Welcome to our new-look Asian studies annual subject catalog.

As part of our 2020 Experience we’re shifting the approach to this catalog so that you get more from it. All our forthcoming, new, and recent books published in Asian studies are here, of course, but there’s other content worth checking out, too.

Mixed in with the book descriptions are articles written by some of our authors and question and answer sessions with some, too. The point of these pieces of content is to give you a little more sense of who our authors are and what makes their books fascinating. It’s all part of the experience of being part of CUP family.

Speaking of family, you’ll notice we have books from even more imprints in our catalog this year. We added the Cornell East Asia Series (CEAS) to our list in 2019. Mai Shaikhanuar-Cota is Managing Editor for CEAS. If you have queries about the CEAS list or submissions ideas get in touch with her. You can find Mai’s contact info on the back page of this catalog or on our website. The same is true for our other acquiring editors in the field: Emily Andrew, Roger Haydon, Sarah Grossman, and Fran Benson.

Enjoy the new look!
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Pursuing Respect in the Cannibal Isles
Americans in Nineteenth-Century Fiji
Nancy Shoemaker

Full of colorful details and engrossing stories, Pursuing Respect in the Cannibal Isles shows that the aspirations of individual Americans to be recognized as people worthy of others’ respect was a driving force in the global extension of United States influence shortly after the nation’s founding.

Nancy Shoemaker contends that what she calls extraterritorial Americans constituted the vanguard of a vast, early US global expansion. Using as her site of historical investigation nineteenth-century Fiji, the “cannibal isles” of American popular culture, she uncovers stories of Americans looking for opportunities to rise in social status and enhance their sense of self. Prior to British colonization in 1874, extraterritorial Americans had, she argues, as much impact on Fiji as did the British. While the American economy invested in the extraction of sandalwood and sea slugs as resources to sell in China, individuals who went to Fiji had more complicated, personal objectives.

Pursuing Respect in the Cannibal Isles considers these motivations through the lives of the three Americans who left the deepest imprint on Fiji: a runaway whaleman who settled in the islands, a sea captain’s wife, and a merchant. Shoemaker’s book shows how ordinary Americans living or working overseas found unusual venues where they could show themselves worthy of others’ respect—others’ approval, admiration, or deference.

Nancy Shoemaker of the University of Connecticut is a historian of Native American history. Her books include A Strange Likeness, Native American Whalemen and the World, and an edited collection of historical documents and oral histories called Living with Whales. While investigating whaling history, she broadened her interests to include the history of the US in the world, especially in the Pacific.

“In this significant study, Nancy Shoemaker reconstructs the history of early American encounters in the Fiji islands. Pursuing Respectability in the Cannibal Isles raises important questions and builds on original research to recover voices that had been erased from the historical record.”—Dane Morrison, Salem State University, author of True Yankees

“Pursuing Respectability in the Cannibal Isles is accomplished in its storytelling and rich narrative detail. Nancy Shoemaker has written a model for transnational scholarship.”—Brian Rouleau, Texas A&M University, author of the award-winning With Sails Whitening Every Sea

“Now one of our most daring and interesting historians of indigenous peoples and colonialism asks how the pursuit of respect helped propel US expansion into the Pacific. Nancy Shoemaker’s answers pry open the personal motivations that helped power a world of transformation and trauma in the nineteenth century. An engrossing, elegant, and important book.”—Brian DeLay, University of California, Berkeley
Special Duty
A History of the Japanese Intelligence Community
Richard J. Samuels

The prewar history of the Japanese intelligence community demonstrates how having power over much, but insight into little can have devastating consequences. Its postwar history—one of limited Japanese power despite growing insight—has also been problematic for national security.

In Special Duty Richard J. Samuels dissects the fascinating history of the intelligence community in Japan. Looking at the impact of shifts in the strategic environment, technological change, and past failures, he probes the reasons why Japan has endured such a roller-coaster ride when it comes to intelligence gathering and analysis, and concludes that the ups and downs of the past century—combined with growing uncertainties in the regional security environment—have convinced Japanese leaders of the critical importance of striking balance between power and insight. Using examples of excessive hubris and debilitating bureaucratic competition before the Asia-Pacific War, the unavoidable dependence on US assets and popular sensitivity to security issues after World War II, and the tardy adoption of image-processing and cyber technologies, Samuels’ bold book highlights the century-long history of Japan’s struggles to develop a fully functioning and effective intelligence capability, and makes clear that Japanese leaders have begun to reinvent their nation’s intelligence community.

Richard J. Samuels is Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Einstein Visiting Fellow at the Free University of Berlin. His books have won prizes from the American Political Science Association, the Association for Asian Studies, and the Society for Italian Historical Studies. His most recent book is 3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan. Follow him on Twitter @dicksamuelsMIT.

“Focusing on intelligence gathering by the modern Japanese state from 1895, the author’s insights into pre-war “hubris and debilitating bureaucratic competition” and postwar reliance on the US will attract fans of both geopolitical and military history.”—Japan Times

“This engrossing history of Japanese intelligence demonstrates how such changes have made Japan a better security partner for the United States while preparing the country to stand on its own if the US security guarantee loses its credibility.”—Foreign Affairs

“This is a truly wonderful book written by a leading and highly respected scholar in the field of Japanese security and politics. It offers much needed insight to academics and policymakers alike as they seek to understand the changes in Japan’s security choices.”—Sheila Smith, Council on Foreign Relations, author of Intimate Rivals

$32.95 hardcover 978-1-5017-4158-6
384 pages, 22 b&w halftones, 5 b&w line drawings
In the past several years, the media has focused on how quickly and effectively Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has been able to curry favor with the famously narcissistic Donald Trump—something other democratic leaders have also attempted without much sustained success. (cf. Emmanuel Macron, Justin Trudeau, Theresa May).

Meanwhile, something else has been going on—two things, in fact. Seemingly unfazed by Trump’s uneven diplomacy, Japan has stepped up onto the international stage in a way that few longtime Japan watchers could have anticipated—as a champion of free trade. After Trump pulled the United States out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership in 2017, Abe proceeded to knit together what remained of the agreement, deepened the existing arrangement with the European Union, and forged a new one for trade with a post-Brexit UK. He also signed an impressive economic agreement with Xi Jing Ping.

Second, while most Japan watchers focused on whether or not Abe could deliver on his promise to revise the US imposed constitution, his government has sliced away nearly all of the cautious defense policies that had been tethered to Article 9, the pacifist security clause. Those familiar with my earlier work from Cornell University Press know that I have been keeping track of how the Japanese government has been steadily unwinding a long list of self-posed constraints on its conduct of postwar security policy. For example, Japan had no defense ministry until 2007. It ruled out the military use of space until it acknowledged it did not. Its prime minister—Abe’s uncle Eisaku Sato—won the Nobel Peace Prize for ruling out nuclear weapons that today are openly discussed as a “latent” deterrent. The government banned the export of weapons, until it ended the ban in 2014. Article 9 was interpreted as proscribing offensive weapons, but the latest defense plan allows for aircraft carriers and stand-off missiles. Japan famously limited defense spending to 1 percent of GDP, until 2019 when it announced it would adopt a new accounting procedure that acknowledges defense spending is squarely above that limit.

By 2015 or so, there remained only one important aspect of national security policy that had not been reengineered—Japan’s intelligence community, the subject of my new book from Cornell University Press. Special Duty: A History of the Japanese Intelligence Community, the first comprehensive history of the Japanese intelligence community, explores its imperial expansion, postwar collapse and subordination to the United States, and its slow but steady reinvention after the Cold War. It examines how shifts in Japan’s security environment, technological change and intelligence failures stimulated (often ineffective) intelligence reforms across each of its functional elements: collection, analysis, communication, counterintelligence, covert action, and oversight.

Special Duty teaches that much—but hardly all—of Japan’s historical experience with intelligence is similar to that of other nations. It ends with the wisdom of Herodotus, the classical historian who taught that “the worst pain one can suffer is to have insight into much and power over nothing.” I want readers to appreciate how the past century of Japanese intelligence teaches that the reverse—having power over much but insight into nothing—can generate equal pain. During its imperial expansion Japan had great power, but limited insight. And during the American century it had greater insight, but its power was much more limited. Readers will, I hope also appreciate that this is not unique. Not having struck an effective balance between power and insight has generated great costs to Japan and to its neighbors no less than it has to its ally, the United States, during its own imperial moment.
Fake news and disinformation. Problems that have caused political volatility in many parts of the world also cast a long shadow over Indonesia—the world’s most populous Muslim-majority country and third largest democracy. In the presidential election in May this year, the moderate, incumbent Joko Widodo (Jokowi) won a close race against the hardline, former three-star general Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo supporters contested the election outcome and staged a riot. In the frenzy atmosphere of the election, the anger of the protestors was fueled by online hoaxes. Various conspiracy theories all had one protagonist: The People’s Republic of China (PRC). Chinese migrant workers were given fake Indonesian ID cards that enabled them to vote for Jokowi; a certain tech company from China was put in charge of the electronic ballot counting system, assisting Jokowi with his election fraud; and, after the outbreak of street violence, the Indonesian police deployed against the rioters were soldiers “imported” from the People’s Liberation Army.

The most strident, outlandish, and persistent rumor concerns China’s role in the September Thirtieth Movement of 1965, in which major general Suharto launched an effective counterattack. In the process of his rise to power, Suharto initiated a nation-wide anti-Communist campaign. The campaign escalated into one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century, with an estimated 500,000+ people killed. The Suharto regime repeatedly made unfounded charges against the September Thirtieth Movement as being part of the PRC’s “yellow imperialist” project to encroach Indonesia. This idea was further instilled in the minds of the general population through the film The Betrayal of the Indonesian Communist Party, which was broadcast annually on the evening of September 30 and was required viewing for schoolchildren. In this (in)famous film, Chinese doctors are shown practicing acupuncture with electric shock on the ailing President Sukarno, and their diagnosis of Sukarno’s health condition as “critically dangerous” is presented as the trigger for the Indonesian communists’ coup attempt.

