

Reviews

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, *Explorations in Connected History. From the Tagus to the Ganges*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005. 264 pages, £ 18.99. ISBN 019-566865-0

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, *Explorations in Connected History. Mughals and Franks*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005. 232 pages, £ 18.99. ISBN 019-566866-9

It is an all too rare pleasure to come across a book which conveys a sustained sense of excitement to its reader and leaves him with the feeling that his view of a period of history will never be the same as before. Sanjay Subrahmanyam presents not just one, but two such collections of essays. At a time when the debate is still raging on how to write global history, whether the concept might make sense not only for the 19th and 20th centuries, but perhaps even for the 18th, and which institutional devices to invent to overcome the impossibility for a single historian to master knowledge of a multitude of local contexts and languages, Subrahmanyam sets out to show the connectedness of a historical space stretching from Portugal to South East Asia between the 16th and the 18th centuries, drawing on a detailed reading of sources in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, English, French, Dutch, Persian and several vernacular Indian languages. Let's admit it, this is more than a bit unfair on the rest of the profession.

Connected histories are written against the grain, both of traditional area studies, which tend to emphasize the singularity of the region under survey, and of comparative history, which, to Subrahmanyam's mind, tends to reinforce the perceived homogeneity of the unities to be compared, usually the precursors of the later nation states. (In a way, the two volumes grew out of the ideas he sketched some years ago in an article: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected histories. Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 31.3 (1997), pp. 735-762). His argument, on the contrary, points out that history was much more open than usually admitted. This openness relates first to interconnections between cultural areas long seen as self-contained. Culture, Subrahmanyam holds, "was formed in the crucible of processes of acculturation, whether defined by circuits that had their limits within the Indian subcontinent, or extending outside of it." (From the *Tagus*, p. 12) Indian – or for that matter Portuguese or Persian – history and culture can thus only be understood from a global perspective. This attempt is no longer completely new; the innovative power of Subrahmanyam's approach however lies in the way in which he links the global and the local, showing in detail how the

larger processes are broken down and transformed at the local level. The same wave of millenarianism, which provided a common frame of reference and a common language to people as dissimilar to each other as the king of Portugal, the Ottoman Sultan, the Jesuits at the court of Akbar and the Mughal elite of the 16th century, could produce results ranging from the consolidation of state power to the challenge of the ruling elite. As historians therefore, "we cannot safely attempt a macro-history of the problem without muddying our boots somewhat in the bogs of micro-history." (From the *Tagus*, p. 108) Pointing out both the connectedness of history as well as the embeddedness of global trends has the power to challenge the conventional knowledge of both area studies and global history: "As historians of all people should be aware, generalisations are too important to be left to generalists. The purpose of comparative or global history ought not, after all, be to assume that the received wisdom in each historiography (defined on an area-studies criterion) is unproblematic and to effect a synthesis over these received wisdoms." (*ibid.* p. 136) Global history is thus much more than an addition of regional histories, but has the power to transform our knowledge of the global and the local at the same time.

Globalisation, encounters and connections have long been taken to be a result of European expansion, emphasising the uniqueness both of early modern "discovery" voyages and the dynamic potential of colonial conquests which seemed to awaken static and localised societies and linked them to Europe, but not to each other. In what amounts to a challenging de-centring of Europe, Subrahmanyam proceeds to show the extent of cultural communication, both in terms of language and courtly comportment and also of economic thought, which existed between Persia, north India, the Bay of Bengal, Burma and Thailand as early as the 15th century. ('Persianization' and 'Mercantilism' in Bay of Bengal History', *ibid.*, pp. 45–80) An early modern history of elite migration still remains to be written; the number of persons who travelled hundreds and thousands of miles in search of lucrative employment in the army or in the bureaucracy must have been impressive, even if measured by 19th or early 20th century standards.

But the openness of history extends also to the outcome of historical processes. In a fascinating piece of counter-factual history, Subrahmanyam sets out to imagine what would have happened if Nadir Shah, after the conquest of Delhi in 1739, had not turned back and left India – an instance in which "historical truth was stranger than counterfactual fiction" (Mughals and Franks, p. 209) – but had stayed on, married his sons into the Mughal dynasty and taken over power on a permanent basis. This could then have resulted in an Empire stretching from Persia and Afghanistan down to the Deccan, relying on a standing army on the Persian model and a bureaucratic elite drawing on Mughal experience, which would have been powerful enough to resist British imperialism for at least another three quarters of a century. Can we, under such circumstances, believe that "India", "Afghanistan" and "Britain" may constitute given entities for our comparison? Here Subrahmanyam's approach harmonizes with

the more recent developments in comparative history, which also try to de-emphasize the nation as sole reference point. However, it may be asked whether the problematizing of the entities' borders and boundaries and the importance rightly attached both to their constructedness and entanglement replaces or rather enriches systematic comparison? Is there room for comparative studies, which take connected histories into consideration, but do not limit themselves to them?

Postcolonial studies have drawn attention to the linkage between the creation of knowledge and the wielding of power – the number of studies in recent years which have concentrated on a well defined corpus of colonial texts to show how the British invented India and its social institutions and how they used these inventions to stabilize their rule is impressive. Only rarely does Subrahmanyam bother to challenge these theories directly. Instead he takes a distinct pleasure in subverting them from within, depicting the construction of knowledge and the xenology no longer of the colonial powers but as found in the Mughal sources. This opens the way on the one hand to pluralize the views of both the Indians and the Portuguese, later also the Dutch and the English and on the other hand to show their complex interrelationship. Neither were “invention” of reality, creation of knowledge, colouring of texts by interests ever a preserve of the European colonizer, nor can it be presupposed that the primary identity and the most fundamental interests underlying these texts can be neatly classified as “European” or “Indian”. (‘On Indian Views of the Portuguese in Asia’, *From the Tagus*, pp.17–45; ‘European Chroniclers and the Mughals’, *ibid*, pp. 138–180; ‘The Company and the Mughals between Sir Thomas Roe and Sir William Norris’, *Mughals and Franks*, pp. 143–173)

Subrahmanyam may love to play with the image that he is not a theorist but an empirically working historian and therefore need not elaborate on methodological issues but can restrict himself to placing an impressive canvas of sources before the reader. Nevertheless, what holds his seemingly disparate collection of essays together is of course an awareness of the theoretical debates which currently engage the profession and the attempt to respond to them. An intelligent reader, he may think, will be able to draw the conclusions for himself and enjoy doing so, and as for the others, the loss probably doesn't really worry him. However, his ideas, methods and results hold an interest which extends far beyond the narrow circle of those who are willing to immerse themselves in a plethora of material on Indo-Portuguese history in the 16th and 17th centuries. If generalizations are too important to be left to the generalists, if theory is too important to be left to those who do not have got an extensive knowledge of the sources, then the results of research on South Asia are too important to be addressed only to South Asianists. A discussion of his findings on a more abstract level – not as an alternative, but as a supplement to his present research – might pave the way to connecting historians across the divides of area studies.

BARBARA N. RAMUSACK, *The Indian Princes and their States*. (The New Cambridge History of India III, 6). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. XIV, 309 pages, £ 45.00 (hb). ISBN 0-521-26727-7

Until today, myth and reality of the Indian princes, their lifestyle and their wealth seem to shape our images of monarchical India. Seen from a historical perspective, the British, generally, denounced them as autocrats, and in some cases even essentialised them as oriental despots. On the other hand the British praised them as the natural leaders of their people. There can be no doubt that the Indian princes were regarded as a major pillar of colonial rule in India. Indian nationalists sometimes sought financial aid from the princes and collaborated with them during the constitutional debates of the 1930s, but generally saw them as anachronistic elements within a future democratically organised India. In the successor states of British-India, India and Pakistan, governments appointed the princes, now without princely power, as governors and ambassadors, and even political parties co-operated with the former princes and appointed them as ministers. The media, particularly the film-industry, popularised them as a romantic part of Indian culture whilst tourist organisations advertised princely capitals as highlights of guided tours.

However, as Barbara Ramusack points out, the historiography of South Asia has almost completely neglected the princes and their states. According to British historiography of India starting in the late eighteenth century, history took place only in British India whilst the princely states represented backward and static India. Within the subcontinent princely India served as the European-colonial Other. Even historiography of independent India and Pakistan followed this pattern, thus prolonging the discourse of South Asia's history. Not surprisingly, there has been little academic research on the princely states' economic, political and social history – exceptions, of course, prove the rule. According to Barbara Ramusack's introduction, "[t]he synthetic overview represented in this book joins a growing effort to integrate the princes into the grand sweep of modern Indian history." Her main argument is "that many princes represented a continuity of traditional state formation in India and remained autonomous rulers, exercising substantial authority and power within their states, until 1948."

