

PIRATES, PORTS, AND COASTS IN ASIA

**Historical and Contemporary
Perspectives**

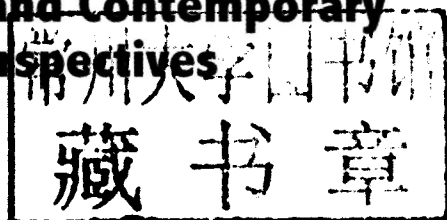


Edited by
John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer

IIAS/ISEAS Series on
Maritime Issues and Piracy in Asia

PIRATES, PORTS, AND COASTS IN ASIA

Historical and Contemporary
Perspectives



Edited by

John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer



International Institute for Asian Studies
The Netherlands



Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Singapore

First published in Singapore in 2010 by
ISEAS Publishing
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg
Website: <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

First published in Europe in 2010 by
International Institute for Asian Studies
Rapenburg 59
2311 GJ Leiden
P.O. Box 9500
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands

E-mail: iias@iias.nl
Website: <http://www.iias.nl>

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2010 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publishers or their supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Pirates, ports, and coasts in Asia : historical and contemporary perspectives / edited by
John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer.
(IIAS-ISEAS series on maritime piracy).

- I. Pirates—Asia.
- I. Kleinen, John.
- II. Osseweijer, Manon
- III. Title.
- IV. Series.

DS526.7 M28 2010

ISBN 978-981-4279-07-9 (soft cover)
ISBN 978-981-4279-11-6 (E-Book PDF)

Photo Credit: Cover photo reproduced courtesy of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): Marines from the Dutch frigate De Zeven Provinciën freed on 18 April 2009, twenty fishermen from a Yemeni flagged dhow which had been captured by Somali pirates earlier. There was no exchange of fire and Dutch forces seized a number of weapons. Seven pirates were detained, but were eventually released.

Typeset by International Typesetters Pte Ltd
Printed in Singapore by Photoplates Pte Ltd

PIRATES, PORTS, AND COASTS IN ASIA

IIAS/ISEAS Series on Maritime Issues and Piracy in Asia

Series Advisory Board

- Professor Alfred Soons
Institute for the Law of the Sea,
Utrecht, The Netherlands
- Professor Hasjim Djalal
Department of Maritime Affairs
and Fisheries,
Jakarta, Indonesia
- Professor Dr J.L. Blussé van Oud-Alblas
Leiden University,
The Netherlands
- Professor Togo Kazuhiko
Princeton University/IIAS
- Professor Jean-Luc Domenach
Sciences-Po, Paris, Italy/
Tsinghua University, Beijing,
People's Republic of China
- Dr Mark Valencia
Maritime Policy Expert,
Hawaii, United States
- Vice-Admiral Mihir Roy
Society for Indian Ocean Studies,
Delhi, India
- Dr Peter Chalk
Rand Corporation, California,
United States
- Dr Stein Tønnesson
International Peace Research Institute,
Norway
- Dr John Kleinen
University of Amsterdam,
The Netherlands
- Professor James Warren
Murdoch University,
Australia
- Mr Tanner Campbell
Maritime Intelligence Group,
Washington, D.C.,
United States

The **IIAS/ISEAS Series on Maritime Issues and Piracy in Asia** is an initiative to catalyse research on the topic of piracy and robbery in the Asian seas. Considerable attention in the popular media has been directed to maritime piracy in recent years reflecting the fact/perception that piracy is again a growing concern for coastal nations of the world. The epicentre of global pirate activity is the congested sea-lanes of Southeast Asia but attacks have been registered in wide-scattered regions of the world.

The **International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)** is a post-doctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. IIAS' main objective is to encourage Asian studies in the humanities and social sciences — and their interaction with other sciences — by promoting national and international co-operation in these fields. IIAS publications reflect the broad scope of the Institute's interests.

The **Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)** was established in Singapore as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. ISEAS Publishing has issued over 2,000 scholarly books and journals since 1972.

Acknowledgements

The chapters in this volume were presented in 2005 at an international conference hosted and organised by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. We are grateful to the staff and Director of SASS, Professor Li Yihai for the hospitality and professional organisation of the conference. We would also like to acknowledge the financial support we have received from the Asia-Europe Workshop Series, a programme run and sponsored by the European Alliance for Asian Studies and the Asia-Europe Foundation (Singapore).

The editors, publisher and the author wish to thank Brill Publishers for permission to use copyright material from Hoang Anh Tuan's book *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637–1700* (2007b). Every effort was made to trace the copyright holders of photographs and maps.