Was China the puppet master that instigated its Indonesian comrades to seize state power by force? With a rare access to materials at the Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives and the Communist Party Central Archives, my book reveals that China’s role in the September Thirtieth Movement was marginal. The Indonesian Communist leader Aidit designed the September Thirtieth Movement free from foreign intervention. Top Chinese leaders were aware of Aidit’s scheme. But the swift execution of the plan took them by surprise. Newly declassified US sources also show that in early 1966, American diplomats in Jakarta had already considered accusations of Chinese involvement to be fake news. Yet the US encouraged, rather than curbed, disinformation.

The Suharto regime’s propaganda led to grievous consequences. Diplomatic relations between Beijing and Jakarta were suspended for more than two decades. Moreover, the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, with arguably disproportionate economic power but vulnerable political status, fell on the receiving end of hostility toward the PRC. Under Suharto’s ensuing three-decade rule, a number of discriminatory laws were passed: for instance, the ethnic Chinese were given a special designation on their citizenship cards and Chinese-language education was banned.

The complex and difficult history between China and Indonesia shows us how easily tensions in international and inter-racial relations could be used to produce a toxic mash that shatters geopolitical and social stability. The issue of increasing PRC economic presence often becomes entangled with the position of the Chinese in Indonesia. In 2017, the former Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (better known by his nickname “Ahok”) was controversially sentenced for two-year imprisonment for insulting Islam. Ahok is an ethnic Chinese Christian and an ally of Jokowi, who has been criticized for his receptive attitude toward infrastructure loans from Beijing. A video of Ahok commenting on conservative Muslim clergy was edited out of context and went viral on the internet, igniting mass demonstrations. Although reflecting contemporary anxieties over an influx of Chinese labor and investments, the recent disinformation is repeating an old trope. In the online echo chamber, these false narratives proliferate quickly precisely because they mimic government propaganda in the past and exploit the enduring vulnerability of the Chinese minority in Indonesia.
Migration in the Time of Revolution
China, Indonesia, and the Cold War

TAOMO ZHOU

Migration in the Time of Revolution examines how two of the world’s most populous countries interacted between 1945 and 1967, when the concept of citizenship was contested, political loyalty was in question, identity was fluid, and the boundaries of political mobilization were blurred. Taomo Zhou asks probing questions of this important period in the histories of the People’s Republic of China and Indonesia. What was it like to be a youth in search of an ancestral homeland that one had never set foot in, or an economic refugee whose expertise in private business became undesirable in one’s new home in the socialist state? What ideological beliefs or practical calculations motivated individuals to commit to one particular nationality while forsaking another?

As Zhou demonstrates, the answers to such questions about “ordinary” migrants are crucial to a deeper understanding of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Through newly declassified documents from the Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives and oral history interviews, Migration in the Time of Revolution argues that migration and the political activism of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia were important historical forces in the making of governmental relations between Beijing and Jakarta after World War II. Zhou highlights the agency and autonomy of individuals whose life experiences were shaped by but also helped shape the trajectory of bilateral diplomacy. These ethnic Chinese migrants and settlers were, Zhou contends, not passively acted upon but actively responding to the developing events of the Cold War. This book bridges the fields of diplomatic history and migration studies by reconstructing the Cold War in Asia as social processes from the ground up.

TAOMO ZHOU is Assistant Professor in the School of Humanities at Nanyang Technological University. Follow her on Twitter @taomo_zhou.

$43.95 hardcover 978-1-5017-3993-4
318 pages, 6 x 9, 20 b&w halftones
What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

Indonesian President Sukarno received traditional Chinese medical treatments for his kidney problems in spring and summer 1965. He seemed to have enjoyed acupuncture and tended to over-dose on the herbal pills tailor-made for him by doctors from China. His conditions improved—the acupuncture and herbs seemed to have worked!

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

An important source I used in the book were documents from the Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives in Beijing. Between 2006 and 2008, the Chinese Foreign Ministry declassified thousands of documents. However, this collection was reclassified in 2013. In hindsight, I wish I had foreseen the trend toward tighter information control in China and had collected materials more extensively during that brief window of opportunity.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

My research aims to show that the high dramas of geopolitics and the everyday life of ordinary migrants are inextricably intertwined. I hope there will be more dialogues between scholars of international relations and experts in migration studies as well as more interdisciplinary conversations among historians, political scientists, and sociologists.

“My research aims to show that the high dramas of geopolitics and the everyday life of ordinary migrants are inextricably intertwined.”
We’d really appreciate it if you listen to our incredible podcast, featuring in-depth interviews with Asian studies authors and check-ins with our incredible team of acquiring editors, Roger Haydon, Emily Andrew, Jim Lance, Sarah Grossman, and Mai Shaikhanuar-Cota.

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CHANGING THE FIELD OF ASIAN STUDIES ONE BOOK AT A TIME

FIGHTING FOR VIRTUE

DUNCAN MUIR

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
Fighting for Virtue
Justice and Politics in Thailand

Duncan McCargo

Fighting for Virtue investigates how Thailand’s judges were tasked by the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX) in 2006 with helping to solve the country’s intractable political problems—and what happened next. Across the last decade of Rama IX’s rule, Duncan McCargo examines the world of Thai judges: how they were recruited, trained, and promoted, and how they were socialized into a conservative world view that emphasized the proximity between the judiciary and the monarchy.

McCargo delves into three pivotal freedom of expression cases that illuminate Thai legal and cultural understandings of sedition and treason, before examining the ways in which accusations of disloyalty made against controversial former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra came to occupy a central place in the political life of a deeply polarized nation. The author navigates the highly contentious role of the Constitutional Court as a key player in overseeing and regulating Thailand’s political order before concluding with reflections on the significance of the Bhumibol era of “judicialization” in Thailand. In the end, posits McCargo, under a new king, who appears far less reluctant to assert his own power and authority, the Thai courts may now assume somewhat less significance as a tool of the monarchical network.

Duncan McCargo is Director of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Professor of Political science at the University of Copenhagen. He is author of Tearing Apart the Land, which won the inaugural Bernard Schwartz Book Prize from the Asia Society in 2009.

“Fighting for Virtue is quite detailed and rich, and will appeal to anyone interested in Thai politics. It should be assigned reading in courses on Thai politics, Southeast Asian comparative politics, and law courses.”—Thak Chaloemtiarana, author of Read Till It Shatters

“Fighting for Virtue reflects Duncan McCargo’s important and long recognized ability to identify matters of great salience and to interpret them in ways that have a lasting impact on the study of contemporary Thailand.”—Michael J. Montesano, ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

$42.95 hardcover 978-0-8014-4999-4
282 pages, 6 x 9, 12 b&w photos, 1 b&w line drawing
behind the book

Lulu Wang’s critically acclaimed film *The Farewell* is “based on an actual lie.” Debuting in 2019 at Sundance, the film tells the story of a Chinese family shielding their matriarch from her terminal cancer diagnosis, and how her granddaughter, raised in the US, comes to terms with this form of care.

“If you tell her, you’ll ruin her good mood.” The film takes on what is in many parts of Asia a common occurrence: not telling someone they are dying. Understanding how such norms function as “care” – how they are felt as well as how they are practiced—is a core focus of my book, *Rituals of Care: Karmic Politics in Aging Thailand*.

With population aging trumpeted from nearly every corner, and projected burdens of care a pressing concern for families and nations alike, *Rituals of Care* offers a chance to step back and challenge common presumptions about the universal nature of “caring.” I begin at the bedside, describing two middle-aged sisters bending and twisting, bathing and feeding, powdering and massaging their bedridden elderly mother. Their story is a familiar one in Northern Thailand, as elsewhere, and speaks to the everyday realities of providing care in a rapidly aging society. Their habits, I argue, can productively be understood as ritual: repetitive acts that achieve effects through their correct performance, rather than from any particular internal orientation to the tasks.

This matters so much because it interrupts the common emphasis on authenticity and individual autonomy that dominates so much work on care—from the academic to the clinical. Further, it invites us to keep what is actually done, the very gestures, day in and day out, at the center of analysis.

By tracing what people pay attention to, and how the social world trains their attention and their responses in particular ways, I develop the argument that religious, social, and political structures are embodied, through habituated action, in practices of providing for others. Providing for others does not just occur between individuals. Close attention can be paid to care practiced in more general ways—care for one’s group, care for the polity. And doing so, examining particular sets of emotional and practical ways of being with people—and the historical and philosophical lineages undergirding such practices—shows an inseparable links between forms of social organization and forms of care.

The Chinese American granddaughter in *The Farewell* does indeed end up following the directives of her family. Keeping her grandmother’s prognosis a secret is of course more than simply not saying: her every move and mood are shown to have communicative effect. We can begin to see that, further still, what it means to be a person and the proper way to be in the world are wrapped up in the smallest gestures of care. Unearthing the ways people are habituated to provide for others may thus not only lead to greater understanding of the strictures that bind, but the tiny changes that can transform.

what counts as care?

Felicity Aulino
Rituals of Care
Karmic Politics in an Aging Thailand

Felicity Aulino

End-of-life issues are increasingly central to discussions within medical anthropology, the anthropology of political action, and the study of Buddhist philosophy and practice. Felicity Aulino’s Rituals of Care speaks directly to these important anthropological and existential conversations. Against the backdrop of global population aging and increased attention to care for the elderly, both personal and professional, Aulino challenges common presumptions about the universal nature of “caring.” The way she examines particular sets of emotional and practical ways of being with people, and their specific historical lineages, allows Aulino to show an inseparable link between forms of social organization and forms of care.

Unlike most accounts of the quotidian concerns of providing care in a rapidly aging society, Rituals of Care brings attention to corporeal processes. Moving from vivid descriptions of the embodied routines at the heart of home caregiving to depictions of care practices in more general ways—care for one’s group, care of the polity—it develops the argument that religious, social, and political structures are embodied, through habituated action, in practices of providing for others. Under the watchful treatment of Aulino, care becomes a powerful foil for understanding recent political turmoil and structural change in Thailand, proving embodied practice to be a vital vantage point for phenomenological and political analyses alike.

