized into reciprocal roles played by the actors and subsequently

routinized. Over time, meaning is attached to ideas and routine practices, and what people know and conceive 'as their reality' gradually becomes embedded into the institutional structure of society.

This process of construction is carefully redrawn in the book with reference to Germany and Singapore, two unlikely candidates for a comparison as it seems initially, given their different historical developments, population size, socio-cultural realities and organizing principles (while Germany is federally organized, Singapore is a centralized city-state). Emphasis is put on assessing state activities and country-specific definitions of the knowledge society. At a second glance, however, there are many similarities between Germany and Singapore: both countries are industrialized nations with few natural resources to build on but with the common will to conduct high-level R&D to promote further development; both have ports and historical trading traditions; both countries have developed into service economies and today increasingly rely on knowledge, the generation of ideas, innovations and creativity for economic growth, and both governments actively promote the construction of a knowledge society.

The idea of a rising k-society, originating from academic circles in the USA and Japan in the 1950s and 1960s, reached Germany and other European nations around the beginning of the 1970s. In Germany the term 'information society' is mainly used as it has a long tradition in the political sphere which can be traced back to the translation of a Japanese report entitled *Japan's Technological Strategy* by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Science (1972) and is easier to explain to citizens. In Singapore, the terminological preference was 'knowledge-based economy', arguably justified by the urge to develop from 'third' to 'first world economy' based on export-led growth, access to foreign technology, capital, knowledge and a competent workforce. Surprisingly, the country-specific k-societies constructed in Germany and Singapore are defined procedurally, i.e. by the programmes defining them, the 'Information Society Germany 2010 Action Plan' initiated by the German Federal Government or the 'Intelligent Nation 2015 Plan' developed by Singapore's Infocomm Development Authority. Academic concepts of k-society created by the scientific community do not always play a major role! While both countries put strong emphasis on an ICT and knowledge infrastructure so as to foster economic prosperity, differences exist with regard to knowledge topoi addressed and the defining elements of k-society. Singapore today, in contrast to Germany, puts more emphasis on fostering creativity and the development of creative industries while the traditional broad definition of knowledge in Germany (that allows for fine arts, craft and music education, critical discussion as well as time and space for personal development, hobbies and recreation) is slowly eroding due to the rising focus on knowledge and knowledge production.

A key question that arises while digesting this insightful and well written book is this: If k-societies are indeed socially constructed and not merely the result of technological and economic developments, which 'actors' are the real drivers of the k-society shift and how do they manage to achieve legitimacy? As the author points out, key driving forces are the scientific community which constructs k-society concepts, political elites who create a vision (sometimes without the active contributions of scientists) of the arguably 'self-emerging' k-society and the powerful subsystem of the state which constructs k-societies as stages of socio-economic development. "The political activities, legitimised by this vision, then actually constructed (and until today do) what was said to emerge by itself," says Dr. Hornidge (p. 292). Conceptions of knowledge are also strongly influenced by structural realities such as the political and legal system, historical experience, and economic imperatives. Examples are the perceived need to establish a new creative growth cluster in Singapore or the need to establish the legal infrastructure (e.g. digital signatures) for effectively constructing an ICT-economy in Germany. Country-specific concepts of knowledge that are "inflexible or archaic" face increasing global pressures. K-society constructs in the form of economic and technological programmes represent a "new focal point of collective identity that reduces felt insecurities and risks within the second modernity".

Besides its academic value, the book sends out a powerful message to policy makers as it indirectly draws attention to the significant role of visionary knowledge elites as drivers of sustainable development (not always in adequate supply if one compares the different development trajectories of Asian countries such as Singapore or Sri Lanka). The continuous legitimacy of Singapore's policy makers is based on many factors such as their track record, competencies, actionable knowledge, command over resources and evidence-based (good) management. Singapore's survival and national interests serve as ideological justifications for knowledge-based development policies and provide meaning for those in charge and a large number of Singapore's citizens. This raises several questions, one of which is who is supposed to assist Asian late-comers in knowledge-based development in an era of globalization, regional integration and latent knowledge conflicts. A civil society role model in this respect is arguably Singapore's Nominated Member of Parliament Ms Eunice Olsen with her 'Water for Living, Books for Learning' initiative who builds libraries and provides water-filtration systems to orphanages and schools in Cambodia, Laos and Kalimantan. The project is one of the flagship projects of 'Knowledge in Developing Societies (KIDS)', a Singapore-based organisation Ms Olsen co-founded. In these turbulent times of increasing ignorance, where an 'explosion of despair' beyond the shores of Singapore can never be ruled out, one might argue that knowledge for development (K4D in short) assistance is of the utmost importance to ensure further growth and stability in Asia.