The princely states can be classified into three categories: first, the old states predating British and Mughal rule in India. Second, the successor states to the Mughal Empire emerging during the eighteenth century when the governors of the provinces became autonomous rulers. Third, the warrior states which are characterised as political organisations "to designate polities that warrior groups established by offering military protection to local populations against other competitors". Mysore, Travancore, the Sikh and the Maratha states belong to this group. Many of the leaders successfully formed states, asserting their autonomy, expanding their territory and legitimising their rule by the South Asian concept of *rajadharma*. British colonial state formation took place at the same

time, starting with the grant of the Diwani (revenue collection and civil jurisdiction) of the Bengal province in 1765. However, to enhance their power (not status) the Indian princes cooperated with the British, each in the pursuit of their own objectives. Ramusack maintains that the British tried to achieve colonial control whilst the princes sought to gain greater internal control. Thus, by 1858 the British had emerged as the paramount power in South Asia.

Despite political control through the colonial agency many of the princes maintained internal autonomy. According to their understanding as Indian rulers they continued to support holy men and make endowments to religious and learned institutions. Yet the princes not only endowed Indian institutions but also founded and ran colleges according to British models. A few princes further "modernised" society, providing scholarships for untouchables and medical relief for women, building schools and hospitals. Out of the territories which the British left to the princes, they tried to form political, economic and social entities. In many states this proved fairly difficult as the population was very heterogeneous, religious beliefs manifold and access to economic resources often difficult. However, as the examples of Mysore and Baroda show, princes also invested in industrial enterprises and promoted modern technology in the fields of aircraft construction and chemical production.

During the constitutional negotiations in the 1930s, the princely states' rapid and relatively smooth integration into the two successor states after 1947 was unpredictable. Except for Hyderabad and Kashmir, all states signed the "Instrument of Accession". While Indian national agitation and communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims seldom occurred in the princely states during colonial rule, invasion and integration of Hyderabad caused the first major communal riots. After the Indian military had occupied the territory its Hindu and Sikh soldiers killed thousands of Muslims. And in Kashmir, which is divided along the Line of Control, the conflict between the two major religious communities of South Asia still continues and determines the relationship between India and Pakistan up to the present day.

To summarise, Ramusack's book is not only an important contribution to South Asia's modern history, but a fine synthesis of academic research done in the past decades. In spite of the many gaps that existed in this field of research, some of which should now be filled thanks to this book, the author presents a new history of the princely states. However, some critique remains. Even if one agrees with the three categories of princely states, which basically follows British conceptions, the term "successor states" belongs to the terminology of British historiography: neither the Nawabs of Awadh or Bengal and certainly not the Nizam of Hyderabad regarded themselves as successors to the Mughals – but as an integral part of the shared sovereignty which existed until 1858. For this reason it would have been good to take a closer look at the relations between the Mughals and the princes and vice versa until the deposition of the Timurid dynasty.

More generally, the title of the book as well as many aspects treated also render it – albeit unintentionally – a contribution to the established historiographical discourse. Princely states seem to represent a different part of South Asia's history, different from British India. This may be due to the available results of research, which still concentrates on the administrative and political history of the princely states, thus reflecting British colonial interests of control. However, more could have been said about the economic relations, for example the great hydro-electrical projects of the Raja of Mysore and British resistance to the plans. Nonetheless, Ramusack's book will encourage historians of South Asia to take a different view of the princely states. Her well written opus thus serves as a point of departure for an, ultimately, new writing of South Asia's history.

Michael Mann

KANAK MANI DIXIT / SHASTRI RAMACHANDRAN (eds.), *State of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2002. VI, 312 pages, US\$ 20.00. ISBN 99933 - 13-22-X

State of Nepal, a collection of essays by some of the leading intellectuals of Nepal, was intended by its editors to become "part of the standard reference literature on the country for some years to come". This is a bold statement considering that the state of Nepal has been a 'state of flux' since the reintroduction of party democracy in 1990. To review the book four years after its publication provides an opportunity to see whether the editors' claim has stood the test in times of rapid change. The aim of the book is to provide an assessment of Nepal's democratization process through the eyes of writers from the region. The editors – Kanak Mani Dixit, editor of the influential Himal magazine since 1987, and Shastri Ramachandran, a Delhi-based journalist with a focus on Nepal – point out that their book is meant to be representative and not comprehensive with respect to the choice of topics. Their editorial principle was to select authors, and then let the authors prepare essays on topics of their own choice. The authors, most of them from Nepal and all from South Asia, come from a wide variety of backgrounds: journalists, engineers, academics, writers, and development professionals.

Despite the diversity of chapter titles, the altogether 16 chapters revolve around a few focal points of interest. The main events and development trends of the 12 years of democracy before the date of publishing occupy center stage: the (dismal) performance of the democratic parties, the state of the monarchy after the reforms of the 1990s and the massacre of the royal family, and the ascendance of the Maoist movement. These issues and the connections between these closely related developments are examined in three separate essays by Sanjay Uphadya, co-editor Kanak Mani Dixit, and Deepak Thapa, one of the

major analysts of the Maoist phenomenon. The extent to which the failure of democracy after the high-flying hopes of 1990, which brought in its train the Maoist insurgency and the emergence of a more assertive monarchy, has traumatized Nepali people, has recently been given expression in the book *Forget Kathmandu* by Manjushri Thapa. She has contributed a paper to this volume entitled "The insularity of contemporary Nepali literature", an insularity which she, as one of the country's leading young authors and by her decision to write in the English language, has done a great deal to overcome. Other papers which focus on major issues of this period, explore the impact of the growth of the development industry, and especially the proliferation of NGOs, on Nepalese society, the reasons behind the economic boom that followed the 1990 reforms and the bust that came soon after, the flourishing of media – especially newspapers, magazines and radio channels – the freedom of which is today again endangered by an overtly assertive state, and the increase in the number of private schools, which came as a response to the low quality of public education in the country. Deepak Gyawali's paper "Yam between Bhot and Muglan: Nepal's search for security in development" may be singled out for its excellent analysis of the transition from bureaucracy-dominated resource management towards a greater involvement of the private sector and communities.

Some papers deal with the diversity of Nepal and how this has been challenged in the name of the nation state and the construction of "Nepali" identity. The dominance of the "Parbatiya elite", i.e. high caste Hindus from the hills, is the topic of "Ethnicity, caste and a pluralist society" by Rajendra Pradhan and "The Hindu state and the state of Hinduism" by Sudhindra Sharma. How Parbatiya influence continues into the present and pervades even modern developments such as the empowerment of rural women is shown by the dominance of uppercaste Hindu women as women leaders in "The politics of developing Nepali women" by Seira Tamang. Parbatiya dominance is challenged nowadays mainly from two quarters: the Janajati or non-Hindu ethnic minorities of the hills, and the Madeshi, i.e. the original inhabitants of the Tarai plains. Madeshi identity, which is closely linked with the culture of the neighboring states in India, UP and Bihar, is given separate treatment in C.K. Lal's "Cultural flows across a blurred boundary."

Not surprisingly for a book that has been co-edited by writers based in both Nepal and India, the emphasis of many papers is on the relations between the two countries. Of particular interest is the paper "Nepal and the Indian Nepalis" by T.B. Subba, which explores the under-researched subject of Nepali speakers outside Nepal, who in the special case of India have to grapple with the problem of blurred identities: the Indo-Nepal treaty of 1950, which stipulates that nationals of each country be treated by the other like its own nationals, has led to a situation in which even those Nepali resident in India for several generations are considered by most Indians as Nepali nationals and sometimes fall victim to the periodic prosecution of immigrants. "Water, Nepal and India" deals with the issue of cross-boundary management of hydro-resources, a major bone of con-

tention between the two countries, which results, according to author Bim Subba, from a fundamental incongruence of expectations: Nepal's focus on selling electricity as a major source of revenue, and India's preoccupation with water for irrigation. The book is concluded by a chapter on "Nepal as seen by India" by co-editor Shastri Ramachandran, which explores the political relations between the two countries from the 1950s up to the present, and the view of Nepal by the majority of Indians as "...a younger sibling of India's," which "was expected to occasionally behave in unreasonable ways".

Even though the book is sufficiently representative to cover most important aspects of modern Nepal, some aspects are definitely missing, i.e. the experience in Nepal with community-based management systems, e.g. with community forestry or community-based conservation, which is one of the country's few and continuing success stories. Another aspect that has been frequently touched upon in many papers, but which could have been elaborated on in more detail in a synthesis chapter, is the skewed political and economic geography of Nepal as a result of internal fragmentation and disruption and of growing external dependence: the insularity of Kathmandu and its middle class within a matrix of rural revolt, and the growing importance of migration and of the remittance economy.

This is an important book for anyone with an interest in Nepal. Most papers are well written and maintain a high intellectual standard. Despite the rapid succession of events over the past four years, the assessments and views expressed by the authors are still valid, of course with exceptions, e.g. expectations concerning the role to be assumed by the new king.

Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt

VOLKER GRABOWSKY, *Bevölkerung und Staat in Lan Na. Ein Beitrag zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte Südostasiens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004. XXIV, 609 pages, EUR 58.00. ISBN 3-447-05111-6

This book is delightful – probably not by popular standards but for any serious student of Southeast Asia. It stands in the Continental Orientalist tradition of George Coedès and Heinz Bechert, which is on the verge of extinction under the present conditions of fragmented time and accelerated output. Volker Grabowsky, Professor of Southeast Asian History at the University of Münster, plowed hundreds of manuscripts, archived sources and publications for his work on the demographic history of Northern Thailand. The main part of the book was completed in 1996 as a *Habilitationsschrift* at the University of Hamburg. In the same year, the author started to teach at the National University of Laos. During his three years in Laos, he was able to collect further material, especially in the region of Muang Sing. After his appointment at Münster he kept working on his book, which did not come out till 2004.