Felicity Aulino is a Five-College Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

“Felicity Aulino’s Rituals of Care is evocative and engaging. It provides in-depth ethnographic descriptions and develops a theory of care, morality, and subjectivity that is clear and excellently discussed.”—Joanna Cook, University College London, author of Meditation in Modern Buddhism

“Rituals of Care disturbs in all the right ways. It disturbs our sense of what a self is and what it means to care for someone in the last stretches of life. It disturbs us sensorially by placing bodily caring practices front and center, so we can no longer pretend such practices have no relevance for cultural history or theory.”—Lisa Stevenson, McGill University, author of Life Beside Itself

“This is a beautifully written and carefully argued account of care in the context of karma. It shows us that the western understanding of what it means to care is not universal. It also show us that the way humans care become the underpinnings of the way they harm. Because of this, the book is a powerful and provocative text.”—Tanya Marie Luhrmann, Stanford University

$22.95 paperback 978-1-5017-3973-6
210 pages, 6 x 9
Catching up with Felicity Aulino

What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

How one day, while with my husband in Bangkok taking pictures of an abandoned skyscraper rising up beside low-slung houses along a canal, a woman struck up a conversation and invited us into her home to talk more. And when I then told her about my research on care for the elderly, she pushed open a door off the kitchen to reveal her own mother, bedridden and cared for at home.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

That the work can keep growing, the book being just the capture of one’s thinking at a given time and hopefully a conversation starter.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

To pivot or otherwise expand the field to thinking more from Asia, with Asian theorists and philosophical lineages, using Asian studies perspectives to examine a host of issues globally.
CHANGING THE WORLD ONE BOOK AT A TIME

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AT AAS 2020

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Hematologies
The Political Life of Blood in India

Jacob Copeman and Dwaipayan Banerjee

In this ground-breaking account of the political economy and cultural meaning of blood in contemporary India, Jacob Copeman and Dwaipayan Banerjee examine how the giving and receiving of blood has shaped social and political life. Hematologies traces how the substance congeals political ideologies, biomedical rationalities, and activist practices.

Using examples from anti-colonial appeals to blood sacrifice as a political philosophy to contemporary portraits of political leaders drawn with blood, from the use of the substance by Bhopali children as a material of activism to biomedical anxieties and aporia about the excess and lack of donation, Hematologies broaches how political life in India has been shaped through the use of blood and through contestations about blood. As such, the authors offer new entryways into thinking about politics and economy through a “bloodscape of difference”: different sovereignties; different proportionalities; and different temporalities. These entryways allow the authors to explore the relation between blood’s utopic flows and political clottings as it moves through time and space, conjuring new kinds of social collectivities while reanimating older forms, and always in a reflexive relation to norms that guide its proper flow.

Jacob Copeman is Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh. He is author of Veins of Devotion.

Dwaipayan Banerjee is Assistant Professor in the program on Science, Technology, and Society at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Follow him on Twitter @dwai_banerjee.

“A splendid achievement. This book is unparalleled in its ability to show how the political absorbs the techno-scientific over various scales and temporalities in contemporary India.”—Veena Das, Johns Hopkins University

“This book is an extraordinary exploration of the multitudes of meanings and uses of blood in northern India. A surprising and compelling account of interest to anyone who has ever bled, menstruated, or claims to be related to others by ‘blood.’”—Emily Martin, New York University

“This revelatory book brings us a thoroughly political hematology, not only tracking economies of sacrifice, extraction, and spillage, but also thinking through blood as a medium for writing, for protest, and for the telling of historical time”—Stefan Helmreich, MIT

$42.95 hardcover 978-1-5017-4509-6
288 pages, 6 x 9, 9 b&w halftones
Divided Allies
Strategic Cooperation against the Communist Threat in the Asia-Pacific during the Early Cold War

Thomas K. Robb and David James Gill

By directly challenging existing accounts of post-World War II relations among the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, Divided Allies is a significant contribution to transnational and diplomatic history. At its heart, Divided Allies examines why strategic cooperation among these closely allied Western powers in the Asia-Pacific region was limited during the early Cold War. Thomas K. Robb and David James Gill probe the difficulties of security cooperation as the leadership of these four states balanced intramural competition with the need to develop a common strategy against the Soviet Union and the new communist power, the People’s Republic of China.

Robb and Gill expose contention and disorganization among non-communist allies in the early phase of containment strategy in Asia-Pacific. In particular, the authors note the significance of economic, racial, and cultural elements to planning for regional security and they highlight how these domestic matters resulted in international disorganization. Divided Allies shows that, amidst these contentious relations, the antipodean powers Australia and New Zealand occupied an important role in the region and successfully utilized quadrilateral diplomacy to advance their own national interests, such as the crafting of the 1951 ANZUS collective security treaty.

As fractious as were allied relations in the early days of NATO, Robb and Gill demonstrate that the post-World War II Asia-Pacific was as contentious, and that Britain and the commonwealth nations were necessary partners in the development of early global Cold War strategy.

Thomas K. Robb is Senior Lecturer at Oxford Brookes University and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He is author of Jimmy Carter and the Anglo-American “Special Relationship” and A Strained Partnership?

David James Gill is Associate Professor at the University of Nottingham. He is author of Britain and the Bomb.

$49.95 hardcover 978-1-5017-4184-5
288 pages, 6 x 9

“Divided Allies changes the way we think about existing Cold War history. Thomas K. Robb and David James Gill’s work will spark substantial research, and the book will be a rich resource for scholars in international relations, diplomatic history, and regional studies.”—Jarrod Hayes, University of Massachusetts and MIT

“Divided Allies is a stimulating analysis of the complex dynamics of alliance politics in the early Cold War. Thomas K. Robb and David James Gill skillfully weigh multiple factors, including domestic politics, in explaining the diverse interests and sometimes fractious relations within the ANZUS and SEATO pacts.”—Marc Gallicchio, Villanova University, co-author of the Bancroft Prize-winning Implacable Foes
Driving toward Modernity
Cars and the Lives of the Middle Class in Contemporary China

Jun Zhang

In Driving toward Modernity, Jun Zhang ethnographically explores the entanglement between the rise of the automotive regime and emergence of the middle class in South China. Focusing on the Pearl River Delta, one of the nation’s wealthiest regions, Zhang shows how private cars have shaped everyday middle-class sociality, solidarity, and subjectivity, and how the automotive regime has helped make the new middle classes of the PRC. By carefully analyzing how physical and social mobility intertwines, Driving toward Modernity paints a nuanced picture of modern Chinese life, comprising the continuity and rupture as well as the structure and agency of China’s great transformation.

Jun Zhang is Assistant Professor of Asian and International Studies at City University of Hong Kong.

“Jun Zhang has written an excellent, lively ethnography of car consumption, driving, and parking in contemporary China that offers a significant contribution for understanding the booming car market and conflicts over urban space.”—Beth Notar, Trinity College, author of Displacing Desire

“Driving toward Modernity is a timely and fascinating ethnography that is well-crafted and highly accessible. Rich in detail, it makes a welcome contribution to China Studies by shedding new light on an important domain—cars.”—Li Zhang, University of California, Davis, author of Strangers in the City and In Search of Paradise

$23.95 paperback 978-1-5017-3840-1
240 pages, 6 x 9, 5 b&w halftones, 2 b&w line drawings, 3 charts
What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

My favorite anecdote is the one I used to open chapter 4 of my book. A salesperson started the car without realizing the hand brake was not up and the gear was not in the neural position. Before he could react, the car ran into a glass partition. The car, which was severely damaged, was scheduled to be picked up by a client in the afternoon of that day. The unfolding of the story reveals the politics as well as solidarity and personalities that I had been so eager to get hold onto.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

Not really. This is not because I think I know all the tricks about writing a book. Rather, exploring the unknown, stumbling, and learning from mistakes is what writing a book, or to be more precise, what academic analysis and how to articulate it, is about.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

I wish I could change the often implicit imperial tendency in scholarly practice, in which the power and authority of defining the “important” subjects remains in the hands of those at the center of the system. Decades of reflections of the Anglo-Saxon centered scholarship has not changed the structure fundamentally. This structure manifests on some occasions through the manipulation of language and rhetorical skills in which a non-native English speaker is difficulty to grasp. This structure also manifests itself sometimes on prejudice against area studies, prejudice that sees discipline-focused scholarship is superior to area-focused scholarship.
The current US-China trade war has caused many industries a lot of distress; and automakers have been some of the worst hit. As the US has increased taxes, China has retaliated, and automakers, from the Chinese suppliers of parts to the Japanese, German and American manufacturers at the top, have all been caught in the crossfire. What is intriguing though, is that many emerging urban middle class individuals are used to this feeling of being caught in the middle, a position they use to characterize many aspects of their lives in contemporary China. That perception is what I seek to unveil in my book *Driving towards Modernity: The Car and the Lives of the Middle Class in Contemporary China*.

The intersection between cars and the middle class that I write about in the book did not originate as something by design; instead, it stemmed from research that almost took on a life of its own once it got started. In the summer of 2003, before moving to the United States to start graduate school, I signed up for driving lessons in China—I had been told that not knowing how to drive would make life difficult in America. The moment I first set foot into that blue pickup truck, struggling to coordinate eyes and limbs, was a far cry from the number of years I had spent researching lives around cars.

In a trip to Germany in 2004, I became very intrigued not only by cars, but also by autobahns, the way people drove, and how cars interacted with pedestrians. At the same time in China, car sales started to shoot up, and the major purchasing force started to shift from government, state-owned enterprises, and other government-affiliated organizations, to individuals and their families.

