



REVIEWS

Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula. Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100 BC-1300 AD)*. Translated by Victoria Hobson. Leiden, Brill, 2002, pp. xxxv, 607, 70 plates, illls, maps.

This large tome, 495 pages of text accompanied by substantial bibliography, chronological chart, index, documents (maps, plans, elevation of buildings) and 220 black and white illustrations, begins with a wry dedication: "to all those who have gone before me in approaching this impossible subject."

While there is still plenty of speculation and interpretation, Jacq-Hergoualc'h offers an extremely solid base with his documentation, both literary and archaeological. After lists of the documents, figures and abbreviations, a very brief introduction leads into what becomes a very thorough study of Malaysian and Southern Thai history with particular relation to the entrepôt ports of the region from the beginning of our era. Chinese texts and artefacts and Indian or Indianized archaeological remains, the great rhythms of history in the Middle East, India and China, 'Indianization' in the South-East Asian region, and the concept of Srivijaya, are some themes that Jacq-Hergoualc'h notes at the outset.

Relatively detailed accounts of the geology, hydrology, and local climate and wind patterns introduce the main text. Who were the early peoples of the peninsula, and was their land an obstacle

or a source of contacts and profit among Asian civilisations? The trans-peninsular routes are often cited to illustrate the vast saving of time and effort (not to mention safety in avoiding pirates and the like in the straits) that would have ensued if goods had been transported across the peninsula. The archaeological finds at both ends of these routes are very similar, and the idea seems logical enough: or it has to Jacq-Hergoualc'h predecessors. But though Jacq-Hergoualc'h accepts that some solid goods like tin ingots or small goods may have gone by the trans-peninsular portage routes, by and large he rejects the land route in favour of sea-transport. Moving cumbersome, fragile goods, Chinese porcelain, the local *kendi* pots and the like, was 'highly improbable' on such routes, and Chinese reports offer enough instances of ships arriving at ports in both sides of the peninsula to confirm that a sea route was regularly employed. Shipping, circumpeninsular navigation, landing places, goods and mineral resources are all examined.

Why did the east coast cities or small states prosper so much more than the west? Perhaps because of the coastal plains that developed there, giving access to richer agricultural potential. The polities formed could exploit the hornbill casques, sappanwood, tin etc that rendered the peninsula more than just an obstacle to shipping or a portage route, but a rich commercial prospect in its own right.

The chapters on Indianization describe what is known of inter-regional contact (with the interesting suggestion that Dongson drums might be a sort of legitimizing feature of the rule of local chiefs depending on some generally recognized religious centre), and of contact with India before Indianization. This is followed by discussion of Indianization, perhaps eagerly adopted by local rulers because of the potential for transforming them into “divinely constituted sovereign(s)”. Jacq-Hergoualc’h points out (and also in his concluding chapter) that Indianization was not the key to state formation; the political, social and other factors on which Indianization later rested had already developed, and nascent states already existed, on the east coast at least. The roles of Brahmanism and Buddhism in social and commercial contexts is debated. The small amount of information about Funan and its influence on the peninsula is noted, followed by extensive study of the history and religious relics from the fifth to the eighth centuries in the peninsula states of Panpan, Langkasuka, Jiecha (South Kedah), and Srivijaya, and Chitu in the seventh century. As for Srivijaya, its five or more centuries claimed hegemony is reduced to something of dream: between its sovereigns’ boasts and the reality “there was certainly a great distance”.

From the ninth century, archaeological remains of actual entrepôt ports exist. Jacq-Hergoualc’h introduces discussion of the significance of these sites, Laem Pho, Yarang, Ko Kho Khao, and Kampong Sungai Mas, with an ex-

tensive survey on international politics and trade, and follows it by describing contemporary architectural and sculptural remains on the peninsula.

With commentary on the tenth and eleventh centuries comes a further outline of the current political setting, and analysis of the texts naming Tambralinga, with similar discussion of contemporary archaeological remains. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are characterized as a “commercial boom” period in Tambralinga and Jiecha (Kedah), again with description of the international context, local history as far as it can be deciphered, and analysis of archaeological sites and material and topographical information. The study ends at this point, Jacq-Hergoualc’h apparently crediting the notion of an imperial Sukhothai taking over dominance of Tambralinga/Nakhon Sithammarat (see also my *Nakhon Sri Thammarat. Archaeology, History and Legends of a Southern Thai Town*, 2000, published while the book of Jacq-Hergoualc’h was in press) followed by the same sort of relationship with Ayutthaya.

All in all, the book is immensely informative, and very well prepared. The numerous plans and maps, and photos of objects, greatly assist the reader in all the sections in which local finds and architecture are described. By and large the translation runs easily and well, with occasional traces like “high period” or “presqu’île” remaining from the original French.

Stuart Munro-Hay



Sao Saimong Mangrai
The Padaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated.
Ann Arbor: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 2002. xxiii, 301 pp.

When we say that true historical work is based upon a careful reading of the original source materials, we do not mean that the original sources are to be preferred to all other materials we might use to establish names, dates, and basic events. We simply mean that writings cannot be taken seriously which do not evidence the use of the original sources. We prefer that the sources be read in their original language and script, but we accept the use of translations when we have good reason to believe that the translations are accurate and complete. The book reviewed here is a translation from Khün (a Shan or Tai language), prepared by a Khün-speaker.

Sao Saimong's book has been in print for more than twenty years, and is now reprinted with only minor emendations. It is a translation of the chronicle of one particular sect of Buddhism, and centers on Vat Padaeng in Keng Tung (Jengtung). The translation is prefixed by a long introduction. The introduction focuses mainly on Buddhism, but also has much to say about the Khün, their culture, and their state of Keng Tung.

The centerpiece of the Padaeng section of this book is the photographic reproduction of the original manuscript (which is on so-called Shan paper, or sa paper, and not palm leaves as one of the

foreword writers alleges). Those few who have worked with the Northern Thai language and script will find that the manuscript is in a language and script they will recognize, which is also to be found in the Sipsongpanna and in Laos. It is important that this text is here, for there is no other way to check the translator's work than to check his translations against the original. This is especially the case where the translator has encountered baffling passages which he in places has mangled, as with the horoscope passages around paragraph 200.

Many years ago, I was advised that competent translations can best be done by native-speakers of the language in which the translation is written. A good example of the logic behind this rule is shown on page 116 (paragraph 78), where the translation twice refers to "lord of earth". This usage recurs frequently. Check the original text on folio 27, and the source of the problem is clear. The original Khün text refers to the *cao phaen din*. We can see that the translation is literally correct, but the English sense would be better rendered by such a phrase as "earthly" or "worldly lord". That is, the original Khün follows Buddhist definitions is distinguishing people who rule on earth (i.e. kings) from those who rule over super-terrestrial spheres (i.e. gods).

This said, I hasten to add that the translation seems exact and consistent, though it would have been improved by tapping the knowledge which Chris Eade has added to our studies about chronology and astrology.

Having said this, it is puzzling why the translator did not do the same with the Keng Tung chronicle. Here we have no reproduction of the original, which I am not sure has ever been published. (I have seen a xerographic copy of the original manuscript, in the possession of a friend but I cannot remember where it comes from.)

These chronicles are extremely important, as A. B. Griswold notes in a letter of 1976. The sources given here are by no means the only reference to the events they cover. This translation refers to a few others, of which many have been published (in Chiang Mai and Bangkok) in the past twenty years. Some of the same material also is referred to in Scott and Hardiman's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon, 1900–1902). These seem, however, to be the key sources which should take precedence over all others.

Sao Saimong Mangrai must be posthumously congratulated on an excellent piece of work, which already has won a place of value on the scholar's bookshelf. It must be regretted that he does not seem ever to have finished his translation of the chronicle of Hsenwi, which Scott and Hardiman long ago indicated it a key source for the history of north-eastern and eastern Burma, for Sao Saimong died some years ago.

David K. Wyatt

Two Yankee Diplomats in 1830s Siam: Roberts and Ruschenberger, edited by Michael Smithies. Bangkok, Orchid Press, 2002, pp. 232, ill.

This contribution to the *Itineraria Asiatica* series of Orchid Press, introduced and edited by Michael Smithies, presents the observations of an American diplomat and a doctor during their respective visits to Bangkok in 1833 and 1836.

