Book reviews

Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the same tree; Trade and ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, x + 320 pp. ISBN 9780824831890. Price: USD 58.00 (hardback).

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When historians of Southeast Asia use the concept of ethnicity, it is usually in the context of the colonial period, when bureaucratic states used censuses to count, classify and control their subjects, and when interest groups mobilized support by articulating their own identity along ethnic lines. Ethnic identity politics were also an integral part of the colonial legacy to independent nation-states, and ethnic sentiments have played a key role in recent communal conflicts in Indonesia.

Leonard Andaya is also interested in ethnicity, but he goes much further back in time as he investigates how ethnic identities were formed and remodelled in connection with major flows of trade in the pre-colonial Malay world. This book is Andaya's masterpiece because it is much more than a history of trade and ethnicity. It is the culmination of three decades of scholarship and offers nothing less than an integrated history of politics, economy, and culture of the Malay world over a period of two millennia, based on an impressive variety of sources. This is the new standard work for years to come on the early and early modern history of the Malay world.

The Straits of Melaka formed the core area of the 'Sea of Melayu', which stretched from the Bay of Bengal to coastal Vietnam, connecting India and Sri Lanka with the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, the Mekong Delta and central Vietnam. This region was characterized by a high degree of commercial interaction and a common cultural idiom, which became known as Melayu. Having sketched the wide Melayu world with its flexible borders, Andaya concentrates on the core region of Melayu culture, which he locates in south-east Sumatra where the dynastic centre of Sriwijaya emerged. Melayu became a meaningful marker to differentiate between people in the Malay world and (for instance) the Javanese. But the emergence of powerful centres of Malay trade and culture also stimulated the articulation of counter-identities within the Malay world. Here we arrive at another key argument of the book. The centres of Malay political power and trade shifted from Sriwijaya to Melaka, Aceh and Johor, and this affected the ethnic profile of particular groups of

people. Andaya argues that Minangkabau culture did not develop in isolation, because it not only was in close contact with the Malay world but distanced itself deliberately from it by emphasizing a distinct Minangkabau character. In a similar vein Aceh accentuated a more inland-oriented Acehnese profile after it had lost its dominant position in the Malay world. Even the seemingly isolated Batak maintained trade relationships with the outside Malay world, which affected their cultural repertoire.

The *orang laut*, or sea nomads, and *orang asli*, or inland tribal communities, played a vital role in the Old Malay world. The *orang laut* were indispensable allies at sea, while the *orang asli* provided trade centres with valuable forest products. The complementarity of both the trade *cum* political centres and the sea and forest peoples allowed for cultural differences. It was only in the course of the nineteenth century under a new colonial regime and a different economy that both sea nomads and groups living in the forest came to be depicted as isolated and backward people.

Andaya demonstrates that in the Old Malay world ethnicity was a meaningful marker to indicate differences between groups of people who at the same time maintained vital connections. For the historian, ethnicity turns out to be a helpful tool in understanding both the dynamic interaction between inland, coast and sea, and long-distance trade, and the way trade, politics and identity formation were interwoven in a world that was characterized by shifting centres and changing flows of goods.

Coeli Barry (ed.), *The many ways of being Muslim; Fiction by Muslim Filipinos*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, xix + 198 pp. ISBN 9780877276050, price USD 19.95 (paperback); 9780877276067, USD 40.95 (hardback).

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Although the short story has become the most popular literary form in the Philippines, so far no Muslim authors have been included in anthologies of short stories apart from Ibrahim Jubaira (1920-2004). This interesting collection, edited and introduced by Coeli Barry, is aimed at restoring this imbalance. It contains 22 stories, written by a total of nine authors (male and female), with lengths varying from two to thirteen pages. The stories are chronologically arranged.

In popular media, the Muslim minority of the southern Philippines is often depicted as poor, uneducated, and rebellious. In reality this community is highly diverse, not only ethnically and linguistically, but also with respect to class and education. In general, the contemporary conflict between armed separatist groups and the military tends to draw attention to rural, economically and politically marginalized groups, and not to those Muslims who have better access to political and economic resources. Among the latter are many highly educated, middle-class, English-speaking Muslims, some of them direct descendents of the cosmopolitan Malay-Muslim merchant class who, in colonial and pre-colonial eras, connected the sultanates of Sulu and Mindanao to the trading systems of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

During the American colonial period (1898-1946), English became the lingua franca of the emerging middle class, and for writers – Muslims and non-Muslims alike – the short story was a suitable medium to reach national audiences. According to Barry, the reason why Muslim authors have received little attention is a common view among non-Muslims that ‘Muslim literature’ typically consists of ‘oral narratives, ballads, songs and some written sources’ – in other words, of ‘traditional’ styles fundamentally different from the modern and secular style of Christian authors (pp. xi-xii). *The many ways of being Muslim* convincingly demonstrates that this view is simply a prejudice.

The literary quality of the anthology I found somewhat disappointing, however. In my view, most of the stories included simply lack the originality and sophistication, especially with regard to style and suspense, which are so essential to the notoriously difficult genre of the short story. The stories by Jubaira and Mehol K. Sadain are the main positive exceptions.

The greatest value of the volume lies in its reflection of the lives and memories of those Muslims who, one way or another, have been used to crossing, transcending or blurring geographical and cultural boundaries in the Philippines. Many of the characters in the stories are travellers (migrants, refugees, businessmen, teachers, adventurers, brides, grooms). Often there is a sense of displacement, related sometimes to the social manoeuvring of these characters in multi-ethnic, multi-religious environments, and sometimes to the civil war. Islam is seldom the central topic: in some stories, the Muslim identities of the characters are revealed to the reader only by a name, the muttering of a prayer, or the description of a piece of clothing.

The stories which do deal explicitly with religion are less about the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, than about negotiations *within* Muslim communities or families. In these (and also other) stories a recurrent theme is the tension and interaction between (perceptions of) the ‘modern’ and the ‘traditional’. In Mehol Sadain’s compelling ‘Ocean’, for example, a young college graduate returns from Manila to his village of birth, where he meets Hamid, the thirty year-old son of Haji Ali, an old friend of his father.

Hamid has also just returned home, in his case from Sabah, where he has studied with a famous Sufi teacher. What follows is a conversation between two young men, and at the same time between the different knowledge systems they have come to represent. The story is set against the backdrop of the growing influence of Islamic scripturalism, a development which is problematic for both characters.

Another recurrent theme in the collection is that of generational differences and negotiations, often coming to the fore in gendered contexts. A touching example is Arifah Macacua Jamil's 'Aestatics', a two-page impression of a mother's mutterings as she attempts to match the colours and materials of her young daughter's veil and outfit, thereby teaching the girl, as well as the reader, the importance of appearance in a specific cultural and social context.

The voices and experiences captured in these stories generally belong to the modern, educated middle classes. It seems uncertain, therefore, how many Muslim Filipinos would share or even recognize many of the religious concerns expressed by the characters. Nevertheless the collection offers a timely window into the worlds of Muslim Filipino migrants and travellers, and will be of much interest to anybody concerned with Asian literature, the history and society of the Philippines, and Islam in Southeast Asia.

Leon Comber, *Malaya's secret police, 1945-1960; The role of the Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2008, xix + 324 pp. ISBN 9789812308153, price SGD 29.90 (paperback); 9789812308290, SGD 59.90 (hardback).

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This book provides a rare and revealing insight into the role of the intelligence branch of the Malayan Police, known as the Special Branch, in the counter-insurgency campaign in Malaya between 1945 and 1960. It is by far the most detailed historical account of the role of the Special Branch in intelligence gathering and counter-insurgency operations that were crucial in the defeat of the communist insurgents during the Malayan Emergency.

Meticulously researched and drawing on a vast range of highly classified primary sources, including police files that remain inaccessible to most

historians, Comber's book sheds much light on the role of the 'secret police' in the Malayan Emergency, which previous studies have barely scratched the surface of. The author argues for assigning a bigger and more critical role for the Special Branch in defeating the communist uprising than previous studies have acknowledged. In this respect Comber presents a very persuasive case for the agency.

Intelligence gathering was vital to the prosecution of the 'elusive' war against the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), and the work of the Special Branch, Comber argues, was central to the success of the operations conducted by the police and the military. It was not an open conventional war; clashes with the insurgents took place sporadically in the deeper jungles and in the form of incidents and surprise attacks around the country. The Special Branch was tasked with providing the government with political and security intelligence and, equally important, providing the army with operational intelligence on which counter-insurgency operations could be based. The book reveals how the Special Branch painstakingly gathered information from thousands of documents and other clues to identify the *modus operandi* of the CPM and its communications system, and how the information gathered was then used by the security agencies to mount effective counter-operations.

The book traces chronologically the rise and pre-eminent role of the Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency. It reveals the decisive role of the Special Branch through an examination of its leadership, organizational structure, development, training and *modus operandi*. These elements, the author argues, deal with the central question of human intelligence, which was critical in the success of the counter-insurgency campaign. The chapters are well structured and examine in depth the major aspects of the work of the Special Branch. The narrative is clear, lucid and persuasive. The organizational charts, data on the clashes between the security agencies and insurgents and their relative strength, and photographs of the operations and people involved augment the narrative.

Possibly the most important contribution of Comber's latest book is to provide another compelling view of counter-insurgency operations during the Malayan Emergency – this time from the vantage point of the Special Branch and intelligence gathering, which are not adequately examined in earlier studies, which have focused on the broader government, military and police strategies and operations to win the battle for 'hearts and minds'. Comber shows how the Special Branch's more subtle approach to fighting the war – with the use of 'human intelligence' – gave the military and police forces a considerable edge during counter-insurgency operations. This valuable insight may have as much relevance in the present as in the past.

As a former Special Branch officer during the Emergency, Comber's deep understanding of the agency has enabled him to reconstruct the work of

the Special Branch in an engaging narrative that is well informed, deep and balanced. His own personal involvement in some of the secret operations provides an insider's account of some of the most closely guarded secrets of the Special Branch. Comber's ability to draw on highly classified police files which have not been accessed by previous scholars provides exceptional insights into a previously hidden side of the role of the Special Branch in counter-insurgency.

While this work on the whole is an excellent exposition of the role of the Special Branch during the Emergency, that being the main focus of the book, some scholars may however take issue with the treatment of the CPM in the narrative. Historians are still debating the nature of the insurgency in Malaya and its impact on the independence struggle in view of the nationalistic and anti-colonial basis of the CPM's struggle. Comber's narrative at times appears a little state-centric, tilted towards the position and perspective of the government. On another note, while the author describes the role of some leading players in the Special Branch, the focus is largely on the British officers. Asian police personnel such as C.C. Too and others perhaps deserve a little more credit, bearing in mind that hundreds of them perished in the course of duty.

This book is a very useful contribution to the literature on the Malayan Emergency and helps to illuminate the untold efforts of the secret police in the war against the communist insurgents. Comber shows clearly that the role of the Special Branch was critical to the success of the counter-insurgency campaign in Malaya. It should be required reading for all scholars and security agencies involved in counter-insurgency operations or studying conflicts.

Robert Knox Dentan, *Overwhelming terror; Love, fear, peace, and violence among Semai of Malaysia*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008, xiii + 277 pp. ISBN 9780742553309, price USD 32.95 (paperback); 9780742553293, USD 75.00 (hardback).

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After studying and living with the Semai in Peninsular Malaysia over forty years, Dentan gives us a book that is at the same time an ethnography, a literary essay, a philosophical meditation, and the summation of his experience as an anthropologist engaged with one of the most peaceful and non-violent

people known in the field. The subject of this book is peaceability (rather than pacifism or peacefulness): its rise, maintenance and destruction. Peaceable relations which dominate the ethos of this people are based on love, fear and surrender, and it is Dentan's intention to convey to the reader the full significance of these realities, while using a vocabulary that belongs to psychology and psychiatry. The main concepts are 'surrender', 'learned helplessness', 'double consciousness', and 'identification with the oppressor'. Peace comes from violence, or from a terror that is so overwhelming that, in order to tame and transcend it, one has to surrender to it. Hence the title of the book which plays on a grammatical ambiguity: Semai are overwhelmed by terror, and they overwhelm it.

The first two chapters explain the origin of what terrorizes Semai so: the coastal 'slavocratic' Malay states and their henchmen (most notably the Rawas, originating from Sumatra in the 1880s) who raided Semai settlements in order to kill and enslave, using the most horrific violence and cruelty. No details are spared, and the narrative of Chapter 2 is not meant for the faint-hearted. This in order to drive home what sort of brutal reality people like the Semai had to face, and to evoke the trauma that led to a sense of general powerlessness.

In the next two chapters, Dentan examines ritual and cosmological beliefs. God, in the guise of the Thunder Lord, is seen as a metaphor of the slavocratic state, not only ruthlessly destructive but also grotesquely stupid. In trance possession, however, acceptance of powerlessness is transmuted into erotic attraction for demonic lovers. Terror pervades the cosmos and nature, with thunder squalls and spilled blood, but is harnessed by love and fostering. The Semai world is depicted as a haven of nurturing and loving care in the midst of terrorizing violence.

Chapter 5 deals with the more mundane aspects of the situation, explaining how the Semai build communities in order to enforce a positive peace, and how 'surrender without subordination' is achieved. There are illuminating comments here on the egalitarianism and solidarity of Semai communities, which feature a 'poignant sense of closeness' (p. 128) linked with trust, respect, cooperation, responsibility, and sensitivity to stress. Dentan interprets *bicaraa*' (public hearing, litigation) as a way of healing the community and protecting individual freedom (the 'power to say no'), while not necessarily resolving conflicts.

In Chapter 7, Dentan deals with childhood and socialization. 'The world that Semai teach their children', he tells us, 'still lies in the shadow of slaving' (p. 178). Young Semai, accordingly, are taught two principles: that they must distrust strangers, and that they must be self-reliant. Learned helplessness and autonomy are the mainstay of their education. This as opposed to state education, which sets out to teach Semai subordination and hierarchy

(in their culture, a form of bullying). The final chapter describes, through stories of a teenager and a murderer, the incursion of violence into Semai life and the demise of peaceability. Identification with the oppressor, a kind of Stockholm syndrome, is what makes violence attractive. Another reason why people become violent is that one of their main strategies for avoiding violence, flight, is no longer available to them. They have lost their refuges: with their forests destroyed to make way for government settlement schemes and plantations, they can no longer run and hide as they did in the past.

In his (in)concluding words, Dentan mentions some relevant points in his own biography, not the least being his own experience with helplessness and surrender. He then proceeds to make a series of wonderful statements and observations. One is that 'ethnographies are mountains and endure; theories are mayflies and don't' (p. 247). Another is that Semai are not 'essentially' nonviolent, weak, or timid. It is their intelligent and wise choice to be and remain so, and in that they deserve our respect and teach us a lesson. Semai may be seen today as vulnerable and doomed, but in the past they were highly adaptive, maintained their way of life for centuries, and were spared many ills, one being the 'cancer of the state'.

All things considered this is an admirable book, full of poetic and philosophical quotations, inviting the reader at the turn of every page to behold what anthropologists of times past sought with fervour: elements of complete otherness in people who are in many ways much like us, and who enable us to reflect more clearly on what we are. It is Dentan's merit that he fulfils the profound promise of anthropology, as it was conceived by its founding fathers, by proposing, on the basis of long, patient, scrupulous observation, a true humanism.

Diana Glazebrook, *Permissive residents; West Papuan refugees from the Indonesian province of Papua living in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2008, xiv + 157 pp. ISBN 9781921536229. Price AUD 19.95 (paperback). Electronic version free online at http://epress.anu.edu.au/permissive_citation.html (ISBN 9781921536236).

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This is a remarkable account of flight from Indonesian Papua (West New Guinea, Irian Jaya, Papua, Papua Barat) across the national border with Papua New Guinea (PNG). The author is an anthropologist currently working in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. The book sets off narrating her participation in a ceremony in the Waraston refugee camp at East Awin to commemorate the declaration of the independent state of West Papua by Seth Rumkorem in 1971. The year is 1998, 36 years after the first Papuans moved across the border seeking refuge from a deteriorating security situation in their homeland. Histories of an unsettling fate of Papuans in Indonesia have been recounted by Nonie Sharp (1977), Ron May (1986), Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong (1988), Robin Osborne (1985) and Gabriel Défert (1996), among others. These writings vary in degree of accuracy, often overlap and repeat each other, and tend to reinforce both Papuan and foreign activists' ethnonationalist dichotomies. Glazebrook is the first to bring a more critical perspective to bear on the conflicts in Indonesian Papua, on the basis of anthropological fieldwork among refugees dwelling in Papua New Guinea.

