


NOTE FROM ASEASUK CHAIR

Following an enjoyable conference and the formal creation of a research sub-committee (with funds!) within ASEASUK, the Association appears to be flourishing.

Yet there may be a divergence between the enthusiasm and engagement of Southeast Asianists with their field on the one hand, and the vulnerability of Southeast Asian Studies within the UK's RAE- and quantitative target-driven educational culture on the other. Would a Clifford Geertz or a Paul Wheatley have emerged in the current climate? I'm not sure. The demise of the terrific South-East Asian Studies centre at Hull was distressing, though fortunately it has re-emerged in a somewhat different form in the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Leeds where at least six colleagues have research and teaching interests in the region. But other centres of excellence may be under threat.

The committee has been considering how we might more actively promote Southeast Asian Studies. Inside the front page cover, you will find that several committee members now have additional roles. Ben Murtagh (SOAS) is to consider conference development; Justin Watkins (SOAS) is looking at links with linguistic studies; and Matthew Cohen (Royal Holloway) is working with Justin in collating information for the ASEASUK website on Southeast Asian cultural and performance events in the UK. It would be greatly appreciated if members and colleagues could kindly email information on any such event to Matthew. Other members with additional roles are

Terry King representing ASEASUK in UKCASA (UK Council for Area Studies Associations), Becky Elmhirst (between ASEASUK and the outgoing British Academy Committee on South-East Asian Studies), and Terry, Annabel Gallop and Sandra Dudley on the RAE panels (see News section below for further information).

Nick Ford 
University of Exeter

NEWS

Prof VT King transferred from the University of Hull to the Department of East Asian Studies at Leeds from 1 August this year as Professor of South-East Asian Studies. His new email address is: v.t.king@leeds.ac.uk and postal address: Department of East Asian Studies, **University of Leeds**, Leeds LS2 9JT; tel: 0113-343-7845.

Terry completed his three-year term and then served a further three months until end of July 2005 as Director of the Graduate School at Hull University.

He has also been elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts as of September 2005 and appointed as International Advisor to the Faculty of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS) from 2005. He undertook an evaluation of UNIMAS's undergraduate social science programmes in June 2005. His visits this year include Universiti Teknologi Petronas to complete research on tourism in Perak, Universiti Teknologi MARA where he was invited to be an external examiner and Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM) to discuss academic

collaboration with Leeds and to plan a joint conference with Professor Jayum Jawan of the Faculty of Human Ecology at UPM next July on 'Contemporary Issues and Challenges in Human Development'. Terry was also at the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies at Lund University, Sweden, in April 2005 to discuss academic collaboration with Leeds and to present a paper on Southeast Asia as a region.

Terry has also been appointed Chair of the RAE 2008 Sub-panel for Asian Studies.

Prof Peter Riddell (London School of Theology) delivered a public lecture on 'The life and works of `Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili', in the series Islam in Southeast Asia: Universality and Particularity, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies in June 2005. Other papers that Peter presented earlier this year include 'Varieties of Christian-Muslim encounter in Malaysia since 9/11' at a conference on Christian Responses to Islam, Centre for Christianity and Inter-religious Dialogue, Heythrop College, University of London in May and on 'Cambridge MS Or. Ii.6.45: the commentary on Sura al-Kahf' at the ASEASUK conference, University of Exeter, and 'Islamic perspectives on globalisation', Department of Philosophy and Religion, James Madison University in February.

Dr Matthew Isaac Cohen, previously at Glasgow University, is now Senior Lecturer in the Department of Drama and Theatre at **Royal Holloway**, University of London. Matthew is looking forward to being part of this major research-oriented department and teaching Southeast Asian theatre and performance, among other subjects. He presented two papers in April 2005: 'Dancing

the subject of Java' at British Forum for Ethnomusicology and AHRC Centre for Cross-Cultural Music and Dance Conference, London, and 'Contemporary *wayang* in global contexts', ASEASUK conference, Exeter University, as well as a pre-performance public lecture in July on 'Arts of Cirebon', London Symphony Orchestra, at St Luke's, London. Since March 2005 Matthew has been working on a project regarding encounters of international modernism with Javanese and Balinese traditions of dance, music, puppetry and drama during the first half of the 20th century. This research, funded by the British Academy South-East Asia Committee, has allowed him to visit libraries and archives in Vienna, the Netherlands and the United States. His book on the Komedi Stamboel will appear in early 2006 and is being published by Ohio University Press.

Dr Rebecca Elmhirst (University of Brighton) was in Lampung, Indonesia, early 2005 to complete fieldwork for a British Academy-funded project on '*Exploring Migrant Networks and Community Resource Control in Rural Indonesia*'. The project, which involves collaboration with Ari Darmastuti at the University of Lampung, has been looking at the implications of decentralisation and shifting resource control regimes for landless rural migrants. Part of the fieldwork involved surveying migrants and local Lampung people who had been interviewed in research conducted by Becky in 1994-95.

In July 2005 Becky visited the Asian Institute of Technology for an EU Asia-Link Research Development Workshop with colleagues from Gender and Development Studies at AIT, the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, and the University of Leeds. She is

currently co-editing a themed special issue of the journal, *Gender, Technology and Development* (vol 10, no. 1) with Dr Bernadette Resurreccion on 'Gender and Environmental Governance'.

Becky presented the following papers this year in Singapore, Vietnam and Indonesia, respectively: 'Masculinities, cultural politics and female outmigration: an Indonesian case', International Workshop on the Impacts of Migration on the Left Behind in Asia, Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis, National University of Singapore, and Institute for Social Development Studies, Hanoi; 'Changing migrant livelihoods in the context of decentralization: a longitudinal study of transmigration in Lampung', World Agroforestry Center, Bogor, and 'Changing migrant livelihoods: research findings from Negara Jaya, Kabupaten Way Kanan, Lampung', Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Lampung.

In 2004 she spoke on the following topics: 'What's so transnational about it? Indonesian migrants in Java and Saudi Arabia' (with R Silvey) at the International Geographical Congress-UK in Glasgow on the Gender, Migration and the Politics of Scale panel; 'Impoverished mobility: gendered social networks and resource control in Indonesia' at the international conference on Gender, Development and Public Policy in an Era of Globalization, Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, and 'Placing constraints: migration, environment and the politics of community' at the Sussex Migration Research Centre seminar series.

Dr Margaret Coldiron is currently teaching

eastern dance drama at **Reading University**. She presented three papers in 2005: 'Transnationalism and the traditional performer' at the Association for Asian Performance, University of San Francisco in July, and two in October: 'Who or what is Ni Waloe Nateng Dirah?' at the Masks of Transformation Conference, Southern Illinois University, and 'Theatrical masks and rituals of transformation' at Fondazione Centro Incontri Umani, Ascona, Switzerland.

The current research interest of **Dr Janet Cochrane (Leeds Metropolitan University)** is on collaborative management initiatives in national parks. She presented a paper on 'Grasping reality: co-management initiatives in national parks', at the Development Studies Association Annual Conference, Milton Keynes, in September 2005. Janet undertook a trip to Indonesia, Thailand and Laos at the end of October/early November. In Indonesia she had meetings at four of the top five state universities (in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogya and Surabaya) and with two private institutions. She gave a presentation on Leeds Metropolitan University in Jakarta to promote Leeds Met's educational strengths in the fields of tourism and business and to generate increased numbers of students from Indonesia.

In Bangkok Janet was invited by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) to give a presentation on the 'Backpacker Plus', i.e. older, wealthier people who choose backpacker-style travel. TAT had heard Janet's paper on 'The backpacker plus: overlooked and underrated', at seminar of Backpackers Research Group of ATLAS (Association for Tourism and Leisure Education), Kasetsart University, in early

September 2005 and was struck by the importance of this market for the country.

In Laos Janet held initial meetings for a project on marketing responsible tourism, under an EU-funded programme for which Leeds Met has just won the contract. Janet also visited a national park to see how these are being developed for tourism.

Janet also produced the following consultancy reports: 'Research for Learning Areas Handbook project, EU, 2004-2005' and 'Enhancing sustainability options for mainstream tourism, UNEP, 2005' (three reports).

Dr Annabel Teh Gallop (British Library) is continuing to work on illumination in Islamic manuscripts from the Malay world. She presented a number of papers on specific aspects of this subject including three in May on 'Ripples from the west: manuscript illumination in Banten' at the ASEASUK conference, University of Exeter; 'The universal and the particular in Qur'an manuscripts from Southeast Asia' at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies in May 2005; 'Artists and audiences: illumination in Malay literary manuscripts' SOAS Southeast Asia Departmental Seminar and 'The manuscript art of Kelantan: between Terengganu and Patani' at 'The Spirit and Form of Malay Design' in June at Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. These papers have fed into an article on 'Islamic manuscript art from Southeast Asia' which will appear in the catalogue to accompany the exhibition 'Crescent moon: Islamic art and civilisation in Southeast Asia', at the Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, from 10 November 2005.