In the decade that followed, private car ownership gradually became tangible for many ordinary Chinese citizens. What we were witnessing was the massive rise of a first generation of non-professional drivers. Unlike their counterparts in the United States and Europe, these car owners did not have a car in the family growing up, nor had they learned how to drive from their parents. What does a car mean to them now, and what did it mean to them before? Where did their knowledge about cars come from? How do they associate cars and driving with prestige and propriety? How do they use cars in their everyday life? And how do they handle car-related issues, such as parking and securing a license?

When members of my dissertation committee asked me whether I would focus on the middle class, I answered with a firm “No.” I claimed that I wanted to study how cars shaped the lives of various people, such as car owners and mechanics, but deep down, what had made me apprehensive was the term “middle class.”

Nowadays, “the Chinese middle class” has almost become a cliché in any discussion on China’s consumer spending, but back then, in the early to mid-2000s, the term had yet to catch on.

China’s history has resulted in the language of class and class struggle being inextricably tied to traumatic experiences for many people. In addition to the reluctance to use class language, many of those whom we label “middle class” remain uncertain about the role they play in society, particularly in the face of increasing social stratification. “Caught in the middle of a traffic jam” is one of the metaphorical ways through which they try to make sense of who, and where they are.

I ground such sense of uncertainty and anxiety in the material and social interactions with and through cars, and the practices that come with cars—buying and selling cars, driving, getting a license, and finding a parking spot. Mechanics continue to be featured in my analysis as well. They, together with families, friends, property management companies, the police, and other government agencies, constitute the social world that revolves around the regime of cars.

The intertwining stories of the car regime and the middle class are not intended to either promote China’s economic achievement, nor to censure the middle class for their consumptive desires, especially in face of climate change. Instead, they are meant to provide an interesting entry point, and an insight into the social transformation that has taken place this past two decades in China.

Life is often filled with twists; I received my driver’s license in 2003, and I have finished a book on cars, but driving has never been a part of my everyday routine. I walk, I cycle, and I take public transportation. And yet nevertheless, sharing car rides with friends, colleagues and research interlocutors have taught me a great deal about life, society and politics.
Financial Stabilization in Meiji Japan
The Impact of the Matsukata Reform

Steven J. Ericson

With a new look at the 1880s financial reforms in Japan, Steven J. Ericson’s Financial Stabilization in Meiji Japan overturns widely held views of the program carried out by Finance Minister Matsukata Masayoshi. As Ericson shows, rather than constituting an orthodox financial-stabilization program—a sort of precursor of the “neoliberal” reforms promoted by the IMF in the 1980s and 1990s—Matsukata’s policies differed in significant ways from both classical economic liberalism and neoliberal orthodoxy.

The Matsukata financial reform has become famous largely for the wrong reasons, and Ericson sets the record straight. He shows that Matsukata intended to pursue fiscal retrenchment and budget-balancing when he became finance minister in late 1881. Various exigencies, including foreign military crises and a worsening domestic depression, compelled him instead to increase spending by running deficits and floating public bonds. Though he drastically reduced the money supply, he combined the positive and contractionary policies of his immediate predecessors to pull off a program of “expansionary austerity” paralleling state responses to financial crisis elsewhere in the world both then and now.

Through a new and much-needed recalibration of this pivotal financial reform, Financial Stabilization in Meiji Japan demonstrates that, in several ways, ranging from state-led export promotion to the creation of a government-controlled central bank, Matsukata advanced policies that were more in line with a nationalist, developmentalist approach than with a liberal economic one. Ericson shows that Matsukata Masayoshi was far from a rigid adherent of classical economic liberalism.

Steven J. Ericson is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Dartmouth College. He is author of The Sound of the Whistle and co-editor of The Treaty of Portsmouth and Its Legacies. Follow him on Twitter @ericson_steven.

“Steven Ericson’s study of Matsukata Masayoshi—‘Japan’s Hamilton’—is a work of fundamental importance for understanding the history of modern Japan as well as for understanding the history of modern capitalism. It is the kind of deeply grounded history that scholars will continue to refer to for generations.”—Mark Metzler, author of Capital as Will and Imagination

“Integrating a newly consolidated national economy into the global one while feeding the insatiable military and funding other desperately needed initiatives is just plain hard, especially when doing so sparks political unrest, as Ericson shows.”—Laura Hein, Northwestern University

$49.95 hardcover 978-1-5017-4691-8
210 pages, 6 x 9, 5 b&w halftones, 2 charts
This month, children are returning to school across the country. Over the flurry of new schedules, textbooks, and school supplies hangs an important, newly controversial question: that of compliance with state laws for school attendance, and specifically mandatory vaccination policies. New York, for instance, has just implemented a new law prohibiting exemptions from vaccination on religious grounds. Twenty-six thousand schoolchildren who previously avoided immunization with MMR (measles-mumps-rubella) and other vaccines now face a choice: get vaccinated, or face expulsion.

Resistance to vaccination on the grounds of religion, political beliefs, or other reasons is not a new phenomenon, of course. In the United States, a robust tradition of anti-vaccination movements has persisted despite legal injunctions like the 1905 Jacobson v. Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling, which asserted the rights of states to implement mandatory vaccination against smallpox. It reflects a tension between the public good and private freedoms that has long characterized the history of public health. Yet the United States does not necessarily provide the only or best case with which to understand relationships between individual and state authority over health. There are other ways to think about this dynamic, ways that don’t constrain the conversation so narrowly to questions of legislation and protest movements. One historical case in particular sheds light on a wide range of strategies using state power to implement immunization policies: that of China.

Drawing on novel archival materials from Europe, China, and the United States, the book uses immunization as a focal point through which to analyze relationships between public health, governance, and citizenship in China throughout the twentieth century. I tell the story of the people, materials, and systems that comprised mass immunization in China, and how they first came together before the Communist Revolution of 1949, in the Second Sino-Japanese War, when China’s Nationalist government fled Japanese occupation and moved to the country’s western hinterlands.

The book describes how researchers and physicians in China’s wartime southwest sought to establish mass vaccination programs that immunized as many people as possible in urban and rural areas against a variety of diseases; how these key figures remained in China after the war and assumed prominent positions in the health administration of the new Communist People’s Republic; and the expansion of mass immunization programs to genuinely national scales after 1949.

The Chinese Communist Party built on wartime foundations to create vaccination programs that not only eradicated smallpox and controlled many infectious diseases within the country, but also contributed to the consolidation of state power and authority. Resistance to immunization did not necessarily take the form of overt confrontation or strident protestation, but rather could be constituted in evasion and excuse-making; the enforcement of mandates for vaccination did not only rely on legislation or court decisions, but rather manifested in a diverse range of local interactions—ranging from persuasion to coercion—between representatives of the state and the people they sought to immunize.

Questions of how to implement mass immunization policies are especially pressing in the twenty-first century, not only because of the resurgence of anti-vaccinationism in the United States but also because of the new dangers of global health crises. One reason cited for the New York policy is the ease of worldwide transmission of diseases like measles. The advent of commercial aviation, high-speed rail, and other technologies of transport has made infectious disease control a key area of concern around the world. The history of China’s remarkably successful program of mass immunization is therefore not only a valuable addition to comparative studies of public health—these systems have also had profound consequences for global health.
While the eradication of smallpox has long been documented, not many know the Chinese roots of this historic achievement. In this revelatory study, Mary Augusta Brazelton examines the PRC’s public health campaigns of the 1950s to explain just how China managed to inoculate almost six hundred million people against this and other deadly diseases.

Mass Vaccination tells the story of the people, materials, and systems that built these campaigns, exposing how, by improving the nation’s health, the Chinese Communist Party quickly asserted itself in the daily lives of all citizens. This crusade had deep roots in the Republic of China during the Second Sino-Japanese War, when researchers in China’s southwest struggled to immunize as many people as possible, both in urban and rural areas. But its legacy was profound, providing a means for the state to develop new forms of control and of engagement. Brazelton considers the implications of vaccination policies for national governance, from rural health care to Cold War-era programs of medical diplomacy. By embedding Chinese medical history within international currents, she highlights how and why China became an exemplar of primary health care at a crucial moment in global health policy.

Mary Augusta Brazelton is University Lecturer in Global Studies of Science, Technology and Medicine at the Department of History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Cambridge.

"By challenging the conventional understanding of the celebrated ‘Chinese model’ of public health, Mass Vaccination succeeds brilliantly in revealing how the Chinese state developed a stunning capability to protect, as well as to control, life."—Sean Hsiang-Lin Lei, Academia Sinica, author of Neither Donkey nor Horse

“Well-written and impressively researched, Mass Vaccination will engage scholars of modern Chinese history, history of science and medicine, and global health. It also offers a unique perspective on the history of the PRC and the role of ‘medical diplomacy’ in its international engagements during the 1960s and ’70s.”—Daniel Asen, Rutgers University–Newark, author of Death in Beijing
Catching up with Mary Augusta Brazelton

What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

I did a lot of research in the city of Kunming, capital of Yunnan province in China’s far southwest. I got to know local academics pretty well, and at the end of the year, they very kindly invited me to go out for a day in the countryside, eating local food, learning the ropes of mah-jong, and playing laser tag. The site specialized in historical reenactments, so our laser tag team ended up pretending to be the Nationalist Army fighting against Communists in the Chinese Civil War. It was much more of an immersion in my source material than I’d ever planned, although nobody needed any vaccines or other medical attention, thankfully.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

That there’s no great mystery to the process – that doesn’t make the hard work of researching, writing, and revising any easier, but it does make it easier to get started. I also wish I’d kept a more organized method for filing! The vagaries of primary source research in China meant that I had to hand copy documents in some cases and transcribe them onto my laptop in others, in addition to the regular challenges of reproducing whatever materials I could. It took time to develop a system that worked.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

I’d like to do everything I can to support more, and more extensive, communication and exchange between scholars in the Sinophone and non-Sinophone worlds. I hope that Asian studies continues to become more inclusive, both demographically in terms of the diversity of participant scholars and in terms of the variety of methodological approaches supported by its practitioners. I have found the AAS working group on Gender Equality in Asian Studies particularly inspiring in this regard.
Sentiment, Reason, and Law
Policing in the Republic of China on Taiwan

Jeffrey T. Martin

What if the job of police was to cultivate the political will of a community to live with itself (rather than enforce law, keep order, or fight crime)? In *Sentiment, Reason, and Law*, Jeffrey T. Martin describes a world where that is the case.