The form of this great work is appropriate to its contents: a nicely printed hard-back with maps and reproductions in the appendix and texts in various scripts. The actual text comprises almost 400 pages (with footnotes sometimes filling half the page), the appendix more than 200 pages. There are plenty of citations in English and (translated) expressions in Thai, Lao, and Yuan, but the book is in German and it is unlikely that anyone not familiar with German will understand the complex argument. The interested scholarly community is very small anyway, so the book will unfortunately find very few readers. However, parts of the book were published in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* in 1999 and 2004.

The argument is based on the observation that most of Continental Southeast Asia was extremely underpopulated until very recently. The author enquires into the precise nature of this underpopulation, its influence on the political and social reality, and the efforts made by rulers to populate their polities. He does not rely on a theoretical approach but tries to stick to written sources in a descriptive manner (p. 39). On the basis of accessible sources, the reconstruction can only be partial (p. 376). However, the author draws on plenty of hitherto – mostly or entirely – unpublished sources, which enables him to come up with a lot of very interesting empirical findings that any student of Southeast Asian history should know. Among the sources are palm-leaf manuscripts from the region, chronicles (from Thailand, Burma, Laos, and China), and inscriptions (described pp. 45–64). Many of the manuscripts belong to Harald Hundius' hitherto unpublished collection from Laos and Northern Thailand. Very few persons apart from Volker Grabowsky are able to assimilate and digest this diverse but historically related material. This is the – important – virtue of the book.

The book consists basically of two parts. The first part (160 pages) recounts the history of Northern Thailand between the 13th and early 20th century with an emphasis on demography, while the second part (170 pages) enquires more closely into population movements during the same period. The tripartite introduction (60 pages) explains the general setting, the approach and the sources. A very short conclusion sums up the main points. The author views the general setting of Northern Thailand in the period of Tai domination as that of an underpopulated space of rugged territory structured by *muang*: Tai centers of power encompassing centers with less power and undefined borders (p. 6, 9, 117). The population of a Northern Thai *muang* was divided into royal family, nobility, commoners and slaves – but not into a strict *sakdina*-order as in Ayutthaya (p. 126). A fair number of slaves were prisoners of war. Rulers of *muang*, according to Grabowsky, tried to systematically populate the territory within their reach with prisoners of war. While import of people into Lanna characterized the period after Mangrai, the tide changed with the rise of Ayutthaya and especially the Birmanians in the 16th century. During the big power struggle in the late 18th century Northern Thailand lost a large percentage of its population. The loss was made up for by deportations of Tai from the areas north of Lanna (p.

255). In the 19th century, forced migration into Northern Thailand gave way to voluntary migration from the same areas. Because of the close relation of immigrants to the Yuan of Lanna, immigrants and locals tended to mix (unlike the discrimination typical for Siamese deportations; p. 259). The author specifies these general trends in great detail for the different *muang* and periods in the area of and around Lanna – and includes a host of interesting observations, tables, maps, and quotations.

Boike Rehbein

BOIKE REHBEIN, *Globalisierung in Laos. Transformationen des ökonomischen Feldes*. (Market, Culture and Society 14). Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2005. 308 S., EUR 29,90. ISBN 3-8258-7894-5

Wie Titel und Untertitel andeuten, werden in diesem Buch drei Themen behandelt: Globalisierung, Laos und Bourdieu. Man kann sagen, dass es dem Autor gelungen ist, allen drei Themen gerecht zu werden und jeweils neue Aspekte in die Diskussion einzuführen.

Bezüglich der Globalisierung stellt Rehbein die Frage, wie Globales und Lokales genau zusammenhängen und sich daraus Phänomene der Globalisierung ergeben. Der Fokus liegt hierbei auf der Ökonomie, obwohl es je einen Exkurs zu Musik und Sprache gibt (der Autor ist ausgewiesener Kenner der laotischen Sprache). Detailliert wird der Übergang zur kapitalistischen Wirtschaftsweise untersucht, wobei davon ausgegangen wird, dass Marktwirtschaft nur in ihren Varianten existiert, die sich je nach der gegebenen „Konstellation“ ausbilden. Das südostasiatische Laos gibt hier ein hervorragendes Untersuchungsbeispiel ab, da nach Phasen des Kolonialismus und des Sozialismus dort erst vor knapp 20 Jahren die Marktwirtschaft eingeführt worden ist (noch unter staatlicher Kontrolle). Damit diese Umstellung präziser beschrieben und die Frage beantwortet werden kann, wer überhaupt auf diesem Markt auftritt und mit welchen Chancen und Intentionen, greift Rehbein auf die Theorie Pierre Bourdieus zurück. Sie bietet Begriffe und Modelle, mit denen sich die sozialen Positionen der Akteure erfassen lassen. Die spannende Frage ist hier, ob sich Bourdieus Theorie einfach übertragen lässt, oder ob und inwiefern sie modifiziert werden muss.

Dieses Untersuchungsprogramm strukturiert den Aufbau des Buches in seinen sechs Kapiteln:

Da Rehbein mit Recht wesentliche Nachteile der Theorie Bourdieus in der Vernachlässigung einer historischen Perspektive, der Beschränkung auf einen nationalstaatlichen Rahmen und der Voraussetzung einer bereits erfolgten Ausdifferenzierung verschiedener Felder innerhalb der Gesellschaft sieht (S. 25–31), werden in Kapitel 1 und 2 die entsprechenden Hintergrundinformationen zu Geschichte und Ethnographie sowie dem geopolitischen Umfeld geliefert.

Hier zeigt sich, dass das Gebiet des späteren Laos zwar schon immer in größere Zusammenhänge verflochten war. Es gibt jedoch qualitative Unterschiede zur Gegenwart: Während früher militärische Kräfteverhältnisse ausschlaggebend waren, sind es heute die Gelder internationaler Finanzinstitutionen, Entwicklungsorganisationen und Unternehmen. Beide Zusammenhänge können allerdings sehr gut als Konstellationen, die in unterschiedlichen Zeiten variieren, beschrieben werden. Besonderes Augenmerk wird auch auf ihre verschiedenen Ausprägungen in Dorf und Stadt gelegt. Während die bisher dominierende Subsistenzwirtschaft kaum modifiziert worden ist, tauchen in allerjüngster Zeit auch andere Wirtschaftsweisen auf.

Folglich werden in Kapitel 3 zwei Wirtschaftskulturen unterschieden: das Textbuchmodell einer marktwirtschaftlichen Wirtschaftskultur und die laotische Wirtschaftskultur. Mit Bourdieu lassen sich beide als Beziehungen zwischen Menschen (S. 119) betrachten. Persönliche Konkurrenz, wirtschaftliche Macht und politische Regulierung stehen einer ausgeprägten Subsistenzethik gegenüber, die sich durch Genussorientierung, die Verpflichtung zur Reziprozität und eine große Spontaneität charakterisieren lässt. Daneben ist die laotische Gesellschaft durch eine starke Hierarchie geprägt, was zu einem Patrimonialismus führt, der selbst durch den Sozialismus nicht verdrängt worden ist, sondern eher durch eine besondere, passive Nehmerkultur ergänzt wurde (S. 143). Erst mit der Ausbreitung der kapitalistischen Wirtschaftskultur bildet sich in Laos ein landesweites Feld der Ökonomie. Obwohl dieser Prozess vielfach noch in den Anfängen steckt (wie S. 147–69 eingehend beschrieben), deutet sich an, dass die Wirtschaft schon bald alle anderen Felder usurpiert haben wird (S. 170).

Mit gutem Grund abweichend vom dreigeteilten Kapitalbegriff Bourdieus bietet Kapitel 4 eine gründliche Übersicht aller Ressourcen, über die Akteure verfügen können – oder eben nicht. Es scheint durchaus sinnvoll, Ethnizität, Alter, Geschlecht, und Religion auch als solche Ressourcen zu begreifen. Diese feinere Einteilung erlaubt es, unterschiedliche Veränderungsgeschwindigkeiten bezüglich ökonomischer, sozialer und kultureller Merkmale zu erfassen, die darauf beruhen, dass sich der Wert einzelner Ressourcen ändert.

Kapitel 5 widmet sich dem Zentralbegriff der Bourdieuschen Theorie – dem Habitus. Mit seiner Hilfe kann die oben schon angedeutete Ungleichzeitigkeit noch eingehender beschrieben und besser verstanden werden. Die Lao haben nur in Ansätzen bereits einen neuen wirtschaftlichen Habitus erworben. Dieser Befund ist nicht überraschend, wenn man die im Begriff „Habitus“ steckende Betonung langer Dauer in Betracht zieht. Raschere Veränderungen ergeben sich im tatsächlich gelebten Leben, dessen subjektive Erfahrung und Sichtweise Rehbein im Anschluss an Heidegger als *Ausgelegtheit* bezeichnet (S. 213f und 227f). Hier ist für die Menschen gegenwärtig der Verlust der alten Ordnung bedeutsam (S. 232f).