Annabel is a member of sub-Panel 49, Asian Studies (chaired by Terry King), part of Main Panel L, Area Studies. Information on RAE 2008 can be found at the website, <http://www.rae.ac.uk/default.asp>. If there are any specific concerns of ASEASUK members Annabel will be happy to hear of them.

Dr Sandra Dudley is now Lecturer in Interpretive Studies within the Department of Museum Studies, **University of Leicester**. She received a grant of £2,650 from the British Academy South-East Asian Studies Committee for her project 'Materiality, space and time in Karenni nationalist exile in Thailand'. This will allow Sandra to make a field trip to the Thai-Burma border this year to complete the research for her book. Sandra is also on the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) peer review college covering South and Southeast Asia.

Margaret Nicholson, librarian at the University of Hull has retired but continues to be Treasurer of the South-East Asian Library Group (SEALG).

Dr Dario Novellino (University of Kent at Canterbury) is researching the Batak of the Philippines, a group of hunters-gatherers and horticulturists that, in recent years, have become the 'target' of conservation and development projects. In partnership with Bangsa Palawan (Indigenous Alliance for Equity and Wellbeing) a Philippine NGO, Dario continues to support Batak communities with small-scale livelihood initiatives. So far, such initiatives have included the re-introduction of local crop varieties, the creation of revolving funds for harvesting and processing non-timber forest

products (NTFPs), and legal assistance for ancestral land claims. In early 2006, he will re-organise the permanent exhibition on Southeast Asian indigenous populations at the Paleo-Ethnobotanic Museum of the Botanical Garden (University 'Federico II' of Naples). He has been responsible for setting up this collection since 1989.

Between 16 October and 15 November 2005 Dario will write a working paper for IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) of the UN which will propose mechanisms on how to introduce and adopt the principle of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) in IFAD policies. In late November he will be in Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia, to carry out a preliminary socio-economic assessment in areas inhabited by indigenous groups

He presented the following papers in August 2005: 'Incomplete transmission and differential access to basket weaving knowledge amongst the Batak of Palawan' and 'Planting rice and "caring for the child": a techno-symbolic approach to Palawan perceptions of the environment' at the 4th International Congress of Ethnobotany Istanbul, In September he spoke on 'Disempowering through forest conservation: the case of the Tanabag Batak on Palawan Island (Philippines)' at the Rainforest Gathering Conference Eden Project in Cornwall.

Dr Tim Huxley (International Institute for Strategic Studies) presented a paper in May to IISS corporate members on 'Key security challenges in Southeast Asia'. Following the Fourth IISS Asia Security Conference ('Shangri-La Dialogue'), where he made a

presentation to the break-out group on 'Developing defence industries in the Asia-Pacific', in early June he was in Singapore for discussions with senior officials, parliamentarians and locally-based journalists. On 4 July, Tim spoke on 'The Indian Ocean tsunami: the political and security impact' at a workshop on 'Natural disasters and political change' at King's College London. Later in July, he lectured on recent political and security-related developments in Indonesia at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London. In August, he was in Hawaii for discussions on maritime security in Asia. During September, he presented papers on 'Southeast Asian force modernisation' in the IISS-Asia seminar series in Singapore and at the first international conference of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in Canberra. At the Third IISS Global Strategic Review in Geneva in mid-September, he presented a Southeast Asian perspective on terrorism and counter-terrorism to a break-out group on 'The widening counter-terrorism challenge'.

Centre of South East Asian Studies, SOAS

Prof William Gervase Clarence-Smith is currently Head of Department (History). Between April and September 2005, he delivered eight papers. The two in France were: 'L'esclave n'est-il qu'un facteur de production? L'exemple de l'esclavage dans le monde islamique', and 'La question de la résistance des esclaves dans le monde islamique,' Séminaire de Recherche 'Esclavage et formes de dépendances; expériences antiques et modernes', Université de Bretagne-Sud, Lorient. In Switzerland he spoke on 'Les filères café et cacao: contribution au développement économique', Institut d'Histoire Économique,

at Université de Lausanne, 'Utilisation des esclaves dans le monde islamique', Département d'Histoire Economique, Université de Genève, Geneva. In May he delivered two papers in Oxford: 'South-East Asian Islam and the problem of slavery', Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, and 'Diseases of equids in Southeast Asia and its borderlands, 1790s-1940s' at a conference on 'Science, disease and livestock economies', St Antony's College.

He spoke on 'Entrepreneurial strategies of Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia, c. 1750s-1945' at the conference on 'Yemeni-Hadramis in Southeast Asia: identity maintenance or assimilation?', International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur, in August. And in September William presented papers on 'The imperialism of jackals: economic dynamics driving less developed powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', Global Economic History Network conference on 'Imperialism', Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, and on a new journal (2006) to be published by Cambridge University Press and LSE of which he is chief editor, 'The Journal of Global History,' at the First European Congress of World and Global History, University of Leipzig, Germany.

Dr Rachel Harrison presented the following paper at Thammasat University, Thailand, in mid-August 2005 at a conference on Modern Southeast Asian Cinema: 'Pandora's pot: sexuality and the monstrous feminine in the Thai horror film'.

PhDs

The following have successfully defended their dissertation: **Yulius Hermawan**

(**University of Leeds**) on factionalism in the Indonesian PDIP in June 2005 (supervisor: Prof Duncan McCargo), from **University of Hull: Alexander Chandra** on Indonesia's political economy between nationalism and regionalism (supervisor: Dr Simon Lee), and **Pao Cheng-hao's** comparative study on political opposition in Singapore and Taiwan (supervisor: Dr E Grove).

LETTER

Geoffrey Marrison's report, 'Recollections: forty years of South-East Asia at Hull' (*ASEASUK News* 37), shares with the typical obituary an extreme reluctance to speak any ill whatsoever of the deceased!

One effect of such delicacy is to deny to any future historian of the Area Studies phenomenon in Britain even the faintest of clues to the dynamics of development in the early years. It is especially regrettable that no reference is made to the fact that the University Grants Committee came to suspect a lack of serious University commitment to the Centre in its first six years, and set about hedging its investment by offering a similar, though inadequately funded, Centre to Kent. This move duly galvanised Hull to appoint a full-time Professor, in the person of Mervyn Jaspán.

It would then be appropriate to hint at the shaping of a quite turbulent profile in place of the placidity of the first six years. It was not very long before the University even disestablished the new joint degrees at undergraduate level. The Centre had become a shadow of its former self by the time Mervyn Jaspán died, he himself having taken

charge of a small Department for sociological research. It was the virtual demise of the old Centre, rather than the tragic death of an individual in the wake of that, that rendered the role of David Bassett so vital in restoring morale - and eventually reviving the undergraduate teaching programmes. I believe it was this that made it possible for the Parker Committee to give its resounding vote of confidence in 1987. In circumventing the fact of crisis, Geoffrey Marrison has unintentionally failed to do full justice to David Bassett's 'place in history'. Another absolutely steady hand was that of the ever-modest Lewis Hill.

Admittedly, I know of events post-1970 only at second hand, having taken cover in the new programme at Kent. But it may be that Geoffrey Marrison would not deny that there was a crisis in the affairs of the Centre, only the relative importance of that crisis in the longer view. I know that the analysis of politics and personality in the life of an institution may reflect an inbuilt disposition of a social scientist, whereas an archivist and historian might get closer to the memorable heart of things.

Even I am more on my guard against the post-modern tendency in social science itself, which indeed insists on the role of politics and personality, but only where they manifest themselves in a 'right-wing' guise. And no doubt some will say that this is a personal preoccupation, derived from a highly subjective, if not obsessive, perception of the late 1960s era as one in which revolutionary students and some professorial sympathisers enjoyed a disproportionate influence. I take some comfort from the - strangely, unlisted Clive Christie, who noted

in a recent, excellent book the remoteness of the era of international hegemony of Marxist thought from present-day intellectual imagining. But if indeed there is a problem of comprehension at the level of world politics, who will be persuaded that Western academic life had taken on some of the colouration of that scene?

Roger Kershaw 

Scotland

REVIEW ARTICLE

A.J. STOCKWELL (ed). *Malaysia*. British documents on the end of empire. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London Series B Vol 8. London: Stationery Office, 2004. 840 pp. ISBN 0 11 290581 1 (hb £190). <http://www.tso.co.uk>

Beginning with his *British policy and Malay politics during the Malayan Union experiment, 1942-1948* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979) and confirmed in his magisterial three-volume *Malaya* (London: HMSO, 1995), as well as numerous journal articles and chapters in edited volumes, Tony Stockwell has established himself as the leading authority on the decolonisation of Malaya/Malaysia. Like *Malaya*, the present volume under review is part of the excellent British Documents on the End of Empire (BDEE) project based at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in the University of London. The bulk of this magnificent book consists of a selection of 227 documents from the National Archives (formerly Public

Record Office) of the UK, reconstructing 'the making of Malaysia from the records and perspectives of British policy makers ... from the achievement of Malayan independence in 1957 to the inauguration six years later of a greater state' (p. xxxv). In this, BDEE *Malaysia* exhibits all the established hallmarks of Stockwell's craft – meticulous research, a judicious selection of documents (with scene-setting introductions drawing on further primary and secondary sources), and a balanced and highly quotable editor's introduction (also incorporating additional historiographical and documentary material, and which provides the most comprehensive and convincing overview of the making of Malaysia to date).