Glazebrook's study covers a comprehensive array of issues of refugees: movement in real and imaginary journeys, 'sensing displacement', socializing new spaces, inscribing histories in new places, arguing with landowners, and the unremitting production of (varieties of) Papuan nationalism. Theoretically the book is unpretentious, while effectively making use of insights developed by scholars like Jean Baudrillard on simulation, Arjun Appadurai on locality and culturalism, Stephen Feld and Keith Basso on sensing place and placing sense, James Weiner on poetry, place and being, and Liisa Malkki on violence, memory and national cosmology among Hutu refugees. On top of that, it brings together data on Papuan flight and related events as reported in the works of Beverley Blaskett (1989) on Papua New Guinea–Indonesia relations, Rosemary Preston (1988, 1992) on PNG government responses and assistance, Alan Smith (1991) on Papuan refugees, and Robin Osborne's *Secret war* (1985).

The most poignant sections of the book are devoted to flight histories, living conditions, and the ideals and traumas of ethnic Dani, Muyu and Sota who sought refuge in Papua New Guinea during the period 1984–1986. For this period, Glazebrook identifies five major movements totalling around 2,500 people, including formally educated and politically active people from northern coastal towns (Jayapura, Sorong and Manokwari) and islands (Biak-Numfoor and Yapen). Taken together, the 1984–1986 period constitutes a third major wave of refuge seekers.

The first wave occurred shortly after Indonesia's accession to control of West New Guinea, in 1962. Thousands of Papuans requested permissive residency of the Australian administration in the then territories of Papua and

New Guinea. Up to 1970 almost 10,000 Papuans had fled across the border while the Australian administration repatriated Papuans from Indonesia, warning them of the consequences of illegal entry. After Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975, the country's administration was careful not to offend the Indonesian government while at the same time trying to contain Melanesian political sentiments. Some refugees were detained on the grounds of illegal entry while others were granted residential status.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, only a few hundred Papuans arrived in PNG. This was the second wave. The third wave followed the 5 February 1984 flag raising. A number of Papuans raised the Morning Star flag on the provincial assembly building in Jayapura as part of a planned general uprising including the desertion of 752 Papuans from the army, breaking into their battalion's arms depots to take weapons and ammunition. Attacks by this group provoked reprisals by the army, not only in Jayapura but also along the border, to counter OPM (Papuan Freedom Movement) activity. Thousands crossed the border. It is mainly these refugees who were Glazebrook's interlocutors.

Before flight most of them were dependent for their livelihood on the production of subsistence crops (mainly sago). Others engaged in manual labour, teaching, or nursing. During the time of research, the camp of East Awin to where they were eventually relocated consisted of seventeen refugee settlements. For these settlements the Montfort Catholic Mission coordinates health services under an agreement with the PNG government and the UNHCR. The settlements are on other people's lands, but apart from conflicts with landowners over land use, autochthonous people tend to envy the privileges (rations) enjoyed by refugees. Nevertheless, living conditions in the camp are poor, as employment contravenes the terms of refugee status and only a few manage to successfully run a trade store or to market vegetables or furniture.

Outstanding are the long transcripts of stories entrusted to the author and her analysis of the way displacement is sensed. The stories picture how the rainforest is inscribed with history, and how in the absence of sago this staple food is simulated to satisfy a sense of yearning for the sago garden back home. By using Baudrillard's constructions of the categories of simulation and dissimulation, Glazebrook unveils the deep-rooted sentiments of unsated appetites for sago in the absence of perennial sago. The simulation sago is found in cassava, but, in line with Baudrillard's proposition of simulation, becomes something that unsettles the difference between the true and the false, the real and the imaginary. For most refugees cassava cannot replace sago, for reality remains intact as long as the 'sago people' are still waiting to return to their homeland.

For explaining people's production of new spaces in the new rainforest

environment, Glazebrook uses Appadurai's thesis of locality as resembling the sentiment of 'home' in that it describes the dimension of sociality between people. What locality generates is Glazebrook's quest and she arrives at a fine description of East Awin as a refugee grouping that is produced, even encouraged, by the policy and actions of the PNG government and the UNHCR. The relocation of 4,000 people to a small area in a short space of time compelled relationality, as people settled themselves among others, and began to participate in intersecting fraternities as parents of schoolchildren, members of church congregations and Bible reading groups, sellers or buyers at the market, patients at clinics, users of public paths, and so on.

Furthermore, solidarity was produced between Muyu refugees at their camp of residence at East Awin, as an incident at a market illustrates: 'A prominent Muyu woman from Atkamba announced at the market one Saturday that women from other camps at East Awin were no longer welcome to sell their produce at St Bertilla market. Women from other camps (including Muyu camps) whose gardens were located in the vicinity of larger rivers were able to grow cucumbers, broad-leafed *kangkung*, chives, and snake beans. The location of their gardens was providing this group with a competitive advantage that disadvantaged Atkamba sellers, whose gardening land was dry.

Other sellers at the market experienced exclusion for different reasons. Twelve months after Cecilia's arrival in East Awin with 100 other families from Sota, only six families remained. In the following year, Cecilia's husband also left for Irian Jaya to see for himself the fate of refugees who had returned. Describing her sense of abandonment at this time, Cecilia used a phrase which is ordinarily used to refer to a child abandoned by its parents, or if a person has no surviving relatives:

We felt left behind like abandoned children when we recalled those people who had already returned, and at other times when there were disputes with the neighbouring camp at East Awin. We were now a very small camp and felt threatened, enclosed. So we tried not to make trouble, preferring instead to yield to others' demands. We adopted an attitude of *nai sepne*, which in our language means 'just leave it'. (p. 80.)

Glazebrook continues:

Cecilia's experience of living at East Awin was affected by the size of her camp in relation to neighbouring camps. It was the perception of belonging to a minority that was the basis of Cecilia's camp's solidarity, and their acquiescence.

When we first arrived, [we] baked cassava cakes to sell at the [East Awin] market. Because the cakes were enticing, other vendors protested that buyers were spending all of their money on our cakes and they were taking home their pro-

duce unsold. Then some of these other women copied our cakes, but buyers still bought from us and those women took their cakes home, unsold. They protested again and we thought: better we stop selling cakes than have this bitterness between us – we are only a few people here. (p. 81.)

Refugees often hold nostalgic views of their homeland and narrate in a variety of ways their grief over the past and present situation in their homeland. Glazebrook shows that these narratives create a picture of ethnic dichotomy between Christian, black, Melanesian Papua and Islamic, light-skinned, Java-dominated Indonesia. Those familiar with Papua know that this has been a persistent theme in Papuan nationalisms since the transfer of the territory to Indonesia.

However, there is also a significant cultural component in the construction of Papuan nationalism. Especially Arnold Ap, performance artist and curator of the region's Cenderawasih University Museum in the late 1970s, was instrumental in the making of Papuan nationalism. The fact that Ap died in 1984 at the hands of soldiers has contributed significantly to the current heroic status of his work of cultural salvage, regeneration, and expression. The way Ap's work and his assassination and the resulting imagery resonate among Papuans at East Awin is the focus of Chapter 2. The chapter is titled 'Culture as the conscious object of performance' and the analysis is revealingly built around Appadurai's concept of culturalism as the basis of mobilization of cultural difference that is directed at the envisioned independent state of Papua.

'Arnold Ap' is just one of the historical monologues about West Papuan experiences of Indonesian colonization that recur in the stories collected by Glazebrook. Other monologues include 'Trihora' (President Sukarno's campaign to liberate Netherlands New Guinea from Dutch control), 'Pepera' (Act of Free Choice or regional consultations on West New Guinea's political integration into Indonesia in 1969), 'transmigration' (a government project aimed at relocating landless and underemployed families from densely populated areas like Java and Madura to such regions as Papua), and 'Freeport' (the capitalist world living on Papuan wealth, particularly the gold and copper of the Grasberg and Tembagapura sites mined by Freeport-Indonesia, a subsidiary of the New Orleans-based mining corporation Freeport McMoRan). These are all experiences that, when brought together at a Papuan nationalist level, constitute what some theological scholars in Papua have labelled *memoria passionis* or collective 'memories of suffering'.

Glazebrook effectively shows that *memoria passionis* produces ripples and pressures that become woven into the politics in the camps. For example, in Chapter 8, she describes the fate of returnees becoming local transmigrants or *translokal* and thus feeding resentment among those who stayed behind in the East Awin camp. After only three years at East Awin, Conrad, a Kanum

speaker, left in 1995 to make a reconnaissance journey to Irian Jaya to assess the feasibility of permanent return. Around that time, 94 families were repatriated to Papua under the auspices of the UNHCR. In his absence, Conrad's *dusun* (plot of land containing cultivated areas) and those of his neighbours had been turned into a transmigration settlement. The local landholders, Conrad's neighbours, had been integrated into the settlement as *translokal*. Back in the camp, Conrad tells Glazebrook that he believed that ancestral spirits called *dema* had fled in terror once the felling and clearing of the *dusun* began. The disappearance of *dema* makes their descendants vulnerable. An evicted *dema* surprised in daylight may assume a human form such as a small child. It had happened that:

A *dema* which inhabited a place which was built into a soccer field became crowded out and fled into the forest because its place was destroyed. An Indonesian soldier saw it sitting beneath a tree in the forest crying and shot the *dema* thinking it was OPM [Free Papua Movement]. The *dema* fled deeper into the forest but returned that night to slash the soldier with a machete. It was only the intervention of an old person from Sota who spoke with the *dema* that saved the soldier's life (Conrad). (p. 113.)

Glazebrook goes on to explain that in Conrad's story, the identity of the ancestral spirit and the OPM freedom fighter become one:

The Indonesian soldier mistakes the *dema*, whose identity is bound to territory, for an OPM fighter, whose struggle is against the alienation of Papuan land. Both *dema* and OPM fighter weep over the occupation of their place, and their marginalization. The Indonesian soldier, completely oblivious to the vulnerability of the weeping figure, is trained to shoot on sight. The soldier seeks to eliminate the person that he suspects to be OPM. But ancestral spirits are not mortal, and their defence of their descendants and 'possession' of their ancestral land cannot be extinguished. They have an enduring metaphysical connection with a geographical territory. When the wrath of the displaced ancestral spirit is pitted against the Indonesian soldier in an action of retaliation, it is the mortal descendant of the ancestral spirit, an old person from Sota, who intervenes to save the soldier's life. As a descendant, the old person is part of the same metaphorical field as the *dema*. His compassionate intervention to save the soldier's life invokes the humanity of OPM fighters, who are usually represented as less than human. (pp. 113-4.)

The conviction that Indonesian soldiers view refugees as OPM sympathizers acted as a deterrent to returnees; many chose not to return to Irian Jaya. A perhaps more fundamental foundation of Papuan nationalism among refugees is their collective memories of suffering since the transfer of the territory to Indonesia. These memories of suffering result in an antagonistic opposition, generating local discourses that distinguish West Papuan nationhood in racial

and cultural as well as historical terms. Glazebrook explains this in clear language without the political overtones that abound in other more activist-like accounts.

Some ten years after Glazebrook did her fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, living conditions for most Papuans in Indonesia have not significantly improved, despite decentralization of central state power and progressive provincial development plans. These plans are often frustrated by antagonism between Papuan elites, a generally high level of corruption at all levels of the state and civil society, and the interests of certain political factions in Jakarta. Yet, over the last decade, civil society organizations and Papuan intellectuals have begun to surface in politics and policy roles. Nationwide appeals and support for peaceful protests, demonstrations and seminars organized by networks of Papuan students, the drafting of and lobbying for Special Autonomy regulations by academics and bureaucrats in Jayapura, and a growing number of critical writings by Papuans are indicative of powerful changes in the social landscape of the region. Overall, access to justice appears to be improving.

A high turnout of voters during elections for national parliament, provincial legislators, and presidents clearly demonstrates a growing will to support civilian-led government and the rule of law in Indonesia since New Order President Suharto resigned in 1998. This faith in the possibility of having a voice in the politics of Indonesia through democratic means is part of a larger process of people in Papua integrating Western and Indonesian reflections on colonial history, Christianity, and New Order nation-building and development. In general, we see that the people of Papua are moving away from old and new subservient positions. Yet these positive developments occur amid increasingly disturbing disparities in social and economic development in the region and still poorly monitored military actions (see Timmer 2007).

This explains that up to the present day Papuans continue to seek refuge abroad. Most prominent in the news recently was the arrival in Australia of 43 asylum seekers in January 2006. These refugees came by boat from the town of Merauke and claimed that the Indonesian government was persecuting them. The uncomplicated explanation that their flight was the result of human rights abuses was widely broadcast. Next it elicited significant public attention and was generally taken for granted. However, the picture sketched was far from reality. It suggested a situation in which 'Jakarta' was carrying out programs such as transmigration, military actions, and spreading HIV viruses as part of a deliberate policy of limiting access to services for Papuans by way of a genocide or ethnocide. Such exaggerations are by and large produced by Papuans, but can also be traced back to foreign reporters. In fact, the two often reinforce each other's perception of Papua's sorrows.

This recent case of flight falls outside the time span and geographical

space covered by Glazebrook. But it relates to her account of the development of forms of Papuan nationalism that are reproduced by activists, journalists and scholars in Australia and elsewhere. As these constructions find their way back to Papua and at the same time frustrate the government in Jakarta, it is unlikely they will help to improve the situation in Papua. The seizing of opportunities for personal political gain that we see happening around the issue of Papua and its refugees will certainly continue for some time to come.

Permissive residents gives us clear indications of the underlying history and social and cultural dynamics of Papuan flight, as well as the evolving cultural production of ethnonationalism among refugees and the effects this has on the responses of policy makers in Jakarta and the receiving country. Therefore the book should not only be read by scholars in refugee studies and anthropologists interested in cultural production in new dwellings, but also by people in the political society who influence decisions about refugees and foreign policy.

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Timmer, Jaap

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This is an odd book. It is a reissue of Haberberger's doctoral thesis in history (Universität Bayreuth, 2005) that sets out to counter William Arens's *The man-eating myth* (1980). Arens' book was very much a book of its time; his agenda was to clear 'savages' from the western colonist accusation of cannibalism. Arens argues that anthropologists' uncritical acceptance of accounts of anthropophagy owes much to a set of negative, self-interested motives. Frontier patrollers, missionaries, explorers, and armed forces who reported about and often acted harshly against cannibalism, were in Arens's view misled. Yet for most scholars of anthropology and archaeology there is little question about whether there have been or are people who eat human flesh. The social, cultural, political, and historical context in which this occurs varies from ethnic conflict, modern war, ritual headhunting, the cooking and eating of sorcerers who are considered inhuman, to sexual thrill (remember the 'Rotenburg Cannibal' in 2001 who killed a voluntary victim he had found via the Internet and ate his penis).

The historical setting for Haberberger's research is German and British New Guinea in the period 1884-1914, shortly after first contact up until the First World War. Netherlands New Guinea is not included because the author believes that cannibalism was much less frequent there. This made me wonder whether he knows the sources on the Asmat and the Marind, who are renowned for their long and extensive tradition of headhunting. During raids, cannibalism of whole bodies of enemy victims was normal, as was the ritual

eating of small body fragments. And of course there is the spectacular myth of the consumption of Michael Rockefeller by the Asmat in 1962. This is an imaginary story that up to the present day is told by Asmat in varying detail but with univocal enthusiasm to tourists. It also still features largely in popular literature that frames New Guinea in Stone Age, primitive and lost tribe imagery.

There is quite some literature on anthropophagy in New Guinea that would have alerted Haberberger to the importance of understanding whether the eating of human flesh is part of belief, story-telling, fame and status, or whether it concerns a real act, perhaps as part of headhunts (partly ritual, partly to fill empty stomachs), ritual cycles (cosmological demand), and as effects of warfare. Haberberger, however, focuses narrowly on 'factual information' in colonial reports that he unearthed in missionary and colonial archives. Here is where much of the local cultural context disappears. The archives consulted include the New Guinea Collection at the University of Papua New Guinea, the Bishop's Archive in Rabaul, the Herz-Jesu Mission in Münster, the Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern in Neuendettelsau, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, the Council for World Mission, the National Archives in Canberra, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney. Among other prominent cases of cannibalism, Haberberger investigates in detail the case of James Chalmers, a Scottish missionary-explorer who served in New Guinea from 1877 until his brutal murder by local people in 1901, during a trip to Goaribari Island.