In Kapitel 6 wird recht erfolgreich der Versuch unternommen, die gegenwärtigen Konstellationen auf dem Feld der Wirtschaft in Laos zu erfassen. Das

ist mit dem Klassenbegriff von Bourdieu kaum zu leisten, denn in Laos überlagern sich „drei geographische Umgebungen, vier ethnische Kategorien, vier Berufsgruppen, zwei Geschlechter und vier Bildungsniveaus als grobe Differenzierung der Ressourcen mit drei Wirtschaftskulturen und vier Generationen und vier Typen von Lebensläufen (...). Hierzu gesellt sich die unterschiedliche Verteilung der Beziehungen zum Ausland und die unterschiedliche Verfügung über ökonomisches Kapital. Über der Gesellschaft steht die abgeschlossene Klasse der (sozialistischen) Elite, in die seit einigen Jahren Mitglieder der alten Elite und der Wirtschaftsspitze Eingang finden.“ (S. 247) Rehbein stellt die einzelnen Dimensionen kurz vor und listet dann in einer Tabelle Positionen und Kulturen auf dem Feld der Wirtschaft auf. Durch die Unterscheidung von Zentrum, Semiperipherie und Peripherie sowie Marktwirtschaft, Nehmerkultur, Patrimonialismus, Gelegenheitshandel und Subsistenzethik werden verschiedene Teilgruppen der laotischen Gesellschaft identifizierbar (S. 262). Die mit 66 Prozent größte Gruppe stellen noch immer Subsistenzbauern dar. Doch schon in nächster Zeit werden in dieser Verteilung die Auswirkungen der Globalisierung deutlich sichtbar sein.

Es würde nicht sonderlich weit führen, eventuelle Detailkritiken anzubringen, zumal im Buch selbst ausdrücklich eine mittlere Ebene bedient werden soll (S. 11 und 270). Würdigt man die Intentionen des Autors als Ganzes, lässt sich feststellen, dass wohl die meisten Leser aus diesem Buch viel über Laos und die Entwicklung in Südostasien erfahren. Daneben werden zwei Wirtschaftskulturen idealtypisch skizziert. Eine Frage wäre, wie sich dieser Kontrast darstellt, wenn nicht nur bezüglich der laotischen Wirtschaftskultur differenziert, sondern auch die Unangemessenheit des ökonomischen Kapitalismusmodells für die ökonomische Praxis berücksichtigt würde. Eine solche Theoriediskussion wird mit Bezug auf Bourdieu angeboten. Die Auseinandersetzung mit ihm ist fundiert und führt zu nachvollziehbaren Modifikationen. So wird von Ressourcen gesprochen statt Kapital, der Begriff Konstellationen eingeführt, um dem relationalen Denken wirklich gerecht zu werden, und das Schwergewicht auf das Konzept des Feldes an Stelle des Modells eines sozialen Raumes gelegt. Schließlich korrigiert das Buch die oft allzu oberflächlich geführte Globalisierungsdiskussion durch ein detailliertes Beobachten der lokal und konkret ablaufenden Prozesse. Für zukünftige genauere Untersuchungen anderer Dimensionen der Globalisierungsprozesse neben der Ökonomie gibt diese Arbeit ein sehr anregendes Vorbild ab.

Gernot Saalmann

DAVID HENLEY, *Fertility, Food and Fever. Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600 – 1930.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; 201). Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005. XI, 711 pages, paperback, EUR 45.00. ISBN 9067182095

Studies on the history of Indonesia are one of the great strengths of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden. The abundance of historical archives on the former Dutch East Indies, a great scholarly tradition in Indonesian studies, and a favorable institutional environment, all contribute significantly to the production of high-quality books on Indonesia in the Netherlands in general, and in Leiden and its research center KITLV in particular. The advantages of these contextual factors are also clearly visible in the present book by David Henley on the history of population and environment in North Sulawesi.

The author, who obtained his PhD at the Australian National University in 1992, has since had the privilege of being a full-time researcher at the KITLV, concentrating mostly on the geographical history of North Sulawesi. Numerous articles and books on this topic have made him without doubt an authority in this field, thus adding to the credibility of the present work.

Fertility, Food and Fever is a very detailed study on a variety of aspects related to the history of the economy, demography, and environmental history of an area in North and Central Sulawesi chosen on account of the administrative boundaries of the colonial era. The time span extends over more than three hundred years. These extended disciplinary, geographic and chronological parameters largely explain the voluminousness of the study.

Despite some encyclopedic features, Henley's book follows a clearly defined research agenda, responding to unresolved questions both in regional studies on North Sulawesi and in theoretical debates on the relation between demographic and environmental history. In this regard, the work is by no means merely a lengthy collection of empirical data, but rather an in-depth discussion of these theoretical questions exemplified by the regional history of that particular area of Indonesia.

As an introduction, Henley provides an overview of basic economic patterns that can be established for this area until c. 1930. The next four chapters (c. 150 pages) are devoted to a detailed discussion of the population data in the three sub-regions under consideration, namely the islands of Sangir and Talaud, peninsular North Sulawesi, and Central Sulawesi. Whereas these chapters are indeed very empirical and numerical, Henley's focus subsequently becomes more categorical. "Death and disease", "food supply", and "reproductive fertility" are the main topics that he discusses on a more general level. Based on the results of these chapters, the following discussion on "demographic patterns" is not a redundant repetition of the introductory sections, rather it concentrates on

population density and distribution. This chapter also lays the foundation for Henley's plea for a stronger emphasis on vegetation, deforestation, and, in general, the interconnection between population and environment.

In this work Henley thus attempts to extend well-established, but nevertheless still revisable approaches to demographic history by placing a stronger emphasis on the environmental dimension. This approach seems highly plausible, especially in the case of the area considered. A question for further research could be whether the trends and patterns that Henley discusses for the case of North and Central Sulawesi are of a similar importance on a more general level. This could be so especially for other regions of Indonesia such as Java or Sumatra.

As regards potential readership, this book will definitely serve as an excellent contribution to the history of North and Central Sulawesi for all scholars of that region. Furthermore it may also prove useful for discussion on the economic, environmental, and demographic history of the rest of Indonesia. In addition, it will be of interest to economists interested in the theory of demographic change.

Arndt Graf

AMIRUL HADI, *Islam and State in Sumatra. A Study of seventeenth-century Aceh*. (Islamic History and Civilization, 48). Leiden: Brill, 2004. XIII, 273 pages, US\$ 145.00. ISBN 90-04-12982-0

This book focuses on Aceh in the seventeenth century, the "golden age" of the sultanate, when the state was most powerful and controlled the western parts of the Malay archipelago. Amirul Hadi divides his study into five chapters. After a historical introduction on pre-seventeenth century Aceh, its Islamisation and its rise he analyses the institution of the ruler and its functions. Aceh as well as Patani in Southern Thailand and Bone in South Sulawesi had been ruled by sultanas and queens for many years. This fact and its interpretation by contemporary Muslim commentators is discussed extensively. The next chapter outlines the symbolism of the royal palace and several religious ceremonies. This is followed by a discussion of the relations between various Islamic institutions and the state. The final chapter provides a comparative analysis of Islam and the state in 15th-century Melaka, 17th-century Mataram and Aceh. This analysis is not very convincing due to the time-gap of two centuries between the institutions described.

Hadi takes the materials for his study from indigenous texts as well as European sources. Interpreting them is a most difficult task as the materials often have only scanty notes on the various topics discussed and had to be carefully read between the lines. Unfortunately, the author's findings suffer from a general lack of historical method and often remain doubtful. 17th and

18th-century European accounts had to be read critically as their sources of information were often not first-hand. Plagiarism was common, yet it is not all that easy: Why were particular passages from a book plagiarised and others not? The person of the author needs to be taken into consideration too. What was his personal background, what interests did he have in Southeast Asia, was he able to communicate in the local language, who were his main informants? Here many questions still need to be asked, but Hadi rather naively takes the writings of contemporary Europeans more or less for granted as "valuable eyewitness accounts" (p. 164).

Similar criticism can be made of Hadi's use of indigenous Malay and Acehese texts. Here the author used texts like the *Hikayat Aceh*, *Adat Aceh*, *Taj as-Salatin* or *Bustan as-Salatin*, to mention only a few. As Hadi states that the *Hikayat Aceh* is "the primary indigenous text employed as a source" for his book (p. 5), it is somewhat surprising that he only used the text edition of Teuku Iskandar (*De Hikajat Aceh*, 's-Gravenhage 1959) but overlooked the study and translation of the same text by Hans Penth (*Hikajat Atjeh. Die Erzählung von der Abkunft und den Jugendjahren des Sultan Iskandar Muda von Atjeh (Sumatra)*, Wiesbaden 1969). Many traditional texts from insular Southeast Asia have been copied widely and only survived in later, mainly 19th-century copies although originally composed probably centuries before. The text of the *Hikayat Aceh* for example is only available in a copy from the mid-nineteenth century. Errors in copying, adaptations, new elements and other changes were frequent with many of those manuscripts. Certainly most texts do not allow collation of all existing manuscripts to puzzle out an "original", a concept unknown to most genres of traditional Malay literature. Again Hadi seems to be unaware of this problem: "As such, traditional writings constitute an essential source for our study, not only in view of their traditional value but also due to their rich depiction of the world view of the Acehese and their self-perception of statehood and society" (p. 4). But how, then, to filter out the data relevant to the century they were supposed to refer to? Although this is a nearly impossible task for a historian or philologist, it should not tempt an uncritical approach towards indigenous sources. Furthermore, Aceh had at least three parallel existing literary traditions in the Arabic, Acehese and Malay language. To depict the Acehese world view it would be necessary to take a closer look at these literary worlds but Hadi makes no great effort to explore the nature of the sources.