Thomas Menkhoff

PETRA STOCKMANN, *Indonesian Reformasi as Reflected in Law: Change and Continuity in Post-Suharto Era Legislation on the Political System and Human Rights*. (Demokratie und Entwicklung 53). Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004. 398 pages, € 39.90. ISBN 3-8258-7679-9

After the regime change in 1998, Indonesia started on the bumpy road towards a more democratic political system. This democratisation process turned out to be non-linear and full of backlashes. The pacted transition was responsible for the slow pace of reform, since the main protagonists of the authoritarian order and their vested interests had to be accommodated with the new political system. A policy field where this situation became clearly visible was the legislation on human rights.

In this regard, the study of Petra Stockmann provides valuable information. Written as a PhD thesis at the Hong Kong Baptist University, the author assessed the changes and continuities in post-Soeharto Indonesia with regard to the political system and human rights. It covers the period between the late 1990s and the end of the year 2002.

After the introduction, Stockmann explains in the second chapter the dominant discourse in the authoritarian period under President Suharto. Among the key elements were the concentration of power in the executive branch of government and an interpretation of Indonesia's state philosophy *Pancasila*, which was anti-pluralistic and organized society on a corporate basis.

In the following chapters 3 and 4, the author describes the changes made through constitutional amendments and the redrafting of essential laws. Here, she refers to the laws on elections and political parties as well as on the composition of parliament. The legal framework of Indonesia also saw major changes concerning the rights of the president and the judicial system. This background is necessary to understand the main section of the book, chapter 5, in which Stockmann closely examines the changes in the field of human rights. She presents the legal changes made in this policy field and contrasts them with reality. As the author admits, the transformation of an authoritarian regime with a long history of human rights violations and a complex body of anti-human rights legislation is indeed an enormous task. The so-called Human Rights Action Plan of the Indonesian government was a tentative first step in the direction of a more democratic legal system. The articles 28a to 28i were introduced into the Indonesian constitution, the National Human Rights Commission (*Komnas HAM*) received more responsibilities and authority, and specific Human Rights Courts were established. Despite all these formal improvements, Stockmann argues that Indonesia cannot yet be defined as a constitutionally codified *Rechtsstaat*. According to her, four main ideological pillars of the former authoritarian New Order are in essence still dominant in post-Suharto legislation: anti-communism, the integralistic state philosophy *Pancasila*, the emphasis on national unity and integrity as well as the continuing military influence on state affairs manifested in the *dwi-fungsi* doctrine.

Throughout the book, Petra Stockmann takes a very critical attitude towards the outcome of the political reforms undertaken after regime change. There is some reason to be disappointed but it is, however, exaggerated and overly pessimistic to state that “the danger is looming large that the democratic and *Rechtsstaat* supporting elements that have been introduced are increasingly degraded to a façade for an essentially authoritarian, military system, not unlike the one under Suharto” (p. 339). Indonesia may not be a perfect example of a liberal and social democracy, but the current political situation is nevertheless remarkably different from that of ten years ago.

This book is a valuable source of information for anyone desirous of finding out more about the legal changes that took place in the first years of the reform process in Indonesia. It provides a very detailed and knowledgeably written overview of law reform. Additionally, the analysis of shortcomings in the legal framework of human rights well illustrates the impact of flawed legislation in some cases and a lack of implementation in others.

Patrick Ziegenhain

REED L. WADLEY (ed.), *Histories of the Borneo Environment. Economic, Political and Social Dimension of Change and Continuity*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005. VII, 315 pages, € 35.00. ISBN 90-6718-254-0

TSUYOSHI HASEGAWA (ed.), *The End of the Pacific War. Reappraisals*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. XVI, 331 pages, 2 maps, \$ 60.00. ISBN 978-0-8047-54279

In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the “sneaky” Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor two international conferences took place, one at Lake Yamanaka near Mt. Fuji in November and the other at King’s College, London in December 1991. At that time the United States stood aloof, as the Japanese bluntly refused any apology for the surprise opening of the war. Although the participants of the two conferences were different, on both occasions the issue of the atomic bombing and the end of the Pacific war split the audience. It was like a re-emergence of the former war alliances when American and British scholars joined again in their special relationship to justify the dropping of the bombs while the participants from the former Axis countries – Germans and Japanese alike – accused the Americans of an immoral and, what is more, a superfluous military action. Anglo-American historians were fully convinced that the atomic bombs had ended the war and, in the end, had saved many lives – despite the huge number of victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Researchers from the loser countries, however, strongly contradicted this by quoting from the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, which shows the complete breakdown in Japan proper by summer 1945, and by pointing to the very successful invasion of the Red Army which started on 7 August 1945.