Next, Haberberger ventured into Papua New Guinea to cross-check a number of cases with local people. He interviewed seven people on Nissan Island (Solomon Islands) and one in Vunapope (New Britain) in 2003. On Nissan Island Haberberger investigated the case of a widow who was murdered and allegedly eaten. He brought with him the data collected by Judge Benno Scholz and the ethnographer Richard Thurnwald, who both took part in an expedition in 1907 that aimed to punish those who had killed the widow. During fieldwork Haberberger found that people can still recount all the names of the people who were involved in the case. This convinces him that due to the importance of oral traditions among Melanesians, people's recollections of events that happened over a century ago are credible. Yet the information from his informants related in the book appears scant at best. What I gather from these reports is that the stories relayed to Haberberger were evaluations of relatively prominent historical incidents from modern viewpoints that include ideas about modern justice, local Christian morality, modern media, and perhaps a tradition of tourist interest in the killing of a famous missionary or in a devastating punitive act by the colonial government. Inspiring material for Arens!

The link that Haberberger establishes between cannibalism and colonialism appears to be largely limited to an evaluation of the effectiveness of government and missionary attempts to abolish cannibalism. Take for instance

his explanation of the differences between colonial punishment in German New Guinea and British New Guinea. His evaluation suggests that Germans appeared much more effective because German missionaries collaborated better with the government and the cannibals were more localized than in British New Guinea. At the same time he suggests that the main factor behind the decline in cannibalism during the period under scrutiny is the effectiveness of collective punishments. While stressing this point, Haberberger appears to agree with the then widely accepted idea that cannibalism is an uncivilized and sinful act and should therefore be abolished heavy-handedly. This is obviously not a healthy point of departure for scholarly research.

Furthermore, he suggests that the arrest of individuals would be new to the indigenous population and would thus have less impact than collective punishment. Yet many of the cases of cannibalism involved punishments for individual sorcerers, misbehaving widows, and particular persons of enemy groups. Both group and individual punishment exist in Melanesian cultures, and Haberberger's conclusion appears to whitewash or legitimize harsh punitive expeditions that targeted whole communities and often destroyed villages and gardens.

Even more esoteric are the poorly printed pictures of open spaces in forests that informants pointed out as locations where human flesh was devoured. They add a kind of CSI evidence to the argumentation and ridicule local signatures in the landscape that may point to many other meanings. For historians, and for anthropologists and socio-legal scholars interested in colonial cultural interactions, Haberberger does not have much to add. For those who are especially interested in cannibalism in Melanesia this book provides useful overviews of cases by region and in relation to archival resources.

Sri Tjahjani Kuhnt-Saptodewo, *Getanzte Geschichte; Tanz, Religion und Geschichte auf Java*. Wien: LIT, 2006, 240 pp. [Veröffentlichungen zum Archiv für Völkerkunde, Bd. 11.] ISBN 3825886484. Price: EUR 24.90 (paperback).

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Two questions form the basis for *Getanzte Geschichte; Tanz, Religion und Geschichte auf Java*. How far does dance as a non-verbal medium represent the history of the Javanese, who are (primarily) orally orientated? Can dance be

treated as a historical document?

In her book, Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo approaches Javanese dance not just as an art form but also as a medium for passing down culturally important elements from one generation to the next. History, in her view, should not be considered 'factual' but should rather be perceived as 'recollected' history. In Java, it consists of a mixture of historical facts and interpretations of these facts, myths and religion. The author shows how different versions of important historical events can be drawn from the cultural reservoir to be performed in dance. As such, the past is passed down visually, embodied in movement, making it tangible and real. To support her thesis, the author analyses female court dances belonging to the genres of *bedhaya* and *srimpi*. She goes into the details of the creation of these dances, their historical framework, and connection to the court, where they were preserved as sacred heirlooms. She presents readers with the history of the dances as well as the history within the dances. This makes the book valuable. It demonstrates that dance should be taken into consideration as a source for historiography, just as much as other types of representations like movies, photographs, letters, songs and paintings.

In the first chapter, 'History as interaction between past and present', the author distinguishes between three categories of media that transmit history from generation to generation: oral, written, and non-verbal presentation of history. The third category, the non-verbal medium, functions as a reservoir for values, culture and the past of a people. If neglected, an important part of culture is not taken into account. Performing arts are a mixture of verbal and non-verbal presentation. Although up to now they have played an important role in Southeast Asia, they have rarely been used as a basis for historical research. Kuhnt-Saptodewo puts Javanese dance in a wider context, devoting her second chapter to the examination of cultural exchange within Southeast Asia. She focuses on the meaning of dance in Southeast Asian religions, the exchange of epics and myths, and the Indianizing of dance. Since culture and religion on Java cannot be strictly separated from each other, the special role of dance and its relation to Javanese religion, and the religious function of sacred court dances, are discussed (Chapter 3). Before tackling the visualizing of history in dance, the influence of history on performing arts receives ample attention. Wandering through the history of Java – Javanese history from the Javanese point of view – the author looks at the creation of specific dances. By incorporating theatrical genres such as *kethoprak* and *srimulat*, and dance opera such as *langendriyan*, the author crosses the borders between the traditional categories of dance and theatre, categories that do not really fit Javanese performing arts (Chapter 4). 'Danced history' (Chapter 5) is the most exciting chapter of the book. The author distinguishes four functions of dance performances: to recollect the historical framework of a factual event

and transmit it to following generations; to come to terms with the past; to continuously adapt the past to new contexts and developments, by means of subjective interpretation of this past; and to legitimize the past by connecting it to religions.

Having been born in Java and educated as a Javanese dancer herself, Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo aims at giving an insider's perspective on how Javanese perceive their performing arts and their own history. Her analysis is based on a wealth of sources, including Javanese chronicles, interviews with dancers and choreographers, dance notations, and of course dance performances. The author's academic research has yielded a wealth of information on a wide variety of topics, from various backgrounds and disciplines: Javanese literature, history, performance theory and practice, performance contexts through the ages, philosophy of classical Javanese dance, dance traditions from other ethnic cultures in Indonesia, the Javanese courts, historical awareness in the Malay space, Malay manuscripts and their dissemination, the development of early Southeast Asian kingdoms, numerology, discussions on sacred and secular Balinese dance, and so on. Inevitably, this striving for comprehensiveness leaves questions unanswered. It also means that, taking the overall theme of the research into consideration, attention tends to be diverted from the main focus. Because of the enormous amount of information given, a good index and a detailed table of contents would have been very helpful.

The book appears to have been published under serious time pressure. While the analysis of danced history in Chapter 5 provides fascinating information, the last section, dealing with *Bedhaya Sang Amurwo Bumi*, seems to abruptly fizzle out. Editorial shortcomings as well may be due to time pressure: The end of the reign of Pakualam VIII is indicated with a question mark (p. 139). While 'mangamuk anyakra / gandhéwanya lir kilat' is correctly translated as 'he attacks with his discus / his arrows flash like lightning' (p. 186; translation quoted from Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1992), the similar 'mangamuk anyakra, gandewane lir kilat' is wrongly translated by the author as 'wild mit seiner Waffe, Cakra, die so schnell ist wie der Blitz' (p. 181). This brings me to the spelling of Javanese words and names: *Bedhaya Sang Amurwo Bumi* should be *Bedhaya Sang Amurwa Bumi*. There are also combinations like *gendhing dandanggula* which, for the sake of consistency, should be spelled *gendhing dhandhanggula*. Finally, the glossary is far from complete. It does contain *kra-ton*, but not *pura* (as used in the combination 'Pura Mangkunegaran'). *Bedhaya* in the glossary only refers to the dance genre, while on page 103, for example, it is used for female dancers, soldiers. These are, of course, minor details, not detracting from the overall quality of the book.

As the past is a current topic again – the theme of the Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta 2008 was 'The Past is New; Masa Lalu Selalu Baru', while Cemeti Art House since 2006 has organized a series of exhibitions questioning the

presentation of 'true history', entitled 'Masa Lalu Masa Lupa' – this book should be made available to Indonesian readers. Especially now, when the role of regional cultures in contemporary Indonesia and ways to preserve these cultures are being examined, all this knowledge should be made known to following generations. On the last page of her book, Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo promises the reader to go into the most recent contemporary developments in 'späteren Forschungen'. I do hope that her research will have a follow-up. The tradition of putting history on stage, started by Javanese kings, has continued outside the courts. So many interesting subjects and historical figures have played a role in contemporary Javanese dance creations: RM Kristiadi's *Sang Prawara*, Sulistyio Tirtokusumo's *Panji Sepuh*, Sardono W. Kusumo's *Opera Diponegoro*, to name but a few. And what to think of *Opera Jawa*, Garin Nugroho's film featuring danced history, based on the Ramayana and more recent historical events?

Lee Hock Guan (ed.), *Ageing in Southeast and East Asia; Family, social protection and policy changes*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2008, 247 pp. ISBN 9789812307651, price SGD 39.90 (paperback); 9789812307668, SGD 69.90 (hardback).

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Ageing is the demographic phenomenon of an increasing proportion of elderly people (aged 65+, or, more appropriately for the Southeast Asian context, 60+) relative to declining proportions of the population under 15 and the (presumably) economically productive part of the population (aged 15-65 or 15-60). Population ageing as a phase in the process of demographic transition sets in after a consistent and durable fertility decline. This is happening in a number of Southeast Asian countries, whether with (Indonesia) or without (Thailand) a national family planning programme. Because the pace of fertility decline differs, the process of structural change in the population age composition varies among countries as well. The Philippines, for example, is lagging behind because of persistently high fertility levels, no doubt because of the importance people attach to the stand taken on contraception by the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, it does not feature in the discussion in this book. When as a result of poverty decline and institutional development people also live longer, the ageing process becomes even more pronounced

(sometimes referred to as double ageing). This is the case in the world's most rapidly ageing country, Japan, which experienced substantial fertility decline during the previous decades and has the world's highest life expectancies.

While ageing is an acknowledged social issue in Japan, in Southeast Asia it is a much underrated social problem, whose ramifications up to now have barely been investigated. For this reason the book under review is important and useful. The chapters were selected from papers delivered at a workshop entitled 'Ageing and the Status of Older People in Southeast Asia', convened by ISEAS, 22-23 November 2004. The first seven chapters of the book discuss national ageing policies and pension schemes in Japan (by Chia Ngee Choon, Yukinobu Kitamura, and Albert Tsui K.C.), Singapore (Chia Ngee Choon), Korea (Ahn Kye Choon and Chung Kyung), Singapore (Yap Mui Teng), Indonesia (Alex Arifianto), Malaysia (Tengku Aizan Hamid and Nurizan Yahaya), and Thailand (Nibhon Debavalya). Chapters 8 to 12 are more thematic. They discuss: living arrangements as social support and the role of family in Southeast Asia (Josefina Natividad), the quality of life of Singapore elderly (Grace Wong), life events and life satisfaction of elderly in Malaysia (Ong Fon Sim), multigenerational families in Singapore (Kalyani Mehta and Than Leng Leng), and support transfers between elderly parents and their children in Indonesia (Sri Harijati Hatmadji and Nur Hadi Wiyono).

The fact that the statistical data presented on the living arrangements of elderly in Southeast Asian countries is not very recent (1994-1997) indicates the relative neglect of the ageing problem as an issue for national policymakers. There simply are no more recent figures available. Hopefully, the message of the book that ageing and the growing elderly population of Southeast Asia is a matter of urgent concern will not fall on deaf ears. An important reason for the lack of attention to the issue is the lingering conviction – also among policymakers – that old people will be taken care of by their families, particularly by their adult children, given the Asian values of family solidarity and filial duty. While indeed according to the (not very recent) figures large proportions of elderly people live with one or more of their adult children and are presumably cared for by them, Natividad in her chapter points to the reasons why just counting on kin support will not do in the years to come. 'With rising numbers of old people, along with modernization – urbanization, migration, higher labour force participation of women who are the traditional caregivers and reduced fertility resulting in fewer members of one's kin network – the question of who will provide support for the elderly is now an issue of very timely concern' (p. 162). This concern is echoed in a way in what Singapore elderly see as the priorities for quality of life in old age, as documented by Grace Wong in her chapter. Across racial lines, family ties are considered unequivocally the most important aspect of life in old age (p. 184). The question is to what extent the elderly in Southeast Asia will be

able to count on family for support in the decades to come.

The importance attached to family ties by the elderly certainly does not provide an excuse for policy-makers to sit back and do nothing. And even if policies and laws pertaining to the subject are formulated (the book showing ample examples of these), means will have to be found for their implementation and budget allocations will have to be made. In this respect the situation in Southeast Asian countries differs from that in Japan. However, now is the time to invest in financing ageing, since dependency ratios in most Southeast Asian countries are at historically low levels. Because fertility has declined, the low proportion of young dependants has depressed dependency ratios. Before they rise again as a result of an increasing population of the elderly, there is an opportunity to invest, a demographic dividend – as it is commonly referred to – to make use of.

To conclude, this book is highly relevant for social policymaking and research in Southeast Asia. It might not provide new perspectives for those who have been following the issue of ageing in Asia for some time and know the literature on the subject, but it provides the information and insights needed for further in-depth research and for coming up with feasible and appropriate solutions for the problems most Southeast Asian countries will face in the near future. A last comment is that the editing could have been done with more care. For example, the population of 14 million Indonesian elderly in 2000 did not almost equal the 'number of old people in the Netherlands in 2001' (p. 230) but rather the entire population of the Netherlands. Additionally, there are unnecessary typos and misspellings of names.

Rosanne Rutten (ed.), *Brokering a revolution; Cadres in a Philippine insurgency*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008. viii + 400 pp. ISBN 9789715505536 (paperback).

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Every chapter in this book sparkles with new information, analytical insights, and clear prose. Each of the eight contributors has done original research on the National Democratic movement in the Philippines, which started in the late 1960s and continues today. The movement's underground organizations, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA), compose Southeast Asia's oldest armed revolution. At its peak in 1985-1986,

just as its hated enemy, the Marcos regime, was collapsing, the CPP-NPA had some 14,000 armed fighters and 30,000 party members. By the early 1990s, however, the CPP-NPA was nearly decimated, partly because the Philippine state had overpowered it but more because vicious, often murderous internal debates and splits had sapped the organizations' strength. Surprisingly, the CPP-NPA revived somewhat; by 2006 it had about 7,000 fighters. All the chapters in this book examine the ups and downs of the CPP-NPA by focusing on relations among people within the movement and between them and groups and interests beyond.

Rosanne Rutten provides an exemplary introduction for an edited book. She explains the collection's emphasis on 'cadres who do the actual work' of 'brokering revolutions' (p. 3); summarizes what each chapter says about cadres' successes and failures in creating networks among various people, interests, and groups; and extracts six themes running through the book. In the process, Rutten links the arguments and findings to other studies of rebellion and revolution in the Philippines and beyond.

Rutten also contributes an engaging chapter about the CPP-NPA in Negros Occidental in the central Philippines. The revolutionary movement in this largely agricultural province grew during the 1970s and early 1980s, primarily because cadres creatively formed alliances with numerous progressive groups and individuals, often Catholic priests, nuns, and laity; organized support among agricultural workers; and took advantage of a modest military presence as well as considerable animosity among landed elites toward the Marcos regime. The decline began about a year after the Marcos regime and accelerated in the early 1990s. The government's effective use of military force was one cause. Even more significant were numerous splits and acrimonious arguments about strategies and tactics that enveloped cadres and their erstwhile allies following the return of 'democracy' in the Philippines. Rutten develops this complicated story with aplomb.