There has been much debate in Malaysian historiography about the efficacy of basing interpretations upon British archives, and the alleged production of a 'colonial records history'.¹ However, given the strictures of the revised Malaysian Official Secrets Act of 1986 (and similar restrictions in Singapore), the best sources for the late-colonial period do tend to reside in the UK. Moreover, Stockwell has been careful to select documents that cover 'crises and the unexpected as well as the measured products of calm deliberation' (p. xxxvi). Indeed, what comes out of this volume above all else, is the succession of exasperations which British policy-makers experienced in the making of Malaysia, so much so that the final stages in the creation of the enlarged federation were touch and go. In the Anglo-Malayan talks of

November 1961, agreement was reached, firstly, to appoint a commission of enquiry to ascertain the views of the Borneo peoples towards merger with Malaya and, secondly, to extend the Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement of 1957 to Singapore, Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak. Everything appeared rosy in the Malaysian garden. But, barely four months later, the prime minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, would make accusations that British officials 'on the spot' were obstructing the Malaysia message in Borneo, driving home the very real tensions between the various territories and conjuring up ghosts of the already ill-fated Central African Federation. Moreover, the British and Malayan members of the Cobbold Commission split over the issue of a transitional period for British trusteeship in North Borneo and Sarawak. Desperate to keep Malaya committed to 'Greater Malaysia', and fearing that Lee Kuan Yew's government might fall to the communist-influenced *Barisan Sosialis* in Singapore, or that the Philippines and Indonesia might take their respective territorial claims to the UN, it was imperative for the Macmillan government to oversee the swift creation of Malaysia. Hence, the Tunku was appeased during further talks in London in July 1962, and the transitional period in Borneo was scrapped. To keep Malaya committed to the project also required a reluctant intervention in Singaporean politics as the Alliance ministers in Kuala Lumpur insisted on the elimination of the *Barisan* as a pre-condition for merger.

The 'Operation Cold Store' arrests of February 1963 appeared to have secured Singapore for Malaysia, but international developments subsequently represented

¹ See A.C. Milner, 'Colonial records history: British Malaya', *Kajian Malaysia* 4, no. 2 (1986); Yeo Kim Wah, 'The Milner version of British Malayan history: A rejoinder', *Kajian Malaysia* 5, no. 1 (1987); John Gullick, *Rulers and Residents: Influence and power in the Malay States, 1870-1920*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 10 n. 28.

another muddying of Southeast Asian waters for British mandarins and ministers. Given a tendency for the Americans to support Indonesia rather than Malaysia (and waverings on the part of Australia and New Zealand too), as well as the beginnings of UN interest in the project (apparently at the behest of Washington), Macmillan's private secretary Philip de Zulueta minuted that the 'Malaysian situation looks to me to be getting out of hand' (Doc. 164). By June 1963, meanwhile, there was deadlock surrounding the financial nuts and bolts of accession in Malaya's negotiations with both Brunei and Singapore, and the Tunku proposed the creation of 'Little Malaysia', encompassing merely Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak. Since the *raison d'être* of Malaysia, from the British point of view, was to protect military bases in Singapore by avoiding a communist take over of the island, Little Malaysia was a potentially disastrous outcome. A sigh of relief could be exhaled therefore when agreement on the economic terms of Singapore's entry into Malaysia was reached in July, but only after a gruelling all-night meeting 'brokered' by Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys. Moreover, Brunei could not be enticed, a situation which the British regarded as far from satisfactory since continuing the *status quo* of British protection would attract considerable international criticism 'as a form of colonialism' (Doc. 194). In August, there was to be further consternation when, much to British chagrin, the Tunku agreed with Presidents Sukarno and Macapagal of Indonesia and the Philippines on a UN mission to Borneo. U Thant's subsequent report was remarkably pro-Malaysia, but in the two-week postponement of Malaysia Day, Lee Kuan Yew made his unilateral declaration of

independence in an attempt to win further merger concessions. A crisis over the ethnic origin of Sarawak's head of state nearly derailed the whole project at the last minute as well, once again calling for Sandys's deft intervention.

These twists and turns in the Malaysia saga reveal that politicians in Commonwealth Southeast Asia were not mere bystanders, cajoled and bamboozled into structures constructed by the late-colonials. Certainly, the origins of a 'Dominion of Southeast Asia' go back to the Pacific war, and in 1955 Commissioner-General Malcolm MacDonald gave the project the moniker of 'Grand Design'. But traditional enmity between Singapore and Malaya, exacerbated by independence for the mainland in 1957 and the election of the People's Action Party on the island in 1959, as well as the very different constitutional set-ups and levels of economic development in North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, stymied British plans. The driving force behind Malaysia from 1961 actually lay in Southeast Asia not the UK, and in Singapore, not Kuala Lumpur, with Lee Kuan Yew apparently persuading a previously reluctant Tunku to make his famous 27 May proclamation in favour of 'Mighty Malaysia'. British politicians, diplomats and mandarins cannot really be awarded the tag of 'honest broker[s]' as Tan Tai Yong has recently claimed.² Notwithstanding Sandys's intrusions, Stockwell tells us that 'British ministers and officials frequently felt that they were being taken for a ride by Lee Kuan Yew, the Tunku,

² 'The "Grand Design": British policy, local politics, and the making of Malaysia, 1955-61' in Marc Frey, Ronald W. Pruessen and Tan Tai Yong (eds), *The transformation of Southeast Asia: International perspectives on decolonization*. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003, p. 146.

or the Sultan of Brunei'. Following Sultan Omar Saifuddin's last-minute decision not to sign in July 1963 'there was simply nothing the British government could do to induce him to change his mind' (pp. lvi-lvii). The complexities of reconciling the autonomous aspirations of Southeast Asian leaders were compounded by internecine disputes within the British camp – in Whitehall, the Colonial Office was often divided against the Foreign Office and/or the Commonwealth Relations Office, while Macmillan became increasingly frustrated with the British governors of North Borneo and Sarawak (and especially Sir William Goode in the former), who were apparently unable to see the wider international implications of their paternalistic insistence on special guarantees for the peoples of Borneo, and their general attempts to slow down the pace and limit the extent of integration.

The policy-making malaise, and the crisis management which characterised it, all rather undermines the neo-colonialism rhetoric of Sukarno at the time, which has found its more cerebral expression in Greg Poulgrain's recent work.³ As the first document in BDEE *Malaysia* from November 1957 on closer association on Borneo reveals, the British Cabinet was highly attracted to post-colonial federations as a means of dissipating radicalism, and, hence, preserving influence. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office Research Department Memorandum, consisting of some 328 paragraphs, included as an appendix at the end of this volume, suggests that British officialdom maintained a special interest in the region into the 1970s. As Stockwell has


argued for British decolonisation as a whole, policy-makers did hope to retain influence through managed transfers of power. Yet, what the British ultimately got was rarely the successor state they wanted or expected.⁴ Moreover, if there was a neo-colonialism underpinning 'Greater Malaysia', it was largely of a geopolitical rather than an economic dimension: what was uppermost in the British official mind was 'the security of the region and the expense of maintaining it ... The government's priority was to reduce public expenditure, not to promote private enterprise' (p. xlvi). Dollar earnings from the region were no longer vital by the late 1950s, viewed from a global perspective British trade with Southeast Asia was relatively insignificant, and even the oil reserves of Brunei were not particularly valued because they were believed to be in decline. Indeed, to undermine the conspiracy theorists further, a Shell executive explained to Colonial Office officials in June 1963 that the multinational had discovered new offshore oil deposits in the sultanate but 'it might be as much as a year before [Shell was] able to say whether oil was present in commercially exploitable quantities' (Doc. 190). Paradoxically, as the editor also hints at the end of his overview chapter, the creation of Malaysia eroded British influence in the region because the imperial overstretch revealed during *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia (1963-66) hastened Britain's military rundown 'East of Suez', while, as he has written elsewhere, the separation of Singapore in 1965 'made a nonsense of the original "grand design"'.⁵

³ *The genesis of Konfrontasi: Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, 1945-1965*. London: Hurst, 1998.

⁴ 'Ending the British empire: What did they think they were doing?', inaugural professorial lecture, Royal Holloway, University of London, 18 November 1999.

⁵ 'Malaysia: The making of a neo-colony?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 2 (1998): 154.

On top of the documents and the editor's introduction, the highly useful list of principal office holders, chronological table of principal events, biographical notes, and bibliographies of primary and secondary material make BDEE *Malaysia* a superb source of reference, as well as a comprehensive new interpretation of a crucial chapter in Anglo-Malaysian, Anglo-Bruneian and Anglo-Singaporean relations. The cover price will strain some library budgets, but, like the *Malaya* volumes, BDEE *Malaysia* will long endure as a vital contribution to the history of both British decolonisation and Commonwealth South-east Asia.