As far as I remember, Stanford Professor Barton J. Bernstein, one of the main contributors to this collection of essays published in the Stanford Nuclear Age Series, did not take part in either conference. Otherwise, his speculations about the effect the national origin of scholars or even the countries they work in might have on historical interpretations of this still controversial issue would have been proven 16 years earlier. No rational discussions between former winners and losers about the political consequences of the dropping of the two atomic bombs seem to have been possible. These opposing views are reflected in this most recent anthology as well. American scholars and, for publicity, freelance writers like Richard B. Frank, tend to attribute to the atomic bombing a decisive role in the ending of the war, while the Japanese contributors either regard the atomic bomb and the Soviet entry into the war as being of equal importance (Hatano) or attach utmost importance to the crushing victories of the Red Army in Manchuria for the Emperor’s “sacred decision” to finally end the war and thereby preserve the Imperial House (Hasegawa).

However, it would be a biased judgement to speak of an old debate warmed up and wrapped into new footnotes. In the opening chapter on recent Western literature as well as in his conclusive remarks Barton J. Bernstein reveals some progress and unanimity in historical research, deploring the still existing limitations on archival research and asks many stimulating (counterfactual) questions. In general, the political part Emperor Hirohito played in the war and its last days has been reassessed since his death in 1989 and is considered to be of decisive

importance for the ending of the fighting. Although, according to Kido (the Lord Privy Seal and closest advisor to the throne), Emperor Hirohito attributed his decision to interfere and end the war to three equally important factors, the total destruction of the homeland, the atomic bombing and the Soviet attack, the question remains how he could persuade or convince the stubborn army leaders to give in to His Majesty's will. Some excellent biographies have been written on Hirohito, the most famous of which – by Herbert Bix – was severely criticised by Peter Wetzler (a Berkeley student, but a Freiburg trained historian). It can be safely assumed that Hirohito was the best informed person in Japan working closely, as he did, with the military during the entire period of the war. The army, the strongest supporter of the Imperial Way, on the other hand could have no interest in the total destruction of the Imperial House as the center and basis of traditional Japanese society. This – perhaps too simplistic – explanation has not been elaborated on in the volume. As Bernstein stresses, further studies on the Japanese army and the leading military officers seem necessary.

Thanks to newly found Japanese documents, further common opinion exists among most historians regarding the effects the Soviet invasion and the crushing victories of the Red Army in Manchuria had on the Army officials. Apparently unmoved by the civilian disasters in Hiroshima and Nagasaki the Army command had to react and for the first time considered the Potsdam Declaration. Civilian politicians like Foreign Minister Togo or former, still very influential Prime Minister Konoe regarded the atomic bombs and the Soviet advance as “gifts from heaven” in order to bring the army to their senses. At least, the politicians and the Navy did not believe in the ultimate battle on Kyushu Island where – according to a most revealing article by Frank – more than 10 000 planes had been located for suicide missions and about 625 000 soldiers as well as members of the home guard (the Patriotic Citizens Fighting Corps modelled after the German “*Volkssturm*”) been trained, often with bamboo spears, for the last trench fighting.

Compared with these controversial issues, the role of the Soviet Union under Stalin in the final days of the Pacific War seems to be clear-cut. The Soviet dictator, Russian patriot that he was, wanted to avenge the defeat of Tsarist Russia by the “treacherous Japanese” and to re-establish the old imperialist position in East Asia. As the Americans had pressed the Soviets to join in the fighting against the Japanese from the very beginning, Stalin promised Soviet participation at the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference in October 1943. At Yalta Roosevelt and Churchill showed readiness to pay the political price for the Soviet invasion, but at Potsdam, half a year later, Truman and Churchill (Attlee) were more reluctant but could not hinder Stalin from realising his promise. Stalin succeeded with his political goal but failed to become, like in Germany, an equal partner of the Americans in the occupation of Japan by establishing a Soviet zone on Hokkaido. Russian troops, however, managed to occupy the Kuril islands. The still unresolved question of these islands

periodically causes friction between Japan and her eastern neighbour as does the atomic issue with the United States.