Chapters by Gerard Finin, Dorothea Hilhorst, and Lynn Kwiatkowski are about the CPP-NPA in the Cordillera region in the northern Philippines. Each looks at the revolutionary movement there from a different perspective. Finin examines interactions between cadres from this mountainous region and those from the Philippine lowlands. He explains how initially strained relations between the two groups of revolutionaries became workable in the early 1970s. Aiding their struggle to establish bases was the local cadres' ability to use their connections to some prominent provincial politicians. By the late 1970s, the guerrillas' ranks had swelled due to widespread opposition in the Cordillera to 'development' projects that seriously threatened people's livelihoods and land. Greater local support, however, brought to the fore a latent ethno-regional identity that was at odds with the CPP-NPA's emphasis on Philippine nationalism. In 1986, a large number of cadres broke

away from the CPP-NPA to form the Cordillera People's Liberation Army. A few years later, the two guerrilla armies were at war with each other. Kwiatkowski emphasizes villagers' views of NPA guerrillas in Ifugao, a province in the Cordillera, during the 1980s and early 1990s. Through anthropological research, she explains why villagers changed from being rather positive about the NPA to being negative. The overall reason for the reversal is that NPA members 'no longer demonstrated [...] respect, reciprocity, and empathy with the poor' (p. 269). Hilhorst analyses National Democratic cadres and NGO activists who, like their counterparts elsewhere in the country, were caught up in heated debates and deadly factionalism during the 1990s. Highlighted in her examination are indigenous cultural features that worked for and against the various positions.

Two chapters examine the movement in Mindanao, the largest island in the southern Philippines. Thomas McKenna investigates why two anti-government movements there in the 1970s-1980s, the CPP-NPA and Moro National Liberation Front-Bangsamoro Army (or MNLF-BMA), never formed meaningful alliances. The reasons, he argues, are several, but the underlying ones are 'Christian chauvinism' and 'ethnocentrism' among CPP-NPA cadres toward Muslim Filipinos (pp. 141-2). Patricio Abinales studies the campaign within the Mindanao CPP-NPA during the mid-1980s to purge itself of government infiltrators. The effort spiralled out of control, with innuendo and personal animosities frequently replacing evidence and facts to justify killing hundreds of comrades. Thousands more fled the movement in disgust or for fear of their lives. Using CPP-NPA documents, Abinales concludes that the main explanation for this bloody episode was inexperienced and unreflective cadre leadership.

Nathan Quimpo's chapter focuses on CPP-NPA cadres in Western Europe who were seeking diplomatic and material support to help their comrades in the Philippines during the 1970s-1990s. Being both a social scientist and a former leader within the CPP-NPA, Quimpo brings the unusual combination of personal experience and research to examine the successes, setbacks, and failures of the movement's international work. He also details how ideological and factional struggles within the movement played out among its international cadres.

Vincent Boudreau analyses how state repression affects revolutionary movements, especially the choices and actions of CPP-NPA cadres. Through a judicious use of theory, his research on the CPP-NPA, and comparisons to other countries, Boudreau identifies several patterns of interactions between repression and resistance. The pattern in the Philippines during the Marcos regime is rather different than in Burma and Indonesia during authoritarian rule there. That dissimilarity, he argues, helps to explain significant differences in forms and types of resistance in each of these countries.

Every chapter in this book is a good read; taken together, the nine chapters contribute significantly to our knowledge and understanding of the Philippine National Democratic movement and to the role of cadres in revolutions generally.

Reimar Schefold, Gaudenz Domenig and Peter Nas (eds), *Indonesian houses; Volume 1; Tradition and transformation in vernacular architecture*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003, vii + 527 pp. [Verhandelingen KITLV 207.] ISBN 9067182052 (paperback).

Reimar Schefold, Gaudenz Domenig, Peter Nas, and Robert Wessing (eds), *Indonesian houses; Volume 2; Survey of vernacular architecture in western Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008, vi + 716 pp. [Verhandelingen KITLV 251.] ISBN 9789067183055. Price: EUR 39.50 (paperback).

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These two volumes are the outcome of a multidisciplinary project of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW), involving a team of European and Indonesian anthropologists, sociologists, and architects, whose aim has been to promote the documentation and analysis of vernacular architectures in Indonesia. To this end conferences and workshops have been held, relations established, and field research collaboratively pursued with Indonesian colleagues, and a new generation of PhD students nurtured and encouraged to work in little-researched and under-documented areas, particularly of western Indonesia. For all of this the editors, who between them have been the driving force behind this project, deserve much credit.

Each of these volumes is substantial and well-illustrated, the first containing 17 chapters and the second 22, the latter being even more generously illustrated with drawings and photographs than the former. Volume 1 is the product of a conference held in Leiden in 1997, and presents a rich assembly of new materials from both older and younger scholars. It focuses on diachronic analyses of continuities and transformations in a range of both western and eastern Indonesian societies, while also paying close attention to the diversity of types that typically exists within a particular society. Anthropologists should note that it also includes an illustrated glossary

of technical terms relating to carpentry and the parts of timber buildings, prepared by architect Gaudenz Domenig. Since we often lack training in such matters, this should prove a most valuable resource to any fieldworker about to embark on research, and will definitely help us to do a better job of understanding and documenting the built forms of the peoples we study. Volume 2 presents a more systematic survey of the architectures of western Indonesian cultures, including a number of comparative studies. The two volumes represent a huge advance in the documentation of built forms in previously lesser-known regions, in particular of Sumatra. At the same time, they are also theoretically stimulating, asking fresh questions and laying out new approaches to the analysis of vernacular architectures. Between them, they help to refine our broader understandings of the many shared features underlying the surface diversity of Austronesian traditions of construction (or what Reimar Schefold, in his introduction to Volume 1, more specifically calls 'the Southeast Asian-type house'). Schefold suggests that the variation and recombination of a set of typical architectural concepts and features across the region has come about partly through creative processes of *bricolage*, and partly by exploiting the potentials for expanding a house over time from a basic core structure, a practice which is common in many Southeast Asian societies.

With a total of 39 chapters, each ethnographically rich, it is impossible to do justice to all of them in the space of a brief review, so instead I shall draw attention to some of the significant themes that emerge from a reading of these two volumes. The project is valuable for a number of reasons. Its collaborative approach has extended in some cases to shared fieldwork with Indonesian scholars, and the shared authorship of chapters, as well as the inclusion of a number of individual contributions from Indonesian researchers. The multidisciplinary nature of the project has also been a crucial feature. The different perspectives contributed by anthropologists, architects and sociologists complement each other and offer a variety of styles of analysis. Anthropologists often have the advantage of a prolonged familiarity with the areas they study, which is helpful in terms of observation of the small details of everyday life, as well as in grasping the wider social contexts in which the activity of dwelling is carried on, and the historical shifts brought about by migrations, religious conversions, changes in economy, and political upheavals. Natural upheavals in this seismically active region are also not to be underestimated: an earthquake destroyed huge numbers of Kerinci houses shortly after Schefold and Domenig had visited them on a field trip in 1995. A theme that emerges from both volumes is a readiness to explore also the 'affective potentials' of indigenous architectures, including for instance Bart Barendregt's imaginative discussion of 'haunted' houses, memory and emotional attachment to places, in his chapter (in Volume 2) about the *rumah*

uluan of highland southern Sumatra. Architects are trained to observe the structure of a building much more minutely than the average social scientist is likely to, and have a sharp eye for possible alterations over time which can also generate new historical insights. This is evident in the contributions of Gaudenz Domenig, who has spent decades studying the vernacular traditions of both Indonesia and Japan. His thoughtful contributions include fascinating analyses of the ways in which some structures appear to have evolved and interacted with each other over time – as in the case of Toba Batak houses and barns (see his chapter in Volume 1) or the relatively rare round houses of Indonesia (Volume 2). He also makes acute observations on the complex interplay between functional and ritual aspects (as in his discussion of variation in Karo Batak house forms, in Volume 2). The study of urban areas (notably by Peter Nas, in both volumes) ensures a wider focus. Nas's discussion of the many meanings, both urban and rural, of the term *kampung*, for instance (in Volume 2), is very useful for an understanding of urban neighbourhoods in Indonesia. Several papers also include an exploration of how traditional ideas about symbolism, identity, or the uses of space may be transferred from older houses to modern concrete bungalows. Peter Nas and Martin van Bakel in Volume 1, and Reimar Schefold in Volume 2, also discuss how newer buildings in Indonesia frequently incorporate a pastiche of elements drawn from existing architectural repertoires. These adaptations form part of the effort to assert or hold on to local identities in the context of the modern nation-state's efforts to manage ethnicity through a process of 'folklorization'.

The fact that so much variation has been maintained across the Indonesian archipelago by groups that are constantly in contact with each other is a theme explored in the first few chapters of Volume 1 (by Reimar Schefold, Gaudenz Domenig, and Bart Barendregt). Different techniques of construction and forms of aesthetic expression can often be found even within the same society, and certainly appear to have been deliberately maintained between neighbouring groups, in a process which the editors call 'mutual contrasting'. In this way, architecture has continually lent itself to the visible expression of distinct cultural identities, just as in places it has also been exploited as a means to embody distinctions of status between ranks within a single society.

Several authors have chapters on their fieldwork areas in both volumes, enriching our knowledge of lesser known vernaculars. These include contributions by Peter Nas and Akifumi Iwabuchi (on Aceh, Gayo and Alas in northern Sumatra), Marcel Vellinga (on southern districts of Minangkabau), Jan Wuisman (on the Rejang), Fiona Kerlogue (on Jambi), Sandra Taal (on Palembang), Bart Barendregt (on the *rumah uluan* of highland southern Sumatra) and Robert Wessing (on Sunda). In Volume 1, papers by Gregory Forth, Christian Pelras, Antonio Guerreiro, Michael Vischer and James Fox

extend the focus eastward through the archipelago, continuing the emphasis on historical developments and change. Volume 2 contains several important comparative studies, including those by Nathan Porath and Gerard Persoon, who examine the lean-to structures built by nomadic forest dwellers, and Lioba Lenhart's study of the boat dwellings and temporary structures made by sea nomads. So temporary as to be easily overlooked, these categories of dwelling are actually of considerable significance in the history of peoples in the region as a whole.

Both volumes show a marked emphasis on a diachronic approach to the study of vernacular architectures, moving away from an older form of analysis which tended to freeze actual variety into a single, supposedly 'ideal', type for each area. Variations within particular areas, and changes over the long term, both receive close attention. In Volume 2, Reimar Schefold's chapter on Siberut (where couples oscillate between the intense sociality and ceremonial life of the longhouse and the relative privacy of their field huts), and Jan Wuisman's chapter on the Rejang (who often start their married life in a field hut and move into the village only later) both explore how seasonal or life-cycle changes affect the sort of structures people inhabit at different times. Taken as a whole, the case studies in these volumes show great variation in the durability or fragility of different traditions; while some flourish, others are in an advanced state of decay (as in several of the Sumatran examples studied), or have been undermined by local government pressures to 'modernize' (as in the tragic loss of traditional houses on Roti, documented by James Fox in Volume 1). These studies richly convey a physical sense of Indonesia's diverse indigenous building traditions, together with the complexity of kinship relations, emotions, memories and worldviews that have imbued them with meaning. They also contain a warning about how easily these traditions may be lost.

Poppy Siahaan, *Metaphorische Konzepte im Deutschen und im Indonesischen; Herz, Leber, Kopf, Auge und Hand*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008, 199 pp. [European University Studies, Series XXI, Linguistics, Vol. 315.] ISBN 9783631571255. Price: EUR 38.40 (paperback).

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This book, which was originally defended as a PhD thesis at the University of Bremen in 2007, deals with the metaphorical concepts of heart/liver, head, eye, and hand in German and in Indonesian. Taking her cue from modern metaphor theories, Poppy Siahaan regards metaphors as cognitive constructs that determine thinking and acting rather than as rhetorical or poetical devices. Put differently, metaphors are not seen merely as linguistic embellishments, but, much more fundamentally, are believed to be indicators of what people think and do. Due to this theoretical viewpoint it is understandable that the author in several instances feels the need to dwell on so-called ancient ('underlying') concepts, which in her opinion continue to inform contemporary life. This would explain her digressions on liver divination or on different concepts of the soul in some 'ancient' regional Indonesian religions, and it may also be the reason why she exclusively interprets the term *hati* as 'liver' throughout her book. Apparently, she views 'liver' as its 'essential' meaning. Even in the cases of *setengah hati* (Dutch *halfhartig*; English 'half-hearted') and *sepenuh hati* (Dutch *van ganse harte*; English 'wholehearted'), she doubts the possibility of Western influence (p. 53); the expression *tinggi hati* (Dutch *hooghartig*; English 'arrogant; haughty; proud') is omitted. However, *hati*, which is an important concept in Malay/Indonesian (see, for example, also the study by Lim 2003, who furthermore brings it into connection with *budi*, a term not mentioned in the book under review), equally covers the concept of 'heart'. In this connection I should like to point out that the medicinal plant *daun hati-hati* (*Coleus amboinicus* LOUR.) takes its name from its cordate that is, heart-shaped, not liver-shaped leaves.

Comparing contemporary usages in German and Indonesian, Siahaan opines that, in contrast to German, in the Indonesian case age-old traditions and beliefs still have a much stronger hold on the language. With all due respect to the author of this study, who has delivered a decent piece of work, I hold exactly the contrary view. Bahasa Indonesia or Indonesian is the official name for a modern variety of the Malay language in the modern nation state Indonesia, and in my view the wished-for modernity of standard Bahasa Indonesia constitutes its chief hallmark. A substantial part of the contemporary Indonesian lexicon is derived from Western sources (Dutch and English), and I seriously doubt that the material discussed here in all cases truly reflects 'an age-old Indonesian culture'. For example, Siahaan discusses four terms relating to temperature (*panas*, 'hot'; *hangat*, 'warm'; *sejuk*, 'cool'; *dingin*, 'cold') without taking into account the fact that this specification is relatively new, and not something 'originally' Indonesian. As Amin Sweeney (2006:341) recently reminded us, the Malay words *panas* and *hangat* have undergone a semantic shift in Bahasa Indonesia under the influence of Dutch, nowadays reinforced by the global language English. The Dutch term *heet* or

'hot' became *panas*, whereas *warm* ('warm') was expressed by *hangat*. When the nineteenth-century author Abdullah Munshi wrote about a punishment that *diselarnya budak itu dengan besi hangat di kaki tangannya dipegangnya oleh beberapa orang* (Sweeney 2006:333), he meant that the unfortunate person was branded with red-hot iron, not treated with warm compresses. *Hangat* still has not entirely lost its heat, however. Ali Akbar Navis (1924-2003), in his classic short story *Robohnya surau kami*, vividly pictured hellfire (is any hotter place imaginable?), using *hangat* and *panas* synonymously: *Api neraka tiba-tiba menghawakan kehangatannya ke tubuh Haji Saleh. Dan ia menangis. Tapi setiap air matanya mengalir, diisap kering oleh hawa panas neraka itu* (Navis 2005:176).

The variant expressions *kepala sejuk* and *kepala dingin* must also be relatively new inventions. In any case they cannot be found in Ian Proudfoot's most useful Malay Concordance Project, which is a database comprising over 130 pre-modern texts and 4.8 million words (available online at <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/mcp.html>; not consulted in the book under review). The historian Hans van Miert opens his study on moderate nationalist organizations in the Dutch East Indies in the second decade of the twentieth century with a statement in Dutch by the theosophist Fournier, who, in 1920, summed up the qualities of a good political leader as those of possessing 'a cool head and a warm heart' (*een koel hoofd en een warm hart*). One year later, according to Van Miert (1995:9), a Javanese politician used 'exactly the same words' in Malay: *kepala yang dingin*, and *hati yang gembira*, indicating that these expressions had meanwhile entered the jargon of moderate nationalists. However, the words are not exactly the same: Wilkinson's dictionary informs us that the word *dingin* means 'cold; chilliness – in contr[ast] to pleasant coolness (*sejuk*)'; and *gembira hati* is translated as 'spirited'.

There are many more of such calques in Siahaan's material. Take, for example, the expression *tangan besi*, which does not seem to occur in pre-modern Malay texts, but is derived from Dutch *ijzeren vuist/hand* or from English 'iron fist/hand', referring to a strong, harsh method of control. In fact, a lot more phrases could have been included for discussion: what to think of *gatal tangan* (Dutch *handen/vingers jeuken*; English 'to have itchy fingers', meaning that one is eager to start doing something); *bawah tangan* (Dutch *onder de hand*; English 'under-the-table; private') as in *menjual di bawah tangan* (Dutch *onder de hand verkopen*); and *empat mata* (Dutch *vier ogen*; English 'face to face, privately') as in *pertemuan empat mata* (Dutch *ontmoeting onder vier ogen*)?