Nicholas J. White 
Liverpool John Moores University

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Michaelmas Term 2005 – 5pm 6.30pm on
Mondays in the Deakin Room, Founder's
Building, St Antony's College (except where
otherwise stated)

7 Nov Prof Anthony Reid (National University
of Singapore)
Understanding Asian nationalisms:
whither Aceh and Indonesia?

14 Nov Professor Michael Hitchcock (London
Metropolitan University)
The Bali bombings: tourists as targets

21 Nov Dr Heonik Kwon (University of
Edinburgh)
The decomposition of the Cold War and
the politics of mass war death in
Vietnam and Korea

CRISE Seminar Room, Department of
International Development (QEH), Mansfield
Road. 12.30pm-2.00pm - Thursday

24 Nov Dr Eva-Lotta Hedman (University of
Oxford, QEH)
Ethnic' separatism in Southeast Asia: the
dynamics of state power

Convenors: Dr Emma Reisz (Jesus College),
Dr Eva-Lotta Hedman (QEH)
Email: asian@sant.ox.ac.uk or tel: 01865-
274559. Updates to the programme at:
www.sant.ox.ac.uk/areastudies/asianlectures.html

**Sexuality and Family Relationships in
Southeast Asia** (French or English)
Phnom Penh
mid-December 2005

This thematic workshop is the prelude to the launching of collective research on seven topics over a two-year term. The expected result will be a collective book, in English or in French, for each topic.

- Sexuality in Southeast Asia
- The power of the father in Southeast Asia
- The relationships to his/her body in Southeast Asia
- Incest in Southeast Asia
- The mother-child relationships in Southeast Asia
- Vernacular terms to express prostitution and sex in Southeast Asia
- The private debt in Southeast Asia

Contact: Observatory on Human Trade in Southeast Asia

<<http://www.seaobservatory.org>>

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Cambodia

**European Association of Southeast Asian
Archaeologists (EurASEAA)**
11th International Conference
Bougon, France
25–30 September 2006

Venue: Musée des Tumulus. **Deadline** for proposal of papers/posters: January 2006. The full registration fee •;65, the students •.35. Contact: Pierre-Yves Manguin <manguin@efeo.fr>

19th IAHA Conference
22-25 November 2006
Manila

Main themes:

- Beyond Eurocentrism and Occidentalism: Asia-Europe comparisons
- Intercivilizational encounters: religion, language, commerce, and technology
- Framing Asia in global history: labor, culture, commodities, and ideology
- Business empires, economic networks: the old and the new
- The past in current social conflicts
- Historicising gender hierarchies
- Continuity and change in political histories
- At the margins, borders and interstices of Asian history
- Coping with the vicissitudes of everyday Life: health, environment and culture
- Revisiting classic texts in Asian history
- Literature as a window to Asian history
- Visuality, orality, and literacy in the reconstruction of the Asian past
- Archaeological illuminations on the Asian past
- Heritage and cultural preservation: a legacy for future generations
- Education and the historical profession

Submission of proposals: (a) an abstract maximum 250 words (b) a brief curriculum vitae, and (c) contact details. **Deadline:** 15 December 2005. Submission via email to iaha@pssc.org.ph or post to: IAHA National Organizing Committee, c/o Philippine Social Science Council, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines

For further information check:

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 - Trudy Jacobsen
Paying through the nose: punishment in the Cambodian past and lessons for the present
- Indonesia and the Malay World* 33, no. 95 (March 2005), articles include:
- R.H. Barnes
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 - Alessandra Lopez y Royo
rock corridor: Buddhism with a contemporary Javanese inflection through a site-specific performance in Tokyo
 - Andre Möller
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 - E.P. Wieringa
A late eighteenth-century *probatio penna* from Batavia
 - C.W. Watson
Plus ça change ...? A comparison of two Indonesian feminist novels: Suwarsih Djopuspito's *Maryati* and Istiah Marzuki's *Sundus*
 - Sarah Hicks
My husband's mistress – a short story by Sirikit Syah, introduced and translated

BOOK REVIEWS



VIRGINA HOOKER & AMIN SAIKAL (eds).
Islamic perspectives on the new millennium.
Singapore: ISEAS, 2004. 156 pp. ISBN 981-
230-240-9 pb US\$17.90; 981-230-241-7 hb
US\$35.90. Email: publish@iseas.edu.sg

According to the blurb on the back cover, this '...book aims to bring to the attention of non-Muslims, in particular, the range of views which Muslims in the Middle East and in South and Southeast Asia hold on six topics of importance to life in the twenty-first century'. The topics are as follows: 'The New World Order', 'The New Age', 'The Economy', 'The Nation-State', 'Muslim Women' and 'Law and Order'. There is no section on development, which, given the relative poverty of much of the Muslim world and the popularly held belief among many non-Muslims that there is a causal link between belief and underdevelopment in Islamic societies, this is a surprising omission, even if only to challenge this negative perspective.

The subject of terrorism is also not addressed, though Amin Saikal mentions the '... horrific attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001' (p. 19) in chapter 2. He rightly goes on to argue that Muslims recognise the common roots of their faith with Christianity and Judaism and points out that '... an overwhelming majority of Muslims have historically been respectful towards Christians and Jews' (p. 20).

Sadly, he does not balance his discussion of

the appalling record of the Christian Crusaders with an account of the equally abhorrent record of Muslim conquests and slaving raids into Europe. It is unclear whether the author is in a state of denial or simply does not know about such grizzly details as the Turkish suppression of Hungary or the ravages of the Morocco-based corsairs. On modern politics this author is more sure footed, but his attempts to skip through hundreds of years of history leave a decidedly one-sided impression. Despite these drawbacks, Amin's chapter does provide a succinct overview of the main flashpoints between the Islamic world and the West, notably the USA.

Overall, the book is most interesting when it turns to practical matters such as banking and finance. The chapters by Nur Ahmad Fadhil Lubis and Addullah Saeed provide excellent accounts of the history and imperatives of Islamic financial activism, and the pragmatic politics of *riba*, which can roughly be translated as 'interest'. Simply put, the prohibition on *riba* refers to any loan or debt in which '... an "advantage" or "benefit" is assigned to the creditor, not necessarily in the form of a clearly spelt out "increase", that is, interest over and above the principal' (p. 117). The desire to abide by deeply held ethical norms in the sphere of commerce and the measures needed to actualise this cannot simply be dismissed as 'identity politics', and could provide a challenge to the somewhat lofty claims of universalism among certain economists. These two chapters deserve to be expanded into a book in their own right.

Also deserving of their own dedicated volume are the chapters on Islam in

Indonesia. There are discussions on political Islam (Azyumardi Azra), Islam and gender (Kathryn Robinson), and shari'a and the nation state (M.B. Hooker). Read together they provide an incisive and thoroughly up-to-date analysis of the role of Islam in contemporary society, containing some intriguing suggestions such as the existence of a kind of '... internalized orientalism' (p. 218) in Indonesian Islam. By this the author, Hooker, means that contemporary debates among Muslims in Indonesia contain influences derived from western philosophy and social sciences. This is not such a farfetched claim when one considers that the Indonesian sense on nationhood owes more to western thinkers such as Herder than is usually acknowledged. Another thought-provoking contention of Hooker is that the domination of shari'a by the Indonesian state may be more apparent than real.

Generally speaking the book does address a very wide range of views held by Muslims and provides readers with a sense of the main debates taking place within the Islamic world. Ahmad Shboul also leavens what could have been a somewhat turgid tome with some delightful cartoons in his highly readable chapter on globalisation. In particular the volume serves as a useful counterbalance to the media coverage of the more violent expressions of Islamic issues that often overshadow intellectual discourse among Muslims. It also draws attention to the undoubted importance and potential centrality of Indonesia as a force for change in the Muslim world, which is partly due to the fact that there are more Muslims there than in the Middle East.

Michael Hitchcock 
London Metropolitan University

SUKARDI RINAKIT. *The Indonesian military after the New Order*. Singapore: NIAS Press/ ISEAS, 2005. 278 pp. ISBN 981-230-231-X pb S\$39.90/US\$22.95. Email: books@nias.ku.dk

This book provides a comprehensive description of the evolution of Indonesia's military since the country's independence in 1945. Well researched and sourced, Sukardi Rinakit's book will surely prove useful to anyone interested in the basics of the Indonesian security apparatus.

The various phases in the military's history are well covered, as are the evolving ideologies such as General Nasution's 'middle way,' the *dwifungsi* (dual function), and the military's latest 'new paradigm'. High level access allows Rinakit to write extensively about the military from an elite perspective. The author even managed to secure an interview with former president Suharto. What follows is a comprehensive study of the socio-political role of the military in each phase of its short history, set against the inherent struggles for greater professionalism and reform that characterise the post-Suharto era.