Special thanks are due to Wim Stokhof, the Director of the International Institute for Asian Studies at the time of the conference, who was the initiator and motivator of the institute's scientific project on maritime piracy as well as the ISEAS-IIAS Series of which this volume is part.

We would also like to thank Rosemary Robson-McKillop for English language editing of the introduction and two chapters of this volume.

*The Editors,
John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer*

About the Contributors

Robert J. Antony is Associate Professor at the University of Macau. He is the author of several books: *Pirates in the Age of Sail* (2007); *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (2003). With Jane Kate Leonard, he co-edited, *Dragons, Tigers, and Dogs: Qing Crisis Management and the Boundaries of State Power in Late Imperial China* (2003).

Paola Calanca is a member of École Française d'Extrême Orient and affiliated to the Institute for the History of Natural Science in Beijing. Her thesis, "Piraterie et contrebande au Fujian: L'administration chinoise face aux problèmes d'illégalité maritime" (17e- début 19e siècle) was published in 2008.

Stefan Eklöf Amirell is Research Fellow at Sweden's Royal Academy of Letters, working at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm. His books include *Pirates in Paradise: A Modern History of Southeast Asia's Maritime Marauders* (2006); *Power and Political Culture in Suharto's Indonesia: The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and the Decline of the New Order (1986–98)* (2003); and *Indonesian Politics in Crisis: The Long Fall of Suharto, 1996–98* (1999).

Hoang Anh Tuan is Researcher and Lecturer at the History Department of Vietnam National University, Hanoi. He obtained his Ph.D. in 2006 at Leiden University (the Netherlands) with his research on the VOC in Tonkin. In 2007, he published *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637–1700*.

John Kleinen is an anthropologist and historian, and serves as an Associate Professor at the Universiteit van Amsterdam. He has published on several aspects of the Vietnamese society and history. His books include *Facing the Future, Reviving the Past: A study of Social Change in a Northern Vietnamese Village*, 1999 (also in Vietnamese); *Lion and Dragon: Four Centuries of Dutch-Vietnamese Relations* (2008). In 2001 he edited *Vietnamese Society in Transition: The Daily Politics of Reform and Change*.

Gerrit Knaap is specialized in Indonesian history and holds a Ph.D. from Utrecht University. At present he is programme director at the Institute for Netherlands History at The Hague, in charge of the Overseas History Programme. His recent publications include *Monsoon Traders: Ships, Skippers and Commodities in Eighteenth-century Makassar* (2004), together with Heather Sutherland; *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie/Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company: Deel/Volume II: Java en Madoera/Java and Madura* (2007), together with colleagues from Asia Maior.

Adrian B. Lapijan is Professor of History at Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta, Indonesia. His publications include “Laut Sulawesi: The Celebes Sea, From Center to Peripheries”, *Moussons* 7 (2003); “Rechtvaardigheid en de Koloniale Oorlogen: Indonesië”, in Madelon de Keizer and Mariska Heijmans-van Bruggen, eds., *Onrecht: Oorlog en Rechtvaardigheid in de Twintigste Eeuw* (2001); and “Research on Bajau Communities: Maritime People in Southeast Asia”, *Asian Research Trends: A Humanities and Social Science Review* (1996).

Carolyn Liss is a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Australia. For her Ph.D. thesis, *Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia and Bangladesh, 1992–2006: A Prismatic Interpretation of Security*, Carolyn conducted fieldwork in Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia. Her recent publications include “Privatising the Fight against Somali Pirates”, *Working Paper 152*, Asia Research Centre, November 2008; “Abu Sayyaf and US and Australian Military Intervention in the Southern Philippines”, *Austral Policy Forum* 07-23A, 29 November 2007; “Southeast Asia’s Maritime Security Dilemma: State or Market?”, *Japan Focus*, 8 June 2007; and “The Privatization of Maritime Security in Southeast Asia”, in Thomas Jäger and Gerhard Kümmel, (eds.), *Private Military and Security Companies* (2007).

Manon Osseweijer who was trained as an anthropologist, is the Deputy Director at the International Institute for Asian Studies and she co-organized the workshop from which the chapters of this book result. She has published on small-scale fisheries and environmental problems in the coastal zones of Indonesia. Her most recent publication is co-edited *The Heart of Borneo* (2009).

Michael Pearson is Professor Emeritus of history at the University of New South Wales and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Technology, Sydney. He is the author of several books on India and the Indian Ocean, including *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (1976); *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (1998); and recently, *The Indian Ocean (Seas in History)* (2003).

Ikuya Tokoro is Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS). His main research field is the maritime world of Southeast Asia. His major research topics are: Islam in Southeast Asia, Moro separatism in Mindanao, and maritime border crossings in Southeast Asia. One of his most recent publications is "Transformation of Shamanic Rituals among the Sama of Tabawan Island, Sulu Archipelago, Southern Philippines," in S. Yamashita and J.S. Eades (eds.), *Globalization in Southeast Asia: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives* (2003).