The Republic of China on Taiwan spent nearly four decades as a single-party state under dictatorial rule (1949–1987) before transitioning to liberal democracy. Here, Martin describes the social life of a neighborhood police station during the first rotation in executive power following the democratic transition. He shows an apparent paradox of how a strong democratic order was built on a foundation of weak police powers, and demonstrates how that was made possible by the continuity of an illiberal idea of policing. His conclusion from this paradox is that the purpose of the police was to cultivate the political will of the community rather than enforce laws and keep order.

As *Sentiment, Reason, and Law* shows, the police force in Taiwan exists as an “anthropological fact,” bringing an order of reality that is always, simultaneously and inseparably, meaningful and material. Martin unveils the power of this fact, demonstrating how the politics of sentiment that took shape under autocratic rule continued to operate in everyday policing in the early phase of the democratic transformation, even as a more democratic mode of public reason and the ultimate power of legal right were becoming more significant.

Jeffrey T. Martin is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and of East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Follow him on Twitter @jematica.

“Through an ethnography of policing in a recently democratized state, *Sentiment, Reason, and Law* offers a deep, nuanced, and exhaustively researched analysis of policing as a fraught but integral aspect of any democracy. This book is intricate, grounded, and engaging.”—Anya Bernstein, University at Buffalo School of Law

“Against the classical idea that the police are an apolitical law enforcement institution entitled to the legitimate use of force, Jeffrey Martin shows, through his lively ethnography of a Taiwanese precinct, that, deeply rooted in their illiberal national past, the police resort to affective solidarities and mediated compromises much more than to legal instruments and violent actions. His book thus provides a fascinating addition to contemporary theories of policing.”—Didier Fassin, Institute for Advanced Study, author of *Enforcing Order*
Spacious Minds
Trauma and Resilience in Tibetan Buddhism

Sara E. Lewis

Spacious Minds argues that resilience is not a mere absence of suffering. Sara E. Lewis’s research reveals how those who cope most gracefully may indeed experience deep pain and loss. Looking at the Tibetan diaspora, she challenges perspectives that liken resilience to the hardiness of physical materials, suggesting people should “bounce back” from adversity. More broadly, this ethnography calls into question the tendency to use trauma as an organizing principle for all studies of conflict where suffering is understood as an individual problem rooted in psychiatric illness.

Beyond simply articulating the ways that Tibetan categories of distress are different from biomedical ones, Spacious Minds shows how Tibetan Buddhism frames new possibilities for understanding resilience. Here, the social and religious landscape encourages those exposed to violence to see past events as impermanent and illusory, where debriefing, working-through, or processing past events only solidifies suffering and may even cause illness. Resilience in Dharamsala is understood as sens pa chen po, a vast and spacious mind that does not fixate on individual problems, but rather uses suffering as an opportunity to generate compassion for others in the endless cycle of samsara. A big mind view helps to see suffering in life as ordinary. And yet, an intriguing paradox occurs. As Lewis deftly demonstrates, Tibetans in exile have learned that human rights campaigns are predicated on the creation and circulation of the trauma narrative; in this way, Tibetan activists utilize foreign trauma discourse, not for psychological healing, but as a political device and act of agency.

Sara E. Lewis is Associate Professor of Contemplative Psychotherapy and Buddhist Psychology at Naropa University. Follow her on Twitter @DeathRebirthLab.

$24.95 paperback 978-1-5017-1535-8
252 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w halftones, 1 map

“The book makes a significant contribution in broadening our understanding of resilience from a cross-cultural perspective, and also in deepening our understanding of a significant facet of Tibetan Buddhist culture in a nuanced, respectful and non-tokenistic way.”—Gerald Roche, University of Melbourne

“This beautifully written and important work poses a timely and thought-provoking question: If cultures can produce moral injury, can they also produce resilience? Lewis shows brilliantly that the Tibetan exile community, characterized both by adversity and cultural resources for transforming adversity, holds important lessons for our reflection. Highly recommended.”—Chikako Ozawa-de Silva, Emory University

“In the best tradition of anthropology, this book shows us that when suffering and distress are imaged differently—and when the nature of the mind is understood differently—trauma is not traumatizing, at least in the same way. This is a wise and thoughtful book.”—Tanya Luhrman, Stanford University
What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

A favorite anecdote is when a monk and ex-political prisoner described using his time in prison as a “retreat house,” to accomplish recitations of Buddhist mantras. He doesn’t minimize the impact of imprisonment and indeed, continues his work passionately as an activist for Tibet. Yet, he simultaneously works with distress, mitigating the impact of trauma by reframing his situation in a way that provides what he called “freedom from fixation.” That is, freedom from anger and despair.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

I am particularly interested in seeing more collaboration among clinicians, neuroscientists and social scientists with Buddhist practitioners throughout Asia. Many scholars have written important works critiquing the Orientalist or cultural appropriative use of mediation and mindfulness in the Global North. Yet, fewer studies and approaches describe how Buddhist scholars and practitioners in Asia are innovating new global approaches in enhancing resilience, and complicating the understanding and treatment of trauma in transnational spaces.

How do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

There is now a very global movement to use body or somatic-based approaches to treating trauma, which argue that talk-therapy is ill-advised for ex-political prisoners, veterans, and others coping with trauma. This new approach is very similar to ways that my Tibetan interlocutors discussed being wary of “talking too much about trauma.” I will look forward to seeing future work and collaborative efforts among Buddhist practitioners and global initiatives in trauma and resilience, which go beyond a narrow biomedical approach.

Catching up with Sara Lewis

“I want to see more collaboration among clinicians, neuroscientists, and social scientists.”
Empire's Labor
The Global Army That Supports U.S. Wars
Adam Moore

In a dramatic unveiling of the little-known world of contracted military logistics, Adam Moore examines the lives of the global army of laborers who support US overseas wars. *Empire's Labor* brings us the experience of the hundreds of thousands of men and women who perform jobs such as truck drivers and administrative assistants at bases located in warzones in the Middle East and Africa. He highlights the changes the US military has undergone since the Vietnam War, when the ratio of contractors to uniformed personnel was roughly 1:6. In Afghanistan it has been as high as 4:1. This growth in logistics contracting represents a fundamental change in how the US fights wars, with the military now dependent on a huge pool of contractors recruited from around the world. It also, Moore demonstrates, has social, economic, and political implications that extend well beyond the battlefields.

Focusing on workers from the Philippines and Bosnia, two major sources of “third country national” (TCN) military labor, Moore explains the rise of large-scale logistics outsourcing since the end of the Cold War; describes the networks, infrastructures, and practices that span the spaces through which people, information, and goods circulate; and reveals the experiences of foreign workers, from the hidden dynamics of labor activism on bases, to the economic and social impacts these jobs have on their families and the communities they hail from. Through his extensive fieldwork and interviews, Moore gives voice to the agency and aspirations of the many thousands of foreigners who labor for the US military.

Adam Moore is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is author of Peacebuilding in Practice. Follow him on Twitter @ ConflictGeo.

*This book is also available as an open access monograph through Cornell Open and TOME*

$19.95 paperback 978-1-5017-4217-0
264 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w halftones, 6 maps, 3 charts

“Empire’s Labor is a beautifully written, essential book exposing the labor and labor exploitation underpinning the military industrial complex, US empire, and the corporations fueling permanent war.”—David Vine, Professor of Anthropology, American University, *author of Base Nation*

“Based in intensive on-the-ground research, this rich and remarkable book gives us a new way to understand the current everywhere war through the lens of the contract labor and migrations from poor countries that makes it possible. Acutely analyzed, Moore’s book will be a foundational text for understanding contemporary war and providing insight into labor’s pushback.”—Catherine Lutz, Brown University, *author of The Bases of Empire*

“I can’t think of any book about America’s current global military conflicts that I’ve learned more from than Empire’s Labor. Moore combines geography, history, ethnography, and political science in a sophisticated and readable analysis about the role of everyday people from all over the world who support American military logistics.”—Jennifer Mittelstadt, Professor of History, Rutgers University
Activists in Transition
Progressive Politics in Democratic Indonesia
edited by Thushara Dibley and Michele Ford

Activists in Transition examines the relationship between social movements and democratization in Indonesia. Collectively, progressive social movements have played a critical role over in ensuring that different groups of citizens can engage directly in—and benefit from—the political process in a way that was not possible under authoritarianism. However, their individual roles have been different, with some playing a decisive role in the destabilization of the regime and others serving as bell-weather of the advancement, or otherwise, of Indonesia’s democracy in the decades since. Equally important, democratization has affected social movements differently depending on the form taken by each movement during the New Order period. The book assesses the contribution that nine progressive social movements have made to the democratization of Indonesia since the late 1980s, and how, in turn, each of those movements has been influenced by democratization.

Thushara Dibley in Asian Studies and Deputy Director of Sydney Southeast Asia Centre. Follow her on Twitter @thushdibley.

Michele Ford is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Director of Sydney Southeast Asia Centre. Follow her on Twitter @MicheleSSEAC.

“Activists in Transition makes a strong contribution to the literature on political change in Indonesia—and Southeast Asia more broadly—in providing comprehensive and up-to-date information on the nature and fate of progressive politics in Indonesia.”—Jane Hutchison, Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University

“Each chapter is broadly historical, showing the long sweep of change over the forty years or so from the mid New Order to the present day. Activists in Transition is well documented, clearly structured, pleasingly written, and authoritative.”—Gerry van Klinken, KITLV and University of Amsterdam
What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

While researching in Laiza - the capital of the Kachin rebellion—I befriended a group of young activists. Before my first trip to a frontline position dug into the hills outside the town, I asked them how I should best prepare. I expected some sorts of survival tips. To my surprise they taught me how to play classic revolutionary songs on the guitar. It turned out that this was excellent advice as it helped me bonding with young soldiers during the long hours waiting for something to happen in the muddy trenches of a forgotten war.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

I actually started to write a book on the political economy of conflict in Myanmar. Specifically, I wanted to analyze how increasing investments in the country’s conflict-ridden borderlands shape the politics of the Karen and Kachin rebellions. I thus sought to interview the leaders of both movements. In the process of doing so, I spent significant time with their rank-and-file and wider support networks. These interactions had a profound impact on my research: I came to understand the crucial importance of both movement’s social foundations. Instead of writing a political economy of rebellion, I wrote a political sociology of rebellion.

