

## **CSEAS Seminar Series, 1st Semester 2009**

Thursdays, 11-12.30pm, SG02, Manton Rooms, Menzies Building, Clayton campus

**26 Feb**

**Launch Event**

**(CHANGE OF VENUE: Room 363, East Wing, Level 3, Menzies)**

**Bob Hadiwinata**, Professor, International Relations, University of Parahyangan, Bandung

Ways of Knowing Indonesia: Contending perspectives of Australian scholars' views on Indonesia

The scholarly works performed by Australian academics and researchers on Indonesia have been extensive for many years. Prompted by the curiousness to get a better understanding of the neighbouring country, Australian scholars from different backgrounds conducted research on various topics. In the area of social science, which will be the focus of the discussion, first generation scholars such as John Legge, Jamie Mackie, Herbert Feith put more attention on historical and comparative approach in trying to unravel Indonesian political institutions. The next generation such as Harold Crouch and Richard Robison developed more critical approach towards Indonesia, which sometimes raised concern from Indonesia.

In this seminar Professor Hadiwinata will discuss the changing dynamics of Australian scholars' debates on Indonesia as seen from Indonesia. He will argue that different perspectives in the debate also reflect the dynamics of Australian political scientists. While the older generations carried out their debates within what David Goldsworthy termed an Australian intellectual tradition of being impartial, non-partisan, politically detached, and avoiding prescriptive stances on contested public issues, younger generations of Australian political scientists engage in debates that move beyond the tradition set by their predecessors. They instead become involved in political debates to the extent that they sometimes accuse one another.

The seminar will limit the exchange of views on Indonesia between scholars with political science and/or history background. To illustrate the dynamics of changing perspectives on the way in which Australian scholars view Indonesia it will discuss two intensive discussions – one among Indonesianists on the failure of parliamentary democracy in the 1950s, and another between political scientists pitting the non-Indonesia specialists against Indonesianists on Papua issue. This is by no means a comparative study, rather it will try to show how changes in Australian political science in the past few decades affect the ways in which they view particular political issues in Indonesia affect the ways in which they views particular political issues in Indonesia.

Bob S. Hadiwinata is professor in International Relations at the University of Parahyangan, Bandung, Indonesia. He obtained his first degree from Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia; Masters degree from Monash University, Australia; and Ph.D. from Cambridge University, United Kingdom. He is author of *The Politics of NGOs in Indonesia: Developing Democracy and Managing a Movement*. London: Routledge-Curzon, 2003. His most recent publications is 'From Heroes to Trouble Makers: Civil Society and Democratization in Indonesia'. In Marco Bunte and Andreas Uffen (eds.) *Democracy in Post Suharto Indonesia*. London: Routledge, 2009; and 'International Relations in Indonesia: Historical Legacy, Political Intrusion and Commercialization'. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.9, No.1, February 2009. Prof Hadiwinata is visiting Monash University as a Visiting Scholar under the Australian Academy of the Humanities fellowship grant scheme.

## **5 Mar**

**Nicholas Herriman**, Postdoctoral Fellow, CSEAS, Monash University

The great rumour mill: Gossip, mass media, and the ninja fear

Different methods of communication are associated with different kinds of human interaction and have different political implications. Generally, face-to-face communications spread through contact between people, predominate in pre-literate or semi-literate societies, and can have a strong subversive potential. The mass media spread through centralised broadcast stations or presses, predominate in industrialized or post-industrialised societies, and tend to be controlled by elites. In this presentation, I analyse the interaction of face-to-face communications and the press. I focus on a phenomenon that occurred in East Java province, Indonesia during October-November 1998. According to newspaper reports and rumours, conspirators and ninjas who had been responsible killing of hundreds of alleged sorcerers were now persecuting the traditionalist Muslim majority. Local residents established guards against, attacked, and even killed suspected ninjas. One fascinating feature of the rumours and newspaper reports was that suspicion was directed against the government, elites, and the armed forces. I attribute this inversion of authority to particularities of this historical period—'Reformasi'—and also to the preponderance of face-to-face communication in East Javanese society.