Esther Velthoen is Research Associate of the Wilberforce Institute of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull (United Kingdom). Her Ph.D. thesis on which her chapter in this book is based is titled "Contested Coastlines: Diaspora, Trade and Colonial Expansion in Eastern Sulawesi 1680–1905", Murdoch University, 2003. Publications include: "Wanderers, Robbers and Bad Folk: The Politics of Violence, Protection and Trade in Eastern Sulawesi 1750–1850", in Anthony Reid, *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies, Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750–1900* (1997), pp. 367–88; "Victims and Veterans in the Nation State; The Print Media in South Sulawesi 1950–1953", in D. Pradidamara and M.A.R. Effendy, (eds.), *Kontinuitas dan Sejarah dalam Sulawesi Selatan* (2003), pp. 41–63. "Hutan and Kota: Contested Visions of the Nation-State in Southern Sulawesi in the 1950s", in Hanneman Samuel and Henk Schulte Nordholt, (eds.), *Indonesia in Transition, Rethinking "Civil Society", "Region" and "Crisis"* (2004), pp. 147–74.

James Warren is Professor in Southeast Asian history at Murdoch University in Perth, Australia. He has held positions at ANU, Yale University, and worked as a professorial research fellow at the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, and the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. Professor Warren's major publications include, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898* (1981); *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore, 1880–1940* (1986); *At the Edge of Southeast History* (1987); *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San: Prostitution and Singapore Society, 1870–1940* (1993); *The Sulu Zone, the World Capitalist Economy and the Historical Imagination* (1998); *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity* (2001); and *Pirates, Prostitutes and Pullers: Explorations in the Ethno- and Social History of Southeast Asia* (2008). He teaches units on Southeast Asian social history, on researching and writing history in a trans-disciplinary context, and on colonialism, literature, and social context.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
-------------------------	-----

<i>About the Contributors</i>	ix
-------------------------------	----

Part 1 Introduction

1. Pirates, Ports, and Coasts in Asia <i>John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer</i>	3
2. Piracy in Asian Waters: Problems of Definition <i>Michael Pearson</i>	15

Part 2 East Asia

3. Giang Binh: Pirate Haven and Black Market on the Sino-Vietnamese Frontier, 1780–1802 <i>Robert J. Antony</i>	31
4. Tonkin Rear for China Front: The Dutch East India Company's Strategy for the North-Eastern Vietnamese Ports in the 1660s <i>Hoang Anh Tuan</i>	51
5. South Fujian the Disputed Coast, Power and Counter-power <i>Paola Calanca</i>	76
6. Maritime Piracy through a Barbarian Lens: Punishment and Representation (the <i>S.S. Namoa</i> Hijack Case, [1890–91]) <i>John Kleinen</i>	99

Part 3 Southeast Asia

7. Violence and Armed Robbery in Indonesian Seas <i>Adrian B. Lapidian</i>	131
---	-----

8. Robbers and Traders: Papuan Piracy in the Seventeenth Century <i>Gerrit Knaap</i>	147
9. The Port of Jolo: International Trade and Slave Raiding <i>James Warren</i>	178
10. Pirates in the Periphery: Eastern Sulawesi 1820–1905 <i>Esther Velthoen</i>	200
11. Suppressing Piracy in Asia: Decolonization and International Relations in a Maritime Border Region (the Sulu Sea), 1959–63 <i>Stefan Eklöf Amirell</i>	222
12. Contemporary Maritime Piracy in the Waters off Semporna, Sabah <i>Carolin Liss</i>	237
13. Piracy in Contemporary Sulu: An Ethnographical Case Study <i>Ikuya Tokoro</i>	269
<i>Index</i>	289

PART 1

Introduction

1

Pirates, Ports, and Coasts in Asia

John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer

INTRODUCTION

War, trade, and piracy. Three in one, indivisible: Goethe's *Faust's* well known complaint about the English of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicates the contemporaneous, ambiguous use of the term "piracy" which parallels the way the term "terrorist" is employed nowadays.

The limited distance between rulers and pirates is still hailed in the romantic invention of *tradition story*, now eternalized in musicals and Hollywood representations, written by William Schwenck Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance* (1879):

When I sally forth to seek my prey
I help myself in a royal way.
I sink a few more ships, it's true,
Than a well-bred monarch ought to do;
But many a king on a first-class throne,
If he wants to call his crown his own,
Must manage somehow to get through
More dirty work than ever I do.