Bernd Martin

RYUTARO OHTSUKA / STANLEY J. ULJASZEK (eds.), *Health Changes in the Asia-Pacific Region*. (Cambridge Studies in Biological and Evolutionary Anthropology 52). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. X, 313 pages, \$120.00, £ 65.00. ISBN 978-0-521-83792-7 (hardback)

Reading this book makes one thing particularly clear: modern illnesses, such as type 2 diabetes, obesity and cardio-vascular problems affect not only Western countries, but also the developed and developing ones in the Asia-Pacific region. The authors argue that the reason behind this lies in various changes that have taken place in the area. First of all, the book here reviewed stresses the impact of rapid social, environmental and economic changes on health conditions in East and South East Asia, the Pacific and on the Melanesian Islands during the last century. The editors – Ohtsuka and Uljaszek – highlight the globalization of trade, the increase in Western (processed) food consumption, the overall improvement of food security, urbanization and migration. As the authors argue, due to the rapid modernization process, traditional and modern illnesses coexist and put enormous pressure on the still poorly funded national health systems.

However, the editors conclude that despite similar developments in these countries, there is much heterogeneity. Both argue that there are at least two different health transition models: “one that involves rapidly increasing rates of obesity to exceptionally high levels (as in the Pacific Island nations), and another that involves increases in obesity only to comparatively low levels (as in the modernized nations of East Asia).” (14)

How these differences in the health status of such countries, populations and language groups come about is analysed in the 11 subsequent chapters. Oppenheimer researches the impact of prehistoric migration in Chapter 2, Ohtsuka analyses the effect of genetic conditions on the differences in regional health in Chapter 3. These chapters are followed by a couple of case and comparative studies on changing nutritional health patterns. Marks (Chapter 4) and Yamauchi (Chapter 6) both take a comparative approach in analysing the health situation in the region. Marks looks at the five original members of ASEAN – Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand; Yamauchi analyses the differences in BMI between Papua New Guinean Highlanders and Solomon Islanders. The authors of Chapter 5 (Ko on Hong Kong), Chapter 8 (Keighly et al. on Samoa) and Chapter 12 (Attenborough on Papua New Guinea) all research the changes in food consumption and the impact this has on obesity and other

modern illnesses due to the increase in calories and the decrease in physical activity.

In chapter 7, Ianoko, Matsumura and Suda raise the question: "When did Tongans become obese?". The answer for them lies in the comparatively high level of urbanization in contrast to other Southern Pacific countries, but also in a culturally positive image of fatness. One other very interesting finding by the three authors from Japan is the influence of trans-national linkages between Tongans and out-migrants to developed countries such as the United States, Australia and New Zealand. As the authors illustrate, remittances have changed the food consumption in Tonga, since the money is used to buy processed and high-caloric food products. A similar conclusion is drawn by Ulijaszek in Chapter 10, following his analysis of the inhabitants of the Cook Islands.

Chapter 9 and Chapter 11 shift the focus of the analysis to the neighbouring countries of the USA and Australia. Frisbee et al. look at Asian and Pacific Islander populations in the United States. They try to assess whether the image of the "healthy Asian American and Pacific Islanders" is indeed a myth as other authors have argued. Woodward and Blakely in Chapter 11 focus on the differences in mortality between the indigenous and non-indigenous population of Australia.

This book, which forms part of the series "Cambridge Studies in Biological and Evolutionary Anthropology", is a product of the "International Union of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences Congress" which brought together archaeologists, anthropologists, health scientists and sociologists. With their diverse academic backgrounds the authors present different angles on the topics which are presented in the form of case and comparative studies. They illustrate the significant correlation of factors such as economic modernisation, migration and trans-national linkages on the one hand and changes in health patterns on the other.

While the volume certainly provides remarkable insights for social science researchers, it proves to be a quite challenging read. Especially when the discussion goes into details about genetics (have any of the readers of the *International Quarterly for Asian Studies* ever heard of the alpha-globin gene deletion?) or other biological details of BMI (for example that BMI can be divided into a fat-free mass index and a fat-mass index) and different types of diabetes, it is rather difficult for non-experts to keep track. What remains, in conclusion, is a better understanding of the various factors that influence the health situation in countries in the Asia-Pacific region. A glossary and other aids to understanding the book might have helped to promote the academic exchange between natural and social scientists.