Nicholas Herriman is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Monash Asia Institute, and is currently teaching anthropology at Monash University. He undertook over a year's fieldwork in rural East Java studying killings of 'sorcerers' and what they tell us about state-community relations in Indonesia. His doctoral thesis was passed with 'Distinction' and was awarded Best Thesis by the Australian Anthropological Society last year. He has recently published articles in *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs*, *Asian Journal of Social Sciences* and *Asian Studies Review*. The latter was awarded a research prize at the University of Western Australia.

## **12 Mar**

**Charles Donnelly**, PhD Candidate, MAI

Failure of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination: Separatism and sovereignty in contemporary Philippines

Eleven years on, the Mindanao peace process is in tatters. Declared unconstitutional by the Philippine Supreme Court in October 2008, the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) was intended to pave the way for a comprehensive peace pact between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Looking to examples of newly independent states such as East Timor and Kosovo, the MILF Peace Negotiating Panel enthusiastically adopted the right to self-determination - as understood in international law - as the best means to overcome restrictive constitutional provisions on autonomy. The Government panel, on the other hand, though agreeing to the legal norm in deliberations, was ultimately overruled by judicial review. This discussion assesses the failure of the Bangsamoro right to self-determination in contemporary Philippines.

Charles Donnelly is a PhD candidate with the Monash Asia Institute where he is producing a thesis on elite perceptions of the Mindanao Problem. In 2007 he was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies in Manila. His most recent publication is 'Counter-terrorism legislation in the Philippines' in Marika Vicziany's (ed.) *Controlling Arms and Terror in the Asia Pacific: After Bali and Baghdad*. Charles will join the Manila-based Asian Institute of Management in mid-2009 to undertake a postdoctoral project on development effectiveness in the context of clan feuding and separatism in Muslim Mindanao.

**19 Mar**

**Anthony Milner**, Professor, ANU

'The Malays'\*

Just who are 'the Malays'? What it is to be 'a Malay' seems to have differed from one era or one regional context to another. It is also far from certain that people called 'Malay' by Europeans and other outsiders generally defined themselves in this way. Ought we to speak of a 'Malay race' or 'Malay ethnicity'? Or are such concepts products of a particular phase of European thinking about human classification? Another intriguing question is why 'the Malays' have so often expressed the fear that they might 'disappear from this world'.

The paper will discuss the history of Malayness, reaching back to Melaka and earlier, and then considering briefly the fate of the Malay idea in the nation and region building of the last century.

Tony Milner is Basham Professor of Asian History at ANU, and a Professorial Fellow at the University of Melbourne. His most recent book, *The Malays*, has just been published in the Blackwell series on 'The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific'.

**26 Mar**

**Tom Chandler**, PhD candidate, Monash University

Angkor Imaged, Angkor Imagined

The increasing popular acceptance of virtual three-dimensional (3D) technologies in games, animations and online collaborative spaces are a last beginning to deliver on some of the promises of ‘virtual reality made some years ago. However, in comparison to the media heavyweights of Rome, Greece and Egypt, the virtual image of Angkor remains largely unexplored. How this image might be conveyed to the popular imagination in the coming years, in Cambodia and elsewhere, poses interesting questions.

This largely visual presentation will outline some of these possibilities and overview ongoing research into the computer-generated 3D visualization of landscapes, people, architecture and daily life in ancient Angkor.

**2 April**

**Susan Blackburn**, PSI, Monash University

Has gender analysis been mainstreamed in the study of Southeast Asian politics?

About twenty years ago some of us feminist scholars became exasperated at the neglect of gender in writing on Southeast Asian politics and held a conference at Monash University to discuss the matter. As women, we were offended by the invisibility of our sex in political science. The conference in 1987 gave rise to a book edited by Maila Stivens entitled *Why Gender Matters in Southeast Asian Politics* in which I analysed a number of scholarly books on Southeast Asian politics.

Two decades later I am revisiting my earlier analysis to see what, if anything, has changed. When we held our earlier conference, feminism had only just begun to influence the study of Southeast Asia. Many feminist works relevant to Southeast Asian politics have now been written. Can we now see their impact on mainstream politics writing?

The paper will examine several scholarly books that cover Southeast Asian politics in a general and comparative way, and some that are more specifically about Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam in order to get the picture at the level of individual countries. I will hazard some explanations as to the differences and similarities we find in these works, and what they tell us about the state of gender analysis in political science.