The two diplomatic missions—the first to obtain a treaty of commerce and friendship from the King of Siam for the United States of America and the second to return such a treaty for formal ratification by the king after it had been agreed to by the Senate of the United States—constituted some of the very earliest forays by Americans into the international politics of sovereign Asian nations. But the reports of Edmund Roberts on his mission of 1833 and of Dr W.S.W. Ruschenberger on the return mission of 1836 provide us with scant insight into the diplomatic arts on any level.

The accounts were not written for the professional edification of others in diplomatic service or even those interested therein. Instead, Roberts and Ruschenberger wrote for a general American audience to acquaint them with the realities of a far-off land and culture. From this perspective, the two accounts are of considerable interest on a number of points. General readers today thus have reason to be grateful to Orchid Press for reprinting the observations of Roberts and Ruschenberger



and to Michael Smithies for editing this publication.

One historical note of considerable importance is Ruschenberger's description of his meetings with the royal prince he calls "Momfanoi", also known as Chao Fa Noi. "Momfanoi", to use Ruschenberger's quaint nomenclature, was the younger brother of the future King Rama IV or, King Mongkut. In 1836, Rama III was on the throne and the future King Mongkut had withdrawn from an active life to fulfill the obligations of Buddhist monkhood. Prince "Momfanoi" was, however, a leading and well-known member of the Chakri royal family. According to Ruschenberger, Prince Momfanoi liked to use the English expression "Wow!" to give vent to a very non-traditional public burst of eagerness and enthusiasm in personal interactions.

Ruschenberger reports "Momfanoi" as being flexible, open-minded, curious about western ways and instruments, and a student of English. We thus see Mongkut's younger brother setting the very example of promoting westernization that his brother would champion after attaining the throne as King Rama IV. In short, Ruschenberger gives us an insight into the precedents upon which Mongkut built his policy of engagement with the industrializing west.

Something of reform, an openness to change, was in the air among at least some of the leading Chakri princes even before Mongkut ascended the throne.

Also of some relevance for future Thai foreign policy are the various com-

ments by Roberts and Ruschenberger as to how the Siamese seemed genuinely to like Americans and to prefer them over other Caucasian nations. Perhaps even as early as 1833 and 1836 the Thai instinct for seeking patrons less able to do harm to Siamese interests was directing their attention towards the United States. Roberts was able to obtain better terms of trade for American vessels should they ever enter the Siamese trade than the English had previously wrung from the Siamese court. And Ruschenberger delights in reporting comments from his hosts as to the honor and dignity bestowed upon representatives of the American president.

After King Rama V, the sensitive position of advisor on foreign affairs would be given to Americans and not to either English or French nationals. Then, after World War II Thailand entered into a long period of alliance with the United States in order to protect itself from Communism. It would seem, then, that Roberts and Ruschenberger accurately sensed a bias in Thai orientations favorable to the United States.

On a minor note, Ruschenberger reports that the two Siamese Twins—Sam and Eng—were widely known in Bangkok after their departure for the United States, but significantly for their failure to send home remittances to their mother.

What I found to be of greatest merit in these accounts are the insights they provide into important determinants of politics: those arising from culture.

First, descriptions of Thai social and

cultural practices of the 1830s found in Roberts and Ruschenberger would apply with equal force to conditions in Thailand within recent decades. Robert's fixation on the Thai instinct for social hierarchy and for levels of personal subordination to patrons and superiors illuminates a psycho-cultural dynamic so powerful it drives much of Thai politics, corporate practice and government performance standards today. Roberts reports that the Thai "attach a ridiculous importance to mere form and ceremony" which observation, though expressed with the arrogance associated with the colonial era, will not surprise any contemporary sojourner in Thailand.

Roberts describes Thai dance and music that one can see and hear today in Bangkok. The throne hall in which King Rama III received the Americans in 1833 and 1836 can be visited in the palace grounds today. It has not changed its appearance in any significant way. And we are told many times of the Thai custom of bathing daily. A review of these testimonies to Thai life in the 1830s will reveal just how much has not changed in 170 or so years—just what might be considered to be "really" Thai.

An equally revealing comment on the durability of "Thai-ness"—for lack of a better word—comes in Ruschenberger's prediction that the coming conversion of the Thais to Christianity would alone promote the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of virtue and the success of large scale commercial enterprise in Siam. The Thais never did

so convert to that religion but they modernized nevertheless.

Reading Roberts and Ruschenberger reveals to us the central role played in Thai politics and decision-making of the leading personage, the man of *baramee* or *wasanaa*. Roberts accurately learned the conceptual justification for such a practice in the merit accumulated by that person in previous lives under tenets of Theravada Buddhism. We learn from these two accounts that, on a fundamental level of human behavior and motivation, change comes slowly, if at all. Roberts and Ruschenberger present a case for cultural determinism.

Second, the distaste of both Roberts and Ruschenberger for much of what they saw in Siam reveals the power of Calvinism over their minds. Their religion had shaped their culture so profoundly that they saw the world through colored lenses of Christian manhood and righteousness. Roberts seemed personally affronted at how low the Thais would stoop or crawl in the presence of superiors and how the Portuguese living for generations in Siam and now serving as interpreters had accommodated themselves to this life-style of "unmanly and un-Christian" self-abasement.

The power of our mental prisms to filter truth and render it comfortable to our minds should not be ignored as we consider the travails of diplomats, business persons, missionaries, and even simple tourists caught up in international experiences.

The accounts of Roberts and



Ruschenberger are thus worth reading as a reminder of our potential for similarly seeing reality myopically.

A brief reflection on recent American policy towards Iraq with the administration's conviction that American military force could install democracy there shows the sustaining power of Calvinist perceptions among many Americans of political consequence.

Those who do not study the past are condemned to repeat it. Roberts and Ruschenberger are worth study.

Stephen B. Young

Tarmo Rajasaari, *Vapour Trails*, Tales from rural Thailand. Bangkok, Orchid Press, 2003, pp.148, no price given.

The author is a Finnish freelance writer and photographer. He is forty-three and trained as a mental health nurse. For two years he lived in a hut in Isan near the Cambodian border and helped local farmers. His short pieces add up to a detailed account of life in this hot, parched, poor and mosquito-ridden part of Thailand.

Some of the stories concern slight incidents that occur to villagers, others involve disruptive changes in their lives. Now and then the writer enters the minds of his characters and reveals their musings about the past. These attempts at empathy are on the whole credible.

In 'Alien Encounter' Sawai, a grandmother, takes a train into the nearby town to withdraw money from the bank. That

morning on the TV news there had been a report about a new galaxy and that perhaps there was life on one of its stars. On arrival last the bank, Sawai finds it is shut, so she has to go back to the railway station. To her dismay, her purse is missing. Waiting there is a blond Westerner wearing shorts. She is fascinated by his hairy thighs and cannot resist pinching one of them. The strange foreigner does not mind this impertinence and shows her photographs of his homeland. He helps her into the train. She is anxious about not having any money for a ticket; fortunately the conductor neglects to ask her for one and so Sawai gets a free ride home.

In 'Decision' Lai goes rat-hunting for his family's supper. He catches a rat but lets it go. He has been a monk and enjoyed talking to the monks at the temple. He begins to feel that the Buddhist teaching he had was right. He spurns his wife's advances, suggests she finds another husband, and in spite of her protestations he joins the monks.

Daeng is a cowherd, and while watching his herd is bitten by a snake. The author gives a graphic description of Daeng, who is far away any help, dying in extreme agony. This is an example of the powerful use of empathy.

Wichai, fond of the bottle but is tired of his wife's nagging, decides to run away to Khon Kaen. He catches a bus which only takes him part of the way. He waits for another in vain. Finally he gets a lift home and is much relieved to be back.

Nam goes to Bangkok and becomes

a prostitute. On a visit to her village she ignores her mother's pleadings to her not to go back to the capital. Eventually after fifteen years she does return. She is nervous about the kind of reception she will get. When her mother, now aged, sees her they fall into each other's arms.