It seems to me that the author has fallen into the trap of interpreting Acehese Islam in the seventeenth century in terms of Islam of the twenty-first century. At least from the colonial wars of the late nineteenth century onwards the state of Aceh was (and up to the present day still is) referred to as *Serambi Mekkah*, the "verandah of Mecca". However, quite often Hadi appears to project present-day ideals of Islam and a Muslim community (*ummat*) on a seventeenth-century state instead of interpreting Acehese society in the context of its time. 17th-century Aceh is depicted as if present-day concepts of Islam, individual spirituality and Islamic religiosity were behind the then Acehese

world view, never developing nor changing throughout centuries. So Hadi states that "it is beyond doubt that the royal procession to the mosque every Friday was a well-established tradition in Aceh during the first half of the seventeenth century" (p. 125). As he is not able to give a single source for this assumption it must remain rather hypothetical.

Similar criticisms can be made of Hadi's statements on the institution of the sultan which he derived from the traditional texts. Although Hadi admits that nowhere in indigenous texts does the term "sultanate" appear nor is the word *kesultanan* mentioned, he nevertheless writes: "Yet the preference shown by the ruler for the title *sultan* and the concept underlying it reveal that the same Islamic idea of the sultanate prevailed in Aceh as did throughout the medieval Muslim world" (p. 38). I heartily agree with Hadi that the *Hikayat Aceh* is indeed basically Islamic and might even be called an Islamic text. But how does Hadi's statement fit the fact that according to the *Hikayat Aceh* Acehnese rulers are descended from Vishnu (Iskandar, op. cit., p. 14), a Hindu deity? The myth of the origin of the rulers is totally ignored throughout the book. Does this really refer to the very same concept of rulership as in contemporary Muslim states like, say, Morocco, Constantinople, Samarkand or the Moghul Empire? Does it mean that Acehnese sultans and sultanas were "less Islamic" than others throughout the Muslim world? Obviously seventeenth-century Acehnese, or at least certain circles related to the court, seemed to have no problem with the myth presented in the *Hikayat Aceh*, for probably over more than a century, as the text only survived in a copy dated much later, as mentioned above. Even more, a connection has been made between Vishnu and Allah in this text. Therefore I cannot but consider that Hadi's notion of the Muslim *ummat* as used here is a good example of an "imagined community" in Benedict Anderson's sense.

More substantial is Hadi's interpretation of Islamic and traditional law in seventeenth-century Aceh. According to the Dutch scholar and colonial official Snouck Hurgronje traditional law (*adat*) was predominant in Aceh in the late nineteenth century. Comparing contemporary European and Malay accounts with Islamic books on law Hadi however reaches the conclusion that in the seventeenth century "from a judicial perspective (...) it is perhaps valid to describe Aceh as an Islamic state within Southeast Asian realm" (p. 184). Institutions like Islamic law courts, *cadis*, *fakirs* and *shaykh al-Islam* were already in existence in the sixteenth century. If both Snouck Hurgronje's and Hadi's conclusions are correct, this would lead to further studies on the nature of law in Aceh. It would then be most interesting to study the evolution of a predominantly Islamic law to a predominantly *adat* law from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth century. This, of course, would make a different book. But would it lead then to the assumption that the *Serambi Mekkah* was far less Islamic in the nineteenth century? Probably European notions of "religious syncretism" or Muslim views of a "pure Islam" need to be questioned far more than hitherto.

A final comment – the illustrations are of astonishingly low printing quality. Furthermore the maps are erroneous. It is highly doubtful whether Banjarmasin, Menado and Majapahit should be labeled as “main cities in the sixteenth century” as in figure 1 (p. 18). Figure 2 depicts the western parts of Indonesia and Malaysia in the 16th century and includes Selangor which was founded in the mid-eighteenth century (p. 28). The same map shows the towns of Deli (which did not exist in the 16th century either) and Siak (which was a small, rather unimportant coastal entrepot during that century, forming an independent state only in the third decade of the 18th century). Many spelling errors in the bibliography (e.g. “Fang, Fiaw [sic!] Yock” should be cited correctly as Liaw Yock Fang) round off the impression of rather poor editing.

Holger Warnk

ROBYN LIM, *The Geopolitics of East Asia. The Search for Equilibrium*. London/New York: Routledge, 2003. VIII, 198 pages, 2 maps, US\$ 125.00 (hb), US\$ 31.95 (pb) (2005). ISBN 0-415-29717-6 (hb)/0-415-36030-7 (pb)

Since the end of the Cold War, East Asia security has been the topic of a fierce debate among politicians and scholars all over the world. Great power conflicts have been seen as the main reason for the instability in the region where the “East Asian quadrilateral” (China, Russia, Japan and the United States) are deeply involved. Different “panaceas for managing strategic tensions in East Asia” (p. 165) are competing for public attention and political implementation. They extend from “economic interdependence” and “democratic peace”, “multilateral regime” and “bipolar stability” to the “neo-isolationist approach”.

For Robyn Lim, Professor of International Relations at Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan, however, all the competing approaches are a mere “fallacy”, a “myth” or a “delusion”. Her basic argument is that the international tensions in East Asia, viz. the Taiwan conflict, the conflict over the Korean peninsula and in the South China Sea are mainly derived from collisions of strategic interests of the quadrilateral powers which can hardly be removed by democratic improvement, multilateral institutions, nor by economic interdependence or strategic accommodation with China. It is only when the big powers have reached a strategic equilibrium on the basis of balance of power that they can hold their conflicts of interests in check.

Robyn Lim’s approach to verify her hypothesis is geopolitical and historical. She simply goes through history systematically, “laying out the process by which East Asia became the global focus of unresolved great power strategic tensions” (p. 9). Robyn Lim’s book consists of six well balanced chapters, each focusing on the geopolitical issues that attracted the interests of the United States as a maritime power with its own strategic goals and security concerns. Chapter 1 is devoted to the period up to 1905 when the United States joined the

fighters between the European maritime powers and Japan, and became an actor in East Asia security by occupying the Philippines and Hawaii. In chapter 2 dealing with the years 1905–1935, the focus is on the power struggle between Russia and Japan as well as on the American efforts to maintain the balance of power by the 1921–1922 Washington naval arms control agreement. Chapter 3 examines the period 1935–1941 when collision of the strategic interests between Japan and the United States increased, leading to the American decision to fight the Pacific War against Japan in order to deter her from seizing the vital pivot between the Indian and Pacific Ocean. Robyn Lim divides the Cold War into two phases: the first phase from 1949 to 1971 and the “final phase” till the end of the Cold War. While the first phase ending with “an unlikely strategic alignment between Washington and Beijing” forms the main content of chapter 4, chapter 5 looks at the process leading to the “definitive” American success and the collapse of Soviet power, with the result that “Britain, France, Germany and Japan all continued to depend on the United States for their ultimate security”. Chapter 6, the final chapter, investigates the question “what happened in East Asia when the overlay of the Cold War melted”. The author concludes that “with the end of the Cold War, security in Western Europe is not only settled, but largely disconnected from the problems of East Asia”. For Robyn Lim the end of the Cold War is therefore also the end of a long process where the tensions in East Asia were a function of the conflicts between the powers in Europe. As a result, “strategic tensions in Europe no longer flow over into the equations of power at the opposite end of Eurasia” (p.11). The new equations of power in East Asia are now quadrilateral, dominated by the interactions between the United States, China, Japan, as well as Russia.

The lesson of history for the United States as the dominant maritime power, so Robyn Lim, is that “it is far less costly in the long run to remain forward deployed, and thus help shape regional balances at both ends of Eurasia” (p.168). Relating to the Asia Pacific, she argues that there are two “core areas” in East Asia’s strategic geography, namely China occupying the central geographical position on the eastern edge of the Eurasian landmass and Japan as a resource-poor country but with a populous archipelago barely off the littoral (p.3). According to Robyn Lim, the United States would endanger its own security if it gave up forward deployment in East Asia. An American withdrawal from East Asia would strengthen the tensions between China and Japan, while South Korea would remain unreconciled with Japan. Robyn Lim predicts that if the United States did leave the region it would probably be forced to come back on some future occasion under less advantageous circumstances (p.168).

Generally speaking, Robyn Lim’s book provides the reader with a very useful overview of the geopolitics of East Asia, outlining the changing process of power politics in the region since the European intrusion into the West Pacific. Those desirous of understanding the logic of the strategic tensions in the region, both historically and currently, should read this book.