Kerstin Priwitzer

PETER CHEN-MAIN WANG (ed.), *Contextualization of Christianity in China. An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*. (Collectanea serica). Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2007. 216 pages, € 40.00. ISBN 978-3-8050-0547-0

The command of Jesus Christ to "go and make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:19) is a central part of Christianity. The Bible describes how the first missionaries were sent to unlikely places to establish churches, entirely dependent upon the Spirit of God. In contrast, Wang's compilation of research articles on Christian mission in China over several centuries depicts examples of more strategic approaches – and their drawbacks. One reason cited for the slow spread of Christianity in China is a deficit of contextualization and indigenization, which has become a focus of research. The volume is based on an International Symposium with the same title held in 2002 in the Netherlands. Various articles reveal that the history of mission in China contains elements of political domination and resistance.

Claudia von Collani describes the Italian Jesuits Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci as examples of a contextualization strategy. When they arrived in China around 1580, they studied Chinese and familiarized themselves with local customs to accommodate their mission to Chinese culture. As a special gift from Europe they brought scientific knowledge, esp. astronomy, which enabled them to gain responsibility for the official calendar and thus access to the highest leadership levels. To adapt their Christian message to Chinese culture, they looked for a tradition of one God in the Chinese Classics in order to present Christianity as fulfillment of Confucianism.

Vincent Shen points out that Indian Buddhism has been far more successful in its adaptation to China than Christianity. He calls the Jesuit mission strategy "strangification", i.e. going outside one's familiar realm toward the stranger, using his language to share one's ideas and faith. Shen concedes that scientific knowledge brought to China by Jesuits, an act of self-transcendence in the study of the physical world, infused a new cultural dynamism into the modernization of Chinese society, as did later transfers of scientific knowledge. Yet he mentions that these Jesuits brought older Aristotelian and Ptolemaic geocentric cosmology, and not Kepler's and Galileo's heliocentric one: The older, hierarchical model was not compatible with the scientific and egalitarian spirit of modernity, and it lacked openness towards the infinite other, thus denying the Chinese a scientific sense of that Other which Christianity conveys in its biblical teaching. And Ricci neglected the Aristotelian philosophical reflection on science that would have introduced the Chinese to the unending experience of expanding limits in science and its religious aspect. Instead, the science brought by the Jesuits remained on the level of instrumental rationality.

Other obstacles to the indigenization of Christianity in China emerged when, in the words of Shen, Ricci did not enter a deeper dialogue with Chinese

religions but battled against them. His anthropological concept viewed human relations as accidental, while in Chinese philosophy relations with other human beings, nature and Heaven are constitutive. Shen notes that Ricci offered proofs for the existence of God which suit the demands of human rationality. While that rational vision of God may have supported a scientific world view, it threatened to turn even God into an object of explanation – promoting human reason in a self-enclosed way. Shen also deplores that Ricci did not see the bridge from Christianity to Buddhism and Daoism which similar mystical practices of all three could have provided.

Jessie Lutz's chapter on Christian colleges mentions that the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 originated with the protests of Chinese villagers against the disparagement of their deities by Western missionaries and their desire to rid China of the presence of foreigners. Missionaries in Shandong had interfered in lawsuits and favored Chinese Christian converts without knowing all the facts. The superiority complex of many Western educators and their intolerance towards Chinese culture also fuelled resentment. A new twist arose when in 1903 the Chinese Jesuit Ma Xiangbo co-founded Zhendan University in Shanghai, granting students participation in administration and devoting equal attention to Chinese and Western learning. His European brothers insisted on a traditional authoritarian French-style institution, which caused Ma and most Chinese faculty and students to leave. They subsequently established Fudan University, an early patriotic university. The 1920s saw nationwide campaigns against Christians and their schools, and the liberal Christians, who wanted to 'remake' China, were perceived as a greater threat than the 19th century evangelicals with their individualistic approach to mission.

Edward Yihua Xu presents early Chinese pastors of the 19th century who received foreign education and tried to bridge the cultural gap between American mission and Chinese culture. Education and medical mission became their focus, and evidence grew that the expensive services provided in both sectors prevented the Chinese from taking charge: The funding requirements of these institutions far exceeded their means, thus keeping foreigners in control. And while social programs became relevant for the wider society, the evangelical work was weakened. As second-generation Chinese pastor, Wang Mingdao (1900–1991) resolutely defended his independence and that of his church, even at the cost of slower growth in membership. He opposed not only foreign influence but also the, in his view, overly modernistic Chinese Protestants of the Three Self Patriotic Movement. Richard Cook's reflections on Wang draw comparisons with traditional US evangelicals who inspired Wang's theology.