'Journeyman' is about a Thai boxing match between Seri, a local boxer, whose ability is on the wane, and a star boxer from Bangkok, famous on TV. The Bangkok boxer's fighting name is The Tormentor. He treats Seri with disdain. The punches and the kicks sustained by Seri are vividly described. The wretched local man is bleeding profusely and can hardly stand. His thoughts flash back to Puri, the girl who left him. Finally, when almost a complete wreck, Seri, making an enormous effort, manages to land a punch that knocks out The Tormentor and he wins. This account is disturbingly real and shows more than any of the other stories Mr Rajasaari's writing strength.

The mild events coupled with the violent ones give the ordinary reader a broad view of life in Isan.

John Haylock

Ashley South, *Mon Nationalism and Civil War in Burma: The Golden Sheldrake*. London and New York, Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 419.

In June 1995, one of Asia's longest-lasting insurgencies came to an end. The

New Mon State Party, NMSP, agreed a ceasefire with Burma's military government, and its leaders moved from their old revolutionary base areas around Three Pagodas Pass on the Thai border down to the city of Moulmein, where many of them became engaged in various businesses. The political aspirations that drove members of Burma's ethnic Mon minority to take up arms in early 1949 were not addressed, however. Although Burma has a "Mon State", with Moulmein as its capital, it is not an autonomous entity. Burma is not the federal union it sometimes purports to be.

Ashley South, a British aid worker, lived and worked among the Mon on the Thai-Burma border for nearly seven years. When he returned to the United Kingdom in 1997, he had married a Mon lady and learnt more about her people than most other Westerners. The outcome of his meticulous research, and personal experiences is this book which covers almost every aspect of Mon history and society: the ancient Mon kingdoms that once spanned over large tracts of southern Burma; the British colonial era; the insurgency in post-independent Burma; the refugee crisis of the 1990s; and the economic and political implications of the 1995 ceasefire.

The historical part of the book describes how the Mon, a people related to the Khmer of Cambodia, once built their own kingdoms and empires. They introduced Buddhism to what now is Burma, and their script became the basis of the Burmese alphabet. But, unlike their Khmer empire-building



cousins, they did not survive as a separate nation. The Burmese kings were more powerful, and many Mon were driven out of what once was their country. The Mon population in Thailand are descendants of several waves of refugees, who fled Burma during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. By 1757, the Burmese king Alaungpaya had subdued the Mon and conquered their last kingdom.

In a contemporary context, South's assessment of the ceasefire agreement between the Mon rebel movement and the Rangoon junta leads to an important question about the future of Burma as a whole. The fundamental issue, South writes, is whether ethnic rights and self-determination are equivalent to human rights and democracy. South appears to believe that is the case, arguing that alliance with Burma's most important pro-democracy party, the National League for Democracy, would seem to offer the NMSP a better chance of progress than accommodation with what he terms "Burma's deeply-tarnished military rulers."

But the dilemma for the NMSP—and the more than a dozen other ethnic rebel armies in Burma that have entered into similar agreements with the government—is that there would be no ceasefire if they allied themselves with the NLD. Neutralizing the country's border insurgencies by offering them business opportunities and the right to retain their arms has been the strategy of Burma's military rulers since a nation-wide uprising for democracy swept the Bur-

mese heartland in 1988 and gave birth to the NLD. What Burma's military rulers feared was an alliance between the ethnic rebels—who had their own armed forces—and the urban-based pro-democracy movement.

One by one, the rebel groups were reigned in, and, in early 2004, even the Karen National Union, KNU, agreed to hold peace talks with the generals in Rangoon. The KNU resorted to armed struggle at the same time as the Mon, but its army has always been much stronger and more powerful, and therefore able to resist pressures from both the Burmese and the Thai authorities to stop fighting. Until the 1990s, the Mon and Karen rebel armies were seen by the Thai authorities as useful border buffers, which kept the Burmese—historical archenemies of the Thais—at bay. They were allowed, in fact encouraged, to control the border areas, including border passes through which contraband were moved across the frontier in both directions: consumer goods to Burma from Thailand, and cattle, precious stones and timber to Thailand from Burma. Tax on this cross-border traffic provided the Mon and Karen rebel armies—and other smaller groups as well—with an income with which they were able to buy arms on the not always so black arms market in Thailand.

All that changed in the 1990s, when Thailand began to improve relations with Burma. "Normal" trade was encouraged, and the concept of border buffers was becoming obsolete. South

was a witness to these changes, and the effects they had on, for instance, the tens of thousands of Mon and other refugees, who had sought shelter in Thailand. During the year before the ceasefire, the Burmese launched several attacks on the Mon military positions near the Thai border to force the NMSP to the negotiating table. On the other side, the Thai authorities began to pressure the Mon refugees to return home. In the end, the NMSP gave in, and many of the refugees were indeed repatriated.

While this has led to economic gains for both Thailand and Burma, it has broken the back of the Mon's long struggle for autonomy. On the other hand, however, decades of fighting in the jungle had turned Burma's ethnic rebel movement to institutionalized, self-perpetuating phenomena. According to South: "As the government and rebel leaderships ossified in the 1960s and '70s, the revolution became a way of life for many, and the idealism and commitment of the early years often succumbed to incipient 'warlordism'."

These old warlords may not be in a position to form a united front with the NLD, but the issue at stake now is whether the Mon will be able to preserve their ethnic identity in an entirely new environment. An intricate balance exists between the regime in power in Rangoon and its new allies, the ethnic rebels who have given up their armed struggles. Power is in the hand of the generals—Burma's new warrior-kings—and age-old networks of power are the essence of modern Burmese politics, South argues. Rooted in the precolonial past,

these patterns of kinship—and kingship—derive from Buddhist (and ultimately Hindu-Brahmin) paradigms.

Seen in that perspective, the dream of a future, federal Burma now seems more remote than ever. Burma's generals are determined to create a unitary, centrally-controlled state, and to achieve this goal, they have launched an entirely new concept: "Myanmar." They argued that "Burma" meant only the parts of the country where the "Burmans" lived, while "Myanmar", supposedly, "embraces all the nationalities" of the country. Burma, the argument went, was a British colonial term that the government had to do away with. But the once-British colony has always been called Burma in English and *bama* or *myanma* in Burmese. Both names have been used interchangeably throughout history, with Burma being the more colloquial name and Myanmar a more formal designation (like *Muang Thai* and *Prathet Thai* in Thai).

Burma and Myanmar (and Burmese and Myanmar) mean exactly the same thing, and it cannot be argued that the term "Myanmar" includes any more people than the name "Burma" does. The sad truth is that there is no term in Burmese or in any other language which covers both the *bama/myanma* and the ethnic minorities since no such entity existed before the arrival of the British. Burma with its present boundaries is a creation of the British, and successive governments of independent Burma have inherited a chaotic entity which is still struggling to find a common identity.

The “name changes” in Burma are part of a development that Gustaaf Houtman, a Dutch scholar of the country, calls “the Myanmafication of Burma.” He describes this as the final rejection of the idea of a federation agreed by Aung San—the founder of modern Burma—and the leaders of the ethnic minorities at the time of independence. “They’re replacing the legacy of Aung San—unity in diversity—with a new idea of national unity based on ‘Myanmar’ culture,” Houtman argues. Somewhat contradictorily, the Burmese language is now officially called the Myanmar language; no one has explained why a term that is supposed to include dozens of diverse ethnic groups can also mean the language of the majority Burmese.

But whether “Myanmafication” is the result of cultural myopia or not, is it working? South does not really address this crucial issue in his otherwise excellent study. Are the Mon going to be “Myanmaficated” and, in effect, disappear as a separate nationality, or will their culture and language survive? The future does not look bright for the Mon and other ethnic minorities in Burma, but South has done them a great favour by compiling this fascinating account of a people who are almost unknown outside the region, and who are struggling to preserve their identity in a rapidly changing world.

Bertil Lintner

Benedict Anderson, ed., *Violence and the State in Suharto’s Indonesia*. Ithaca, Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2001, pp. 247.

This collection of seven studies by different authors deals with differing aspects of what the title startlingly says, violence and the state in Indonesia. Unfortunately it would appear to be more often than not a study of violence by the state, and current news reports give the impression that entrenched fiefs remain powerful under the third president since Suharto’s unlamented departure, in a situation complication by international terrorism.

