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Book Reviews

Asia

Intelligence and the War Against Japan: Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service.
By RICHARD J. ALDRICH
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xxiv, 500. Maps, Plates, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

In 1978 Christopher Thorne transformed the serious study of World War II in Asia and the Pacific with his seminal work *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press). Examining the interplay between grand strategy, foreign policy and national interests, Thorne argued convincingly that the Allies were at least as concerned about each other and the clash of their national interests in this vast area as they were about defeating Japan. This now very widely accepted thesis is taken up again, and given fresh support, in this substantial study of the interplay between intelligence operations and the services running them, military strategy and the commanders making it, and foreign policy aims and national interests and the governments defining both. Working from a wave of primary sources released to the archives in London and Washington in the 1990s, Richard J. Aldrich pulls together in one volume the story of what may be called the dirty laundry of the Allied war against Japan: the organisation, aims and activities of their many secret services, and their impact on the war, the post-war situation and relations between the principals.

Aldrich discusses all facets of intelligence and those involved in its collection, collation, distribution and application, but this is not a close study of intelligence operations *per se*. At times one senses the enemy, the Japanese, almost disappearing from the story as of marginal importance at most. Nor is this a study of the role of intelligence in the great struggle in the Pacific, controlled as it was by the Americans and covered as it has been elsewhere. This study concentrates on the connected wars in South, Southeast and East Asia, and the role Allied intelligence services played in two struggles: the immediate clash against Japan, and the developing struggle over the future of the region and Western interests in it. The subtitle promises a look at the 'politics of secret service' and that is precisely what the author delivers. Aldrich argues that by no later than 1943 the secret services of both major Allies were coming to be used for, and even focused on, 'longer range tasks of a more political nature, related not to the winning of the war but the winning of the peace' (p. 67). Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt was willing to spell out the very real and serious differences they had over the future of Western empires in Asia, and this ambiguity was aggravated by conflicting aims and ambiguities down the chain of command. This confusion not only increasingly shaped the operations of secret services, it also provoked each ally to conclude that the 'gumshoe' operations of the other were a reliable pointer to ulterior motives and hidden agendas lying beneath vague official statements. The irreconcilable differences between the British and the Americans over the reconstruction of a new order in Asia came out first, and were fought over intensely, in wartime secret service.

Operations are certainly not ignored in this work. A very good chapter, marred only by the mistaken identification of Arthur Percival as chief of staff to Robert Brooke-Popham (p. 61),

explains the role of intelligence in the fall of Singapore, arguing convincingly that good intelligence was badly used by military commanders, and no intelligence miracle could have prevented the final result. The rather bizarre story of how as a deliberate policy Allied secret services kidnapped fishermen from Malaya and other areas and tried to force them into serving as badly needed agents also is explored, perhaps too briefly. Reversing recent trends, much attention is paid to human intelligence as well as signals intelligence. And Mountbatten is appraised at length as a commander sympathetic to, and supportive of, secret services. But the politics of war permeates the book, as indeed it permeated Allied operations against Japan. Aldrich concentrates on how a bewildering alphabet soup of organisations jockeyed against each other, commanders in China and Southeast Asia Command, nationalists, resistance movements, and others in the region, and authorities back home, to be best poised to move when the Japanese were finally overcome. New light is shed on friction over how to deal with Thailand, the intense British desire to restore their prestige and positions, especially in Hong Kong and Singapore, the poisonous controversies over the future of French Indochina, the Dutch colonies and China, and on the role of secret services in the operations of Southeast Asia Command in Burma and elsewhere. Aldrich confirms some arguments – the weakness of the British SIS, the depth of American suspicions of British imperial priorities – and dismisses others – American secret services were able to operate with some support in Mountbatten's command, and they did not simply disappear between the disbandment of the OSS and the formation of the CIA.

This is not a book for the general reader. By its very nature the subject is far more convoluted than sensational. But it is a strong and important study that confirms much and raises a bit more. Aldrich readily concedes that secret service operations did not have a decisive impact on the war. What he does suggest is that they do reveal much about why East, South and Southeast Asia remained such turbulent parts of the world for so long thereafter.