Susan Blackburn is Associate Professor in the School of Political and Social Inquiry at Monash University, where she lectures in Southeast Asian Politics. Her publications have dealt with international development and Indonesian history and politics. Her latest books are *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *The First Indonesian Women’s Congress Revisited* (Monash University Press, 2008).

**9 Apr**

**Sven Schottman**, PhD Candidate, MAI

A theology of progress: Mahathir’s engagement with Islam\*

Malaysia's long-ruling Prime Minister Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamed (b. 1925) is largely remembered for the transformative effects of his economic policies. His engagement with Islam, however, is equally momentous for Malaysians, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. He assumed office in the early 1980s by stating that he desired to "infuse Islamic values into government," and ended two decades later by declaring Malaysia an "Islamic State." Under the Mahathir premiership (1981-2003), Malaysian Islam underwent a significant socio-political transfiguration. This paper proposes that Dr Mahathir's engagement with the religion falls into three distinct and distinctive phases. It will identify the core themes in each of these phases, the external dynamics that influenced Mahathir's changing stances, and examine the former prime minister's continuous objective of articulating an Islamic "theology of progress."

Sven Alexander Schottmann is a PhD candidate at the Monash Asia Institute. His dissertation examines Tun Dr Mahathir's engagement with Islam, seeking to account for the continuity and the change that can be observed in a sixty year-long public record of speeches, writings and interviews, as well as the range of intellectual influences that seem reflected in Mahathir's engagement with his faith.

*Easter Break*

**23-Apr**

**Andrew Cock**, Postdoctoral Fellow, CSEAS, Monash University

Anticipating an oil boom: The 'resource curse' thesis in the play of Cambodian politics

In around 2010, Cambodia will begin production of offshore oil fields containing an estimated 700 million to two billion barrels of oil. This long anticipated event has prompted considerable discussion of whether oil derived wealth will be a blessing or a curse. Much of the discussion has been framed through the lens of the resource curse thesis. The purpose of this paper is to consider how notions of a resource curse have entered the play of Cambodian politics. What questions has it led Cambodia's elites and external actors to ask concerning the management of oil resources? What questions have been neglected? How will this notion, now almost a cliché, likely shape transparency in relation to the extraction of oil and the capture of rents that the sale of oil will generate?

Andrew Cock is a postdoctoral fellow in the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at Monash University. He obtained a PhD in political science from La Trobe University in 2007 for a dissertation on the interaction between Cambodia's ruling elite and forestry reform promoting external actors. From 1999-2004 he worked on forestry and natural resource management issues in Cambodia, for much of the period employed as forestry policy advisor with the NGO Forum on Cambodia. Interested in the linkages between energy, agriculture, and climate change, he has more recently embarked on a new project on the political dimensions of agrarian change in mainland Southeast Asia.

**30-Apr**

**Joost Cote**, Deakin University

### Writing a history of the Pamona of Central Sulawesi 1880 – 2000

The recent spate of inter-communal violence as well as local interest in regional history and heritage in Indonesia over the last decade (as reported for instance in van Klinken, *Small Town Wars*, 2007 on the one hand, and Davidson and Henley, (eds), *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics*, 2007 on the other) indicates a new interest in defining and defending local regional identities. Hastened by political decentralisation legislation, it follows that some of the boundaries which an earlier generation had sought to expunge in constructing the modern postcolonial nation (often the consequence of colonial intervention) are in the process of being redrawn at the same time as nation states themselves are undergoing change. Similar processes are apparent throughout SE Asia. These developments imply a crucial role for history, in particular the need for ‘post-national’ local and institutional histories to supplement extensive, but typically more anthropologically-oriented, studies of local communities.

In this seminar presentation I will outline a proposed history of the Pamona of kabupaten Poso, Central Sulawesi, (the community recent events have suddenly dragged into the spot light of international attention). The central theme of my projected book (building on earlier research and publications) is a narrative of the history of the development of this Christian community and its political structures, and its integration into the Indonesian state in the course of the *longue durée* that was the twentieth century (1880 - 2000). If narrative structuralist history is somewhat out of fashion these days, I nevertheless want to suggest that an understanding of recent events in Poso needs to be viewed from a broader historical perspective of the political and community structures that were imposed or evolved in response to outside intervention. In this sense, certain identifiable historical periods – late ‘pre-colonial’, colonial, WW2, Pemesta, New Order – can be seen to have been instrumental in shaping events, social institutions and self-identities.