The whole comes with an excellent overview by Benedict Anderson, who starts by illustrating all the changes a person aged seventy would have witnessed in the country since the authoritarian Dutch rule before the Japanese invasion; he counts seven regime changes in all, before coming to the brief tenure of office by Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and now Megawati Sukarnoputri. The colonial regime, he rightly points out resolutely refused “to permit any form of legal, mass democratic politics, let alone to entertain any idea of ultimate independence”, with the inevitable result that when independence came, the country was quite unprepared for it. The turbulent period of the war, of so-called liberal democracy, then Sukarno’s chaotic guided democracy, crumbling in the 1965 coup and the dreadful massacres in its wake, meant that Suharto’s New Order was a relief

in some respects. We see here that this was obtained, as many well knew at the time, at the expense of basic human rights and with the aid of government controlled and sponsored bully-boys, in or out of uniform.

Joshua Barker, in the first chapter entitled 'State of Fear: Controlling the criminal contagion in Suharto's New Order' indicates how the national police tried to organize criminals, often identified by tatoos. Secret immutable lists of undesirables were drawn up, and the gangs of street hoodlums (*preman*) allowed for greater involvement of the police in local protection rackets. This analysis is followed by Jun Honna's study, 'Military ideology in response to democratic pressure during the late Suharto era: political and institutional concerns' and traces "the changing doctrines of national security" as propagated by the regime. Communists were found under every bed by the army, which stressed the need for vigilance—this attitude was exemplified by the shameful treatment meted out to the novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer, one of 105 considered a threat to national security (Honna rightly questions how 105 persons could undermine the state). Suharto later shifted from total support of ABRI (the armed forces) and the military was held to be responsible for some (but only some) of its actions. Foreign ideologies, from Communism to democracy to globalization, had to be "extirpated".

The two chapters give a wealth of acronyms which baffle any reader unfamiliar with the Indonesian scene.

'Latent Communist danger' becomes *balatkom*, and we even have *ipoleksosbudmil*, a contraction for 'ideological-political-economic-sociocultural-military' areas of public life. There is fortunately a glossary, though not all these barbaric terms make it.

James Siegel examines the pinhead of the Jakarta riots in 'Thoughts on the violence of May 13 and 14, 1998, in Jakarta'. There had been pogroms against the Chinese before, but this time the looting by the *massa*, the mob, was much worse, accompanied by arson, murder and rape, the last being a new element in public disorder. Siegel reflects on the meaning of *cina* in Indonesia today and comments that the country's power to absorb different ethnic groups has singularly failed in respect of the Chinese.

Loren Rytter, in 'Pemuda Pancasila: the last loyalist free men of Suharto's order?' studies the Pancasila youth organization, initially formed in the 1950s, which, based on the chimeric philosophy of *pancasila* cooked up by Sukarno, became an organization of ex-convicts and local toughs, referred to disparagingly by one of a multitude of generals as a "zoo". The author notes that PP's influence has diminished since Suharto's fall.

The last three chapters deal with hot spots in the sprawling archipelago. Douglas Kammen, in 'Trouble with Normal: the Indonesian military, paramilitaries, and the final solution in East Timor' gives a very detailed study of military organization (and atrocities)



in the province which was Indonesian in name for only 24 years. Unfortunately the generals ignored history at their peril (they were not alone; this reviewer remembers one Western ambassador saying privately at the time of the invasion in 1975 that one only had to look at the map to see the inevitability of the Indonesian takeover). They were at odds with Suharto who wanted international respectability, and supported hooded youngsters who terrorized Dili at night. Kammen notes that the combat mission became a reign of terror. That particular trouble spot is at least now in the past, at the cost of enormous human suffering and material damage.

The chapter dealing with Papua (Irian Jaya, West Irian etc—it has had several name changes), ‘Waiting for the end in Biak: violence, order, and a flag-raising’ by Danilyn Rutherford, suffers from taking Biak as representative of the province as a whole, which it is not. Indeed, Papua lacks not only most forms of communication, but any real centre: Jayapura is stuck in the northeast corner against the PNG border, Sentani is close by; Sorong, with its airport squeezed on an island just big enough for a runway, is equally distant from any epicentre, and so is Manokwari. The ‘act of free choice’ that ended Dutch suzerainty in the late 1960s was totally flawed and is at the root of current problems. Many of the disfranchised youth who took part in the Morning Star flag waving in 1998 in Biak ended up as bodies washed ashore in the following days, having been dealt with by the army

which countered no opposition to national integrity. The problem of course remains.

As does that at the other end of the archipelago, in Aceh. Again, history is important here; many Acehnese look back to the days of glory under Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1607–36), not to speak of the more recent bitter thirty-year war against the Dutch at the end of the nineteenth century. Rebellion has been taking place on and off since the great purges of 1965–6, and has turned into, according to Geoffrey Robinson, who deals with ‘The origins of disorder in New Order Aceh’, a war between the army and the people. One major-general, not perhaps *au fait* in hearts-and-minds operations, is quoted as saying “If you find a terrorist, kill him. There’s no need to investigate him”. The chapter ends on a note of hope, but events since it was written indicate that this was ill-founded. The situation in Aceh may have lessons for Thailand.

There is very little here about events of 1965–6, not much about the Petrus gangs, nothing on the more recent Moluccan conflict, as Anderson admits. Violence too is seen not a state monopoly, but spread through various groups which the state apparatus tried to manipulate and control. With the departure of Suharto, human rights groups have certainly had their hopes raised; whether they will be fulfilled remains to be seen.

Michael Smithies

Earthenware in Southeast Asia: Proceedings of the Singapore Symposium on Premodern Southeast Asian Earthenwares, edited by John N. Miksic. Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 2003, pp. 370. 180 ills, line drawings, maps.

This publication is the outcome of a symposium on 'Premodern Southeast Asian Earthenware' held in Singapore on 9–11 July 1998 and sponsored by the Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, the Asian Civilisations Museum and the Southeast Asian Studies Programme of the National University of Singapore. The twenty-two chapters in the book include most of the papers presented at the symposium plus a few other essays that were added to present a balanced and up-to-date account of the state of research on Southeast Asian earthenware. John Miksic, the editor, is an archaeologist and Associate Professor in the Southeast Asian Studies Programme and Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He is a highly respected scholar, an expert on Indonesia and the author of several books on Southeast Asian art and culture.

The goal of the symposium, which the book reflects, was to spread an "awareness of the various directions in which research on premodern Southeast Asian earthenware is proceeding in various countries". Most of the countries in modern Southeast Asia plus northeast India are represented in this book, which brings together an international group of

scholars as contributors. The chapters are arranged by country and the topics vary from summaries of research on earthenware in an individual country to reports on specific archaeological sites, methodology and particular earthenware forms.

Wilhelm G. Solheim II (Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines), a leading and long-standing expert in the field, contributes the first two chapters. He has studied and written about Southeast Asian earthenware since the mid-1950s when he was a graduate student at University of California-Berkeley. In Chapter Two, Solheim gives a personal account of his growing interest in the subject. One of his many contributions to the field is a terminology that he devised for cataloging and describing earthenware based on surface treatment. Further refinement produced four different typologies used to build a chronological sequence for earthenware in the study of cultural history.

Six chapters focus on earthenware of the prehistoric period. Although scholars differ on the exact dates of this period, it extends from circa 2,500 BC to AD 500 in this volume. Wilfredo Ronquillo (Archaeology Division, National Museum, Philippines) discusses earthenware found in important habitation and burial sites that are located in the Philippine archipelago extending from northern Luzon to southern Mindanao. Eusebio Z. Dizon (Curator, Archaeology Division, National Museum, Philippines) writes



about a discovery in the early 1990s of anthropomorphic pottery found in secondary burial caves in the Philippines at Maitum, Sarangani Province, Mindanao, with a suggested date that ranges between 500 BC and AD 500. Santoso Soegondho (Prehistory Division, National Archaeological Research Centre, Indonesia) presents the origins and dating of prehistoric earthenware in the Indonesian archipelago within a cultural context. Results from controlled stratigraphic excavations and scientific testing ascertained that earthenware was used in burial practices at sites dating from 500 BC. Leong Sau Heng (History Department, University of Malaysia) reports on prehistoric pottery vessels with tripod supports, which have been found at some twenty sites in mainland Southeast Asia in an area extending from west central Thailand to peninsular Malaysia. Prior to this discovery, the form was unknown outside of China. Brian Vincent (Archaeologist, New Zealand) gives an overview of the stylistic and technical development of prehistoric earthenware in Thailand. Stephen Chia (Centre for Archaeological Research Malaysia, University of Malaysia) discusses the production and technology of prehistoric pottery that was locally made at Bukit Tengkorah, a site in Sabah, peninsular Malaysia.