I missed a discussion of the jocular expression *mata keranjang*, 'girl-crazy' glossed by Badudu (1980:193) as *rembang mata*. The complexity of the phrase *melihat* (or another verb denoting 'seeing') *dengan sebelah mata*, which according to Siahaan is very culture-specific (pp. 126-7), is categorized as 'to consider something as unimportant'. I agree with her general categorization, but the problem is that she merely provides one example (*jangan melihat persoalannya*,

perselisihan tadi, dengan sebelah mata). Consulting Badudu (1980:195), we will find another example of its usage (*dia memandang aku dengan sebelah mata...*), and this Indonesian sentence could easily be translated into Dutch as *hij/zij keek mij met één/een half/scheef oog aan...* (it is glossed as *memandang rendah/hina* by Badudu).

In the case of the antonymous pair *hati/akal* or *hati/kepala*, Siahaan wonders whether Western culture may have exerted some influence (p. 58). Remarkably enough, however, she gives no thought at all to the possibility of influence by Arabo-Muslim ideas related to the 'science of hearts' (*'ilm al-qulūb*), in which the *nafs* ('self; ego') and *'aql* ('intellect') play a pivotal role. There exists a large body of scholarly literature on insular Southeast Asian understandings of these Islamic 'head/heart' notions (particularly in Malaysia, Aceh, Minangkabau, and Java), popularly known in their Indonesianized forms as (*hawa*) *nafsu* ('passion; desire; emotionality; instinct') and *akal* ('reason; rationality').

Although I do not share all the interpretations and conclusions of the author, this book is a welcome contribution to the study of certain ubiquitous metaphors in Indonesian and German, offering a most useful corpus of empirical material.

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I Nyoman Sudira, *Traditional village governance (desa adat) and interethnic conflict in Bali; A study of conflict between Balinese and migrants: cases from municipality of Denpasar*. Helsinki: Department of Political Science, University of Helsinki, 2009, xv + 294 pp. [Acta Politica 37.] ISBN 9789521053849 (paperback), 9789521053856 (PDF).

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Nyoman Sudira's dissertation contributes greatly to our understanding of conflict in one part of the Republic of Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation and largest Muslim nation. His work is set in the 'traditional village' (*desa adat*) of Ubung, which falls within the municipality of Denpasar. As the provincial capital and the island's largest city, Denpasar is the primary target of migration to Bali. The focus of the study is on interethnic conflict between 1980 and 2003, a period which includes the Bali bombing of October 2002. Sudira investigates both the causes of ethnic conflict and the potential of traditional village governance to resolve it. He makes extensive use of the theoretical literature in conflict studies, including Galtung's 'conflict triangle' of attitudes, behaviour and structures, Fischer's analysis of community relations, Gurr's relative deprivation model, Deutsch's observations with regard to the size, rigidity, and centrality of the issues giving rise to conflict, and Maill's model of the cognitive, emotional, and behavioural components of conflict. As far as conflict resolution is concerned, Fischer's emphasis on the importance of minimizing intercultural miscommunication and working for conflict transformation prove particularly relevant to Sudira's study. Ethnicity poses a greater theoretical challenge, but Sudira concludes that however this elusive phenomenon is defined, a clear ethnic divide runs between the (Muslim) East Javanese and (Hindu) Balinese who are the main protagonists in his study.

Turning to the empirical part of the dissertation, the author emphasizes the dual structure of village administration in modern Bali. The *desa adat*, perceived as an ancient institution extending back at least to the time of Majapahit (the fourteenth century of the Christian era), is embedded within the *desa dinas* or 'administrative village', which is a product of the colonial and national states. Based on customs inherited from ancestors, the *desa adat* is the product of a monocultural Hindu-Balinese society and its unity rests on ties of family and religion, and on participation in religious rites honouring both. The *desa dinas*, meanwhile, regulates public order according to national laws and regulations. However, this division of labour is complicated by the fact that the *desa adat* also has its own semi-traditional 'police force', the *pecalang*.

Initially, during the New Order period, the *pecalang* was concerned mainly with the behaviour of foreign tourists in Balinese temples, but recently it has turned to controlling, or even intimidating, Muslim Javanese migrants.

During the last decade, Bali has seen higher levels of civic violence than in the previous three. This violence has largely been interethnic, or inter-religious, in character, occurring between Muslim migrants from outside Bali (*not* the integrated Muslim Balinese minority known as *nyamé selam*, literally 'Muslim brothers'), and members of the lowland Balinese majority. The migrants, attracted to Bali by its booming tourism-based economy, tend to be seen by the Balinese as non-adaptive, indifferent to local social/religious activities, and, above all, aggressively competitive in the economic sphere. The Balinese perceive that they are being ousted from economic sectors providing vital sources of income for ordinary people, including informal trade and traditional markets. The migrants, for their part, tend to see the Balinese as excessively bound to their own unique rites and rituals. Negative Balinese reaction to the influx of immigrants has taken the form of harassment by the *pecalang*, backed by local regulations specifically designed to control the migrant population. These discriminatory regulations, made possible by the decentralization legislation enacted following the downfall of Suharto in 1998, may in fact still be technically unconstitutional, and have provoked anger among the migrants who feel that such discrimination has no place in a unified, democratic Indonesia.

Arguably the most controversial issue taken up by the dissertation is the contemporary failure of the traditional mechanisms for regulating society embedded in the *desa adat*. While they have long worked well in a monocultural context, these mechanisms prove incapable of dealing with conflicts involving members of exogenous ethnic groups who do not share the cultural assumptions on which they are based. Even if *desa adat* institutions could address interethnic violence directly, their decisions would not be seen as binding by the newcomers. Nevertheless Sudira concludes, somewhat enigmatically, with a hopeful statement that traditional Balinese village governance, 'if refurbished', could continue to 'work well' in the future (p. 261).

The above summary scarcely does justice to the impressive quantity of research, and reflection which have obviously gone into this book. Extensive fieldwork, interviews, and participation in local seminars have been complemented by a thorough survey of the relevant scholarly literature. Sudira provides, among other things, a precise taxonomy of Bali's ethnic groups, a concise account of the structural conflict existing between central and local governments with regard to migration, and a convincing analysis of the economic causes of outbreaks of violent ethnic conflict in Bali.

There are broader, related issues which Sudira does not tackle directly. One is the historical process by which the Javanese and Balinese, who as this

reviewer has pointed out were once governed by a common set of laws (Mason Hoadley, *Public administration; Indonesian norms versus Western forms*, and *Islam dalam tradisi hukum Jawa dan hukum kolonial*, Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2006 and 2008) became the sharply differentiated ethnic groups which they are today. Others include the paradox that decentralization, intended to promote democracy and justice, has been a contributory cause of ethnic hostility and violence, and the question of what the Balinese case tells us about ubiquitous Indonesian tensions between modernity and tradition, centre and periphery, nationalism and ethnicity. Any future consideration of these wider issues, on the other hand, will of necessity have to take Sudira's book as one of its starting points.

Ibrahim Syukri, *History of the Malay kingdom of Patani; Sejarah kerajaan Melayu*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005, xx + 115 pp. ISBN 9749575776 (paperback).

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This new Thai edition of an important work on the history of Patani was published at a time when terrorist violence, having gained a new momentum in 2004, was once more spreading in the southernmost (predominantly Malay) provinces of Thailand, including Patani. Syukri's book, originally written in Jawi (Arabic) script, was first published in Pasir Putih, Kelantan, in 1949 (see David K. Wyatt's introduction to the present edition, p. x). Because it posed a challenge both to Thai rule in Patani and to Thai-Malaysian relations during the mid-twentieth century, it was suppressed in both countries, and very few copies of the original Malay publication survive. This makes the book's obscure origins even more intriguing. The name Ibrahim Syukri is a pseudonym, and we do not know who he really was. It was Connor Bailey and John N. Miksic who rescued the book from its enforced anonymity by translating it into English and making it available to an international audience as an Ohio University publication in 1985. The Thai re-publication under review here is itself a political success not only, retrospectively, for Syukri, but also for Thailand's own democratic openness.

Interestingly, in Thailand today this book has become something approaching a definitive version of Patani's history, partly because it has been used by well-known Thai Muslim authors in their own major works on the southern

border provinces of Thailand, and partly because it represents an indigenous Southeast Asian voice on the subject.

To understand the importance of this fascinating book, which nevertheless contains many historical errors, and which is clearly written from a Malay ethno-nationalist and anti-Siamese perspective, we first have to try to understand who the man behind the pseudonym was, and why was he writing this history. Wyatt's short introduction follows a number of clues. Syukri could speak, read and write Patani Malay and Thai as well as English. The fact that he carried out both oral and literature research for his book suggests to us that he had some form of Western-style education. We know that he lived during the period of military regimes and political repression in Thailand. A point that Wyatt does not mention, but which comes through at the end of the book, is that the man behind the pseudonym had a rather sophisticated understanding of the concept of democracy, and could clearly recognize the failures of post-revolutionary Thai democracy as it was being developed by military regimes. He may even have been one of a number of Patani Malay political figures who during this period communicated both with Bangkok and with the British in Malaya.

Syukri tells us that he wrote the book in order to provide later generations with a history of the kingdom of Patani that might encourage them to investigate further. Syukri also mentions that in writing this history, which we might add was as much a recovery of a people's past as a reconstruction of it, he made use of a certain hand-written manuscript that one of the local elders gave to him to read. As Wyatt tells us in his introduction, this manuscript must have been a version of the *Hikayat Patani*, which Teeuw and Wyatt translated, commented on and analysed in a two-volume edition in 1970. It is interesting to note that when the anthropologist Frazer carried out fieldwork in Rusembilan village in the late 1950s, he obtained a fragmentary version of the same historical narrative, told to him by an informant who claimed that a written version had once existed in the area but had been destroyed in a fire. Via Syukri's interpretation (1949), Frazer's fragmentary reconstruction (1960), and finally Teeuw and Wyatt's complete textual edition (1970), the *Hikayat Patani* was consistently the central source for the whole twentieth-century rediscovery of this kingdom's forgotten history.

Syukri's book consists of four parts. In the first he tries to reconstruct the early history of what is now the Malay Peninsula as it was settled by the Malays and later Indianized. This first part utilizes, in a popular fashion, early twentieth-century historical knowledge. The second chapter describes the history of the kingdom of Patani, more or less following a version of the *Hikayat Patani* narrative, with the addition of a few passages devoted to the coming of the Europeans. There are however some discrepancies between Syukri's account and the *Hikayat Patani* which I believe reflect Syukri's

political views, and which lead him into historical fallacies. For example, he puts the blame for the first Patani rebellion on the Thai king, who he claims insulted the Sultan by treating him as an inferior. According to the Hikayat and all other sources, the Patani sultan came as an ally and betrayed the Thai king at his moment of weakness. Syukri seems simply to have been reading his view of the Siamese-Malay relations of his own day back into the past. Another example of a politically-inspired fallacy comes when he mentions the casting of the famous 'cannon of Patani'. Syukri claims that this cannon was cast during the reign of Raja Hijau in the first decade of the seventeenth century (p. 32), whereas in the Hikayat Patani we are told that it was cast during the reign of a sultan who, according to Teeuw and Wyatt's reckoning, lived during the mid-sixteenth century. The reason why Syukri places the casting of the cannon during Hijau's reign appears to be that he believes its manufacture was part of Patani's preparation for war with an aggressive Ayutthaya (Siam). Interestingly, even the recent Thai blockbuster movie *The Queen of Lankasuka* follows Syukri on this.

In Part 3 Syukri attempts to continue his history of Patani into the poorly documented period beyond the point where the Hikayat Patani ends, apparently using Thai sources as well as local oral literature. Part 4, the last part, reveals the political rationale underlying the book by describing the suffering of the Patani Malays under the policies of cultural repression and state terror that were directed against them during the 1940s. Syukri does not call for violent revolt, but he does end by declaring that 'Thai democracy' has failed the Muslims, and that it is time for them to take their future into their own hands.

This book raises epistemological questions about attempts to understand historical events. Syukri is clearly biased, but his book has the useful function of providing an epistemological mirror for professional historians who may unwittingly have hidden agendas in their own work. Wyatt provocatively asks: what makes a work like Syukri's less valuable than the Hikayat Patani, written two hundred years earlier? The problem with a historiography like Syukri's is that it falls neither into the professional historian's camp, nor into the camp of early indigenous sources such as the Hikayat. But in many respects, this is also its strength. Syukri's history is poetically written. It is this literary feature of the book that makes it a pleasure to read, providing images that linger on in the imagination long after one puts the book down. Despite its shortcomings as a record of historical fact, this is a fascinating book that is a pleasure to read and to use.

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Muridan Widjojo, *The revolt of Prince Nuku; Cross-cultural alliance-making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, xxx + 282 pp. [TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction, 12.] ISBN 9789004172012. Price: EUR 77.00 (hardback).

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This book is a very neat republication of the thesis with which Muridan Widjojo (born Surabaya, 1967) obtained his PhD from Leiden University in September 2007. In this study the central figure is Nuku, son of Sultan Jamaludin of Tidore (1757-1779), whom the Dutch brought to Batavia in 1779 and then exiled to Ceylon. Muridan Widjojo describes how in about 1780, Nuku embarked on a struggle against the Dutch and their local allies. His purpose in this struggle was to take the throne of Tidore. This he achieved in 1797 after a campaign which involved smuggling and piracy as well as open warfare, and in which he received assistance from Moluccan, Papuan, and British allies.

In his study Maridan Widjojo skilfully maps out the geo-political relationships in the Moluccas at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Within the framework of a historical narrative, he reproduces in a very attractive way the data he found in archives in Indonesia, in Great Britain and in the Netherlands about Nuku and Tidore, about trade and warfare in the Moluccas, about the nature of the relationship between Tidore and its dependencies, about the Dutch East India Company, and about the role of the British East India Company and the British country traders in the Moluccas. He explains the developments he describes in terms of Nuku cleverly taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the decline of Dutch and the rise of British power in Asia.

Unfortunately, with this commercial republication no use was made of the chance to redress a number factual mistakes in the original thesis. Some of these mistakes are due to a lack of knowledge of local languages, others to a lack of thorough knowledge of the societies under study. For example, in the glossary (p. xvi) the term *bobato* for a category of dignitaries in North Moluccan realms is translated as 'those who give orders'; however, in the languages of Tidore and Ternate the word *bobato* is a noun, derived in a regular way from the verb *fato*. Translated into Indonesian, *fato* means *atur*, so *bobato* means *pengatur* and a correct English translation for *bobato* would be 'manager' or 'managers'. An incorrect translation of a native term like *bobato* may seem a trifling matter, but it can have far-reaching implications for the interpretation of Moluccan social and political organization. Translating *bobato* as 'those who give orders' suggests that they were part of a hierarchical system, while the more correct translation 'managers' does not presuppose hierarchy.

However, it would be wrong to judge Muridan Widjojo too harshly for such flaws in what is otherwise a fine study. In the short period of five years he has succeeded in collecting and digesting a great amount of data, and in presenting his complex study in a very lucid way. With this book he has shown himself to be a promising scholar.

Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, *Karya lengkap Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri*. Jakarta: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Komunitas Bambu, 2008, 272 pp. ISBN: 9789798116131. Price: IDR 35.000 (paperback).

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This book thoroughly examines five works by an author of classical Malay literature named Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri. The works are *Bayan al-Asma'* ('Guidelines for names'), *Hikayat Mareskalek* ('Narrative of Marshal Willem Herman Daendels'), *'Arsy al-Muluk* ('The thrones of kings'), *Cerita Siam*, ('Narrative of Siam') and *Hikayat Tanah Bali* ('Narrative of Bali'). Also included is the life story of Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri himself.

Zaini-Lajoubert complains (p. 9) that Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri has been forgotten in the study of classical Malay literature, living as he did in the same period as Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi (1796-1854), whom

some European scholars have called the 'father of modern Malay literature'. The author's complaint is no exaggeration, as recently demonstrated in a laughable incident at the twelfth International Symposium of Nusantara Manuscripts held at the University of Padjajaran, Bandung, 4-7 August 2008, where I participated as a paper presenter. At that event, Henri Chambert-Loir gave a paper on Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri. But in the symposium's programme booklet the name was recorded as Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, leading Chambert-Loir to remark during his presentation on the unfamiliarity, even among scholars of classical Malay studies in Indonesia and the Malay world, with the author named Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri.