ERLINDA M. MEDALLA (ed.), *Competition Policy in East Asia*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005. XVII, 262 pages, £ 60.00. ISBN 0-415-35075-1

This collection of papers presented at the twenty-eighth Conference of the Pacific Area Forum on Trade and Development (PAFTAD) in Manila 2002 is well-structured in eleven chapters that examine and compare East Asian competition policy issues in the field of services, including electricity supply, telecommunications, insurance, air travel and shipping. They were contributed by some twenty competent international experts, most of them outstanding consultants or academics. According to the competition policy practice and deregulation experience made particularly in the context of the EU single market, the service industries selected here are apparently the most difficult and sensitive areas, which require intensive efforts for achieving national consensus. Since government intervention in the form of industrial policy has traditionally been substantial in Asian countries, it would be particularly interesting to examine the need for an 'active' competition and deregulation policy, bearing in mind that some foreign factors have also affected the scope and structure of relevant policy measures. This collection is an ambitious undertaking that provides a platform for future discussion.

The volume covers a wide range of competition policy issues in an international comparison. After a brief overview (chapter 1), a description of legal aspects and their development in selected Asian countries is made in chapter 2. This chapter identifies some common difficulties in the process of designing an effective competition policy such as conflict with industrial policy, poor institutional settlement, influence of state-supported companies, etc. Chapter 3 examines basic administrative issues related to competition (or regulation) policy implementation, law enforcement and the organisation of an effective monitoring agency that takes the nation-specific cultural, political and economic environments into consideration. Chapter 4 elaborates the role of competition policy for domestic economic development and its coordination in a multilateral framework. The authors of this chapter correctly argue that due to the obvious heterogeneity of economic structure and industrial specialisation as well as the differences in the legal and political system, external liberalisation is not sufficient to ensure the efficient functioning of markets in Asian countries.

Chapters 5 to 9 contain industry-specific experiences in Asia, reviewing regulatory approaches in the selected service industries. They highlight, for example, (1) the privatisation success of the Philippine electricity sector, (2) the benefits derived from regulatory reforms and the opening of domestic markets for telecommunication services, (3) the enhanced efficiency of airline companies through substantial liberalisation of domestic and international flight routes, (4) the deregulation difficulties caused by the existence of strong market power in the shipping industry, and (5) the reasons for the less impressive progress in the reform of the insurance sector in ASEAN countries.

From a normative-theoretical point of view, Chapter 10 addresses the balance between certainty in contracting (guaranteeing the proper enforcement of binding contracts) and the role of antitrust law in minimising the conflict potential. A prevailing mismatch between the two can hinder the improvement in welfare, as indicated by the authors. The achievement of the former condition is extremely important for developing countries. International coordination of competition policy is becoming increasingly widespread in East Asia too, although its progress has been moderate in recent years. The final chapter considers how regional cooperation might take effect and assesses how globalising firms might provide an added impetus to national and regional efforts to enhance the domestic competitive mechanism.

As mentioned above, this study primarily provides a general overview of national competition policy-making and its coordination on the supra-national level in East Asia. Apart from the various international comparisons of similarities and differences made in the study, it is, however, regrettable that more detailed country-specific analyses are missing, e.g. for China, Japan and Korea, the three most important economic powers in this area. More importantly, a final chapter systematically summarising all the positive (theoretical and empirical) aspects of competition policy, would have been welcome.

Controversies over national competition and deregulation policy-making have been frequent in East Asia, often in connection with WTO measures. Consequently some more critical, future-oriented, in-depth assessment would also be necessary to highlight the negative effects of competition policy, especially in the context of increasing globalisation of high-order service markets. Are these problems identical for all countries despite the fact that they are at various economic development stages? How significant is the policy failure in promoting service industries in Asia? Are there any preference trade-offs between major purposes of competition policy and growth policy in Asian countries? If so, how can this dilemma be tackled when designing national strategies? What are the institutional differences in the individual countries that hinder policy coordination? To be sure, it is a challenging task to answer all these questions in detail. Nevertheless, it is time that extensive policy guidelines be derived from the many competent analyses. This, in turn, will trigger further research on this important contemporary issue. The first step has been successfully taken in this volume.

Chang Woon Nam

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (ed.), *Governance in China*. Paris: OECD Publications, 2005. 574 pages, 49 boxes, 23 figures, 23 tables, EUR 59.00. ISBN 92-64-00842-X (also available in French under the title: *La gouvernance en Chine*)

Could it be that a research institute would engage 24 internal authors and 12 outside contributors, among them six Chinese, to compile a book like this? Well, OECD, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development can, and, in addition, even invited a number of experts from China to discuss the major findings before sending the 574 pages to the printer. This is undoubtedly an impressive work on a highly significant and timely topic – governance. The study has been undertaken in the framework of the OECD China programme of dialogue and co-operation, and is not the first landmark report. Co-operation was started in 1995, and in 2002, soon after China became member of the World Trade Organisation, the OECD published “China in the World Economy”, which reviewed the policies needed to earn the benefits of China’s further integration into the world economy.

After all, improving governance mechanisms was seen as a critical requirement to ensure further progress in China. Redefining the role of the state, adjusting public management and the relations between the various levels of government, and actively including civil society in the decision making processes were considered necessary not only to take China’s transition further, but also to address the various problems associated with her rapid economic growth, such as social inequalities and environmental deterioration.

This led China and the OECD to make governance the focus of their programme of co-operation, and for two years (2003 and 2004) there was an intense policy dialogue on governance issues and their impact on public action in various sectors. This report covers the results of what OECD calls its “China Governance Project”, a report that provides a set of valuable insights on governance issues and their evolution over time, identifies a number of key challenges and discusses ways to enhance the capacity of Chinese authorities to achieve their goals and ensure sustainable development.

With 18 chapters, gathered in four major parts, a great number of topics are treated, from civil service reform to e-government, intellectual property rights and higher education, all of them well organised and supported by tables, boxes and figures. In a Synthesis, four areas are presented which, in the authors’ view, require special reform efforts in China: Redefining the role of the state; modernising governance tools; adjusting the relations between the levels of government, and consolidating the institutional framework for market forces.

The redefinition of the role of the state seems to be the fundamental issue. And so the authors recommend major lines of action, including the structure of public expenditure, the institutional set-up of regulatory bodies yet to be created, rationalising administration and improving coordination. Regarding

governing tools, a further shift from control to regulatory governance is recommended as well as administrative simplification and anti-corruption efforts. Adjusting the relations between levels of government is a structural problem in China, and so major changes are recommended in order to improve effectiveness of multi-level governance. Finally, consolidation of the institutional framework for market forces by revising labour policies, the social insurance and the tax system, and by improving corporate governance ranks high on the agenda of the OECD advisors.

Governance innovations in China, as elsewhere, happen only incrementally, when technical and organisational capacity go along with favourable political circumstances. So, with all the weaknesses identified, China will have to ensure that in future the respective know-how for change is available when the circumstances allow.

Selecting 18 policy fields out of many, and focusing mainly on public authorities as this report does, may however also be a weakness. Fortunately, OECD seems to realise this, and is presently preparing a further report on another major policy field in which civil society should get a better say; at the end of 2006, a report will be presented on "Environmental Governance in China".

Udo E. Simonis

YANLING ZHANG, *From Theory to Practice. Environmental Management in China*. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2005. XII, 161 pages, EUR 21.00. ISBN 3-86573-089-2

This book by Yanling Zhang is a revised version of a dissertation submitted at the Technical University (Bergakademie) of Freiberg. It focusses on two possible solutions to the environmental problems of China: (1) on the further development of the environmental protection industry, and (2) on the implementation of approaches and strategies of industrial ecology. Accordingly, the book is arranged in two main sections, with two chapters in Part I, and three chapters in Part II.

The author starts with an Executive Summary of the whole work on pp.2-4. Chapter One (pp.6-22) deals with the current environmental situation in China and the status of the environmental protection industry. In Chapter Two (pp.23-47), an analysis of this branch of Chinese industry is presented, including a perspective called SWOTTing up – an analysis of strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOTT).

Chapter Three (pp.49-62) gives an historical overview of some of the environmental problems that accompanied the industrial revolution and the establishment of industrial structures in China, including the main management con-

cepts of how to handle these problems. Chapter Four, the major part of the book (pp.63–124), then presents what is believed to be the future development paradigm – i.e. industrial ecology.

Ms Zhang touches on the origin and definitions of this concept, and its key aspects (systems theory, and industrial metabolism). Her major interest, however, is how to put industrial ecology into practice in China. Accordingly, several ideas are debated, like 'lean thinking', 'clean technology', 'life cycle management', and 'design for environment'. And two major strategies for their implementation are discussed: 'green supply chain management' and 'eco-industrial parks'.

Chapter Five (pp.125–138), the final part of the book, presents a strategic, future-oriented approach on how to put the industrial ecology concept into practice in China; a lever is seen in cleaner technology initiatives and the spreading of eco-industrial parks.

The book makes two major contributions to academic literature. First, it gives a good overview of the development of the environmental protection industry in China over the last decades. Second, it presents an interesting perspective on why to implement the concept of industrial ecology in a fast growing economy like the Chinese.