Internal reforms proposed by the TNI (*Tentera Nasional Indonesia* – Indonesian National Forces) have been clearly listed (pp. 105-8), although in typical fashion the implementation of these reforms has thus far been inadequate. This is due in part to the internal divisions within the military. Since independence there has been a split between the *Pancasila* (nationalist) camp and the Islamist camp, and the recent manifestation

of this divide sets three groups against each other. These are the 'status quo groups,' the 'moderates' and the 'radicals' as listed and named in Table 7 (pp. 109-10).

In light of widespread bankruptcy in their business and industrial complex, as well as crises in their command and control structures, the Indonesian military has faced its day of reckoning. Beset by outbreaks of violence since the dismantling of the New Order structures, the military has been torn between the need to preserve territorial integrity in the face of increasing communal violence, terrorism and separatism, and the need to rationalise and professionalise its structures and institutions in the new era of democratisation.

Herein lies the fundamental challenge; how can the military strike a balance between the security imperatives of the archipelago and the processes of democratisation? Some readers might have expected a clearer analysis of the uneasy tensions between democratisation and security, with at least a few chapters at the end of the book to cover such matters. Chapters 4-6 follow a sequence based on the regimes of Habibie, Wahid and Megawati. Wahid was undermined by the military leadership, while Megawati was accepted as a result of her complacency towards military reform.


Below the pinnacle of Indonesian power there is mounting public pressure to end military impunity for past crimes. The struggle to reconcile military interests with those of the pro-democracy camp is ongoing. This is indeed a murky subject and it does not fit well with conventional theory. Some adventurous research has been carried out by

a host of scholars, creating a platform for further study by scholars with high levels of access such as Rinakit.

The bibliography lists one provocative source called *Current data on the Indonesian Military* from 2001, and although dated, this publication gushes with controversial findings from the field. It strikes at some of the fundamental struggles taking place within the military and gets closer to the field, away from conventional elite analysis. This source should have been used to elaborate on the closing paragraph of Chapter 3 (p. 115) dealing with accusations of military involvement in the riots of May 1998. By mentioning this in passing the author has sidestepped a very unpleasant reality in contemporary military affairs.

There is a growing list of accusations about subversive activities carried out by the TNI in the transitional period since 1998. These include active involvement in maintaining low intensity conflicts in areas such as Aceh and Papua in order to preserve sources of illicit revenue. Likewise, there are indications that the TNI has been involved in provoking communal tensions and seeking to facilitate ethno-religious violence throughout Indonesia in order to justify its continued role in high politics and state affairs. Perhaps this could be seen as a reaction against calls for reducing the size of the military or sending officers 'back to the barracks'. Such accusations are echoed by former president Abdurrahman Wahid (p. 156), especially with regards to Maluku. However, the author does not elaborate on this issue or draw on the extensive sources available, such as Robert Hefner, Elizabeth Collins, Sidney Jones or the International Crisis Group.

The final chapter of the book is by far the shortest and provides little in the way of innovative analysis. It does, however, contain fruitful data and high quality information such as can be found on a consistent basis throughout the book, thus making it a useful resource for those interested in the technicalities of the Indonesian military. Ending with a short academic comparison between the Turkish and Indonesian military models, however, seems rather misplaced and leaves many questions unanswered.

Adam Tyson 
University of Leeds

RIYANA MIRANTI and DENIS HEW (eds). *APEC in the 21st century*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2004. 303pp. ISBN 981-230-253-0 pb S\$39.90/US\$25.90 Email: publish@iseas.edu.sg

This edited volume provides eight chapters by eminent academics and economists all based in the Asia-Pacific region. It is an overview of APEC's achievements in the past and challenges the organisation will likely face in the 21st century. The book developed out of the APEC roundtable held at ISEAS, Singapore on 8-9 June 2001.

Ippei Yamazawa, former President of the Institute of Developing Economies, Tokyo, opens proceedings with a chapter entitled 'APEC's achievements and tasks'. At the outset Yamazawa asks 'can APEC achieve anything?' He argues that despite disappointments with the speed of economic liberalisation procedures among APEC


members, there is a useful role which APEC can play. Yamazawa distinguishes between two 'tracks of actions' which APEC has focused on; trade and investment liberalisation and economic and technical co-operation (ECOTECH). He suggests that a more high-profile role for ECOTECH and more channelling of funds from external agencies towards ECOTECH's activities will help to improve the capacity of Asia-Pacific economies to play on the world stage. Subsequent chapters also focus on these two areas. In chapter two, Chen-Sheng Ho explores the trade and investment liberalisation in more detail and in chapter three Medhi Krongkaew discusses the status of ECOTECH in APEC and whether changes introduced in recent years represent 'a new beginning' for this type of cooperation.

A valuable aspect of this book is that it covers areas, which the writers argue, have been under-researched up to now. For example, in chapter two, investigating trade and investment liberalisation and facilitation, Chen-Sheng Ho concentrates on Collective Action Plans (CAPs) which, he notes, have not been evaluated to the same extent as Individual Action Plans (IAPs). In another chapter, Ramkishan S. Rajan investigates the effects of 'unhedged exposure to short-term foreign currency denominated debt' which leads to curtailments in banks lending due to the burden of large, non-performing loans. Again, Rajan argues that this aspect of international financial flow has not been given sufficient attention in assessments of the East Asian Financial Crisis of 1997.

Other chapters explore aspects of global economic development which may have implications for APEC's role in the future,

such as the implications of China's Accession to the WTO, bi-lateral and regional trading arrangements in the Asia-Pacific, the impact of preferential trading agreements in the western hemisphere and increases in international trade and foreign direct investments in the Asia Pacific region. Many of the chapters contain detailed quantitative data set out clearly in tables and graphs.

A criticism I would have is that there is neither an introduction nor a conclusion to explain the structure of the book, provide an explanation of the theoretical context of the enterprise, and add overall unity by drawing out the main themes of the book. Having said this, the book is a very thorough analysis of important aspects of APEC's activities and is a very valuable contribution to the academic debate.

Susan Giblin 
University of Leeds

MONICA JANOWSKI. *The forest, source of life: The Kelabit of Sarawak*. London: British Museum Occasional Paper 143, 2003. 154 pp. ISBN 0 86 159 1437 £25.

The book's aim is to contextualise and to provide an exegesis of the two museum collections in Britain and Malaysia. It documents how the Kelabit relate to their natural environment in three ways: through the use of materials from the forest for craftwork; via the hunting and gathering of food; and through horticulture. Not only is the natural environment the most important source of the livelihoods of these people, but

it is also caught up with their religious beliefs and social life. This was the case before the Kelabit became devout Christians and remains true until the present. This relationship is expressed in a hymn in which the whole natural world is characterised as 'God's garden'.

The Kelabit's songs take the form of stories that were told regularly while sitting round the fire in the evenings. The author reproduces some of these in translation, which were originally recorded in the 1970s by Carol Rubenstein, an American poet. They make excellent reading and one that was particularly interesting concerns a woman who can conjure up *borak*, (rice wine), without going through the usual laborious processes. Just as male heroes can perform improbable feats in the forest, a woman can also perform the impossible. It ends with the following evocative lines:

The drink will pass along your spine
of bones like notched steps
So that you feel like the charging
wild boar in the jungle (p.55)

Having tried Indonesian rice wine on a number of occasions, this reviewer concurs.

Just as pervasive as the distinction between men and women is opposition in Kelabit cosmology between the 'wild life force' (*lalud*), and 'proper human life' (*ulun*). In the past when the Kelabit were at war with their neighbours, victorious warriors would bring back the heads of their victims, carrying the life force of the dead to be given to their wives or girlfriends. Having given up taking human heads, it was the killing of wild animals that was said to make men attractive to women, and the author recalls women joking about the desires aroused by men

returning with the smell of the forest on them.

The complexities of male and female relationships are caught up in their relationship with the forest. Both sexes are involved in craftsmanship, which means in effect that both are involved in channelling the 'wild life force' through their skill as makers. Janowski tells us that women were cautious of items that had a very high level of the 'wild life force', such as those made of iron, especially knives and spears, and substances of animal origin. This situationally constructed relationship with the 'wild life force' illustrates the construction of gender in Kelabit society to the extent that when women perform craftwork, they are perhaps being a little less female and a little bit male. The provision of the rice meal is associated with the 'proper human life' (*alun*), and thus when men cook, as they quite often do, they are being less male and a little more female. Believing that the processing of natural materials involves the harnessing of the 'wild life force', the Kelabits are fascinated with objects and substances from elsewhere. Before World War II, when the Kelabits' contacts with the outside world were limited, the most important things that they possessed that originated elsewhere were beads, gongs and ceramics and were considered to have very high levels of the 'wild life force'.

This gem of a book links the collections of Kelabit material culture in the British Museum and the Sarawak Museum. The author made the collections in the late 1980s and they are brought to life by her carefully documented text. It contains high quality maps and exquisite ethnographical drawings

by Claire Thorne, as well as field photographs and photographs of artefacts from both museums. There is also a very useful list of botanical names for the materials used by the Kelabits, which was created with help from Hanne Christensen. In short, this is not just a book, but an exhibition within a book – a real feast for the eye.