Karya lengkap Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri, which can be translated as *The complete works of Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri*, is number 22 of the Nusantara documents series (*Naskah Dokumen Nusantara Seri XII*) published by École française d'Extrême-Orient's Jakarta office in cooperation with certain institutions in Indonesia. This book comprises two sections: the five chapters of Section I (*Bagian I*, pp. 17-180), which provides the transliteration of the five works by Abdullah mentioned above, and the five chapters of Section II (*Bagian II*, pp. 181-231), which is devoted to a discussion of philological, linguistic, and literary aspects as well as the historical contexts of these texts. In the Introduction (pp. 9-16), the author recounts the life history of Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri. Although this book was published in the French language in 1987 (p. 14), the format of the Indonesian version under review is rather different. One significant difference is that the 1987 version does not include the first text, *Bayan al-Asma'*.

Based on fragmentary historical data, Zaini-Lajoubert attempts to reconstruct the biography of Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri. Abdullah's family seems to have come from Egypt, initially settling in Kedah on the Malay peninsula. Like many others of Arab descent who migrated to Nusantara following the spread of Islam in the region, Abdullah's family were traders. Later, several members of his family moved to Pontianak in West Borneo and others migrated to Palembang in South Sumatra. One of them was Abdullah's first cousin, Syekh Abdurrahman bin Ahmad al-Misri, who moved to Palembang and from there traded with Padang in West Sumatra.

Without being able to confirm a definite date, the author concludes that Abdullah was probably born at Palembang before 1790. While still young he was educated by Syekh Abdurrahman, who then moved to the capital of the Dutch East Indies, Batavia, where he bought a tract of land in Petamburan and built a mosque. Syekh Abdurrahman stopped trading, and turned his attention to the study of astronomy and astrology. He became well known in Batavia as an *ulema* of Arab descent, and he had good relations with the Dutch East Indies colonial government. One of his many pupils, who also had a family connexion with him, was Sayyid 'Uthman (1 December 1822-18

January 1914); he later became the leading Arab *ulema* in Batavia and, like his teacher, had good relations with the Dutch East Indies colonial government (pp. 12-3).

Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri was probably about thirty years older than Sayyid 'Uthman. Zaini-Lajoubert mentions that it is difficult to reconstruct Abdullah's life from his childhood in Palembang up to his study with his first cousin in Batavia because of the lack of historical data (p. 13). It seems that Abdullah, who was fluent in the Arabic language, as can be inferred from his *Bayan al-Asma'* and *'Arsy al-Muluk*, and had good relations with the Dutch East Indies colonial government thanks to his kinsman Sayyid 'Uthman, travelled to several other places in the Indies after he finished his study under Syekh Abdurrahman, who incidentally died in his residence in Batavia in 1847. At one time or another Abdullah apparently lived temporarily in Celebes, Pontianak, Kutai, and Java. Besides that, he also travelled to Brunei, Siam, Bali, Surakarta, and Sambas (p. 13).

Abdullah's writings were composed between 1809 and 1824. The first text, *Bayan al-Asma'*, of which a transliteration is presented in Chapter 1 of Section I (pp. 19-35) and an analysis in Chapter 1 of Section II (pp. 183-93), was written in 1809 or 1810. This text, which was written in Arabic-Malay script, was included in *Kitab Undang-Undang Raja Nati*, of which a single copy is now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Munich, Germany, listed as malai 7 (p. 183). The author of *Bayan al-Asma'* gives his name as 'al-Syekh Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Bakri al-Misri', but Zaini-Lajoubert presents evidence that this must be Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri himself (p. 184). *Bayan al-Asma'* is a didactic book that provides guidelines for local kings – the king of Kutai in this case – underlining the importance of close relations between the king, the ministers, and the populace.

Abdullah's second work, *Hikayat Mareskalek*, short for Hikayat Maarschalk Willem Daendels ('Narrative of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels'), the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies from 1808 to 1811, was written between 1813 and 1816. The transliteration of this text is presented in Chapter 2 of Section I (pp. 37-72) while the discussion of its content, philological, and historical aspects appears in Chapter 2 of Section 2 (pp. 195-205). This text, of which copies are available in Leiden University Library listed as Or.1724 and Or.2276, gives evidence of Abdullah's perception of Daendels in particular and the Dutch East Indies colonial government in general. Among other things, Abdullah states in this text that the white men, with Governor Daendels as an example, govern the Dutch East Indies with wisdom and boldness.

Chapter 3 of Section I (pp. 73-134) and Chapter 3 of Section II (pp. 207-11) are devoted respectively to the transliteration and the analysis of Abdullah's third work, *'Arsy al-Muluk*. The text was written in 1818 in Arabic-Malay script, with many sentences in the Arabic language. It describes how to

become an ideal king. The single copy of this text is now preserved in Leiden University Library under code number 6057. Governor-General Daendels is also mentioned in this text, leading to its mistaken identification as *Hikayat Mareskalek* by Ph.S. van Ronkel. However, the texts differ significantly, as Zaini-Lajoubert describes in detail (pp. 208-9). She mentions that there was no definite title written in the copy of this text (Leiden Or.6057). Based on key sentences of the text, she gives the name 'Arsy al-Muluk to this work of Abdullah's, in order to differentiate it from his *Hikayat Mareskalek*.

The transliteration of Abdullah's fourth work, *Cerita Siam*, is presented in Chapter 4 of Section I (pp. 135-62) and is analysed in Chapter 4 of Section II (pp. 213-24). The text was written in 1823 or 1824, after Abdullah's journey with Sayyid Hassan bin Umar al-Habsyi to Siam around 1822. Evidently copies of this text appear in two versions: a version in Arabic-Malay script now preserved in Leiden University Library under code number Or.2011, and another in Latin script preserved in the KITLV Library in Leiden under code number Or.75. Zaini-Lajoubert's comparison (pp. 214-7) shows major differences between the two versions: additions, omissions, episodes with different details, and episodes in a different order. *Cerita Siam* tells about the history of Siam, its customs, and the genealogy of its royal dynasty, but is incomplete because it only partly relates the history of Siam in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Cerita Tanah Bali is the last of Abdullah's works discussed in this book. There is no date mentioned in its colophon but probably it was written by Abdullah after his return from his journey to Bali in 1824 (p. 11). Zaini-Lajoubert was unable to find a single manuscript copy of this text. The transliteration presented in Chapter 5 of Section I (pp. 163-80) is based on the text published in Arabic-Malay script by W.R. van Hoëvell in 1845. Unfortunately, Van Hoëvell did not identify the original manuscript of the text he used for publication. He just mentioned that the manuscript was possessed by J.H. Tobias who was recorded in *Almanak en naamregister van Nederlandsch-Indië* as a member of 'personen het radicaal van Indisch Ambtenaar bezittende' from around 1836 to 1856.

In Chapter 5 of Section II (pp. 225-31), which is devoted to an analysis of this text, the author indicates that *Cerita Tanah Bali* relates the genealogies of local kings in Bali, such as the houses of Klungkung, Karangasem, Gianyar, Taman Bali, Mengwi, Badung, Tabanan, and Buleleng.

Zaini-Lajoubert argues that Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri can be assigned to the modernizing stream (*aliran pembaharuan*) of Malay literature, which initially developed in the early nineteenth century. Authors in this stream are distinguished by certain characteristics: they are well-known individuals, their opinions and feelings are strongly reflected in their works, and they tend to write in a realistic style (p. 15).

In sum, *Karya lengkap Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri* presents valuable and interesting information on an author and his classical Malay writings which have long been ignored by scholars in the field. My comment is: why does Zaini-Lajoubert not transliterate into Latin script the Arabic sentences found in Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri's works? I hope it is not because she considers the Arabic language and script to be sacred, as many traditional Muslims in rural Indonesia did: they tended to view all writings in Arabic script as being associated with the Koran and therefore considered them sacred. But Indonesians today, especially the middle classes living in urban areas, seem to be less and less familiar with Arabic script. Hence, in Indonesia, even the holy Koran has been transliterated into Latin script. As this book aims to provide the transliteration of Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri's works, all parts of the texts, both Malay and Arabic sentences, to my mind, should be romanized. Despite this minor comment, this book – complete with appendices describing editing methods and lists of archaic words, personal names, place names and ethnic groups mentioned in Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri's works – most certainly enriches our knowledge of the history of Malay language and literature.

REVIEW ESSAY

ERIC THOMPSON

Research and regionalism in Southeast Asia

Cynthia Chou and Vincent Houben (eds), *Southeast Asian studies; Debates and new directions*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, viii + 206 pp. ISBN 9789812303844, price SGD 29.90 (paperback); 9789812303851, SGD 49.90 (hardback).

Frost, Ellen L., *Asia's new Regionalism*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2008, x + 292 pp. ISBN 9789971694197. Price: SGD 38.00 (paperback).

Norman G. Owen (ed.), *The emergence of modern Southeast Asia; A new history*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, xxiii + 541 pp. ISBN 9971693283. Price: USD 31.00 (paperback).

Laurie J. Sears (ed.), *Knowing Southeast Asian subjects*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007, xi + 283 pp. ISBN 9789971693664. Price: USD 30.00 (paperback).

Nicholas Tarling, *Regionalism in Southeast Asia; To foster the political will*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2006, 276 pp. ISBN 9780415379625. Price: GBP 80.00 (hardback).

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Southeast Asian studies continues to be plagued by a perverse taint of inauthenticity, largely because it fails to conform to the methodological geographies used for authoritatively defining the location and scope of social and historical research elsewhere. Southeast Asia is not a singular nation-state, nor is it dominated by a single nation-state or other historical polity or cultural force that would allow its history to be easily read through a simple master narrative (as is the case for the Roman Empire and Europe, Dynastic China

and East Asia, or Islam and the Arab world). In addition, over the past ten to twenty years, there has been a great deal of discussion and hand-wringing over the possible decline of American interest in Southeast Asia and what, if anything, might emerge in the twenty-first century to replace or reinvigorate the legacy of the American school of Southeast Asian studies of the late twentieth century and the European colonial and orientalist scholarship traditions which reached their zenith in the century preceding the Second World War. That said, there is no dearth of research and writing in the new century under the rubric of Southeast Asian studies, both critiquing and advancing the field. The works reviewed in this essay all demonstrate that Southeast Asian studies continues to be a thriving, intellectually engaged undertaking with much to offer.

Of the five books considered in this review essay, two assess the state of Southeast Asian studies: *Southeast Asian studies; Debates and new directions* (hereafter, *Debates*), edited by Cynthia Chou and Vincent Houben, and *Knowing Southeast Asian subjects* (hereafter, *Knowing*), edited by Laurie Sears. Three further volumes are studies motivated by regionally framed agendas. *The emergence of modern Southeast Asia; A new history* (hereafter, *Emergence*), edited by Norman Owen, revisits and updates the now classic historiography of Southeast Asia by the American school of Southeast Asian studies. Nicholas Tarling's *Regionalism in Southeast Asia* (hereafter, *Regionalism*) and Ellen Frost's *Asia's new regionalism* (hereafter, *New regionalism*) both focus on the question of regionalism itself, which often vexes scholars in the field. All of the books address fundamental questions for research and writing on the subject of Southeast Asia. What, if anything, is 'Southeast Asia'? How is it configured as a field within, as Yoko Hayami puts it, an 'evolving "ecology" of the global academic endeavor' (*Debates*, p. 83)? The first two volumes, *Knowing* and *Debates*, address the latter question, while *Emergence*, *Regionalism* and *New regionalism* are concerned mainly with the former question.

Knowing and debating Southeast Asian studies

The 'circles of esteem' (discussed by Robert Cribb in *Debates*) which define Southeast Asian studies as a field of research, writing, learning, and teaching, are complex, hierarchical, semi-institutionalized networks of scholars whose interactions produce not only scholarship but also a system of professional values driven primarily by esteem and derision (*Debates*, pp. 50-2). While Cribb mainly considers Southeast Asian studies as a whole (as a 'global academic endeavor', in Harami's words), the world of Southeast Asian scholarship is large and diverse enough to have numerous, overlapping 'circles of esteem'. In comparing Sears's *Knowing* and Chou and Houben's *Debates*, the most striking

contrast is the different 'circles' from within which they are written and how that difference affects their content. The former is a very distinctive product of the American tradition of Southeast Asian studies. The latter reflects writings of what – for want of a better term – might be called an 'international' but not American-centred perspective on Southeast Asian studies. Many of the chapters in *Debates* were first presented at the third International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS) held in 2003 in Singapore. The international perspective reflects a 'circle' of esteem and interaction that is an alternative to (though by no means completely separate from) the American circle, yet also weighted toward extra-regional rather than intra-regional networking and to some extent toward centres in Europe (but also Australia, Japan, Singapore and various other centres within or near Southeast Asia). Both *Knowing* and *Debates* make reference to a third – and even more inchoate – 'circle of esteem', an aspiring but still underrepresented (in terms of international prestige) intraregional field of Southeast Asian studies in Southeast Asia.

Knowing primarily addresses concerns of American Southeast Asian studies, especially with regard to the relationship between regional insiders and outsiders. The preface situates the authors in terms of their 'travel(s) between Southeast Asia and the United States [over] several decades' (p. ix). Most of the authors (four of the six) either worked or studied at the University of Washington, and two of them provide detailed discussions on the mechanics, so to speak, of American and Southeast Asian scholarly interactions. Judith Henshy addresses the problems and politics facing the collection and keeping of Southeast Asian materials in American research libraries, as well as threats posed by profit-oriented American copyright laws to the fair and free use of such materials. George Dutton discusses the 'missing links' (institutional, collaborative, educational, technological, and political) between American and Southeast Asian scholarly communities.

Laurie Sears's and Celia Lowe's contributions are broader and more conceptual in orientation. Lowe provides an elegant, detailed description of interconnections and articulation of a project involving natural ecology and resource management in the Togean Islands of Indonesia, with complex relationships between local, national and international concerns (pp. 111-4). She raises numerous challenges facing researchers in such conditions, including the problem of 'what has been politically and institutionally possible to say and do' in different places and at different historical moments (Lowe in *Knowing*, p. 115). She then broadens her scope by recounting examples of differently configured projects centred in Thailand and Vietnam, offering readers a lot in terms of examples and points to consider (if not always clear and convincing answers to questions of collaborative ethics).

Sears's chapter details the history and configuration of the angst (mainly liberal American but also, as in the case of Ariel Heryonto's chapter, Southeast

Asian) surrounding the historical imbalance between the plethora of studies of the region produced outside Southeast Asia and, at least until recently, the relative dearth of prominent research conducted within the region by scholars from the region. By now, this critique has become very well established – verging on received wisdom – at least among scholars in Southeast Asian studies.

The crux of Sears's argument is that one of the most important endeavours of scholars from outside the region is to engage with Southeast Asian subjects (the 'other') as 'knowing subjects' rather than objects to be studied. This concern is discursively motivated primarily by way of a critique of how past Euro-American, male-biased scholarship imposed itself on Southeast Asian subjects and studies (pp. 49-58). Throughout this volume, as well as in *Debates* and elsewhere, there can be no doubt that the general tenor of the Southeast Asian studies community (the circles of esteem within which we work) champions all efforts to facilitate scholarship within the region by people from the region (see King in *Debates*, p. 37). Yet Sears's approach when demonstrated in the chapter itself gives pause to consider if one dominant Western framework (male 'biased' liberalism) is not simply being replaced by another one (critical, progressive feminism). I do not take issue with the merits of feminist theory nor wish to discourage its development, but Sears's engagement with her 'Southeast Asian subject' involves an exposition of gender theory (in which overwhelmingly the work of Western scholars is considered, pp. 53-8) and how it could inspire a 'radical rewriting of the scholarship on Southeast Asia'. She then invokes the work of Indonesian novelist Ayu Utami to demonstrate how an explicitly gendered, close reading of Utami's work can provide a critique of 'the patriarchal vision of the postcolonial nation'.

Sears seems to be plucking Utami's work out of its Indonesian context to put it in engagement with postmodern literary theory (Jameson) and progressive Western feminist ideals in such a way that the latter are not seriously challenged or changed (there is no hint that Utami might force postmodern literary critics or feminists to rethink their positions) but rather the Indonesian (patriarchal) system is placed under critique. Sears is not necessarily wrong in doing this; however, how different really is this from mid-twentieth-century scholarship in which Southeast Asian 'cases' were read and critiqued through modernization or Marxist theory? Utami's female characters are in fact so thoroughly Westernized that they 'inhabit a Kantian cosmopolitan subjectivity' in Sears's reading (p. 61).