How do you wish you could change the field of history?

I am not a big fan of the artificial boundaries drawn between epistemic containers such as Southeast Asia, South Asia and Northeast Asia. The borderlands of Myanmar can only be understood in relation to developments in India’s Northeast, China’s Yunnan and Thailand’s western provinces. Exchanges with experts from these different sub-regions are thus incredibly important for my work. I thus see my book as a contribution to the de-centering of traditional area studies registers as for instance promoted by the Asian Borderland Research Network.

“Catching up with David Brenner”

“They taught me how to play classic revolutionary songs on the guitar.”
Rebel Politics
A Political Sociology of Armed Struggle in Myanmar’s Borderlands

David Brenner

Rebel Politics analyzes the changing dynamics of the civil war in Myanmar, one of the most entrenched armed conflicts in the world. Since 2011, a national peace process has gone hand-in-hand with escalating ethnic conflict. The Karen National Union (KNU), previously known for its uncompromising stance against the central government of Myanmar, became a leader in the peace process after it signed a ceasefire in 2012. Meanwhile, the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) returned to the trenches in 2011 after its own seventeen-year-long ceasefire broke down. To understand these puzzling changes, Brenner conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the KNU and KIO, analyzing the relations between rebel leaders, their rank-and-file, and local communities in the context of wider political and geopolitical transformations. Drawing on Political Sociology, Rebel Politics explains how revolutionary elites capture and lose legitimacy within their own movements and how these internal contestations drive the strategies of rebellion in unforeseen ways. Brenner presents a novel perspective that contributes to our understanding of contemporary politics in Southeast Asia, and to the study of conflict, peace and security, by highlighting the hidden social dynamics and everyday practices of political violence, ethnic conflict, rebel governance and borderland politics.

David Brenner is Lecturer in International Relations at Goldsmiths, University of London. Follow him on Twitter @DavBrenner.

“Rebel Politics is underpinned by years of extraordinary fieldwork, including unprecedented access to the leaders of some of Myanmar’s ethnic-minority rebel groups. It is a pathbreaking book, essential reading not only for Myanmar-watchers but also anyone interested in insurgencies and state formation.”—Lee Jones, Queen Mary University of London, author of Societies Under Siege

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

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The moving and honest memoirs collected, translated, and edited here by Tuong Vu and Sean Fear describe the experiences of war, politics, and everyday life for people from many walks of life during the fraught years of Vietnam’s Second Republic, leading up to and encompassing what Americans generally call the “Vietnam War.” The voices gift the reader a sense of the authors’ experiences in the Republic and their ideas about the nation during that time. The light and careful editing hand of Vu and Fear reveals that far from a Cold War proxy struggle, the conflict in Vietnam featured a true ideological divide between the communist North and the non-communist South.

Tuong Vu is Director Asian Studies and Associate professor of Political Science at the University of Oregon. He is a former editor of *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* and the author of numerous books, including *Vietnam’s Communist Revolution* and *Paths to Development in Asia.*

“This valuable collection includes perspectives that have been consistently overlooked in the historiography of the War. Readers are afforded not only South Vietnamese perspectives, but also those of civil servants, soldiers, police officers, educators, writers, artists, and journalists. This is also one of the few works in which South Vietnamese women’s voices are heard.”—Van Nguyen-Marshall, Trent University
What commenced in Hong Kong as a series of rallies against a proposal to permit extraditions to mainland China has developed into a most robust challenge to Beijing’s grip on the city. The demonstrations have become the Chinese territory’s worst political nightmare in years, ensnaring Beijing, Washington, local and foreign businesses.

After a summer of unrest in Hong Kong, thousands of protesters are still taking to the streets every week. It all began in June when millions came out to oppose a controversial bill that would have allowed extradition from Hong Kong to China. Though Hong Kong’s leader has formally shelved the bill after three months of increasingly violent protests, the protests have morphed into a campaign for full democracy and an inquiry into the alleged police brutality.

History did not happen in a vacuum. Based on a number of onsite surveys with interviews of over 3300 persons of the anti-government protests conducted between June 12 and July 14, 59 percent of protesters joined the Umbrella Movement in 2014, and that 22 percent of their “first experience in social movement” was the Umbrella Movement.

Of no less importance, those who have joined the Umbrella Movement, when compared with those who have not, have expressed stronger readiness to participate in activities promoting universal suffrage, in community initiatives and encourage others to take action about political issues. In the light of the above findings, understanding the causes, dynamics and outcomes of the Umbrella Movement bears an obvious contemporaneous significance.
Take Back Our Future
An Eventful Sociology of the Hong Kong Umbrella Movement
edited by Ching Kwan Lee and Ming Sing

In a comprehensive and theoretically novel analysis, Take Back Our Future unveils the causes, processes, and implications of the 2014 seventy-nine-day occupation movement in Hong Kong known as the Umbrella Movement. The essays presented here by a team of experts with deep local knowledge ask: how and why had a world financial center known for its free-wheeling capitalism transformed into a hotbed of mass defiance and civic disobedience?

Take Back Our Future argues that the Umbrella Movement was a response to China’s internal colonization strategies—political disenfranchisement, economic subsumption, and identity reengineering—in post-handover Hong Kong. The contributors outline how this historic and transformative movement formulated new cultural categories and narratives, fueled the formation and expansion of civil society organizations and networks both for and against the regime, and spurred the regime’s turn to repression and structural closure of dissent. Although the Umbrella Movement was fraught with internal tensions, Take Back Our Future demonstrates that the movement politicized a whole generation of people who had no prior experience in politics, fashioned new subjects and identities, and awakened popular consciousness.

Ching Kwan Lee is Professor of Sociology at the University of California-Los Angeles. She is author of The Specter of Global China.

Ming Sing is Associate Professor at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He is author of Hong Kong’s Tortuous Democratization.

“Take Back Our Future is an exceptionally strong and convincing edited volume that does an excellent job of situating the struggle in the literature on social movements and contributes to the development of theory.”—Jeffrey Wasserstrom, University of California, Irvine, coauthor of China in the 21st Century

“Take Back Our Future is a wonderful collection of essays focused on 2014’s Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. This collection will likely become a definitive statement on one of the 21st century’s most spectacular moments of social unrest.”—Eli Friedman, Cornell University, author of Insurgency Trap

$26.95 paperback 978-1-5017-4092-3
270 pages, 6 x 9, 32 color photos, 4 charts

ILR PRESS
Fifty Years in the Karen Revolution in Burma
The Soldier and the Teacher

Saw Ralph and Naw Sheera
edited by Stephanie Olinga-Shannon

Fifty Years in the Karen Revolution in Burma is about commitment to an ideal, individual survival and the universality of the human experience. A memoir of two tenacious souls, it sheds light on why Burma/Myanmar’s decades-long pursuit for a peaceful and democratic future has been elusive. Simply put, the aspirations of Burma’s ethnic nationalities for self-determination within a genuine federal union runs counter to the idea of a unitary state orchestrated and run by the dominant majority Burmans, or Bamar.

This seemingly intractable dilemma of opposing visions for Burma is personified in the story of Saw Ralph and Naw Sheera, two prominent ethnic Karen leaders who lived—and eventually left—“the Longest War,” leaving the reader with insights on the cultural, social, and political challenges facing other non-Burmese ethnic nationalities.

Fifty Years in the Karen Revolution in Burma is also about the ordinariness and universality of the challenges increasingly faced by diaspora communities around the world today. Saw Ralph and Naw Sheera’s day to day lives—how they fell in love, married, had children—while trying to survive in a precarious war zone—and how they had to adapt to their new lives as refugees and immigrants in Australia will resound with many.

Saw Ralph retired as Brigadier General of the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), the military branch of the Karen National Union.

Naw Sheera is a school teacher and former leader in the Karen Women’s Organization (KWO).

“This is a fascinating and moving narrative by two members of the Karen National Union who dedicated their life to the Karen struggle for autonomy since 1949. It provides insight into one of the longest civil wars in modern history and into the sacrifices and tragedies this struggle produced in terms of death, displacement, and suffering.”—Mikael Gravers, Aarhus University, author of Nationalism as Political Paranoia in Burma

“Fifty Years in the Karen Revolution in Burma is a vivid account of life, death, and personal choices in one of the longest-running insurgencies of postcolonial Myanmar.”—Renaud Egreteau, City University of Hong Kong

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

$23.95 paperback 978-1-5017-4694-9
192 pages, 6 x 9, 12 b&w halftones, 2 maps
Can Science and Technology Save China? assesses the intimate connections between science and society in China, offering an in-depth look at how an array of sciences and technologies are being made, how they are interfacing with society, and with what effects.

Focusing on critical domains of daily life, the chapters explore how scientists, technicians, surgeons, therapists, and other experts create practical knowledges and innovations, as well as how ordinary people take them up as they pursue the good life. Editors Greenhalgh and Zhang offer a rare, up-close view of the politics of Chinese science-making, showing how everyday logics, practices, and ethics of science, medicine, and technology are profoundly reshaping contemporary China. By foregrounding the notion of "governing through science," and the contested role of science and technology as instruments of change, this timely book addresses important questions regarding what counts as science in China, what science and technology can do to transform China, as well as their limits and unintended consequences.

Susan Greenhalgh is the John King and Wilma Cannon Fairbank Research Professor of Chinese Society in the department of Anthropology at Harvard University.