Michael Hitchcock 

London Metropolitan University

BENEDICT J. TRIA KERKVLIT. *The power of everyday politics: How Vietnamese peasants transformed national policy*. Singapore: ISEAS and Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005, pp. 320. ISBN 981-230-325-1 pb S\$49.90/US\$29.90.

Email: publish@iseas.edu.sg

During the second half of the 20th century the communist national government of Vietnam imposed collective farming on its population in order to achieve a necessary goal: increasing food production in a country ravaged by famine, wars and natural disasters. Both government and local party officials tried to encourage people to accept the new system and to tend their collective farms with care, enthusiasm and commitment. But for the vast majority of Vietnamese villagers collective farming was a failure from the outset. During the nation's war against the United States, from the early 1960s to 1975, peasants did begin to feel more motivated in making the farming cooperatives function efficiently and thereby alleviate the country's food shortages. Even

during the war, however, the production deficiencies of collective farming were not resolved; they were simply obscured by the considerable food aid sent to Vietnam by its staunch allies. Factors that appear to have limited efficiency included, among others, the lack of material incentives, insufficient trust amongst villagers, poor governance, lack of autonomy, and intractable corruption. Moreover, persistent struggles over land, labour, draft animals, fertilisers and equitable sharing of produce contributed significantly to the eventual collapse of collective farming during the 1980s.

Academic studies of rural collectivisation in communist regimes have tended, in the past, to concentrate entirely on peasant resistance (Tauger 2004). Only recently have scholars started to analyse how grass-roots politics contribute to significant political change, and in particular to examine the behaviour of ordinary villagers in response to collective farming – at times fighting the system, at others being submissive. Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet continues this recent trend in his book. He gives a lucid explanation of the complexity of ordinary people's political behaviour during the controversial era of collectivised agriculture, focusing on the rural parts of the Red River Delta of northern Vietnam, and gives an extraordinarily perceptive account of the events and actions that contributed to the demise of collectivisation in the country as a whole. Moreover, he does so with such sophistication, humour and style that his book is a joy to read.

Kerkvliet's interpretation, which he calls dialogical (p. 36), avoids the blinkered concept of peasants as being unanimously

resistant to collectivisation. He sees dialogue between villagers and those in authority as having contributed enormously to Vietnam's emergence from isolationism and its transition to a market economy with socialist characteristics. Such dialogue has continued ever since the revolution, and has become an important feature of Vietnam's political system. Kerkvliet's interpretation also acknowledges that the authorities have been pragmatic, in the sense that they have been prepared to change their policies according to current realities.

This book, which is the product of in-depth diachronic research undertaken at Vietnam's National Archives as well as in the Delta's rural areas, makes a significant contribution to the recent literature. It covers the period from the onset of collectivisation in northern Vietnam in the late 1950s, through its consolidation during the war with the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, and on to its eventual (largely peaceful) demise in the 80s. Kerkvliet explains how the Communist government's intensive campaign to collectivise agriculture in the north during the early 1960s was extremely successful, with some forty thousand cooperatives created. He adds, however, that 'most of them [rested] uneasily on wobbly foundations' (p. 78). This was due to the fact that collectivisation had failed to meet 'the four political conditions necessary for durable collective farming' (p. 79). Firstly, commitment and incentives were mostly absent; secondly, trust amongst cooperative members was marginal; thirdly, governance in some cooperatives was of poor quality, and officials were often heavy-handed or corrupt; and finally, assessment and monitoring of the work of cooperative


members, and the imposition of sanctions for low productivity, were mostly arbitrary and discriminatory. It is thus not surprising that 'most villagers disliked cooperatives and wanted to return to family farming' (p. 141).

The author paints a vivid picture of the struggle for survival in these collective farms. Particularly powerful is his account of the 'everyday politics of land, labour and harvests', and how the constant criticism that villagers made of the system eventually persuaded the national authorities to abandon collective farming in favour of family farms. Of course, the demise of collective farming paralleled that in other communist countries. What made the experience in Vietnam unique, according to Kerkvliet, was the fact that the public was not disaffected by the Communist Party; instead it was the government's top-down approach in imposing collectivisation, and its reliance on a rigid system of management, that killed off cooperative farming.

In his final chapter, Kerkvliet eloquently describes how radical reforms of agriculture began to dismantle the national network of collective farms. In 1981 they were replaced by a contract system, in which farmers fulfilled individual rather than collective contracts. But it was not until the late 1980s that the new system gained momentum, through the *doi moi* policies that brought free markets to Vietnam. One of these policies – Resolution 10, introduced in 1988 – recognised the family as the basic unit of the agrarian economy and created new land laws that leased out former cooperative land to individual farmers. In the following year, state subsidies of staple food production were virtually eliminated, and by the 1990s

ten percent of Vietnamese households had risen above the poverty level (Niimi et al, 2004: 188). Moreover, the reforms gave villagers the opportunity to diversify away from agriculture and concentrate on low-tech production. In the Red River Delta, the focus of Kerkvliet's book, they specialised in ceramic products, woodcarving, furniture making, silk production, and so forth – crafts which had virtually disappeared during collectivisation.

In conclusion, this is an excellent and highly informative monograph. Kerkvliet is meticulous in his attention to detail, and this adds considerable richness to his account. His material is drawn from an impressive range of bibliographical sources, as well as interviews, and the book makes appropriate use of expressions in the Vietnamese language. He has also included some amusing cartoons from Vietnamese newspapers published during the era of collectivisation, which reveal popular sentiment towards the system. On a slightly less positive note, the book's rather too frequent use of references is at times distracting. However, this is a minor criticism of what is likely to be seen as a seminal work, written by one of the most informed scholars of contemporary Vietnamese politics and society.

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MELY CABALLERO-ANTHONY. *Regional security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN way*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005. 328 pp. ISBN 981-230-260-3 pb S\$39.90/US\$27.90; 981-230-261-1 S\$59.90/US\$43.90.

Email: publish@iseas.edu.sg

This book is in many ways a repique to the criticisms directed at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the last years of the preceding century and the beginning of the current one. Its stated objective is to examine how 'ASEAN has dealt with new regional security challenges by examining its responses to crises and its mechanisms in dealing with them.' More specifically, the book is concerned with establishing 'whether ASEAN's mechanisms of conflict management have moved beyond the ASEAN way'. The answer developed relative to this last question is a resounding 'yes'. This is based on the author's assessment that the changing nature of domestic politics in member states and the work of civil society organizations have been yielding new ideas in Southeast Asia about how conflict and security should be managed.

The book draws on Muthiah Alagappa for an understanding of what mechanisms of conflict management are, namely 'the processes, methods, devices, techniques, and strategies employed to resolve or manage a conflict'. Conflict management is conceived as incorporating conflict avoidance, conflict prevention, conflict settlement and conflict resolution. The author has expressly situated her work within constructivism. She argues that contrary to other approaches to international relations constructivism offers a broader understanding of ASEAN as a dynamic and changing organization. She adds that its emphasis on ideational factors helps us understand how and why "distinct" mechanisms have emerged and were shaped.' Beyond constructivism, the book also highlights the theoretical significance of epistemic communities.

Caballero-Anthony has essentially divided the book into two parts. She starts by introducing both formal (e.g. Summits, Ministerial Meetings, and legal instruments) and informal ASEAN mechanisms of conflict management (e.g. diplomacy of accommodation, consultation and consensus, networking, agreeing to disagree, and third party mediation). She rightly argues that the latter were more prevalent during ASEAN's formative period. Chapter Three demonstrates that ASEAN's mechanisms for conflict management during the Cambodia conflict did not go beyond the observance of regional norms and informal modalities of consultation and consensus. The subsequent chapter on the ASEAN Regional Forum shows how the ARF's two-track approach has been guided by ASEAN's experience of informal trust and confidence building through norm building. Particular attention is given to the

emerging consensus on preventive diplomacy reached by 2001.

The first of the three chapters effectively making up the second half of the book assesses the extent to which non-state actors have succeeded in influencing ASEAN in adjusting its modalities beyond the ASEAN way. The influence of ASEAN-ISIS is particularly highlighted in so far as Caballero-Anthony argues that the establishment of ARF, the strengthening of the ASEAN Secretariat, the realisation of AFTA, and the ARF Concept Paper all largely derived from ideas developed by this academic network. In Chapter Six she points, among others, to the ASEAN Troika, Bilateral Swap Arrangements, the adoption of Regional Haze Action Plan, and measures adopted to contain infectious diseases, as evidence that ASEAN has also developed responses to 'new types of problems that were beyond what its mechanisms had set out to do'. This is followed by an examination of the role and influence of the ASEAN People's Assembly (APA), which Caballero-Anthony argues has put pressure on ASEAN on human rights. She also sees a connection between 'the evolving work of APA on human development' and 'the reconceptualization of security' by ASEAN members and maintains that APA itself constitutes 'an embryonic regional mechanism for regional security'.