In addition to Lowe's and Sears's general discussions of American-Southeast Asian engagements, an earlier widely read essay by Ariel Heryanto is reproduced in *Knowing*, which queries the position of scholars of Southeast Asian origin in Southeast Asian studies. In *Debates*, Victor King (cited in Heryanto's introduction) responds to Heryanto's query. It is not clear that King and

Heryanto are very substantially at odds, but rather differ in their tone and timing, with Heryanto recounting historical conditions and King aspiring to future ones. Heryanto outlines the many ways in which an exogenous concept of Southeast Asia combined with other factors, such as methodological nationalism, excludes or at least curbs the involvement and development of local (Southeast Asian), intraregional scholarship on Southeast Asia. In response, King characterizes Heryanto's description of the situation as 'overly narrow' and 'increasingly out-of-date' (p. 37), though this is already anticipated when Heryanto himself describes his essay as overly pessimistic and notes a changing situation (p. 98).

In both *Debates* and *Knowing*, various authors make reference to the many institutions and undertakings within Southeast Asia – from the establishment of the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore in 1971 to the much-praised Southeast Asia Research Exchange Program (SEASREP) promoting intraregional research since the mid-1990s. What remains to be written (in contrast to the well-known histories of American, European and even Japanese schools of Southeast Asian studies) is a systematic, coherent history of these endeavours. In addition, one problem with some criticism is the impatience to see desirable outcomes materialize miraculously overnight, such as a shift in the centre of gravity in sites of production of regional studies toward the region itself. Hayami's metaphor of the ecology of global academia (echoing comments of Ben Anderson in the 1990s as well as many others) needs to be taken seriously. Ecological processes are never instantaneous, but involve growth over time and – with human endeavours such as Southeast Asian studies – careful cultivation.

In addition to King's 'personal reflections', essays in *Debates* by Robert Cribb on circles of esteem, Yoko Hayami on perspectives from Japan, and Cynthia Chou on reconfiguring Southeast Asian studies all address broad configurations and general concerns of scholarship. Together with four chapters that focus on more particular disciplinary concerns (such as political science and history), the collection in *Debates* provides readers with a very rich (if occasionally slightly repetitive) collection of issues, concerns and arguments. Martin Platt makes a case for the importance of (and threats to) serious, intensive language training in any program for developing knowledge about Southeast Asian studies. Vincent Houben and Duncan McCargo make broad and detailed surveys of historiography and political science, while Tim Barnard demonstrates historical and social contextualization of cultural production (film, in particular) through a review of the films of P. Ramlee (the greatest icon of twentieth-century Malay and Malaysian cinema).

Comparison of McCargo's essay in *Debates* and Bonura's essay in *Knowing* provides one further (and final) illustration of the different perspectives that these two volumes represent. McCargo's essay in *Debates* covers some of

the same ground as Bonura's in discussing American political science and Southeast-Asia-based research and concerns, but also ventures more broadly to discuss a wider range of international and Southeast Asian modes of engagement in studies of politics and governance. As with most of *Knowing*, Bonura's essay on political science centres primarily on the discipline-versus-area-studies debate within American political science. While Bonura adeptly outlines and addresses the debate, the debate itself seems incredibly perverse from any perspective other than a myopically American one. It can only be sustained on the basis of a political science discipline (also found in sociology, economics and elsewhere) in which the vast, overwhelming bulk of scholars are North American (United States) area studies specialists and parochial to the point that they do not even recognize the temporal and geographic bound- edness (the narrow, arcane 'area studies' specialization) of their own knowl- edge. Bonura does a good job of outlining this bias; but perhaps missing is the question of whether it is very relevant to research outside of the United States (other than the extent to which dominance of the American academy projects this 'debate' onto other contexts). Implicitly, another question is raised: is not part of the conundrum of 'Southeast Asian studies' that many scholars working locally in Southeast Asia need not concern themselves with being 'area studies' specialists any more than do political scientists or sociologists working in the United States? Is it just as well for those researching politics or society in Indonesia, Laos or the Philippines to be just as blissfully ignorant of their own methodological nationalism as are their American counterparts? If not, then perhaps an enduring value of 'Southeast Asian studies' would be to undermine blissful ignorance in favour of comparative illumination.

Region, history and regionalism

It is a broad regional Southeast Asian studies framework that is used in the other three books reviewed here. *Emergence* is a thoroughly revised and rewrit- ten edition of *In search of Southeast Asia* (first edition 1971; second, revised edition 1987), which is undoubtedly among the most important general texts on the region produced by what Sears (quoting Iieto in *Knowing*, p. 50) calls the 'male, liberal enlightenment fantasy' of the twentieth-century American school of Southeast Asian studies. The current volume endeavours to respond to developing research and critical scholarship on the region, but the general framework for understanding 'modern' Southeast Asia has not been radically transformed from earlier incarnations of this text. In producing *Emergence*, the authors collectively engaged younger scholars for critical feedback on the earlier editions; it was suggested that they break the original book com- pletely open, take a fresh look, and draft a shorter, more accessible text for the

twenty-first century (p. xiv). While the text is accessible (it reads very well and is jargon-free), the editor and authors did not substantially shorten the book, which on the whole is to be commended. It would be a shame had they so altered the text that it reflected the sound-bite culture of the present and abandoned the strengths of the original, first edition context when scholars wrote and (rumour has it) even undergraduates read long, detailed books.

Emergence is a compendium of long and serious thinking about historical processes and events across this wide, diverse region. It still retains many of the fundamental structures of perspective and presentation which have been a point of (largely negative) critique over several decades now. It deserves to be looked back upon in decades to come as the high-water mark and cumulative wisdom as well as faults of twentieth-century American Southeast Asian studies. The quality of the authors' scholarship cannot be questioned, but I will briefly outline a few main points of criticism.

The long-standing and oft-criticized perspective which views Southeast Asia 'from the deck of a ship' is updated in *Emergence* with the trope of the tourist whisked about by air from country to country. Chapter 1 begins by imagining 'a first time visitor to Southeast Asia [arriving on a] national airline [with] flight attendants [...] in ethnic dress' (p. 1). Reading this and similar passages sprinkled throughout the text, particularly in the first sections, my first reaction was to cringe at this emphasis on an 'external' view of the region and the presentation of serious scholarship as tourist guide (that is, written primarily for the benefit of 'first time' visitors rather than inhabitants of the place). On further reflection, perhaps this is an appropriate and honest way in which to frame the volume, as a deeply involved, well-informed and sympathetic but nevertheless 'outsider' perspective on the region. Moreover, the men and woman (Jean Taylor being included in this old boys' club) who authored the volume are long-time observers with serious commitment to the region whose knowledge will – all criticism aside – undoubtedly be a valuable lasting legacy. Among the criticisms, the most significant, perhaps, is the way in which the entire framing of emergence of 'modernity' places European colonialism at the core of Southeast Asian history and experience.

Emergence utilizes a periodization which inexorably places European colonialism at the crux of understanding Southeast Asia both historically and in the present. 'Modern' history begins around 1750; in other words, at or just before the dawn of intensive Anglo-Dutch engagements in Southeast Asia, which we can now see with historical hindsight culminated in the short but pivotal era of European high colonialism (from about 1874, with the signing of the Pangkor Treaty, to 1942, when the Japanese military crushed European and American powers throughout the region). The entire volume (consciously or not, it is not clear) is organized around this 'pivot'. The first third of the book (Chapters 1-11, pp. 1-157) covers the period from 1750 to

1900, setting the stage for this pivot point and 'emergence' into the modern period. The remaining two thirds (Chapters 12-37, pp. 161-508) cover 1850 to the present (c. 2000).

Seven chapters (12-18) detail the transformative effects of European and American high-colonialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors are at pains to illustrate the active engagement (rather than passive victimization) of Southeast Asians in the social, political and economic processes sweeping through the region in these years. Yet it seems impossible not to read this era as one of European (and, belatedly, American) action and Southeast Asian reaction. Also, in contrast to the well-documented and thoroughly researched European colonial endeavours, the 'ungrounded empires' (Ong and Nonini 1997) of Chinese merchants, family networks and *hui* or 'secret societies' maintain a ghostly presence throughout the text – ever present, clearly important, but consistently inscrutable apart from a few passages (pp. 141, 175-7, 389-92).

The second half of the volume (Parts 4 and 5) moves increasingly toward nation-state histories (still interspersed with some general, thematic chapters). In passages out of colonialism (Part 4, pp. 283-375) and coping with independence and interdependence (Part 5, pp. 379-508), the modern nation-states of the region come ever more sharply into focus. Pre-colonial histories and events as well as those in which Europeans played little role seem systematically (if unintentionally) downplayed. This is most evident, perhaps, in the way that Laos is treated. The Siamese sacking of Vientiane in the early nineteenth century, and the resettlement of Lao populations across the Khorat Plateau, are only vaguely discussed in passing (p. 96). This is arguably as important an event in Lao history as the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese in Malaysian history. But Laos is for the most part deprived of any pre-twentieth-century history (p. 371), despite an active contemporary Lao historiography, which for example references Lan Xang in much the same terms that modern Thai historiography references Ayutthaya and Sukhothai or Cambodian history references the Angkorean Khmer Empire. The main conclusion to be drawn from *Emergence* overall is that 'modern' Southeast Asia consists of an assortment of colonially-inherited nation-states, whose pre-colonial pasts are of vague and relatively little significance. Similarly, regional processes or institutions such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are discussed only briefly as compared to the national histories.

The final two books to be considered, Nicholas Tarling's *Regionalism in Southeast Asia* and Ellen Frost's *Asia's new regionalism*, take us from the epistemology of studying the region (in *Debates* and *Knowing*) and from historical narratives of emergent nation-states (*Emergence*) to analysis of processes of regionalism and regionalization. In other words, understanding the ways in

which Southeast Asia over the past century has come into being as a region – particularly, though not exclusively, in the context of ASEAN. As with *Emergence*, Tarling's historical contextualization of Southeast Asia is embedded in the European colonial era and project. A large portion of Chapter 2, for instance, is devoted to an Atlantic-centred 'world' history (pp. 25-32). Frost, by contrast, does a remarkably good job of contextualizing Asian and ASEAN regionalism within Asia and presenting it as a different – not inferior – form of regionalism in contrast to the oft-cited European Union case (pp. 11-4).

Following an introduction to 'definitions and chronologies', Tarling frames his book in terms of what he labels 'the view from without' (Part 2) and 'the view from within'. But in fact, Tarling's organization is as much chronological as it is based on geography or perspective. Ideas of regionalism and processes of regionalization in Tarling's account move simultaneously from past to present and exogenous to indigenous. Tarling's main focus is on the institutionalization of Southeast Asia through multiple, interrelated entities: Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), ASEAN, Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Tarling's book will be very valuable to anyone interested in the intricate international and elite diplomatic relationships involved in forging ASEAN and its associated structures for regional and international relations. At various points, such as the institutional and ideological shift from ASA and Malphilindo to ASEAN in the 1960s, Tarling fluently details an intricate, complex dance of the many partners in the endeavour, who by turns lead, follow, and drop in and out of the process. For general readers, the detail may leave them with a sense of information overload. For such readers, Ellen Frost's *New regionalism* will likely be more comprehensible, if less detailed.

Frost's *New regionalism* is written, by the author's admission, by an international relations generalist rather than a regional specialist. Frost is also forthright in presenting her book as one that seeks to provide an understanding of Asian regionalism for Western (especially American) policy makers. For all her disclaimers, Frost has managed to document and capture with great detail and accuracy the explicit ASEAN-centred programme for fostering broader Asian regionalism. In this endeavour – which exists currently somewhere between ideological aspiration and institutionalized inter-state governance – a functional Asian regionalism is anticipated in which the small ASEAN nations take a leading role as unthreatening and honest brokers among and between large Asian nations, particularly China and India. The dominance of those two modern nations in East and South Asia makes for uncomfortable imbalances. The very lack of such a regional superpower in Southeast Asia is a source of comparative advantage in terms of positioning ASEAN to play an important role in developing an Asian regionalism.

Another point on which Frost's book is to be praised is that she includes

a simple yet valuable contrast between spontaneous integration carried out through business, travel, tourism and other undertakings of disparate individuals, and the government-driven, bureaucratic creation and implementation of an institutionalized regional architecture (the latter being the overwhelming focus of Tarling's *Regionalism*). Frost is sensitive to the vagaries of regional definition and, like Tarling, devotes two introductory chapters to addressing the contextual and definitional problems associated with 'Asia' as an entity.

What Frost's book lacks in detail (as compared to Tarling's), it makes up for in accessibility and thoughtfulness. Rather than critiquing the ASEAN narrative of a greater Asian regionalism, Frost provides a lucid account of that particular regional vision, while balancing (and contrasting) it with her narrative of individuals as 'spontaneous integrators'. Specialists may object to some of the details of her case, but Frost's contribution lies in providing a very useful frame of reference around which other scholars can debate and develop, while at the same time providing a fine introduction to Asian regionalism that relative novices (non-experts, including students) in the field can turn to for a general overview of both Southeast Asian and general Asian regionalism.

Afterword

All five of the books considered here have much to offer. Overall, they might be categorized as reference works, more so than groundbreaking or discipline-changing studies. Of the first two, *Debates* contains a broader set of issues and is more prospective in its approach. *Knowing* is a valuable but somewhat more limited and retrospective collection of essays on the challenges and concerns of Southeast Asian studies in America. *Emergence* similarly provides readers with the very best – my own criticisms notwithstanding – of the late twentieth-century American-style historiography of the region. Tarling's and Frost's contributions, likewise, are valuable references: *Regionalism* in detailing the diplomatic, institutional efforts of ASEAN and other elites, *New regionalism* in offering an accessible overview of ASEAN-centred but more broadly conceived Asian regionalism.

Not represented among this collection are any of the works coming increasingly from that third 'circle of esteem' alluded to in both *Debates* and *Knowing*, networks of Southeast Asian studies experts within Southeast Asia. It is not difficult to point to scholarship on history (Abu Talib and Tan 2003; Sunait and Baker 2002), international relations (Tay, Estanislao and Soesastro 2001; Tham, Lee and Norani 2009) and other subjects by authors situated and networked in various ways within the region. Over the past decade, this

body of literature (if it can or should be so conceived) has flourished and will in all likelihood become increasingly influential in the coming decades. Similarly impressive is the flourishing of scholarship in Thai, Malay and other vernaculars, addressing local contexts and localizing 'global' theory (Abdul Rahman 2006 and Mohammad Redzuan 2005, to cite just two recent examples from Malaysia). The importance of these works, as well as the serious language work (discussed by Platt in *Debates*) required to engage with them, will be a challenge to both American and 'international' scholars in the coming decades. But by all accounts, including those contained in all five books reviewed here, it is a welcome challenge.

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KORTE SIGNALERINGEN

HARRY A. POEZE

George Frederik Willem Borel, *Onze vestiging in Atjeh; Drogredenen zijn geen waarheid*. Samengesteld door Menke Alberta de Groot. Delft: Eburon, 614 pp. ISBN 978 90 5972 239 2. Prijs Euro 39,90.

Henk Beekhuis, Herman Bussemaker, Paula de Haas en Ton Lutter, *Geïllustreerde atlas van de bersiapkampen in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1947*. Bedum: Profiel, 2009, 272 pp. ISBN 978 90 5294 4364. Prijs Euro 39,50.

Jacques A.C. Bartels, *Tropenjaren; Ploppers en patrouilles; Het dienstplichtig 2e Eskadron Huzaren van Boreel in Nederlands-Indië 1947-1950*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2008, 470 pp. ISBN 978 90 6707 633 3. Prijs Euro 25.

Max de Bruijn, *Indonesië op vrijdagmiddag*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2009, 288 pp. ISBN 978 90 234 4063 5. Prijs Euro 18,50.

Marco Baars, *Nog geen krasje op een rots...; Sporen van de Nederlandse beschaving in Indonesië*. Haarlem: Gottmer/Becht, 2009, 192 pp. ISBN 978 90 257 4486 1. Prijs Euro 15,95.