By contrast, the actual environmental problems of China are mentioned only occasionally, and are not analysed in detail. And so it is with the socio-political conditions that may support or restrict the concept of industrial ecology to be implemented in such a huge and diverse country as China.

The idea of SWOTting up the existing environmental industry (Chapter Two) is interesting, but as the author suggests, it is not the ultimate solution to sustainable development. The paradigm shift from end-of-pipe technology to integrated environmental management (Chapter Three) is doubtless necessary, but here the text is quite repetitive, nor does it really lead to new insights.

In Chapter Four a fresh and conclusive debate is, however, found as regards possible strategies to implement industrial ecology. Ms Zhang discusses lean thinking, cleaner production, life cycle analysis, and design for environment as such strategies. The contribution to existing knowledge, however, is mainly on cleaner production in China. As for other approaches, the focus is on so-called eco-industrial parks and on green supply chain management. The respective parts of the book are quite interesting.

A major weakness of the study is the literature used and not used. While most of the empirical data were obtained from the State Environment Protection Administration (SEPA), the use of data from international institutions (like OECD, UNEP, GEF, World Bank) and judgements by external authors – both on China and on the industrial ecology concept – is rather selective. A major work on greening China is not even quoted at all (Geoffrey Murray and Ian G. Cook: *Green China. Seeking Ecological Alternatives*, London, New York:

RoutledgeCurzon, 2002) – not to mention the extensive German literature on industrial restructuring – somewhat strange for a book written at a German university.

Udo E. Simonis

SUIHENG ZHAO, *A Nation-State by Construction. Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. 376 pages, 6 tables, 1 map, US\$ 70.00 (hb), US\$ 24.95 (pb). ISBN 0-8047-4897-7 (hb)/0-8047-5001-7 (pb)

Years ago, a German sinology professor used to mock Western colleagues who “aim to explain Asia to Asians”. Suisheng Zhao explains China from an insider perspective, the book’s Chinese bibliography is a third longer than the English one. He views China’s search for a modern identity through the prism of its confrontation with Western nationalism, which was introduced from Europe and Japan by the Chinese political elite of the late 19th century. Zhao distinguishes three types of nationalism that have persisted throughout modern Chinese history, liberal (often elite-focussed), ethnic, and state-led pragmatic nationalism.

The author graphically portrays the challenges that leaders from Sun Yatsen to Mao faced when they had to make historic, far-reaching decisions in a totally fluid situation between 1911 and 1949, only too conscious as they were of their incomplete knowledge. In that period China introduced the narrow Western concept of political nationalism to protect the legitimacy of its new state, though universalism has long been a characteristic of Chinese culture: people defined history in terms of dynasties into which outsiders could integrate, not in a territorially circumscribed country. The failure of universalism under the assault of foreign imperialism in the 19th century not only led to the imposition of a foreign nationalism for the sake of self-defense, it also implied rejection of the values of ancient Chinese culture. This produced a long-lasting cultural insecurity which, in combination with disappointment over the humiliation by Western powers in the Versailles treaty of 1919, paved the way for socialism in China. After all, the Soviet Revolution proved that this system could defend a country. Which raises the issue often neglected in the study of history and subsequent political decisions: How do we assess co-responsibility for historical outcomes – and take the inevitable relatedness of international decision makers adequately into account?

The ambiguity of ethnic nationalism became evident early on: After the defeat in the Opium War, Chinese nationalists blamed the ‘alien’ Manchu dynasty. Yet in the Provisional Constitution of 1912 China was defined as a multi-ethnic state, or else it would have lost more than half its territory that was inhabited by ‘minorities’. Zhao’s historical excursions into Chinese nationalism effectively put the reader into the Chinese position, enabling him/her to get a sense of the

options available at the time. Yet these questions remain alive for the Chinese today, which reveals a self-absorption that is not helpful in times of globalization. It is important for all countries to realize that national identity needs to be defined politically, while cultural identity remains fluid for all, even seemingly 'advanced' countries (Europeans e.g. are presently coping with immigration and changing identity). Political identity becomes problematic when it is essentialized, when complex personal identities are reduced to a national identity that will only narrow political options – as the Chinese government acutely felt during the intense anti-Japanese protests.

The Chinese have repeatedly experienced liberal nationalism as alienating them from their own culture. Liberals tended to reject traditional Chinese culture as backward, which led them to eagerly embrace Western political systems and ideas. This characterized the elite in the early Republic and again in the 1980s. Yet after Western sanctions were imposed in 1989, most Chinese closed ranks again, as they perceived unfair collective punishment. Ambiguous feelings toward the West increased with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the suffering this caused to the Russian people. The sense of anti-Chinese conspiracy in the West was heightened when the Chinese embassy was bombed in Belgrade, during the war over Kosovo/a in 1999. The Chinese population felt that this must have been a deliberate act to humiliate China once more, at a time of great economic progress in the country.

Two additional aspects would enhance the book's perspective: 1. It treats foreign policy partners, like the US and Japan, as 'black box' rather than complex societies in which only small minorities are hostile to China, and for reasons not entirely explored. 2. If democracy were understood as a system of legal rules to uphold the dignity of individuals and human rights in general, this "legitimation by procedure" (Niklas Luhmann) would make the need to ground it in respective cultural values quite evident. Each democracy has its own culture, thus the challenge for China is not to regard democracy as 'Western' (not a coherent, homogeneous entity anyway), but to formulate its own cultural values so as to permit creative involvement of citizens in the development of China's economy and political system. The world needs a strong China that offers valuable contributions to world culture and creative solutions to the many international challenges faced by humankind.

Sabine Grund

HARALD MEYER, *Die »Taishō-Demokratie«. Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur Demokratierezeption in Japan von 1900 bis 1920.* (Welten Ostasiens, Bd. 4). Bern: Peter Lang, 2005. 471 Seiten, 7 Abbildungen, 2 Tabellen, EUR 67,60. ISBN 3-03910-642-2

Der Autor dieser Habilitationsschrift zur modernen japanischen Geschichte behandelt eine Thematik, die nicht nur für das Gebiet der Japanologie, sondern auch für die Geschichtswissenschaften im Allgemeinen von vitalem Interesse ist. Im Zentrum der Untersuchungen steht die Frage, wie die Demokratie als unbestrittenes Grundkonzept der politisch-sozialen Ordnung westlicher Staaten von einer nicht-westlichen Gesellschaft rezipiert, adaptiert und modifiziert wurde. Bereits im Klappentext wird deutlich gemacht, dass Japan „für den asiatischen Raum das früheste Beispiel einer intensiven intellektuellen Auseinandersetzung mit ‚Demokratie‘“ liefert. Die Übernahme von Demokratie als politisches Ordnungssystem sieht der Verfasser für den Untersuchungszeitraum – die ca. 20 Jahre andauernde Phase dessen, was in der japanischen Geschichtsschreibung in Anlehnung an die Regierungszeit des Taishō-Kaisers (1912–1926) als Ära der „Taishō-Demokratie“ bezeichnet wurde – auf der Ebene der Theorie und des Diskurses zu Recht als gelungen an. Darüber hinaus sei in dieser Zeit ein Fundament gelegt worden, das zumindest in ideen- und begriffsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht bereits vorbereitend auf die politisch-soziale Neuordnung in der Nachkriegszeit gewirkt habe. In der Taishō-Zeit sei demnach quasi das Feld gepflügt worden, das nach der Zäsur von 1945 bepflanzt werden konnte. Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint auch die Demokratisierung in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit nicht einfach als Import der amerikanischen Besatzer, sondern in beträchtlichem Ausmaß als japanische Eigenleistung, die sich bereits Jahrzehnte vorher anbahnte.

Diese These ist ebenso weit reichend wie aussagekräftig – vermittelt sie uns doch einen Einblick in die Motivation des Verfassers, sich erstmals für einen Vertreter der deutschsprachigen Japanologie mit dem Thema „Taishō-Demokratie“ zu beschäftigen. Dabei geht es bei der vorliegenden Publikation freilich nicht um eine genaue Einlösung dieser Präsomtion, die nur als Ausblick im Schlusskapitel auftritt. Ziel der Studie ist es vielmehr, den von intensiven Diskussionen begleiteten Prozess der Rezeption des westlichen Demokratiebegriffs durch Intellektuelle der späten Meiji- und der Taishō-Zeit aufzuzeigen. Dies wird in höchst stringenter Weise geleistet, wobei die gesamte Arbeit methodisch darauf ausgerichtet ist, die Begriffsgeschichte deutscher Schule, angeführt von Reinhart Koselleck, für die Zwecke der historischen Japanforschung nutzbar zu machen (Kap. III Theoretische und methodische Grundlagen, S. 91–143). Darüber hinaus gelingt es dem Verfasser, die begriffsgeschichtlichen Theoriediskussionen bis zu ihren aktuellsten Ausformungen so zusammenzufassen, dass die Publikation auch in theoretischer Hinsicht allerhöchste Ansprüche erfüllt. Noch mehr: Die Begriffsgeschichte, die sich seit den achtziger Jahren in der Diskursgeschichte aufzulösen drohte, wurde dank Meyers Beitrag neu belebt,

indem er Möglichkeiten einer Weiterentwicklung auslotet und konkret aufzeigt. Wir haben hier also ein Beispiel, wenn nicht gar einen Beweis dafür vorliegen, dass eine Regional- oder Arealwissenschaft wie die Japanologie durchaus Beiträge vorlegt, die auf die theoretischen (in diesem Fall geschichtstheoretischen) Ansätze zurückwirken und ihnen letztlich auch wieder zugute kommen.