Five chapters cover earthenware dating from the late prehistoric to the early historic (or protohistoric) period (circa 500 BC to AD 800). Elizabeth A. Bacus (Institute of Archaeology,

University College London) examines the stylistic features on decorated earthenware found in the Philippines to determine distribution and socio-cultural patterns and the possibility of trade both within the region and with China. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, Nik Abd. Rahman and Asyaari bin Muhamad (Institut Alam Tamadun Melayu, National University, Malaysia) review recent archaeological fieldwork at the Kuala Selinsing sites in Perak, Malaysia. Scientific testing confirms that the decorated earthenware was locally made and dates from approximately 200 BC. Miriam T. Stark (Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii) presents a chronological summary of the known information on premodern earthenware in Cambodia, discusses the earthenware in economic and social contexts, and presents preliminary findings on earthenware from Angkor Borei, an early and important site in southern Cambodia. Amara Srisuchat (Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, Thailand) presented results of classification and scientific testing conducted on earthenware found at eight archaeological sites of the early historic period in southern Thailand. Ruth Prior (Institute of Archaeology, University College London) and Ian C. Glover (Institute of Archaeology, retired, University College London) report on earthenware from archaeological excavations at Tra Kieu, a site in Quang Nam Province, Central Vietnam. Although vessel forms and other aspects reveal influences from China and India, petrographic analyses

showed that the wares were locally made, probably at several production centers in the area, over a long time and included a range of vessel forms for household use.

Six chapters are devoted to earthenware of the Historic Period (circa AD 500–1900). David Bulbeck (Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Australian National University) and Genevieve Clune (Centre for Archaeology, University of Western Australia) report on decorated earthenware from Makassar and environs, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. They devised a tentative chronology of the motifs found on decorated earthenware through a survey of burial sites dating circa the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. D. Kyle Latinis (Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore) and Ken Stark (Department of Anthropology, Kwantlen University College) describe earthenware in pre-sixteenth century sites found in Central Maluku and the surrounding area in Indonesia and consider it in a broader context of production, use, and interaction and exchange within the region. Mundardjito (Research Centre for Humanities Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Universitas Indonesia), Ingrid H.E. Pojoh and Wiwin Djuwita Ramelan (Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, Universitas Indonesia) describe typical earthenware of the early historic period in Central Java that was found mainly at Hindu and Buddhist temples dated to *circa* eighth to tenth century

and was probably made for religious purposes. Hilda Soemantri (deceased) examines the potting methods, forms and decoration of terracotta figurines from the island of Java in east Indonesia made during the Majapahit dynasty (AD 1293 – circa 1520). E. Edwards McKinnon (Visiting Fellow, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore) summarizes the known information on earthenware of the historic period from the island of Sumatra in Indonesia but the lack of controlled archaeological excavations and further research preclude assigning a date to the various sites. Myo Thant Tyn (Khattiya Institute of Technical Services Co, Yangon, Myanmar) and U Thaw Kaung (Director, retired, University Libraries, Yangon University, Myanmar) give an overview of historic earthenware found in Myanmar, primarily from the first and second centuries AD to the end of the nineteenth century and report on the current state of archaeology and research published in Myanmar.

Three chapters on ethnographic studies of contemporary earthenware potters and potting techniques are included in the book and demonstrate how research from multiple disciplines can complement each other and contribute to the same goal. Leedom Lefferts (Professor of Anthropology, retired, Drew University) and Louise Allison Cort (Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution) report on earthenware production in villages spread over



a vast area of mainland Southeast Asia, encompassing much of north and northeast Thailand, Laos, southern Cambodia, central and southern Vietnam and peninsular Malaysia. Their findings reveal an unexpected diversity and variation in production, technique, form and use. Charlotte Reith (Studio potter, Alexandria, Virginia) describes ground firing techniques in contemporary Myanmar villages. Dilip K. Medhi (Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University, Assam, India) discusses potters and their craft in Assam, northeast India, which serves as an example of cultural interaction between South and Southeast Asia.

Despite the different nationalities, countries and disciplines involved in this book, when reading the chapters collectively and looking at them as a cohesive unit, some pertinent points can be discerned. The study of earthenware has clearly grown in the past two decades through a greater number of controlled excavations carried out by trained archaeologists and the accessibility of available scientific tests. As Wilhelm Solheim writes "I have discovered that research on earthenware in Southeast Asia has come into its own since the early 1980s." (p. 31). Yet, the study of earthenware in this region lags behind exploration and surveys of archaeological sites in general. The state of archaeology is not at the same stage of development in all Southeast Asian countries. The Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand for example, have developed fully-fledged archaeology and carried

out scientific work over large areas of their respective countries; whereas earthenware in Sumatra is just beginning to be identified and archaeological research on ceramics in Myanmar is relatively new. The increased use of sophisticated laboratory testing in addition to stylistic analysis and archaeological fieldwork to obtain results is a dominant trend. It is now possible to begin to recognize a regional pattern of development and trade. A reassessment of the dating that was put forth earlier for earthenware is required. The foremost plea from the contributors to this book is the urgent need throughout the region for more systematic surveys, stratigraphic excavations and ceramic typologies. A consensus of opinion among the contributors is that future work should focus on cultural interpretations derived from pottery in an effort to close the gap between excavated finds and the societies that produced and used them. This book is a major contribution towards the awareness of this need and presents for the first time in a single volume the latest research in the field.

Dawn F. Rooney

Founders' Cults in Southeast Asia. Ancestors, Polity, and Identity. Edited by Nicola Tannenbaum and Cornelia Ann Kammerer. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2003, pp. xi + 373. Monograph 52: Yale Southeast Asia Studies.

Resourcefulness is probably the vital requirement for sustainable development. How significant it has been as the enabling factor in human resource development, and how decisive its impact on facilitating natural resource management, are made transparent in this collection of ethnographic case studies and ethnological essays. The composite gist is one of fundamental pertinence to current affairs, as summarized by the editors: founders' cults are "part of the Southeast Asian matrix of cultural possibilities that reflects widespread beliefs in spirit ownership of territory and control of fertility and prosperity...".

While it is purportedly unknown who "coined the term founders' cult", though one may "attribute it to Paul Mus [1933]", the concept is diagnosed "as a governing idea for a variety of ethnic and political orders in mainland Southeast Asia". Spirit lords are deemed the owners of the land with whom the first settlers had to make a contract. Maintaining continuity requires mediators. Performing their role is passed to hereditary successors. "This is the very essence of founders' cult". By way of introduction, a note of caution is given "because there is a wide range of variation in these cults ... [for each contributor] to decide what phrasing was ethnographically most appropriate (e.g., founder's cults)" - *sic!* This underlines the necessity, indeed, to unravel the compendium of facets, as suggested hereunder.

The "relationship between the spirit

or spirits of the land and the human founders of settlements and their descendants" becomes evident through the founders' cult at the "intersection of religion and polity, especially ways that ritual responds and contributes to changes in the political landscape", such as "relations between uplanders and lowlanders", between "hill tribes and state societies", and through the "construction and transformation of identity". This is perhaps best comprehended by reading, or studying rather, this collection in the sequence recommended by the reviewer here, for this volume is not a conventional reader. One should, therefore, not take ones' pick at random.

The editors' Introduction (chapter 1) is very well focused. It invites the reader to follow the authors in their explorations. To gain access to the select topics of the founders' cult, however, it is strongly recommended to follow up by reading, or re-reading, as it were, the candid appraisal of the "culture-environment interface" by Richard A. O'Connor, first published 1989, in a *Siam Society Symposium* proceedings. It is entitled "From 'Fertility' to 'Order', Paternalism to Profits: The Thai City's Impact on the Culture - Environment Interface" (chapter 12). Its gist is enveloped in two statements. Its opening statement stresses the point that "modernity merely builds upon the great enduring bulk of tradition ... In culture ... the change is minuscule, the continuing monumental." The treatise of the 'local model' under



threat is wound up with strong emphasis on the vigour of tradition, in that “modernity is nearly devoid of content save opposition to the old.”