The presentation will outline planned book chapters and discuss the problems of historical sources when it comes to local and regional history writing – availability, nature, sources and more broadly how these have been determined by the broader processes associated with definable historical periods.

Joost Cote is senior lecturer in the School of History, Heritage and Society, Faculty of Arts and Education, Deakin University at Burwood. He teaches World history and Southeast Asian history in the undergraduate history program and in units in the Cultural Heritage Centre. Joost's research focuses on early 20th century colonial Indonesian history, exploring issues of colonial policy and cultures, urban development and the emergence of modern Indonesian discourse. He has translated and edited several volumes of letters by RA Kartini, most recently the letters of Kartini's sisters (*Realizing the Dream of Kartini: Her sisters letters from colonial Java*, Ohio University Press/KITLV Press 2008), co-edited a book on Indisch migrants to Australia (*Recalling the Indies: Colonial memories & Postcolonial identities*, Aksant, Amsterdam 2005), as well as a number of articles on colonial policy and discourse.

He is currently working on a study of the colonial architect and town planner, Thomas Karsten.

### **7-May**

**Vanessa Hearmann**, PhD candidate, Melbourne University

Counter-insurgency and the early New Order period: South Blitar and the 1968 Trisula Operation

In the period following the 1965 coup attempt, Indonesian newspapers reported attacks on army and police installations, theft of weapons and munitions, and assassinations of suspected anti-communists. The government blamed these attacks on remaining members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) as part of a communist resurgence. Scholars writing at that time such as van der Kroef and Brackman seemed to have largely accepted the government version. In this context, this paper examines the question of how the post-coup period played out in East Java.

In particular, the paper analyses the PKI's establishment of bases in the South Blitar area in East Java following the coup attempt until the end of the Trisula Operation, an operation led by the army's Brawijaya Division in mid-1968. The New Order regime's construction of history portrayed the Trisula Operation as an important military victory, supported by the local people and which succeeded in smashing the last communist bases in South Blitar.

Drawing on interviews with former political prisoners and villagers in South Blitar, as well as on official government and military sources about Trisula and its aftermath, this paper will examine the conduct and impact of the Operation on South Blitar and how it laid down the foundation for future counter-insurgency operations carried out by the New Order regime.

Vanessa Hearman is a PhD candidate in the School of Historical Studies at the University of Melbourne. She is researching the political history of East Java in the period between 1965-1968 with a focus on the mass killings and imprisonment in that region of Indonesia.

### **14-May**

**Jeremy Kingsley**, PhD candidate, Asia Law Centre, Melbourne University

The role of religious leadership in peace-building and dispute resolution processes in Lombok, Indonesia

This paper, based on 15 months of fieldwork, evaluates peace-building strategies and dispute resolution processes on the eastern Indonesian island of Lombok. Over the past decade, communal conflicts have emerged across the Indonesian archipelago as a result of economic and political instability. My research has considered both the formal and informal legal, religious and social institutions that influence peace-building and dispute resolution processes in Lombok. Lombok was affected by this violence, although it did

not suffer to the same extent as other parts of Indonesia. The containment of violence occurred, in many regards, due to the significant role of the religious leadership of *Tuan Guru* (similar to *kiyai* in Java). This paper will consider why they have taken this position. These issues will be reviewed by considering the provincial authorities peace-building strategy preceding the 2008 Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) Gubernatorial elections in Lombok. The strategy involved the provincial authorities coordinating their activities with community and religious groups. It was developed in response to ethnic and political tensions that arose during previous elections. I will investigate this 'dispute resolution partnership' and explore what it means for NTB, and potentially, Indonesia.

Jeremy Kingsley joined the Asian Law Centre in 2003 as a research assistant to Professor Tim Lindsey and editorial assistant to the *Australian Journal of Asian Law*. He is a graduate of Deakin University, having completed a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws in 2001. Jeremy has recently completed the Master of Laws at the University of Melbourne (focusing on Asian Law and Comparative Legal Studies). Prior to this he practiced as a lawyer at a major city law firm. Jeremy is currently a PhD Candidate in the Melbourne Law School, under the supervision of Professor Tim Lindsey and Professor Abdullah Saeed. During 2007-2008, he undertook fieldwork in Lombok, Indonesia, as part of his doctoral research. This research is supported by an Endeavour Australia Cheung Kong Award and an ARC Federation Fellowship doctoral scholarship.