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Transforming Asian Socialism: China and Vietnam Compared
Edited by ANITA CHAN, BENEDICT J. TRIA KERKVLIET and JONATHAN UNGER
St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1999. Pp. 240. Tables, Notes, Index

This collective volume is devoted to a comparison of developments in China and Vietnam. It is an ambitious attempt at studying the on-going developments in the two countries. The volume brings together a number of distinguished scholars who are experts on either China or Vietnam or on relations between the two countries. The stated ambition with the volume is to complement earlier studies comparing the two countries through a comprehensive disciplinary approach covering the major fields of the social sciences.

The volume is structured in the following way. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the comparison between the two countries written by the three editors (pp. 1-14). Chapter 2 by Alexander Woodside is devoted to the role of intellectuals and the state in the reform processes in the two countries (pp. 15-42). Chapter 3 is devoted to a comparison of the processes of economic transition in the two countries and is written by Adam Fforde (pp. 43-72). William S. Turley and Brantly Womack compare developments in Guangzhou and Ho Chi Minh City in Chapter 4 (pp. 73-97). Chapter 5 compares the agrarian transformations in the two countries and is written by Benedict J. Tria

Kerkvliet and Mark Selden (pp. 98-119). Chapter 6 by Hy Van Luong and Jonathan Unger is an analysis of the processes of socioeconomic differentiation in rural China and in northern Vietnam (pp. 120-52). Barrett L. McCormick discusses the political consequences of the processes of economic reform in the two countries in Chapter 7 (pp. 153-75). Chapter 8 looks at the Chinese and Vietnam youths in the 1990s and is written by Stanley Rosen and David Marr (pp. 176-203). Finally, Chapter 9 by Anita Chan and Irene Nørlund compares the Chinese and Vietnamese labour regimes (pp. 204-28).

While the overall approach of the volume is quite comprehensive, some fields have been left out. One such field is foreign policy. Interestingly, the first chapter does shed some light on the reason why this field was left out by referring to the fact that the 'bulk' of the comparative literature on the two countries 'emphasizes their foreign relations and policies toward each other and their history of periodic conflicts and wars' (p. 3). While the latter assertion is correct, the former is not. The study of bilateral relations does not constitute a study of the overall foreign policies of the two countries. Thus, research has focused on the important bilateral relationship between China and Vietnam, but not on comparing their overall foreign policies. A comparison of the latter would have been a welcome addition to the volume.

Another omitted field relates to the policies towards ethnic minorities in the two countries. Given the strong emphasis made by both countries on their multi-ethnic composition and on minority rights such as language and customs, it would have been valuable to compare the two countries in this respect. Such a contribution would also have added to the overall comprehensiveness of the volume.

The contributions to the volume are all valuable to the research in their respective fields and taken together they contribute to an enhanced understanding and knowledge about developments in both China and Vietnam and in their relationship with one another. There is little overlap between the various chapters and this is an additional strength. Furthermore, the comparative approach is consistently implemented in the various contributions to the volume.

Despite the obvious efforts in coordinating the work of the various contributors, discrepancies and contradictions can be found when comparing Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. In Chapter 3, which deals with economic policies and economic reforms, the Vietnamese policies of socialist transformation implemented during the second half of the 1970s are neither analysed nor outlined, in fact they are only referred to in passing (p. 59). In Chapter 4, which deals with a comparison between Guangzhou and Ho Chi Minh City, considerable attention is paid to the policies of socialist transformation implemented in Vietnam and their impact on Ho Chi Minh City. This chapter also acknowledges the important role played by members of the ethnic Chinese community in the economic life of Ho Chi Minh City. No such economic role is mentioned in Chapter 3. These discrepancies are surprising and no reference is made to them in the introduction (Chapter 1). These discrepancies raise questions about parts of the analysis carried out in Chapter 3 relating to the economic development in Vietnam during the second half of the 1979.

Despite these observations, the volume is recommended reading to scholars and policy makers interested in the study of both China and Vietnam as well as those interested in socialist countries in transformation.

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Merchants and Migrants: Ethnicity and Trade among Yunnanese Chinese in Southeast Asia
By ANN MAXWELL HILL
New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph 47, 1998. Pp. vii, 178. Maps, Bibliography, Index.

The past decade has seen a significant increase in the number of publications dealing with the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia. Yet the majority of these works are either concerned with Chinese in the region as a totality or with those more familiar groups originating from Fujian (Hokkien) and Guangdong (Canton), who are mostly maritime migrants. By focusing on the less well known Yunnanese and their overland migration into Thailand, *Merchants and Migrants* is a welcome addition to the growing literature concerning the Chinese diaspora.