Im Zentrum von Kosellecks Ansatz zu einer Theorie der Begriffsgeschichte steht die Annahme, dass politisch-soziale Begriffe nicht nur als Indikatoren politisch-sozialer Entwicklungen in Erscheinung treten, sondern auch aktiv als Faktoren auf diese einwirken. Gemäß Kosellecks so genannter „Sattelzeit-Hypothese“ besteht ein Zusammenhang zwischen den entscheidenden Veränderungen in der politisch-sozialen Begriffswelt in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Auflösung der ständischen Gesellschaftsordnung sowie ihrer Umwandlung in eine moderne. Historische Grundbegriffe seien als Faktoren in den nachfolgenden Umwandlungsprozessen wirksam geworden, indem sie neue politisch-soziale Handlungsspielräume eröffnet hätten. Meyer erweitert diesen Ansatz noch, indem er nicht nur Begriffe, sondern auch Diskurse als Indikatoren und Faktoren außersprachlicher Phänomene einschätzt. Damit wird zugleich der wohl berechtigten Forderung der Kritiker von Koselleck (Heiner Schultz, Horst Günther, Rolf Reichardt, Dietrich Busse u. a.) Rechnung getragen, die Vernetzung von Begriffen zu Argumentationsgängen und Diskursen explizit in die begriffsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen miteinzubeziehen. Zugleich warnt Meyer jedoch davor, diesen Ansatz umfassend einlösen zu wollen; wie nicht zuletzt an dem von Koselleck mitbegründeten Lexikonprojekt *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1972–1997, 9 Bde.) deutlich wurde, ist es äußerst schwierig aufzuzeigen, wie Begriffe als Faktoren auf außersprachliche Bereiche zurückwirken. Meistens wurde dieser theoretische Hauptanspruch der Begriffsgeschichte nach Koselleck von den Verfassern der einzelnen Einträge des Lexikons *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* sogar von vorne herein ausgeklammert. Meyer hingegen gelingt es im Schlusskapitel (Kap. VI Konklusion: Der Demokratiediskurs im Japan der späten Meiji- und der Taishō-Zeit und die darin enthaltenen Übersetzungsvarianten für den westlichen Demokratiebegriff als Indikatoren und Faktoren der Wahlrechtsbewegung, S. 409–425) anhand von einzelnen Beispielen zumindest die Tendenzen einer Einwirkung auf den außersprachlichen Bereich der Politik plausibel aufzuzeigen. Die Demokratiediskussionen und die darin enthaltenen Begriffe haben in der Tat eine entscheidende Unterstützung für die Wahlrechtsbewegung dargestellt, die 1925 in der Einführung des allgemeinen Männerwahlrechts gipfelte. Meyer legt auch dar, wie von einzelnen Trägern des Demokratiediskurses zusätzlich die Einführung des Frauenwahlrechts, ja sogar eines Wahlrechts für Kinder, das in Vertretung durch die Eltern ausgeübt werden sollte, gefordert wurde (Kap. V.2.2.3 „Das Wahlrecht für die gesamte Bevölkerung“: Miura Tetsutarōs und Abe Isoos Forderung des Frauenwahlrechts, S. 262–267). Überhaupt werden diverse, bislang auch durch die japanische Forschung noch unentdeckte Varianten und Aspekte der Demokratiediskussionen der späten Meiji- und der Taishō-Zeit aufgedeckt, so etwa

am Rande auch die Frage nach den Menschenrechten (Kap. V.2.2.4 Egi Makoto und Ôba Shigema: „In Japan gibt es keine Menschenrechte“, S. 267–272). Wichtiger noch ist die Klärung der Stellungnahme der Vertreter der Demokratiebewegung hinsichtlich außenpolitischer Fragen. Hier arbeitet Meyer anhand zahlreicher Quellenausschnitte zwei divergierende Haltungen heraus: Einerseits weist er auf die Tendenz hin, dass die Befürworter einer Demokratisierung gegen den Imperialismus des Japanischen Kaiserreichs waren (v. a. Miura Tetsutarô und Ishibashi Tanzan), und andererseits zeichnet er Versuche einer Synthese von Demokratie und Imperialismus bzw. Nationalismus nach (Ôyama Ikuo).

Harald Meyers Monographie zur Demokratierezeption im Japan der Vorkriegszeit ist nicht nur ein Meilenstein für die historische Japanforschung, sondern verdient auch über das Gebiet der Japanologie hinaus als wesentlicher Beitrag zur vergleichenden Demokratieforschung weit verbreitete Beachtung. Die Studie füllt mit der Analyse der von 1900 bis 1920 existierenden japanischen Übersetzungsvarianten für den westlichen Demokratiebegriff und der Rekonstruktion des Demokratiediskurses jenes Zeitraums eine Lücke der japanologischen Beschäftigung mit der modernen japanischen Geschichte. Zudem zeigt sie auf eindrückliche Art und Weise auf, dass in methodischer Hinsicht die Anwendung von Ansätzen der Begriffs- und Diskursgeschichte auf nicht-westliches Quellenmaterial positiv und gewinnbringend auf die Theoriebildung im deutschen Sprachraum zurückwirken kann.

Richard Dähler

PETER PANTZER (Hrsg.), *Japanischer Theaterhimmel über Europas Bühnen. Kawakami Otojiro, Sadayakko und ihre Truppe auf Tournee durch Mittel- und Osteuropa 1901/02*. München: Iudicium Verlag, 2005. LXXXIV, 1092 Seiten, 68 Abbildungen, EUR 85,-. ISBN 3-89129-920-6

Durch viele Monate hindurch war in den Jahren 1901 und 1902 eine japanische Theatertruppe unter ihrem Prinzipal, Schauspieler und Stückeschreiber Kawakami Otojiro sowie dem weiblichen Star Sadayakko und fünfzehn weiteren Mitgliedern mit großem Erfolg in Mittel- und Osteuropa aufgetreten. Durch zwölf Länder dieser Region – Deutschland, Kroatien, Lettland, Litauen, Österreich, Polen, Rumänien, Russland, Schweiz, Tschechien, Ukraine sowie Ungarn – führte die Tournee. In mehreren dutzend Städten gastierte das Ensemble und spielte so gut wie jeden Abend vor meist ausverkauften Häusern mit tausend oder mehr Besuchern. Erstmals kam so auch die darstellende Kunst Japans nach Europa, nachdem die bildenden Künste sich ja seit der Öffnung Japans im "Japonismus" schon übten.

Aufgabe des Buches ist es, anhand einer Dokumentation der Berichterstattung in der damaligen Tagespresse die Rezeption des/der Fremden zu belegen. Peter Pantzer bemerkt dazu in seiner Einleitung: „Für eine Generation Theater-

liebhaber und Literaten in Europa wurde Sadayakko samt ihrem Mann und seiner Truppe zur Kultfigur. Hugo von Hofmannsthal war hingerissen. Max Reinhardt inszenierte Stücke nach ‚japanischer Art‘. Hermann Bahr tirilierte. Hier wurden sie erfüllt, die Sehnsüchte des Europäers nach exotischer Ferne, seine Wünsche nach Eskapismus vor der ihm bekannten Wirklichkeit. Sie klingen noch nach in den Melodien eines Puccini, der während der Arbeit an seiner ‚Madame Butterfly‘ im April des Jahres 1902 die Truppe in Mailand sah und hörte. Die Scene, in der Sadayakko als glückliche, ihr tragisches Schicksal noch nicht ahnende *Kesa* unter blühenden Kirschbäumen auf der Zither *Echigo jishi spielt*, begegnet uns ebenso zauberhaft bei Puccini wieder. Die Arie des amerikanischen Marineoffiziers ist verklungen. Kirschblüten entfalten ihre ganze Pracht. Und die einschmeichelnde Melodie dieses *Echigo jishi* kündigt an, dass Sadayakko, nein, dass Butterfly sich nähert“ (LXVIII).

Das überaus sorgfältig recherchierte und anspruchsvoll gestaltete Buch wurde mit Unterstützung der „Toshiba International Foundation (TIFO)“ in Tokyo gedruckt. Hoffentlich wird es bald einmal genutzt werden, um daraus Stereotypen der europäischen Fremdwahrnehmung Japans zu Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts systematisch zu erarbeiten und mit aktuellen Berichterstattungen heute zu vergleichen. Die jüngste Debatte um den Film „Geisha“ zeigte ja, wie dauerhaft die Deutungsmuster sind, mit denen „der Westen“ sich „den Osten“ immer wieder erklärt, um in Abgrenzung dazu eigene Identitäten zu bestätigen.

Detlef Kantowsky