**21-May**

**Charlotte Setijadi-Dunn**, PhD candidate, Anthropology, Latrobe University

Pemuda Tionghoa: Locating Chinese youth in Indonesian nationalist history

Chinese Indonesian youth are more often than not perceived as politically apathetic. Although it is true that such perceptions are frequently applied to youth in general, within the context of New Order Indonesia, Chinese youth were particularly stigmatised as unsympathetic and uninvolved in the nation building process. In fact, these kinds of un-nationalistic views of Chinese youth have been prevalent throughout Indonesia's history since its conception as a nation. If in Indonesian nationalist narratives, the pemuda (youth) have been mythologised as possessing an 'historical destiny' of building Indonesia, Chinese youth have always been located outside of such national imaginings. Perhaps nowhere else is this more aptly illustrated than in popular historical accounts of Sumpah Pemuda (the 'Youth Oath') that took place during the Congress of Indonesian Youth in October of 1928. In this symbolic event whereby a 'pledge' of unity towards a unified Indonesian nation was made by regional youth delegations, there was never any mention of Chinese youth's involvement in official discourse.

The seminar will aim to locate the place of Chinese youth in Indonesia's history of nation building. By deconstructing the ideological edifices and meanings underlying 'pemuda' in Indonesia, the separation of Chinese youth from nationalistic connotations attached to 'native' Indonesian youth will become apparent. I argue that this 'othering' of Chinese youth throughout the years has played a crucial part in constructing negative perceptions of young Chinese and their commitment to Indonesia. Furthermore, I contend that it is

only when this paradigm is altered through interrogation and education of historical facts that Chinese youth can be truly seen as ‘pemuda harapan bangsa’ (‘the young hopes of the nation’), much like their non-Chinese counterparts.

Charlotte Setijadi-Dunn is a Ph.D. Candidate from the School of Social Sciences (Anthropology) at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia. Her dissertation project looks at historical memory and identity construction among young Chinese Indonesians in post-Suharto Indonesia. Charlotte has just completed fieldwork research for her dissertation in Jakarta, Indonesia, where she was also a visiting fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. Her latest publication is titled ‘Filming Ambiguity: To be ‘Chinese’ through the eyes of young Chinese Indonesian filmmakers’ in *The International Journal of the Humanities*, Volume 6 (2008). *Negotiating Chineseness: Young Chinese in post-Suharto Indonesia*.

## **28-May**

**Judith Heimann**, US Foreign Service Officer & Author

The airmen and the headhunters: A true story of lost soldiers, heroic tribesmen and the unlikely rescue of World War II

Judith Heimann, a retired but still part-time US Foreign Service Officer, accompanied her late husband, also a Foreign Service Officer, to posts in Malaysia and Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s and lived two years in Borneo. Since retirement in 1992, she has been working as a part-time diplomat in Luxembourg, Belgium and at the Department of State in Washington, DC, and has written two non-fiction books. Her first book, *The Most Offending Soul Alive: Tom Harrison and His Remarkable Life*, (University of Hawaii Press, 1999) formed the basis for the 2007 BBC documentary, *The Barefoot Anthropologist*, presented by Sir David Attenborough.

Her second book, *The Airmen and the Headhunters*, based chiefly on her interviews of the surviving American airmen and Bornean headhunters, came out from Harcourt in October 2007 and in paper in January 2009 and is about to become the basis for another TV documentary, commissioned by BBC4, National Geographic International and Channel Thirteen (the Public Broadcasting Station in New York City). Ms. Heimann is now working on a third book, a multi-voice memoir of Java in the Sukarno period. She divides her time between Washington D.C. and Western Europe.

Judith will present the story of her book and answer questions about it in a talk illustrated by power point.

## **4 June**

**Maria Platt**, PhD candidate, Latrobe University

When boys go out to play: Extra-marital relationships in Lombok, Indonesia