The French consequently stigmatized their nationalistically inspired adversaries in colonial Vietnam as "pirates", with not the slightest reference to the sea. Piracy is often used in the same breath as "robbery" and "raiding", but they are not necessarily the same.

The terms "robbery" and "raiding" are not always confined to the high seas, but are also used where human security is threatened in terrestrial areas by the absence of the monopoly of violence in the hands of a single ruler. For a long time, piracy was the extreme instance of marginal coastal and maritime livelihoods and hence assumed a pivotal position in attempts

to understand many of the complexities present in coastal and marine settings. Piracy, although it is the most dramatic of marginal(ized) maritime livelihoods available, is just one of the many illegal uses to which the sea can be put, the others being for example, drug smuggling and trafficking in human beings.

Many maritime coastal zones and their hinterlands in Asia started out as frontier societies in which all kinds of illicit and semi-legal activities took place. The political economy of the South China coast, for example, was historically based on an intrinsic cohabitation of rulers, peasants, fisher people, and the “froth of the sea”, as pirates were known in those days.

Coastal zones are boundary areas, places of contestation, and cross-fertilization. They are naturally and socially marginal spaces in that they serve to demarcate the limit between sea and land, and the site of contact between cultures. Because of these factors, in contemporary times they have become highly desirable places and consequently areas subject to great social and ecological pressures.

Ports where the loading and unloading of shipments of people and cargo, as well as business transactions, trading, and provisioning, are taking place, are located in these coastal zones. Therefore it is necessary to investigate how port authorities have been operating, combating, condoning, or perhaps even encouraging different forms of piracy and smuggling. Whereas, in certain situations in the past, ports or port towns may have acted as pirate headquarters, in many cases they have also served as places of refuge for the vessels attacked by pirates. The port authorities in East and Southeast Asian ports have been the organizations designated to manage the ports and deal with the suppression of piracy, in cooperation with such (para)-military organizations as the navy and coastguards. Sea ports are also nodes in an emergent world system, and, despite globalization and the liberalization of trade, they are also the markers through which people and goods are controlled. They serve a dual purpose as physical bottlenecks for legitimating a geographical territory, and as identification and interdiction of prohibited commodities and people (see also Heyman 2004).

Social Science Perspective

From a social science point of view, maritime piracy, unlike maritime terrorism, can be regarded as one of many so-called “grey-area” phenomena in Asia. This term borrowed from political scientist Peter Chalk (1997) indicates a “parallel underground economy”, comparable with other

“grey-area” activities in the socio-economic context of the coastal zone. Like smuggling, trafficking of goods and people, gambling, prostitution, and petty crimes on land, piracy is also pursued in a more or less organized form (Chalk 1997, pp. 15–16). The upshot is that maritime piracy is placed in the context of diminishing human security in the coastal zones of a number of Asian countries. Increasingly, these zones are being distinguished by environmental degradation, high unemployment rates, and livelihoods dependent on government development programmes, which places them under a mounting threat of social problems (crime, prostitution). They are an outgrowth of compensation paid out by (inter)national companies to exploit natural resources (mining, overfishing), or by booming industries (tourism, manufacturing, electronics) which rely on migrant workers. Viewed from this angle, piracy is truly an economic activity whether it be a business concerned with the transportation and distribution or their production. Therefore, in this context, piracy is only one of the many criminal or semi-legal activities in a socio-economic context of a coastal zone, where it is often haphazardly linked to smuggling, trafficking of goods and people, gambling, prostitution, and petty crimes on land. All these activities are carried out in a more or less organized form, but the question remains as to how these activities should be studied and evaluated in the conceptual and material context of a modern nation state.

The recent developments in Somalia showed that the combination of a failed state and the protection of nation-states that serve as local policemen explains the possible motivations of the pirates in the Horn of Africa. The illegal fishing by the West and the dumping of toxic waste in Somali waters are not the only factors at play here. Military bases of the Ethiopian army, a force that is protected by the United States, serve as the recipients of the loot of the Somali pirates. In fact the militant Islamists have repeatedly denounced piracy as an offense to Islam. The question remains who else outside the pirates themselves is interested in the captured spoils of the sea?

Maritime terrorism and maritime piracy may be related phenomena in Asia, but there is no clear proof of a direct link between the two. Maritime piracy turns out to be an element in what was imaginatively called the “tapestry of maritime threats”: degradation of coastal inhabitants, pollution of marine environments, illegal fishing, and smuggling. Yet, social scientists still need to understand the knots in this tapestry fully. When undertaking this type of work, researchers should bear in mind that their purposes and priorities fall under the purview of academic research, and not those of Southeast Asian governments or organizations such as the International