"Some of the topics are incredibly original and demonstrate the vitality of this emerging field. This edited volume is a very important contribution to studies of China’s science and technology."—Mei Zhan, University of California, Irvine

"It not only will fill in the gap in the literature but also is a very unique scholarship that examines the science question—the role of science in the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation or the fulfillment of China dream—at the center of the study of contemporary Chinese society."—Cong Cao, University of Nottingham Ningbo China
*Arc of Containment* recasts the history of American empire in Southeast and East Asia from World War II through the end of American intervention in Vietnam. Setting aside the classic story of anxiety about falling dominoes, Wen-Qing Ngoei articulates a new regional history premised on strong security and sure containment guaranteed by Anglo-American cooperation.

Ngoei argues that anticommunist nationalism in Southeast Asia intersected with preexisting local antipathy toward China and the Chinese diaspora to usher the region from European-dominated colonialism to US hegemony. Central to this revisionary strategic assessment is the place of British power and the effects of direct neocolonial military might and less overt cultural influences based in decades of colonial rule. Also essential to the analysis in *Arc of Containment* is the considerable influence of Southeast Asian actors upon Anglo-American imperial strategy throughout the post-war period.

In *Arc of Containment* Ngoei shows how the pro-US trajectory of Southeast Asia after the Pacific War was, in fact, far more characteristic of the wider region’s history than American policy failure in Vietnam. Indeed, by the early 1970s, five key anticommunist nations—Malaya, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia—had quashed Chinese-influenced socialist movements at home and established, with US support, a geostrategic arc of states that contained the Vietnamese revolution and encircled China. *Arc of Containment* demonstrates that American failure in Vietnam had fewer long-term consequences than widely believed. In effect, Ngoei argues, the Cold War in Southeast Asia was but one violent chapter in the continuous history of western imperialism in the region in the twentieth century.

*Wen-Qing Ngoei* is Assistant Professor at Nanyang Technological University. His work has been published in *Diplomatic History* and the *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*.
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The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
When Total Empire Met Total War

Jeremy A. Yellen

In *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*, Jeremy Yellen exposes the history, politics, and intrigue that characterized the era when Japan’s “total empire” met the total war of World War II. He illuminates the ways in which the imperial center and its individual colonies understood the concept of the Sphere, offering two sometimes competing, sometimes complementary, and always intertwined visions—one from Japan, the other from Burma and the Philippines.

Yellen argues that, from 1940 to 1945, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere epitomized two concurrent wars for Asia’s future: the first was for a new type of empire in Asia, and the second was a political war, waged by nationalist elites in the colonial capitals of Rangoon and Manila. Exploring Japanese visions for international order in the face of an ever-changing geopolitical situation, *The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere* explores wartime Japan’s desire to shape and control its imperial future while its colonies attempted to do the same. At Japan’s zenith as an imperial power, the Sphere represented a plan for regional domination; by the end of the war, it had been recast as the epitome of cooperative internationalism. In the end, the Sphere could not survive wartime defeat, and Yellen’s lucidly written account reveals much about the desires of Japan as an imperial and colonial power, as well as the ways in which the subdued colonies in Burma and the Philippines jockeyed for agency and a say in the future of the region.

Jeremy A. Yellen is Assistant Professor in the Department of Japanese Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

“No English-language monographs have [yet] explored the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—Japan’s wartime effort to impose a new regional order—from the vantage point of Japanese high policy. Jeremy Yellen has admirably filled this gap, offering innovative insights into Japan’s abortive effort to redefine the international relations of East and Southeast Asia from the late 1930s to 1945.”—*Global Asia*

“Drawing on what were then widely accepted ideas about racial hierarchies, regional economic blocs, and economic planning, the sphere’s advocates envisioned Asia as a “familial community” that would free itself from European exploitation under the leadership of an advanced Japan.”—*Foreign Affairs*

“Yellen offers a useful examination of the changing and contested meaning of Japan’s proclaimed ‘Co-Prosperity Sphere.’ [His] work helps inform about an important but opaque aspect of World War II history that influenced the receding of Asian empires after that war.”—*Journal of Military History*

STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

$45.00$ hardcover 978-1-5017-3554-7
300 pages, 6 x 9, 9 b&w halftones, 1 map
The Costs of Conversation
Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime

Oriana Skylar Mastro

After a war breaks out, what factors influence the warring parties’ decisions about whether to talk to their enemy, and when may their position on wartime diplomacy change? How do we get from only fighting to also talking?

In The Costs of Conversation, Oriana Skylar Mastro argues that states are primarily concerned with the strategic costs of conversation, and these costs need to be low before combatants are willing to engage in direct talks with their enemy. Specifically, Mastro writes, leaders look to two factors when determining the probable strategic costs of demonstrating a willingness to talk: the likelihood the enemy will interpret openness to diplomacy as a sign of weakness, and how the enemy may change its strategy in response to such an interpretation. Only if a state thinks it has demonstrated adequate strength and resiliency to avoid the inference of weakness, and believes that its enemy has limited capacity to escalate or intensify the war, will it be open to talking with the enemy.

Through four primary case studies—North Vietnamese diplomatic decisions during the Vietnam War, those of China in the Korean War and Sino-Indian War, and Indian diplomatic decision making in the latter conflict—The Costs of Conversation demonstrates that the costly conversations thesis best explains the timing and nature of countries’ approach to wartime talks, and therefore when peace talks begin. As a result, Mastro’s findings have significant theoretical and practical implications for war duration and termination, as well as for military strategy, diplomacy, and mediation.

Oriana Skylar Mastro is Assistant Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown University and an officer in the US Air Force Reserve. You can follow her on Twitter @osmastro or on her website, orianaskylarmastro.com
Adriana Ferreira is on top of her game when it comes to social media campaigns. She’s always happy to chat about how best to use modern communication tools and blogs to help promote your book.

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Proxy Wars
Suppressing Violence through Local Agents
edited by Eli Berman and David A. Lake

The most common image of world politics involves states negotiating, cooperating, or sometimes fighting with one another; billiard balls in motion on a global pool table. Yet working through local proxies or agents, through what Eli Berman and David A. Lake call a strategy of “indirect control,” has always been a central tool of foreign policy. Understanding how countries motivate local allies to act in sometimes costly ways, and when and how that strategy succeeds, is essential to effective foreign policy in today’s world.

In this splendid collection, Berman and Lake apply a variant of principal-agent theory in which the alignment of interests or objectives between a powerful state and a local proxy is central. Through analysis of nine detailed cases, Proxy Wars finds that: when principals use rewards and punishments tailored to the agent’s domestic politics, proxies typically comply with their wishes; when the threat to the principal or the costs to the agent increase, the principal responds with higher-powered incentives and the proxy responds with greater effort; if interests diverge too much, the principal must either take direct action or admit that indirect control is unworkable.

Covering events from Denmark under the Nazis to the Korean War to contemporary Afghanistan, and much in between, the chapters in Proxy Wars engage many disciplines and will suit classes taught in political science, economics, international relations, security studies, and much more.

Eli Berman is Professor of Economics at the University of California, San Diego.

David A. Lake is the Gerri-Ann and Gary E. Jacobs Professor of Social Sciences and Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego.

“Proxy Wars represents a cohesive and ambitious attempt to demonstrate the value of a principal-agent framework for understanding the dynamics of foreign intervention, including why these efforts often fail to achieve desired outcomes.”— Jason Lyall, Yale University

“Not only does Proxy Wars address an issue of contemporary policy relevance, the individual case studies are tightly integrated with the theory, making it the definitive work on the use of proxies in warfare.”—Walter Ladwig III, King’s College London, author of The Forgotten Front

$29.95 paperback 978-1-5017-3306-2
352 pages, 6 x 9, 25 charts
Enlightenment and the Gasping City

Mongolian Buddhism at a Time of Environmental Disarray

Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko

With air pollution now intimately affecting every resident of Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko seeks to understand how, as a physical constant throughout the winter months, the murky and obscuring nature of air pollution has become an active part of Mongolian religious and ritual life. *Enlightenment and the Gasping City* identifies air pollution as a boundary between the physical and the immaterial, showing how air pollution impresses itself on the urban environment as stagnation and blur. She explores how air pollution and related phenomena exist in dynamic tension with Buddhist ideas and practices concerning purification, revitalisation and enlightenment. By focusing on light, its intersections and its oppositions, she illuminates Buddhist practices and beliefs as they interact with the pressing urban issues of air pollution, post-socialist economic vacillations, urban development, nationalism, and climate change.

Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko is a Teaching Fellow at New York University, Shanghai, and an Associate at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

“Enlightenment and the Gasping City is the best book I have read on the revival of Buddhism—or even more broadly—of religion in contemporary Mongolia.”—Johan Elverskog, Southern Methodist University, author of *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*

“Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko successfully captures core aspects of religious life in Mongolia at a key stage in its post-communist transition.”—Martin Mills, University of Aberdeen, author of *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism*
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Mercenaries and Missionaries
Capitalism and Catholicism in the Global South
Brandon Vaidyanathan

Mercenaries and Missionaries examines the relationship between rapidly diffusing forms of capitalism and Christianity in the Global South. Using more than two hundred interviews in Bangalore and Dubai, Brandon Vaidyanathan explains how and why global corporate professionals straddle conflicting moral orientations in the realms of work and religion. Seeking to place the spotlight on the role of religion in debates about the cultural consequences of capitalism, Vaidyanathan finds that an “apprehensive individualism” generated in global corporate workplaces is supported and sustained by a “therapeutic individualism” cultivated in evangelical-charismatic Catholicism.

Mercenaries and Missionaries uncovers a symbiotic relationship between these individualisms and shows how this relationship unfolds in two global cities—Dubai, in non-democratic UAE, which holds what is considered the world’s largest Catholic parish, and Bangalore, in democratic India, where the Catholic Church, though afflicted by ethnic and religious violence, runs many of the city’s elite educational institutions. Vaidyanathan concludes that global corporations and religious communities create distinctive cultures, with normative models that powerfully orient people to those cultures—the Mercenary in cutthroat workplaces, and the Missionary in churches. As a result, global corporate professionals in rapidly developing cities negotiate starkly opposing moral commitments in the realms of work and religion, which in turn shapes their civic commitment to these cities.