With awareness heightened, the synopsis of this volume sets the stage. O'Connor's lucid analysis of “Founders' Cults in Regional and Historical Perspective” (chapter 13) is a scholarly powerful and scientifically rewarding discourse. Its gist is of outright pertinence to the ‘education’ of professionals, decision-makers and policymakers, at large, for the sake of ‘best practice’. Stressing the “actual interconnectedness that constitutes regions”, the author characterizes the founders' cult as “one of a variety of initially agricultural and eventually political adaptations that came to function as a lingua franca of localism. That ‘language’ is a widely shared inheritance—a tradition—that joins the region and makes it(s) peoples variations on a theme”. Benefits of the founders' cult include ‘cooperation’ within a rigid framework of norms and sanctions, acceptance of an ‘agricultural calendar’, and ‘amelioration’ through “stabilizing property rights and inflating the value of local land”, “labour exchange”, and safeguarding against “dispersion”. Such adaptation has been at work throughout history, resulting in “competing traditions” that are distinguished as “the monist state”, “world religion”, and “the nation”. Impacts of interfacing are recognized in the process of ethnogenesis. By their tradition, peoples are distinguished as “autopotent”, “autonomous”, “ascetic”, or postmodern”.

In the process, “autopotent, autonomous, and ascetic groupings ... adapted to a specifically historical succession of institutional traditions ... from localism to the state and then world religion ...”. As for “postmodern peoples and guises”, the author's “concern...is the closer ‘other’ within [i.e. within a state, a nation] that engages emotion”. Hence, the author concludes that “any group that becomes its part [i.e. a state's, a nation's part] thereby becomes a postmodern people”.

Building on that solid foundation, it is suggested to read the reflections of the nestor of this group of ethnologists, F. K. Lehman (F. K. L. Chit Hlaing), who stresses “The Relevance of the Founders' Cult for Understanding the Political Systems of the Peoples of Northern Southeast Asia and its Chinese Borderlands” (chapter 2). Familiar with the people who call themselves *Bawm Zo*, this reviewer is fascinated by Lehman's tracing of deeper and wider ramifications, highly appreciated *trouvailles* both in the main text and its rich annotations. It is in the latter where Lehman defines the Southeast Asian region as “a quasi-continuous field of local communities, customs and languages ... that correspond over greater or lesser periods of time to clusterings of attributed ethnic identities”.

As for the founders' cult, Lehman encapsulates its essence as follows: “In a demographic regime of relative underpopulation, manpower, not land, is the scarce means of production.” “... one must somehow create what amounts to an

artificial scarcity of land ... and grant to aspiring chiefs or rulers a monopolistic control of access to this scarce resource.” “It is done on the ideological basis of the founders’ cult.” “If one believes ... that one may safely clear and use land ... only with the acquiescence of the ultimate spirit lords of the land, then one will be ... loath to open up lands without that permission”.

Adhering to the rationale of the collection of nine case studies, i.e. elucidating facets of the founders’ cult in the region, Southeast Asia, references to modern states are omitted below, as they merely serve as topographical hints. Cornelia Ann Kammerer analyses the “Spirit Cults among Akha Highlanders” (chapter 3) and appraises the role of “‘Thigh-eating Chiefs’ in an Egalitarian Society: The Case of Akha Highlanders” (chapter 4). Elizabeth Coville reports on “Mothers of the Land: Vitality and Order in the Toraja Highlands” (chapter 5). Lorraine V. Aragon addresses “Expanding Spiritual Territories: Owners of the Land, Missionization, and Migration” (chapter 6). Yoko Hayami investigates “The Decline of Founders’ Cults and Changing Configuration of Power: Village and Forest among Karen” (chapter 7). Minaro Sakai scrutinizes “Publicizing Rituals and Privatizing Meanings: Negotiating an Identity of the Gumai” (chapter 8). Yukio Hayashi studies “Reconfiguration of Village Guardian Spirits among the Thai-Lao” (chapter 9). Nicola Tannenbaum traces “Phaya Sihanatraja and the Founding of Maehongson” (chapter

10). Hjørleifur Jonsson emphasizes “Pedestrian Politics: The Social Focus of Founders, Migration, and Rituals” (chapter 11). A somewhat different version of this contribution was published in the *JSS*, vol. 87, parts 1 and 2, 99–118, 1999.

These nine ethnographic case studies are presented “in order of increasing emphasis on the role of Founders’ Cults”. They cover “maintenance of egalitarianism”, a “compact between the community of living people and the spirits”, a constellation to “test power rather than simply confer leadership”, a “struggle between internal and external definitions and sources of power”, a dichotomy of “public and private elements”, dynamics of “contemporary transformations”, the creation of a “regional identity within the modern state”, and spheres signified by the “king’s spirit”.

This multi-faceted tapestry does not alone give evidence of the tradition of founders’ cults but will invariably trigger reflection on observations of a similar nature that might be explained in the same vein. While this is a likely gain for ethnologists and other scholars committed to the noble cause of taking sustainable steps toward the ultimate goal of sustained development, the perspective on founders’ cults opened through this coherent research publication is enriching for all. Those who advocate a critical stance re progress and modernization, especially the cultural, environmental and social impacts of activities labelled “development”, will

find their concerns substantiated through the truly fascinating evidence from and of a vital sphere within the regional context of Southeast Asia.

Rare errors and misprints do not detract from the neat presentation. There remain only two matters of doubt. The references are listed under the heading of "Bibliography", which seems a misnomer given the much larger volume of pertinent publications. Moreover, the inclusion of seven travel guide books seems hardly appropriate as such are typically neither the result of any seminal, scientific work nor the medium of its dissemination.

To sum up, regional variants of the Founders' Cults are elucidated with the effect of leaving the reader convinced of their significance for a full appreciation of diversity in the human resource. Evidence and analytical rigor make one concur with O'Connor's seemingly provocative inference that "today's minorities may be a bit ahead of the times but that hardly matters when they are living in nations whose faith in the story of progress is a bit behind the times."

Karl E. Weber

Southeast Asia over Three Generations, Essays Presented to Benedict R. O'G. Anderson. Edited by James T. Siegel and Audrey R. Kahin. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 2003, pp. 398. Studies on Southeast Asia No. 30.

Space allowed for this book review does not permit the in-depth rendition that each of the 17 essays deserves, given their rich diversity of facets viewed through "an inverted telescope", to quote from that part of the Introduction by James A. Siegel which presents an eulogy to celebrate, at retirement, the achievement of Professor Anderson. Therein, it is clarified that "generation", in this context "implies modifications of subject matter and of method as younger scholars modify what they have learned from their seniors." With regard to the "younger scholars", a virtual apology is offered through expressing regrets about not having involved all those who might have wished to contribute.

The introductory section by Audrey R. Kahin outlines the content of this volume. Five broad topics are distinguished, including (a) the creation of national heroes / heroines; (b) four facets of life under colonial rule; (c) emerging nationalism; (d) marginalization; and (e) "movements". This being a collection of essays on mainland and insular Southeast Asia, readers may appreciate an overview of contributions by countries covered, exceeding 17, namely Indonesia (nine), Philippines (five), Thailand (three), and Burma / Myanmar, Malaysia as well as Vietnam (one each). Of the 17 essays, 13 are original contributions. Of the remaining four, one had been presented at a workshop in 1999, and three are revised versions of conference / seminar / workshop papers presented between 1998 and 2002.

In his essay on "The Construction of

National Heroes and / or Heroines”, Charnvit Kasetsiri unravels the process by which an Indonesian “national hero is constructed”, reporting on procedure in the case of Tengku Sulong, a feudal lord of the Sultanate of Riau in the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout, the author draws parallels between Indonesia and Thailand, thus offering at least as much insight into this aspect of nation-building in both countries. The first essay of a set of four that features facets of life under colonial rule is by Danilyn Rutherford, entitled “Laughing at Leviathan: John Furnivall, Dutch New Guinea, and the Ridiculousness of Colonial Rule”. Against the background of Furnivall’s ‘comic masterpiece’ exposing colonial charades acted out in a pseudo-perfectionist manner, the author draws on episodes documented for the colonial rule of what, upon incorporation into Indonesia, became known as Irian Jaya, now Papua. This leads to the conclusion that “the ridiculous is the consequence of colonial intervention in settings where a systematic lack of shared understanding prevails”.