This book is a very welcome addition to the existing literature on ASEAN and its normative framework. Arguably, the book's main contribution lies in clarifying the influence of track two and track three actors *vis-à-vis* the Association. The book also raises some issues, however. One is whether it is

really that straightforward to see the coming into being of new declaratory or operational policies and attendant institution-building relevant to conflict avoidance or prevention as implying that ASEAN has moved beyond the ASEAN way of conflict management. A related point is whether the author does not in effect de-emphasise the focus on conflict management in later chapters in favour of a focus on how well ASEAN has approached recent security challenges. While it is easy to see how the ASEAN Troika is about conflict management, this is not as clear-cut with respect to other innovative decisions such as having a regional centre for disease control. It would thus have been good to see the author discuss how the new security challenges have engendered actual or potential (intramural) conflict. Another question is whether there is any notable tension between the argument whereby ASEAN's mechanisms of conflict management have changed and the conclusion that 'the features of the ASEAN way – portrayed through the observance of norms and principles in inter-state conduct, the consensual and consultative modalities in decision-making, as well as the preference for informal structures and the attitudes towards accommodation and non-confrontation-have continued to be the defining facets of ASEAN.' (p. 256). In this context, it is noteworthy that even according to the author's own account (1) ASEAN-ISIS seems to have had more influence on ASEAN's collective policy before 1997 and (2) the ASEAN's People Assembly has had to be funded from outside the region. Finally, given that the author sees the expansion of ASEAN as an obstacle to drastic reform of ASEAN modalities, more attention could perhaps have been paid to this in the book.

In conclusion, this book constitutes an important addition to works on the significance of ASEAN and the ASEAN way. Caballero-Anthony is right to point out that changing state-society relations may challenge the Association to reconfigure its institutional landscape, norms and practices. Yet how the main formal and informal conflict management mechanisms will qualitatively evolve still seems first and foremost something to be decided by the governments concerned.

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FRANCIS LOH KOK WAH and JOAKIM ÖJENDAL (eds). *Southeast Asian responses to globalization. Restructuring governance and deepening democracy*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2005. 396 pp. ISBN 87-91114-43-8 hb £40; 8791114446 9 pb £13.99
Email: books@nias.ku.dk

These days I invariably pick up a book on globalisation with a weary sigh. Serious discussions on the subject have really only been around for the past 10 to 15 years. But it seems longer, and, in academic and popular discourse, debates about the character, consequences and direction of globalisation have taken on almost obsessive proportions (of course, the process or phenomenon has assumed other earlier guises in such notions as 'world systems' and 'the new international division of labour'). Globalisation usually travels with a host of other related concepts: localisation, decentralisation, democrat-

isation (and popular participation), privatisation, deregulation and the new middle class(es), as well as the now familiar triad – civil society, state and market. These concepts jostle for attention in Francis Loh's and Joakim Öjendal's compilation, which emerged from a multi-country research programme on democratic discourses and practices in Southeast Asia. Funded from 1996 by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA) and the Swedish Agency for Research Co-operation with Developing Countries (SAREC), the programme was coordinated through Göteborg University's Centre for East and South East Asian Studies/Centre for Asian Studies, and brought together research organizations from Indonesia, Cambodia and Malaysia. The editors of this recently published comparative volume have also fleshed out the comparative range by drawing on researchers with expertise on Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines, as well as additional contributions on Indonesia and Malaysia.

Given the focus and funding, this book, unlike a good number of edited collections, is relatively tightly organized around its central themes (globalisation and democracy), and is further integrated with a well written introduction by Loh and a rounding up and reflective conclusion by Öjendal. Although I do not think that I have learned much, conceptually or theoretically at least, from the several papers – they confirm some of the most recent thinking on globalisation in Southeast Asia – there is sufficient that is empirically new (on local responses and 'localisms', and on 'issue-oriented' governance practices) to whet the appetite for more. It also helpfully rehearses the

historical context of political change, and, in some cases, specifically regime change, in several Southeast Asian countries. The editors claim not to fall into any one camp or school of 'globalists', and they have attempted to distance themselves from the 'skeptics', 'hyper-globalists' and 'transformationists' by concentrating on the particular, the specific, the local in a comparative and historical context, and in arguing that there is no simple pattern of capitalist convergence and increasing liberal democratisation. Personally, I had assumed that, for Southeast Asia at least, the argument that change in the context of globalisation is complex and local responses to it diverse had been accepted, and that there is no straightforward process of democratisation occurring.

Loh's opening editorial sentence tells us precisely what the book is about. It seeks to examine 'changes in governance systems and practices pertaining to the idea of "democratization" in Southeast Asia, intentionally positioned in a "thick" historical context of globalisation' (p. 1). The approach is 'critical political economy' spiced with a particular concern for structure and agency. The overall conclusion offered by Öjendal on the process of democratisation in the region is that it is patchy and varied; 'there is and there isn't'. Indeed, Öjendal tells us that, in any case, the editors and contributors are not really interested in whether or not countries are 'becoming "more" or "less" democratic' (p. 345). Rather they are concerned to examine 'specific changes in governance practices' and only then consider whether these changes might or might not contribute towards democratisation. The focus on local agencies is worthwhile, but clearly there is also

something to be said for (and some explanatory value in) focussing in a comparative way on successful and astute politicians and regimes (Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohamad), as against, at least in his final years, Suharto, when his regime 'simply lacked the necessary understanding of the new global conditions ... after the end of the Cold War' (p. 13).

Öjendal confesses that it is difficult for analysts to cope with the 'myriad political processes' at work (p. 365), and the complexities of their combinations, and, although the editors eschew 'grand theories' (we all have for some time), one cannot help but look back nostalgically to a more straightforward world before globalisation when there was some security at least in holding to one or another of the major paradigms on offer to help explain and understand change and development in the developing world. But in a globalising, post-modern world we now tend to drown in uncertainty and complexity, in 'diversity', 'plurality', 'fragmentation' and 'paradoxes', and in changes which are not uniform and unidirectional and which are increasingly 'culturally flavoured' (culture is, after all, everywhere in a globalising world; p. 346).

We have become familiar with the observation that globalisation and economic growth and development under capitalism are not necessarily accompanied by increasing democratisation, but that rather globalisation may strengthen the state. Loh's and Öjendal's book confirms this. The main case given here which de-links globalisation and democratisation is that of Singapore where the PAP government has maintained a relatively strict separation between state,

society and economy and a firm grip on political expression and action, though Chua Beng Huat (chapter 2) notes that a degree of cultural liberalisation has been permitted. To a significant extent the Malaysian government has also managed to retain an authoritarian stance, accompanied here by cronyism and political patronage, in the context of economic development, privatisation and deregulation, and the growth of a civil society (see chapter 3 by Khoo Boo Teik and chapter 4 by Saliha Hassan and Carolina Lopez on human rights issues). Some consideration of the 'Asian values' debate and the deployment by the state of an ideology of order, harmony, deference to authority, and community (state) priorities over individual liberties resurfaces here, and especially in the discussion of human rights issues in Malaysia (pp. 120-21). Authoritarianism in federal Malaysia is replicated at the sub-national level in Sarawak, where Andrew Aeria (chapter 6) concludes that 'development wrought by globalisation has been accompanied and aided by increased authoritarian government' (p. 191) and that inequalities have also increased with an accompanying disenfranchisement of many ordinary citizens, particularly Dayak rural communities.

On the other hand, the grip of the state has been significantly loosened in Thailand (Michael Kelly Connors, chapter 9), the Philippines as an early starter in things global and transnational (Eva-Lotta Hedman, chapter 5), and, in particular, Indonesia since the economic crisis of 1997-98 and the fall of Suharto (Dewi Fortuna Anwar, chapter 7 and Hans Antlöv, chapter 8). There has also been some decentralisation of decision-making and increased room for manoeuvre at the

grassroots level in Vietnam (Bent Jørgensen, chapter 11) and Cambodia (Joakim Öjendal, chapter 10), but the obstacles to increasing democratisation in Indochina are formidable, and as yet, civil society and the middle class are relatively weak.

So, in certain cases and at certain times, the state is (or has been) in retreat, succumbing to supranational organisations and forces and yielding some discretion to sub-national localisms. Yet, the road is a difficult and bumpy one, and not every state has taken it, or at least not travelled far along it, although across the region there is ample evidence (presented in some detail in this volume) of a more general freeing up. Contributions to globalisation will undoubtedly continue to hit the bookshelves; this present book does deserve some attention, and with its interesting case-study material at the local level, and the diversity of localisms revealed, should attract an audience. It is soundly and conscientiously edited.

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RUSSELL HENG and RAHUL SEN (eds). *Regional outlook South East Asia 2005-2006*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005. ISBN 981-230-245-X 144 pp. S\$29.90/US\$21.90

As the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies says in the preface, *Regional Outlook* is aimed at the 'busy executive, professional, diplomat, journalist and interested observer'. It is not really intended for the academic. The booklet includes some insightful analysis:

the special sections on the situation in southern Thailand, on Anwar Ibrahim and on global outsourcing were generally authoritative and well-written. The sections on Singapore were interesting for the insights they offered in terms of what its citizens are prepared to say publicly about their country although perhaps predictably there were no surprising revelations: the new administration of Lee Hsien Loong 'aspires to be more open and inclusive' but 'political instincts and old ideological habits die hard'. The special section on the Singapore judiciary, which the section author says has 'outshone internationally' since the mid-1990s, left me wondering whether this is a universally held opinion or whether to view the judiciary in this perspective is to focus on just one aspect of the judiciary's work (i.e. regulating the market economy) but I am not an expert here.