In 1878 publiceerde kapitein der artillerie G.F.W. Borel *Onze vestiging in Atjeh; Critisch beschreven*. In 370 bladzijden liet hij zich zeer kritisch uit over de militaire bevelvoering en politieke bemoeienis met de rampzalig verlopen eerste fase van de Atjeh-oorlog – Nederlands grootste koloniale oorlog die pas in 1903 met een zelfverklaarde zege werd beëindigd. Borel (1837-1907) was zelf ook twee jaar (1873-1875) als officier actief in Atjeh. Borel bleef niet onweersproken, en zijn hoogste commandant in Atjeh, generaal J. van Swieten, trok in 1879 500 bladzijden uit in *De waarheid over onze vestiging in Atjeh* om Borel te weerleggen. Met *Drogredenen zijn geen waarheid; Naar aanleiding van het werk van de luitenant-generaal van Swieten over onze vestiging in Atjeh* besteedde Borel in 1880 nog eens bijna tweehonderd bladzijden aan de polemiek. Voor een officier in actieve dienst waren toon en inhoud van Borels boeken ongetwijfeld opmerkelijk – en dat is een gematigde omschrijving.

Menke de Groot heeft uit persoonlijke interesse, los van een institutioneel verband met Indonesische studies, en door een toevallig opgewekte belangstelling voor koloniaal-militaire geschiedenis zich verdiept in de Atjeh-

oorlog. Haar speurtocht naar de redenen voor het echec van de eerste fase van die oorlog brachten haar bij het werk van Borel, die in zijn levendige verslag – ook nu nog goed leesbaar – man en paard noemt. De belangrijkste schuldige is Van Swieten, maar daarnaast stuurde de Indische regering het leger ‘gehaast, onvoorbereid, met onvoldoende materieel’ op pad, en berokkende haar ondeskundige bemoeienis grote schade en veleodeloze slachtoffers. De Groot schrijft in haar te beknopte inleiding van slechts vier bladzijden dat zij tegenwicht wil bieden aan ‘de ziekelijke filantropiegedachte (hoe aantrekkelijk en meeslepend die ook mag lijken)’ van generaal Van Swieten, gouverneur generaal Loudon, Multatuli en hun aanhangers. Ook naar de militairen in het veld dient te worden geluisterd. De onuitgesproken parallel naar andere oorlogen – de dekolonisatiestrijd en zelfs Afghanistan – is duidelijk. Deze vier bladzijden worden gevolgd door de integrale herdruk van Borels twee boeken, overgezet in de huidige spelling. Daaraan zijn meer dan duizend voetnoten toegevoegd waarin bronnen worden aangehaald, vooral uit de tijd van Borel, die aanvulling of commentaar verschaffen op Borels feiten en beweringen. En daaraan toegevoegd worden honderden illustraties uit velerlei bron, die het boek ook tot een kijkboek maken. Twaalf biografieën van hoofdrolspelers, meestal overgenomen in memoriams, besluiten het boek, dat helaas een register ontbeert.

Grootformaat, fraaie layout, zorgvuldig afgedrukte illustraties en een uiterst redelijke prijsstelling maken dit boek tot het lovenswaardig resultaat van individuele inzet. Maar of De Groot hiermee haar doel bereikt dat algemeen de vraag opkomt of de ‘zaken wel zijn zoals ze lijken’ en ‘wordt ons, in de 21ste eeuw, nog steeds een blinddoek over de Atjeh-oorlog voorgebonden?’ is aan twijfel onderhevig. Daarvoor lijkt in dit boek de verhouding tussen Borels honderden bladzijden verslaggeving en de kritische insteek van De Groot te onevenredig. Daartoe zou zij haar opvatting nader moeten uitwerken, en verder dan ook de politieke en militaire inzet van de Atjehse tegenstander moeten wegen.

Met de *Geïllustreerde atlas van de Japanse kampen in Nederlands-Indië 1942-1945* verscheen in 2000 een indrukwekkend overzicht van alle interneringskampen die de Japanse bezetter had ingericht om de geallieerde krijgsgevangenen en Europese burgerbevolking uit de maatschappij te verwijderen. In 2002 verscheen een bijna even dik supplementdeel waarin een overvloed aan nieuwe informatie werd gerangschikt. Naar het stramien van deze atlas is nu de *Geïllustreerde atlas van de bersiapkampen in Nederlands-Indië 1945-1947* verschenen, dat op even indrukwekkende wijze de veel minder bekende geschiedenis van de na de Japanse capitulatie in augustus 1945 voortdurende en nieuwe interneringen vastlegt. De vreemde politieke situatie na die overgave

vormt hiervoor de verklaring. De Japanse bezetter was verslagen, maar zijn militaire en bestuurlijke macht was nog ongeschonden aanwezig. De op 17 augustus uitgeroepen Republiek Indonesia poogde behoedzaam legitimiteit te veroveren. Een geallieerde bezettingsmacht, in dit geval van Britse herkomst, was pas te verwachten na een paar maanden. Het herstel van een effectief Nederlandse koloniaal bestuur bleek nog veel verder weg. In dit gezagsvacuüm kwamen rond oktober 1945 ongeregelde Indonesische legertjes in actie onder de leuze 'Bersiap'. Voor de leiding van de Republiek waren zij nauwelijks controleerbaar. Het duurde tot maart 1946 voor hun acties onder controle waren. De Bersiap-acties richtten zich tegen de Japanse bezetter, tegen de Britten en tegen de Nederlanders – ook tegen de burgers. Niet alleen de Nederlanders in de kampen waren hun doelwit, maar ook de vooral Indo-Europeanen die buiten de kampen waren gebleven, maar aan hun loyaliteit aan Nederland hadden vastgehouden. Zij werden opgesloten en in de Atlas zijn 250 van die interneringsoorden opgesomd, ook die maar voor zeer korte tijd en voor een klein getal aan geïnterneerden fungeerden. In totaal vertoefden er rond de vijftigduizend mannen, vrouwen en kinderen. De Republiek rechtvaardigde de kampen als een middel om de inwoners ervan te beschermen. De evacuatie van die kampen naar Nederlands gebied werd een moeilijke procedure, die pas in mei 1947 werd afgesloten. Van Nederlandse zijde werd de Republiek ervan beschuldigd deze geïnterneerden als pionnen, als gijzelaars te gebruiken in het ingewikkelde onderhandelingsproces tussen beide partijen. Daarover is ook recent door Herman Bussemaker, die de inleiding in deze *Atlas* verzorgde, en Mary van Delden – beiden auteur van een dik boek over de Bersiap – op stevige wijze gepolemiseerd.

De *Atlas* verschaft niet alleen gegevens – kaarten, plattegronden, foto's, tekeningen, leefomstandigheden, aantallen, transportoverzichten – over de Republiek-kampen, maar ook over twee andere soorten kampen die na augustus 1945 nog vele maanden werden bewoond. Rond de 60 Japanse interneringskampen bleven open en werden bewaakt door Japanners, Britten en Nederlanders – het bestaan buiten het kamp was te onveilig. En soms daarnaast werden rond 120 opvangkampen ingericht waar vluchtelingen en repatrianten uit het Javaanse binnenland opvang en veiligheid vonden. Van al deze 391 kampen, waarvan 46 buiten Java, worden gegevens verschaft. Het resultaat is een uniek, encyclopedisch overzicht, waarvoor de auteurs, en in het bijzonder Henk Beekhuis, die jarenlang de gegevens over de kampen bijeenhaalde, hooggeprezen moeten worden.

Het uit dienstplichtigen samengestelde Tweede Verkenningsskadron van de Tweede Afdeling Regiment Huzaren van Boreel – 230 man sterk – diende van oktober 1947 tot maart 1950 op Java. De eenheid was eerst gelegerd in Bogor, maar werd in juni 1948 verplaatst naar Oost-Java, waar vooral Malang

en omgeving het operatiegebied vormde. De huzaren werden ingezet tegen de Indonesische tegenstander, die een steeds succesvoller guerrilla voerde. Na de Tweede Politionele Actie van december 1948 werd het steeds moeilijker het veroverde gebied te beheersen. De in de maanden hierna sterk stijgende verliescijfers – ook negen van de veertien gesneuvelde huzaren verloren hun leven in de laatste drie maanden voor de wapenstilstand van augustus 1949 – en het navenant dalende moreel maakten het vooruitzicht op een militaire zege op de tegenstander steeds irreëler.

Jacques A.C. Bartels, zoon van de overleden commandant van het eskadron, heeft in een dik boek op zeer gedetailleerde wijze het dagelijks soldatenbestaan van deze eenheid vastgelegd. Hij kon daarbij zijn voordeel doen met de uitvoerig geciteerde dagboeken en brieven van niet minder dan tien huzaren die hij aanvulde met interviews en archivalia. Het is een soms bewust eentonig verhaal van patrouilles op zoek naar een onzichtbare tegenstander en de legering op eenzame buitenposten, waarbij vermoeidheid en uitzichtloosheid in de plaats kwamen van het aanvankelijke idealisme. Bartels gaat niet heen om een aantal meestal versluierde handelwijzen: het martelen van gevangenen om informatie te verkrijgen en ‘het op de vlucht neerschieten’. Natuurlijk zijn er de superioriteitsgevoelens, waarbij de dood van een inlander hoogstens wordt afgekocht met een aantal guldens. En in de laatste maanden verdienden de huzaren er een flink zakcentje bij door transporten van Chinese handelaren te begeleiden. Interessant is ook een bijlage waarbij Bartels ingaat op de achtergronden van de acht huzaren die eerder in Duitse dienst hadden gevochten. Het lijkt er op dat zij zo de kans kregen zich te ‘rehabiliteren’ en een straf te ontlopen. Over hun totale aantal in het leger in Indonesië verschillen de meningen, zo ook over de vraag of hier sprake was van bewust beleid. Het laatste lijkt niet het geval.

Dit boek laat zien dat de lotgevallen van 230 soldaten maatgevend kunnen worden genoemd voor de ervaringen van de meer dan honderdduizend dienstplichtigen die werden uitgezonden. In dat opzicht is dit verzorgd uitgegeven boek met een paar honderd foto's een aanwinst in de overvloedige militaire-herinneringsliteratuur.

Slordig is dat de kleine moeite om het geringe aantal Indonesische woorden en namen te controleren niet is genomen; dat geldt ook voor de geografische namen. En zo krijgt Soekarno weer een voorletter, mist Soengkono zijn middelste letter en is Roema sahiti djawi drie keer fout.

Indonesië op vrijdagmiddag is het verslag van de emotionele verhouding van Max de Bruijn met ‘het moderne, chaotische, vaak totaal onbegrijpelijke maar altijd enerverende Indonesië’. In 1988, 22 jaar oud, belandde hij door een voor hemzelf onverklaarbare fascinatie, die sterk was verbonden aan het koloniale verleden, voor het eerst in het eilandenrijk.

Er volgden vele bezoeken, vaak in het verlengde van zijn werk bij het Rijksmuseum, waar hij was betrokken bij onderzoek naar de VOC. Hij deed naspeuringen naar het werk van de tekenaars Jan Brandes en Johannes Rach. In 1995 woonde hij een jaar in Jakarta, waar hij zijn best deed aandacht te verkrijgen voor het behoud van Nederlandse architectuur. Dat laatste werd zijn hoofdtaak toen hij onder de noemer van 'Gedeeld Erfgoed' in 2003 voor vier jaar naar Jakarta werd uitgezonden.

Zijn ervaringen in die jaren zijn neergelegd in korte hoofdstukken, waarin hij actuele gebeurtenissen, politieke en maatschappelijke verhoudingen, de relatie van blank en bruin, het huiselijk leven en nog veel meer op een ironische toon bespreekt, en heel vaak de historische dimensie zoekt en vindt. Hij speculeert zelfs, aangemoedigd door een Chinese kennis, over wat er zou geschieden als Nederland zou terugkeren om het bestuur van Jakarta op zich te nemen. Voor iedereen die iets meer van Indonesië weet dan de doorsnee-toerist is veel herkenbaar. De lezing van dit boek is overigens voor een veel grotere groep een genoegen. Als stilist had De Bruijn zich ook al laten kennen in zijn roman *Expats* (2000).

In december 2007 gaat hij terug naar Nederland, tot zijn grote vreugde: 'Ik mag weg! Weg, weg, weg.' Zijn conclusie luidt: 'Ik hoor daar niet. We horen daar niet. We hebben daar nooit gehoord. De hele kolonie was al een groot misverstand. En mijn aanwezigheid in Indonesië was dat ook.' Maar wanneer zal het verlangen naar Indonesië al weer gaan knagen?

De geschiedenisleraar Marco Baars schreef als deel in de serie 'Dominicus Thema' over Indonesië. Deze serie wil in een mengsel van reisverslag, geschiedenis en hedendaagse politieke, sociale en culturele ontwikkelingen de lezer meer bieden dan de geijkte reisgidsinformatie. In *Nog geen krasje op een rots...* vertelt Baars in honderd hoofdstukjes over een reis en verblijf op Bali, Lombok en Java, al weer een aantal jaren terug. Dat verslag geeft telkens aanleiding voor uitstapjes in historie en actualiteit, solide gegrondvest in kennis van de relevante literatuur. De formules, met vele illustraties in kleur, levert een afwisselend, lezenswaardig boekje op en is blijkbaar succesvol. Titel en ondertitel zijn overigens lichtelijk misleidend – van een zoektocht naar Nederlandse resten in Indonesië is niet echt sprake.

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Edwin Jurriëns is Lecturer in Indonesian Language and Culture at the University of New South Wales, Canberra, Australia. He is author of *Cultural travel and migrancy; The artistic representation of globalization in the electronic media of West Java* (KITLV, 2004) and co-editor of *Cosmopatriots; On distant belongings and close encounters* (Rodopi, 2007).

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cludes a detailed overview of the environmental legal framework and its interpretation by Indonesian courts in landmark court cases. The book features a number of detailed case studies of both environmental litigation and mediation and considers the legal and non-legal factors that have influenced the success of these approaches to resolving environmental disputes.

David Nicholson graduated in Law (Hons) and Asian Studies from Murdoch University in 1995 and was admitted to legal practice in Western Australia in 1997. He subsequently undertook doctoral research on environmental dispute resolution in Indonesia as part of the Indonesia Netherlands Study of Environmental Law and Administration (INSELA) project, based at the Van Vollenhoven Institute at Leiden University, and was awarded a doctorate in law in 2005. Dr Nicholson has since returned to legal practice in Western Australia, specializing in environmental planning and local government law.

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Het boek bestaat uit twintig lessen, elk met woordenlijsten, oefeningen en een meeslepende, doorlopende leestekst. Dankzij de bijbehorende cd-rom, de cumulatieve woordenlijsten Indonesisch-Nederlands en Nederlands-Indonesisch en de toegevoegde sleutel tot de oefeningen is het boek geschikt voor zelfstudie, maar het kan uiteraard ook worden gebruikt in klas of collegezaal.

Prof.dr. A. Teeuw, emeritus hoogleraar Indonesisch aan de Universiteit Leiden schreef over dit leerboek: 'De beste beschrijving van het morfologische systeem van het Indonesisch'.

Hein Steinhauer (Amsterdam, 1943) studeerde Slavische talen aan de Zagrebako Sveuciliste en de Universiteit van Amsterdam, waar hij in 1973 promoveerde op een vergelijking van drie Kroatische dialecten. Sinds 1974 is hij verbonden aan de Universiteit Leiden, als onderzoeker van talen in Indonesië en als docent Austronesische talen.

Van 1998 tot 2008 was hij bijzonder hoogleraar etnolinguïstiek in het bijzonder van Zuidoost-Azië aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. Hij publiceerde onder meer over Kroatische dialecten, Lets, Indonesisch, Kerinci, Blagar, Dawan, Nimboran, Biak en varianten van het Maleis.

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MARIEKE BLOEMBERGEN

DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE POLITIE IN NEDERLANDS-INDIË

Uit zorg en angst

Uit zorg en angst beschrijft de geschiedenis van de koloniale politie in Nederlands-Indië tussen 1897 en 1942. Enkele kwesties staan daarbij centraal, zoals de betekenis van de politie voor de koloniale staat en de rol van het geweld dat zij gebruikte. Met als belangrijkste vraag: wat was er koloniaal aan koloniale politie?

De moderne koloniale politie in Nederlands-Indië was het product van angst en zorg. De angst van de Europeanen voor de inheemse wereld in beweging; de zorg voor het zedelijk welzijn van de plaatselijke bevolking. De

politie was niet alleen bedoeld voor controle en repressie, maar ook voor een koloniaal beschavingsoffensief.

In de besluitvorming over het politieapparaat hadden Indonesiërs intussen geen deel. In de uitvoering wel: aan het begin van de jaren dertig werd de koloniale politie voor 93 procent bemand door inheems personeel.

Marieke Bloembergen is als docent geschiedenis verbonden aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en als senior post-doconderzoeker aan het KITLV.

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