Likewise in insular Southeast Asia and during the colonial era, Takashi Shiraiishi’s essay traces “A New Regime of Order: The Origin of Modern Surveillance Politics in Indonesia”. “The Coming of Modern Policing”, upon the rise of the *pergerakan* [movement], is recounted in detail, supplemented by a description of the mechanics of political policing. Based on analyses of the role of the Indonesian Communist Party and

the impact of the “New Regime Order”, some of the inferences stress the point that “political policing, with its special way of watching the population, also shaped the way in which the government saw native society”. As one consequence, it is concluded, “the government was as much a hostage of its own political policing as the population”.

Gruesome evidence of haunting, or proof that ghosts do exist, has horrified all those who have witnessed ‘sugar running red’ in the mill where John Pemberton’s essay on “The Specter of Coincidence” is situated. On reading the author’s vivid account, “the ghost in the machine” takes shape, given it a “spectral presence that appears sometimes as a detached head within the cogwheels of the machinery, sometimes as a well-dressed figure”. As convincingly concluded, “her sudden appearance threatens to induce distraction that turns fatal”. Through analyzing one novel each written by six authors and published between 1919 and 1933, Tsuyoshi Kato, in his essay on “Images of Colonial Cities in Early Indonesian Novels”, seeks answers to local people’s perception, vicissitudes of life, and mentality. Features highlighted include the physical setting of *kota* as colonial cities, their setting as loci of love and freedom, the literary device of soliloquy (*saja* contrasting with ‘I’), the influence of modern education and administration as evidenced by the charting of the space of the colonial state, and the impact of clock time and Western calendrical dates paraphrased as ‘punctuating the time



of the colonial state'. The synopsis of findings as well as the outlook of the novels' protagonists are encapsulated in reflections on the shifting world, expressed through "radical imaging, rather than radical activism". The theme of emerging nationalism is presented through four essays, one each on its evolution in Vietnam and Thailand, and two highlighting its history in the Philippines. The essay on "Hai Van, *The Storm*, and the Vietnamese Communism in the Inter-war Imagination" by Peter Zinoman highlights how a piece of literary work has remained controversial to this day.

Vu Trong Phung's novel *The Storm* [*Giong To*] was first serialized during 1936. Its protagonist is *Hai Van*, a fictitious communist, whose conduct "sheds light on popular Vietnamese attitudes of the day towards communism and local communist activists". It has triggered ongoing controversies about the author, the effect of his protagonist *Hai Van* on the ideology of inter-war Vietnamese communism and the character of its cadres, and kept debates alive in literary and political circles of the Popular Front. The author concludes that "the striking discrepancies between Vu Trong Phung's contemporaneous portrayal of *Hai Van* and the official view of early Vietnamese communists indicate, at least, that many of the most basic issues within the history of Vietnamese communism have yet to be adequately settled".

'Designer nationalism' is the topic of Thak Chaloeintiarana's essay entitled

"Move over, Madonna: Luang Wichit Wathakan's *Huang Rak Haew Luk*". The analysis is focused on three major themes of the novel *Sea of Love, Chasm of Death*, i.e. modernity, nationalism, and gender. Luang Wichit Wathakan is introduced as the "ideological architect of modern Thai Nationalism", "a dramatist who popularized militant feminism". The voluminous novel (originally 3, 229 pages) consists of three parts, distinguished by phases in the life of its protagonist, a Thai lady named *Praphimphan* playing the role of an international actor who sets an outstanding example for women actively to cope with adversity. Along with the role of Thai women, Luang Wichit promoted the modern concept of culture, *watthanatham*, in the context of modernity, *khwam thansamai*, both deemed required for building a civilized nation, *prathet siwilai*. Luang Wichit, who chaired a committee that drafted the State Convention proclamations known as *Ratthaniyom*, was convinced that literature was a powerful weapon for social engineering, the alternative term used by Japanese academe for social sciences, as germane to Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido*, code of warriors, from which Luang Wichit had borrowed certain characteristics.

The first of the two essays dealing with nationalism in the Philippines elucidates the poorly comprehended and, hence, lesser known of two novels by Jose Rizal. Under the title of "Foreignness and Vengeance : On Rizals *El Filibusterismo*", Vicente L. Rafael presents a coherent analysis of the

‘strange’ conditions under which this novel, like the earlier novel *Noli me Tangere* (1887), was written and published in 1891. Spanish colonial authorities referred to nationalists as *filibusteros*, irritated by their wish to propagate Castilian as the medium of communication and instruction so as to promote economic and social reform, thus challenging the friar-sanctioned practice of dissuading the majority of natives from learning the colonial rulers’ language. The Spaniards abhorred the prospect of having to recognize educated natives, *ilustrados*, as equals, particularly because the *filibusteros*’ foreignness was perceived as the force of transmission, given their “power of translation in the service of something outside of colonial society”. In the end, vengeance was taken to communicate something about Castilian by remembering that “Spain is a foreign presence that came as a result of an invasion”.

The second essay, addressing yet another aspect of foreignness in the course of nation building, by Caroline S. Hau, is entitled “The Question of Foreigners: Bai Ren’s *Nanyang Piaoliuji* and the Remaking of Chinese and Philippine Nationness”. Under the *nom de plume* of Bai [White] Ren [Knife’s edge], the novelist, dramatist, and poet Wang Jisheng writes, in his novel *Nanyang Piaoliuji* [*Adrift in the Southern Ocean*] about the fate of overseas Chinese who, upon returning to their ‘Motherland’, found themselves identified as ‘sinister people’ during the Cultural Revolution. The novel is the

“semi-autobiographical account of a young boy’s sojourn and adventures in the Philippines in the mid-1930s”. It is a “realistic, rare description of life among the *huaqiao* [overseas Chinese] in the Philippines. ‘Chineseness’, national identification, and belonging are salient and equally fraught features of the *huaqiao*’s experience”. The analysis of this novel, a *huaqiao Bildungsroman*, highlights work as pedagogy and testing the limits of Chinese-Philippine nationalism. As emphasized by Hau, “the arguments presented attempt to broaden the discussion of identity politics which favor the assertion of an unnecessarily monolithic and exclusionary national identity”.

Cause and effect of marginalization are the gist of case studies from Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. In his essay on “The Marginalization of the Indians in Malaysia: Contesting Explanations and the Search for Alternatives”, Francis Loh Kok Wah looks into what ignited the Kampong Rawa temple-mosque dispute in Penang of 1998. Probing into the conflict, the author presents a critique of the roles of the Malaysian Indian Congress, the National Union of Plantation Workers, and the ‘middle-class’ NGOs as well as their search for alternatives. It is in this vein that Hindu revivalism, coinciding with Islamic revivalism, was contested by disadvantaged groups of Indians advocating a different direction of Hindu revival. The author arrives at the conclusion that “marginalization is a class, not an ethnic, issue, (for) most Indians who were displaced ended up in



squatter settlements; their problems in securing employment and housing in the new urban environment constitute the new dimension in Indian marginalization”.

The case study from Thailand is by Kasian Tejapira on the “De-Othering Jek Communists: Rewriting Thai History from the Viewpoint of the Ethno-Ideological Other”. Underpinned by an in-depth analysis of Thai nation building, with emphasis on “unequal power relations” and “clientelists’ beliefs and behavior”, the experiential deficiency of not being Thai, felt by the likes of Chinese immigrants and their descendants affected by the “racializing and ethnicizing discourse”, is characterized as an “inbred Thainess Deficiency Syndrome”. The vision of “a dynamic and open-ended reimagination and reconstruction of a new Thai nation” over the recent three decades requires to “trace analytically and critically the genealogy of a key signifier in modern Thai cultural politics, namely Thainess”. In this context, the author “painstakingly reconstructed (the *jek* communists’ and radicals’) attempts to simultaneously break into and out of ‘Thainess’ at the margins of the Thai polity from 1927 to 1958”. In the end, the “Thaification of radical discourse and movement was not in vain”. As evidenced through detailed analysis, “translation and rhyming held the key”, in the Siamese tradition of “composing poetry to convey political ideas since the late nineteenth century”, over which any single authority could exert neither monopolistic nor monopolistic control.