The concluding chapter on Christianity in post-Mao China quotes from the 1982 Constitution of China that religious freedom is granted both positively and negatively, and that religious bodies and affairs are not to be subject to foreign domination. Unfortunately, Beatrice Leung does not elaborate on the lessons of history manifested in these stipulations. Peter Wang's volume makes no mention

of any current international Christian dialogue that would address these Chinese experiences and the persisting danger of Christian mission being manipulated for political purposes.

Sabine Grund

JENNIFER CHAN (ed.), *Another Japan is Possible. New Social Movements and Global Citizenship Education*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008. XXVI, 406 pages, 13 tables, 8 figures, \$ 29.95. ISBN 0-8047-5782-8

Jennifer Chan's study of new social movements in Japan is a source and reference book for all interested in the current situation of advocacy groups and NGO activism in this country. The subtitle 'new social movements' is to be understood in a broad sense. Whereas movement theorists associate 'new' social movements with certain features and the Japanese distinguish between NGOs and NPOs, Chan's approach to the terminology is quite relaxed, in that she speaks of NGO networks, NPOs, advocacy groups and movements more or less interchangeably.

Chan's study is a rare and comprehensive compilation of Japanese voices articulating their demand for an alternative model of citizenship. In her interviews with fifty representatives of internationally linked advocacy groups, the author has amassed comprehensive information on current alterglobalization activism in Japan. In contrast to most other studies on Japanese social movements, which are scarce in number and address the political impact rather than the movements' 'larger civic and educational functions', Chan looks at the 'pedagogical process' (p. 340) set in motion through NGO activism (hence the subtitle 'citizenship education'). Apart from this important perspective, the volume provides a refreshingly alternative reading of Japan's post-war development, particularly the last two decades, revealing a social reality that is seldom acknowledged in mainstream scholarly works on Japan. The gist of Chan's findings is that, contrary to the general perception, opposition to the hegemonic neo-liberal model of economic and social life, and advocacy for the adoption of another worldview are frequently found in Japan. This is an astonishing result even to readers who are quite familiar with the situation in Japan, because the predominant image is that of an obedient, enduring people. The G 8 summit in Toyako in July 2008, for instance, passed off smoothly and without major disturbances from demonstrations or other voluble protests. 'Those who wanted to demonstrate were always outnumbered by police,' the German newspaper *tageszeitung* reported on 7 July 2008. This observation is emblematic of the general perception of Japanese protest behavior. It is Chan's intention to revise this perception, and to prove that new networks, new network styles and tactics, and a critical awareness of global affairs have evolved.

The fifty interviews with Japanese NGO activists form the core of the book. They are systematically arranged, following a catalogue of questions clustered around four themes: (1) personal background of the interviewee; (2) founding activities of an NGO or network; (3) relations with the government, other NGOs, and international organizations; and (4) issues, concerns, and challenges faced by the organizations/networks. (p. 16). Chan has subdivided her fifty interviewees into eight groups, covering issues of global governance; labor; food sovereignty; peace; HIV/AIDS; gender; and minority and human rights. A final part is devoted to youth groups. In addition to each interview account, Chan provides URLs of related websites and references. The fact that several of these URLs are outdated or no longer exist is an unavoidable phenomenon and certainly tolerable.

The reader receives more of Chan's well structured information in three appendices to the book, covering (1) examples of Japanese advocacy NGO networks; (2) a list of Japanese NGOs that attended WTO ministerial meetings; and (3) NGO members of the Japan Platform, which comprises such diverse groups as the basic Human Needs Association Japan, the Japan Mine Action Service, or the Japan Red Cross Society.

Chan employs 'the method of writing "marginal experience narratives"', thereby lending an ear to 'counterdiscourses to state and media metanarratives.' (p. 16) This is certainly one of the greatest merits of this book. The actual interview accounts – the embodiment of discourses and narratives – substantiate the author's view that 'marginal experience narratives' have been too neglected in Japanese studies. Chan's intention is not to measure the political impact or effectiveness of the networks she analyses, but to introduce them with their perspectives. This approach relieves her from answering the question of the significance and (political) weight of these networks in contemporary Japanese society. The answer is something the reader is free to find for him- or herself. Chan's book can be highly recommended to all interested in "the other Japan", in particular because it examines the internationally linked advocacy NGOs. Literature on this topic is rare, since most studies dealing with Japanese civil society tend to concentrate on the domestic level.

Claudia Derichs