Brandon Vaidyanathan is Associate Professor and Department Chair of Sociology at the Catholic University of America.

“Mercenaries and Missionaries gives an empathetic hearing to the way Indian professionals understand their religious and professional lives, and balances deep knowledge of specific cases with themes of bigger import. This book deserves our attention.”—Allison Youatt Schnable, Indiana University, Bloomington

“Brandon Vaidyanathan manages to contribute in significant ways to the broad areas of globalization and religion, guest-worker transnational migration, the sociology and anthropology of global charismatic Christianity, and should be used in college courses.”—José Casanova, Georgetown University, author of Jesuits and Globalization

$29.95 paperback 978-1-5017-3623-0
300 pages, 6 x 9, 8 b&w halftones
What happens when local unions begin to advocate for the rights of temporary migrant workers, asks Michele Ford in her sweeping study of seven Asian countries? Until recently unions in Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand were uniformly hostile towards foreign workers, but Ford deftly shows how times and attitudes have begun to change. Now, she argues, NGOs and the Global Union Federations are encouraging local unions to represent and advocate for these peripheral workers, and in some cases succeeding.

*From Migrant to Worker* builds our understanding of the role the international labor movement and local unions have had in developing a movement for migrant workers’ labor rights. Ford examines the relationship between different kinds of labor movement actors and the constraints imposed on those actors by resource flows, contingency, and local context. Her conclusions show that in countries—Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Thailand—where resource flows and local factors give the Global Union Federations more influence local unions have become much more engaged with migrant workers. But in countries—Japan and Taiwan, for example—where they have little effect there has been little progress. While much has changed, Ford forces us to see that labor migration in Asia is still fraught with complications and hardships, and that local unions are not always able or willing to act.

Michele Ford is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Director of the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre at the University of Sydney. She is the author of *Workers and Intellectuals*. 

“*From Migrant to Worker* is a great contribution towards understanding migrant worker activism more broadly.”—Robyn Rodriguez, University of California, Davis; author of *Migrants for Export*

“Michele Ford tells us how trade unions have reacted towards migrant workers in seven major labour importing countries in South and East Asia: did they protect them as workers and include them in their rank and file? The diversity of—often unexpected—outcomes in the seven cases becomes understandable through her thorough analysis of the interaction between explaining variables, such as immigration and labour relations regimes, political opportunity structures, the strength of trade unions, of NGO’s and of the migrants themselves. Such a comprehensive exercise has not been done yet for this region.”—Marinus Penninx, author of *Trade Unions and Migrant Workers*
The New Politics of Transnational Labor
Why Some Alliances Succeed

Marissa Brookes

Over the years many transnational labor alliances have succeeded in improving conditions for workers, but many more have not. In The New Politics of Transnational Labor, Marissa Brookes explains why this dichotomy has occurred. Using the coordination and context-appropriate (CCAP) theory, she assesses this divergence, arguing that the success of transnational alliances hinges not only on effective coordination across borders and within workers’ local organizations but also on their ability to exploit vulnerabilities in global value chains, invoke national and international institutions, and mobilize networks of stakeholders in ways that threaten employers’ core, material interests.

Brookes uses six comparative case studies spanning four industries, five countries, and fifteen years. From dockside labor disputes in Britain and Australia to service sector campaigns in the supermarket and private security industries to campaigns aimed at luxury hotels in Southeast Asia, Brookes creates her new theoretical framework and speaks to debates in international and comparative political economy on the politics of economic globalization, the viability of private governance, and the impact of organized labor on economic inequality. From this assessment, Brookes provides a vital update to the international relations literature on non-state actors and transnational activism and shows how we can understand the unique capacities labor has as a transnational actor.

Marissa Brookes is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Riverside.

“Marissa Brookes’ masterful book sheds new light on why some transnational labor alliances succeed and others fail. This book is riveting and an excellent example of how comparative case study research can yield new theoretical insights.”—Teri L. Caraway, University of Minnesota, coeditor of Working through the Past

“The New Politics of Transnational Labor is a clear, elegant, well-designed study that tackles important questions of theoretical and practical significance in a creative manner. It will make a strong impression on scholarly and non-specialist audiences alike.”—Rudra Sil, University of Pennsylvania, coeditor of The Politics of Labor in a Global Age
Speaking Out in Vietnam
Public Political Criticism in a Communist Party-Ruled Nation
Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet

Since 1990 public political criticism has evolved into a prominent feature of Vietnam’s political landscape. So argues Benedict Kerkvliet in his analysis of Communist Party-ruled Vietnam. Speaking Out in Vietnam assesses the rise and diversity of these public displays of disagreement, showing that it has morphed from family whispers to large-scale use of electronic media.

In discussing how such criticism has become widespread over the last three decades, Kerkvliet focuses on four clusters of critics: factory workers demanding better wages and living standards; villagers demonstrating and petitioning against corruption and land confiscations; citizens opposing China’s encroachment into Vietnam and criticizing China-Vietnam relations; and dissidents objecting to the party-state regime and pressing for democratization. He finds that public political criticism ranges from lambasting corrupt authorities to condemning repression of bloggers to protesting about working conditions. Speaking Out in Vietnam shows us that although we may think the party-state only represses public criticism, in fact Vietnamese authorities often tolerate and respond positively to such public and open protests.

Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet is Emeritus Professor in the Department of Political and Social Change at the Australian National University and an affiliate graduate faculty member at the University of Hawaii. He is author of several books, including, most recently, The Power of Everyday Politics.

“Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet clearly knows Vietnamese society deeply and thoroughly, and gives a lively, realistic portrait of the present-day life there.”—Andrew Wells-Dang, Senior Governance Advisor, Oxfam in Vietnam

“Speaking Out in Vietnam provides convincing explanations for the party-state’s responses, when and why repressing, when and why tolerating, and when and why being responsive.”—Hy Van Luong, University of Toronto, author of Tradition, Revolution, and Market Economy in a North Vietnamese Village, 1925–2006
We've got insights, commentaries, and Q&As with our fabulous authors on our website homepage.

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Statebuilding by Imposition
Resistance and Control in Colonial Taiwan and the Philippines
Reo Matsuzaki

How do modern states emerge from the turmoil of undergoverned spaces? This is the question Reo Matsuzaki ponders in Statebuilding by Imposition. Comparing Taiwan and the Philippines under the colonial rule of Japan and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he shows how similar situations produce different outcomes and yet lead us to one conclusion.

Contemporary statebuilding efforts by the US and the UN start from the premise that strong states can and should be constructed through the establishment of representative government institutions, a liberalized economy, and laws that protect private property and advance personal liberties. But when statebuilding runs into widespread popular resistance, as it did in both Taiwan and the Philippines, statebuilding success depends on reconfiguring the very fabric of society, embracing local elites rather than the broad population, and giving elites the power to discipline the people. In Taiwan under Japanese rule, local elites behaved as obedient and effective intermediaries and contributed to government authority; in the Philippines under US rule, they became the very cause of the state’s weakness by aggrandizing wealth, corrupting the bureaucracy, and obstructing policy enforcement. As Statebuilding by Imposition details, Taiwanese and Filipino history teaches us that the imposition of democracy is no guarantee of success when forming a new state and that illiberal actions may actually be more effective. Matsuzaki’s controversial political history forces us to question whether statebuilding, given what it would take for this to result in the construction of a strong state, is the best way to address undergoverned spaces in the world today.

Reo Matsuzaki is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Trinity College.

“Statebuilding by Imposition is full of provocative arguments about the inability of democracies to build effective states. Reo Matsuzaki’s candor about the mismatch between liberal values and the nature of statebuilding by imposition is admirable.”—Tuong Vu, University of Oregon, author of Vietnam’s Communist Revolution

“Crystalline logic, simple organization, detailed evidence, and profound conclusions make Statebuilding by Imposition an essential reading for those who recommend outside intervention to build the state institutions and economies of others.”—S.C.M. Paine, US Naval War College, author of The Japanese Empire
When Violence Works
Postconflict Violence and Peace in Indonesia
Patrick Barron

Why are some places successful in moving from war to consolidated peace while others continue to be troubled by violence? And why does postconflict violence take different forms and have different intensities? By developing a new theory of postconflict violence Patrick Barron’s *When Violence Works* makes a significant contribution to our understanding.

Barron picks out three postconflict regions in Indonesia in which to analyze what happens once the “official” fighting ends: North Maluku has seen peace consolidated; Maluku still witnesses large episodes of violence; and Aceh experiences continuing occurrences of violence but on a smaller scale than in Maluku. He argues that violence after war has ended revenge killings, sexual violence, gang battles, and violent crime, in addition to overtly political conflict) is not the result of failed elite bargains or weak states, but occurs because the actors involved see it as beneficial and lowcost. His findings pertain directly to Indonesia, but the theory will have relevance far beyond as those studying countries such as Colombia, the Philippines, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria seek a framework in which to assess what happens after war ends. Barron’s theory also provides practical guidance for policymakers and development practitioners. Ultimately, *When Violence Works* pushes forward our understanding of why postconflict violence occurs and takes the forms it does.

Patrick Barron is Regional Advisor for the World Bank. He previously served as Regional Director at The Asia Foundation and led the World Bank’s conflict programming in Indonesia for seven years. He is coauthor of the award-winning *Contesting Development* and has written for *World Development*, *Journal of Political Economy*, and *Journal of East Asian Studies*.

“When Violence Works is an impressive book on multiple levels. Its theoretical sophistication will appeal to theorists in political science and peace studies. While its presentation of detailed case studies on post-conflict regions in Indonesia will be of great interest to scholars working in Southeast Asia.”—Christopher R. Duncan, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Rutgers University, author of *Violence and Vengeance*
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