Narrowing freedom of action is the subject matter of the third case study on “*Pag-ibig, Pagtatalik at Pakikibaka: Love and Sex inside the Communist Party of the Philippines*” by Patricio N. Abinales. Exploring the language and context of the 1986 revision of the guideline ‘On Marriage’, drafted first before 1977 and finalized in 1997, the author pinpoints three ‘contradictions’. Rather than pioneering a liberative praxis of sexuality, the Party law “steers discussion of female sexuality to directions that contain rather than liberate it”. It has, in fact, upheld norms of what the Party has identified as “reflecting the decadent bourgeois and feudal cultures”. Moreover, women’s issues are subordinate and secondary to the “more fundamental issues of class”. These contradictions have provoked much debate, reflected in literary works that fuel the controversy. “Sex, in the Party law, is not a mutual act of both partners. This makes the leftist CPP a Filipino conservative movement.” Most of all, as the author’s content analysis shows, the paradox of women’s liberation is evident from the Party’s programmatic perception of women’s oppression by both the political system and men, in the face of the Party’s patronizing attitude toward women.

The fifth and final set of five essays presents a variety of contemporary issues, mostly of immediate political significance. Eva-Lotta E. Hedman subjects the second round of “People Power” to a spatial analysis and offers a topography of street protest in Manila. In “The

Dialectics of 'EDSA Dos': Urban Space, Collective Memory, and the Spectacle of Compromise, the author presents her findings of "systematic interrogations into the kinds of structures of power shaping the nature and direction of 'the people' as it emerges to lay claim to the nation-state in the parliament of the streets". EDSA Dos, the second (dos) round of decisive protest rallies on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, named after a historian of the Philippine revolution against Spain, in January 2001, added to the "dots on a larger map of prior rounds of struggle in and by the city of collective memory". She highlights how ESDA Dos "did signal a peculiar departure from constitutionally anchored and otherwise established institutions and processes of political representation in the Philippines".

With a focus on protest, likewise, Douglas Kammen raises five questions in his essay "*Pilkades: Democracy, Village Elections, and Protest in Indonesia*". To the question in how far villagers' protest is triggered by elections proper, the answer is 'no', in that protest is related to control over private as well as collective village resources. As for the rise of protests late in 1997, the reason was the scheduling of *Pilkades* [*pemilihan kepala desa* - village head elections] separately from *Pemilu* [*pemilihan umum* - national legislative elections]. The concentration of protests in Central Java is explained by its peculiar customary right to temporary land tenure [*tanah bengkok* - salary land], by which village heads are granted

usufruct rights to land during their eight-year term of office. On the relationship between village elections and urban protests triggered by the same cause, the author stresses the fact that "the vast majority of the Indonesian population still lives in village administrative units, and an examination of village elections under the late New Order may provide insight into the democratic process". Regarding the question of how the rural population would participate in an open electoral process, the author assumes that there "appears to be less interest in the democratic process in areas where communal resources are not assigned to the village head".

For a "particular political pathology that is uniquely endemic in Burma", Mary P. Callahan provides an analysis in "When Soldiers Kill Civilians: Burma's Crackdown in 1988 in Comparative Perspective". Her essay is a comparative study in that it offers answers as to why the soldiers in one country, Burma, kill civilians, while the soldiers in another country, Indonesia, do not. Three questions are raised, apparently addressed to the military in Burma. There is an answer to the question "why do armies turn their guns on unarmed citizens?": "The army high-command injected the norms and tactics of combat into the strategic interaction that accompanies the collapse of authoritarian regimes". As for training guns on fellow citizens, the question is "how do soldiers hear enemy threats in cries for democratic reform?". The author refers to decades of warfare that have



had a devastating effect on civilian society. “By the time of the 1988 uprising, this military was a force organized for a defense not against hypothetical external enemies but instead against very concrete threats from citizens”. Specifically, “under what conditions does popular mobilization constitute a paramount threat to an army?” is the third question. The author reaches a two-pronged conclusion. First, “civilians had universally become targets of counterinsurgency”. Secondly, “the logic that animated the military’s response to popular mobilization was the same logic that had animated its culture for thirty years—that of a particular counterinsurgency strategy.” Seen against the background of the political upheaval in Indonesia, where the military exercised restraint, the question remains: what justifies the “extraordinary degree of army dominance over Burma’s national affairs”?

Tracing the origins of beliefs, ideas and dreams led John T. Sidel to entitle his essay “Other Schools, Other Pilgrimages, Other Dreams: The Making and Unmaking of *Jihad* in Southeast Asia”. The complexity of the matter hinges on two questions: firstly “What circumstances have enabled—and constrained—association and mobilization under the sign of ‘Islam’ in Southeast Asia?” and secondly “Why has ‘terrorism’—or, in the narrow, but now widely popular sense of the term, *jihad*—waged under the banner of Islam in Southeast Asia assumed certain forms at certain times in certain places, but not others?” He says the essay situates such groups as *Abu*

Sayyaf, *Laskar Jihad*, and *Jemaah Islamiyah* “within the historical context of the institutions, practices, and identities associated with Islam in the Philippines and Indonesia.”. The *Abu Sayyaf* are seen in a historical process of marginalization of the Filipinos, or Moros proper, who were disadvantaged by influential stakeholders of modernization and subordinated in the course of internal colonization by non-Muslim interests. Taking advantage of the region’s physical geography, the “Sulu Zone” with its loosely structured port polity, close connections existed notably with Sabah and North Sulawesi. Networks facilitated educational pilgrimages. Dispersed slave raiders re-emerged who had supplied laborers for the extraction of natural resources traded by colonial companies. Nowadays, they operate as bandits, pirates, and smugglers—among them the *Abu Sayyaf*. Widespread resistance against the incorporation of Muslim Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago into the Philippines has been mounted under the rubric of *jihad* by the Muslim Independence Movement and the Moro National Liberation Front. As for Indonesia, the author traces the origins of *Laskar Jihad* and *Jemaah Islamiyah* back to the colonial era. Important is the year 1912 when an association was founded to develop modern schools, known as *madrasah*. Dutch fear of Pan-Islamic movements influenced “the New Order regime that crystallized under Suharto in which ‘Islam’ was profoundly marginalized”. In the name of high-tech economic nationalism,

the *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia* [Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals] was founded early in the 1990s. “The elitist pretensions of middle-class modernist Muslims to represent Islam ran up against the reality of the millions of unschooled and underemployed ordinary Indonesians of the faith”. “Those most vehemently opposed were associated with a group formed in January 2000 and known as Laskar Jihad”. Its members have “tried to rally Muslims divided by partisan and parochial interests against those wielding power in the nation-state”. The author arrives at the conclusion that “the purveyors of *jihad* in both the Philippines and Indonesia are in fact waging a rearguard, losing battle”.

A veritable grass-roots network, paraphrased as ‘rhizomatic evolution’ by Joshua Barker, author of the essay on “*Interkom* in Indonesia: Not Quite an Imagined Community” attests to the ingenuity of people desirous to reach out without violating rigid social norms. As pointed out, “*interkom* is a technology that is completely indigenous to Indonesia; it evolved without any regulation or official recognition, and exists outside the networks controlled by the state”. *Interkom* is described as “a network of cables linking together participating food stalls, ramshackle city homes, migrant workers’ rooms, and farms along alleyways, roads and river courses.” People operate the *interkom* to chat, pass on messages, exchange information, or listen to music. Two types are distinguished, the local web

(*jalur lokalan*) of high density and the long-distance lines (*jalur lintas*) extending up to seven kilometers, as evident from Bandung and its surroundings. “What is most fascinating about *interkom* is the way it allows for the creation of a different kind of world that stands in opposition to everyday life. This opposition is characterized by a sharp distinction between *interkom* society and face-to-face society, between the ‘on-air’ (*di udara*) or ‘on-line’ (*di jalur*) and ‘on-land’ (*di darat*) world.”

Diversity in all spheres of nature, as well as in culture, society, economy and science is a precious property and vital quality. Diversity is increasingly recognized as a repository of resources for development in that it offers alternatives that show the direction out of the dead-end alley of linear progress and unsustainable modernization that benefit their promoters, first and most of all. The well researched and painstakingly documented studies assembled in this felicitation volume of scholarly essays convey diversity that is outright enriching. Either selective or comprehensive readings are highly recommended.

Karl E. Weber