On the whole, I have some doubts about this publication. The mixed quality of the analysis and parts of the publication were in need of further editing to deal with *non sequiturs* and unclear turns of phrase. Perhaps not surprisingly, the sections on the parts of Southeast Asia I know best were relatively un-insightful which made me doubt the authority of the analysis for other areas of the region. I wonder too whether the rationale for the publication may have passed its sell-by date. There are a number of justifications for having such a publication. The first is to provide authoritative analysis and the second, timely analysis – suited for the 'busy executive' – while the third is perhaps to offer a distinctive ISEAS or 'Asian' voice to counter the stranglehold of other neo-liberal information providers such as the Economist Intelligence Unit. The distinctive

Regional outlook 'growth forecasts' suggests at least some aspirations in this regard. As mentioned, I have some doubts on the first point. In terms of the second, we have seen the explosion of the internet as an information source since *Regional Outlook* was first launched in 1992. Do busy executives, journalists and diplomats still leap to read its insights or can they quite easily access the same information more quickly from other sources? Finally, what about providing a distinctive 'Asian' voice to counter the stranglehold of the neo-liberals? Perhaps it is misplaced to expect ISEAS to do this although there are flashes of distinctiveness: the section on the Asian bond market is arguably situated in an 'Asian way' tradition seeking, as the author says, to cushion Asia for when the US dollar crashes again. However, much of *Regional outlook* is rooted in an unreconstructed neo-liberal mould with the economic sections heavily focused on economic growth. In future, a greater focus on the problem of inequality might be worthwhile.


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CHIN KIN WAH AND LEO SURYADINATA (comp. and eds). *Michael Leifer: Selected works on Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2005. 748 pp. ISBN 981-230-270-0.

For some years before his death in 2001 Michael Leifer, Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science and a long-time ASEASUK member, was rightly regarded as

the doyen of Southeast Asian political studies. Though his focus was largely on the foreign and security policies of Southeast Asian states and on their relations with each other and with extra-regional powers, he also thought and wrote extensively about the domestic politics of several regional countries, notably Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. Leifer's magisterial *Dictionary of the modern politics of Southeast Asia*, first published in 1995, demonstrated the breadth and depth of his knowledge of the region.

In compiling and publishing this volume, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore has produced a worthy – and useful – memorial to Michael Leifer's work on the region. Chin Kin Wah and Leo Suryadinata have collated and in many cases sensitively abridged more than 60 of Leifer's articles, originally published in diverse forms ranging from scholarly articles and monographs to op-ed pieces in newspapers, providing samples from across the full range of his writing in Southeast Asia. They have also added value by providing useful critical introductions to the book's 10 sections, which cover aspects of Southeast Asian international relations (categorised thematically) and domestic politics (grouped in national sections). A particularly useful comprehensive, 28-page bibliography of Leifer's writings is appended.

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CURRENT POSTGRADUATE DIRECTORY (UK)

This is a current dissertation list and the information covers institution, candidate's name, topic, discipline, supervisor/s and year of registration.

University of Cambridge

Cook, Joanna

'Gender and identity among Thai Buddhist nuns'

Social Anthropology (MPhil)

Dr Sue Benson & Prof Dame Marilyn Strathern

Registration: 2001

Gallagher, Rory

'Liminal encounters HIV/AIDS and geographies of male and transgender tourist-oriented sexwork in Phuket, Thailand and Bali, Indonesia'

Geography (PhD)

Dr Gerry Kearns & Dr Philip Howell

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'Exchange relations of Buddhist laymen and monks among the Lao'

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'Failed transition: comparing the position of women in Hungary and Vietnam' Social and Political

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University of Durham

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Comparative Social Policy (PhD)

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Jordan, Georgina

'Trade liberalisation and agrarian differentiation in the Philippines'

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'Peri-urban aquatic food production systems in Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam'

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Registration: 2002

University of East Anglia

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'Anglo-American policy towards French Indochina 1943-50'

History (PhD)

Prof John Charmley

Registration: 2002

University of Exeter

Reeve, Sandra

'Eco-somatics: towards an ecological approach to performance training (one source being Suprpto Suryodarmo,

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Performance Practice as Research (PhD)

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'Contesting the vision: hegemony, intellectuals and cultural production in Malaysia'

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University of Huddersfield

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Registration: 2003

University of Hull

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Southeast Asian Studies (PhD)

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'The regulation of international tourism in Vietnam'

Southeast Asian Studies (PhD)

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Registration: 1999

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Southeast Asian Studies (PhD)
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Registration: 2001

Srikham, Watcharee
'Social change, tourism and the Hmong in Sa
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Southeast Asian Studies (PhD)
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Registration: 1999

Uchino, Megumi
'The history of *kain songket* in Palembang and its
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Southeast Asian Studies (PhD)
Prof VT King
Registration: 1999

University of Kent at Canterbury

Hoffstaedter, Gerhard
'Muslim Malay identity formation and
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Anthropology (PhD)
Prof Roger Just & Prof CW Watson
Registration: 2004

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'The cultural dynamics of germplasm
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Environmental Anthropology (PhD)

Prof R Ellen
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University of Leeds

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Naruemon Thabchumpon

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Jurilla, May
'The history of the book in the Philippines'
Literature (PhD)
Dr David Smyth
Registration: 2003

Nguyen Ngan T
'Cambodia-Vietnam post-Cold War relations'
Politics (PhD)
Supervisor: Dr Stephen Heder
Registration: 2002

Pairaudeau, Natasha
'Tamils in colonial Cochinchina'
History (PhD)
Prof William G Clarence-Smith
Registration: 2003

Sakai, Maki
'Images of the mother in Vietnamese poetry'
Literature (MPhil/PhD)
Dr Dana Healy
Registration: 2002

Schaefer, Dorothea
'The return of Indonesian exile writing -
writing in exile during the New Order (1965-
1998) and its return after 1998. A literary

analysis of texts written and published by
banned authors in exile and 1998 in
Indonesia'
Literature (PhD)
Prof Ulrich Kratz
Registration: 2004 (part-time)

Sharrock, Peter
'A re-interpretation of the Bayon at Angkor:
its religious and political roots'
Art history (PhD)
Dr Elizabeth Moore & Dr Tania Tribe
Registration: 2002

Simmons, Maurice
'Literary historiography and the Thai novel'
Literature (PhD)
Dr David Smyth
Registration: 1997

So-Hartmann, Helga
'Grammar of Daai Chin'
Linguistics (MPhil/PhD)
Dr Justin Watkins
Registration: 2001

Wakeling, Kate
Balinese music and the global imagination
Music (PhD)
Dr David Hughes
Registration: 2005

Ward, Sinéad
'Burmese Kammavaca'
Art & Archaeology (MPhil/PhD)
Dr Elizabeth Moore
Registration: 2005 (part-time)

Warder, Vu Hong Lien
'End of detente between Dai Viet and
Champa in the 14th century'
History (PhD)

Prof William G Clarence-Smith

Registration: 2004

Wongratanapitak, Paphutsorn

'Thai classical music in contemporary contexts'

Music (PhD)

Dr David Hughes

Registration: 2003

University of London:

University College

Chang Kuang-jen

'Maritime trade and social changes in late prehistoric Philippines'

Archaeology/ethnohistory (MPhil)

Dr Elisabeth A Bacus

Registration: 1997

London Metropolitan University

Saunders, Kim

'Arts policy in Singapore: ASEAN's arts hub'

Tourism (PhD)

Prof Michael Hitchcock

Registration: 1998

University of Manchester

Tanaka, Hiroko

'Public sector reform and its impact on poverty reduction in Thailand'

Development Administration & Management (PhD)

Dr Joe Mullen

Registration: 2000

University of Oxford

Bedford, Katharina Juliet

'Music and healing among aborigines in Malaysia'

Social Anthropology (PhD)

Prof Robert H Barnes

Registration: 2002

University of Surrey

Wantanee Suntikul

'The role of political transition in tourism development: the

example of Vietnam'

Tourism (PhD)

Prof Richard Butler & Prof David Airey

Registration: 2002

University of Wales (Swansea)

Beech, Alex

'Indigenous peoples and the state in Southeast Asia'

Development Studies (MPhil)

Dr Gerard Clarke & Dr Felicia Hughes-Freeland

Registration: 2002

McCarthy, Liam

'Securitization and Southeast Asia'

Politics (PhD)

Dr Alan Collins

Registration: 2001

Miles, Glenn

'Child abuse in Cambodia'

Childcare studies (PhD/part-time)

Dr Nigel Thomas & Dr Felicia Hughes-Freeland

Registration: 1999