Although this book is derived from the author's 1983 dissertation submitted at the University of Illinois at Urbana, Ann Maxwell Hill does include new information, particularly when she incorporates the latest discourses on identity and assimilation. In the opening chapter, Hill situates her study against the backdrop of the theoretical traditions of Edmund Leach and G. William Skinner. According to Hill, Skinner tends to conceptualise Chinese assimilation as 'both a process of becoming culturally Thai and a process of associating with Thai people'. This leads to the subsequent formation of the so-called Sino-Thai people, who are highly assimilated and comprise a Sino-Thai culture. Hill criticises this conventional assumption for viewing culture 'as a fixed list of traits associated with a group of people' and for placing real people into cultural 'boxes' (p. 7). Hill is apparently more in tune with Leach, who stresses the importance of local configurations of ethnic groups and the multiplicity of ethnic identities. Furthermore, Leach and his followers argue that state systems and other structural forces play a key role in the evolution of local ethnicity. 'Ethnic identities are cultural categories', Hill contends, 'defined in relation to one another and reconstituted, or redefined, in response to changing circumstances' (pp. 28-9).

In the second chapter, Hill discusses the historical identity of the Yunnanese traders who are known as the *Haw* in the China–Southeast Asian hinterland. They controlled the vast caravan networks that extended from Tibet down into the Southeast Asian peninsula. The items traded included tea, salt, finished products for raw materials, opium, and so on. Hill argues that while the Yunnanese shared characteristics with other sub-ethnic groups of Southeast Asian Chinese in terms of their sophisticated entrepreneurship and their strategic use of native-place/surname identity as sources of business connections, there were a number of key differences that set the Haw apart. Most important are the structure of opportunity created by their position on the periphery of central place markets in China proper and their association with an intermittently powerful state organisation. The market structures of the caravan trade and its location at the cross-boundary frontier favoured merchants from Yunnan who were familiar with market demands in China's interior. In the section dealing with the organisation of the caravan trade and the tortuous journey of the muleteers, Hill skilfully incorporates historical documents with data drawn from her own ethnographical field research. She demonstrates how and why the Yunnanese established and maintained institutionalised trading relationships with hill people such as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Yao and Hmong who entered Burma, Thailand and Laos from Yunnan. In the meantime, the caravan traders, in building and sustaining their long-distance trading networks, also utilised some of the more traditional Chinese cultural traits and habits, such as trust, credit arrangements and guild associations. Hill's study on the political ties between the Haw and lowland court aristocrats in Chiang Mai, Luang Prabang, and Sipsongpanna further substantiates her argument that the Yunnanese traders were 'never *just* traders' (p. 94; emphasis in original). Instead, the conflation of

commerce with politics was a manifested phenomenon in the overland trade.

In Chapter 4, entitled 'The Yunnanese Rhetoric of Identity', Hill goes into the details of everyday life of the Yunnanese living in Chiang Mai. By analysing their perceptions of other regional/dialect groups of Chinese, the Thais, and the Shan, Hill points out that the Yunnanese discourse of Otherness 'reveals their strong sense of identity as Chinese' (p. 95). This identity, moreover, is both culturally grounded and affected by local sociocultural contexts. Hill concludes her study with a further critique of the notion of 'Sino-Thai', a convenient label for Western scholars to categorise those assimilated Chinese in Thailand. Hill argues that the Chinese she interviewed never used such a term, which actually 'obscures patterns of ethnic identification in Thailand and misrepresents assimilation as an inexorable, one-way process, from Chinese to Sino-Thai to Thai' (p. 122). Instead, she calls for greater attention to the fluctuations of Chinese ethnicity in Thailand. If ethnic identities are seen as a culturally constructed reference system, meaningful to people in particular localities and polities and sensitive to change, Hill suggests, people indeed may be both Thai and Chinese. In other words, Chinese assimilation is neither simply generational nor inevitable (p. 144).

This is a useful study of Chinese ethnicity in a cross-border setting. Hill makes good use of some (Chinese-language) historical documents such as *Customs Reports* and ethnographic information obtained from a number of field trips. Her arguments are mostly convincing and carefully supported, without any jargon. Her emphasis upon the interplay between market structure, politics, trading networks, identity and ethnicity is well placed and should be taken seriously. In addition, by comparing the Yunnanese with other groups of ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia and placing their experience in the larger structures of state and region, this study provides an illuminating perspective for a better understanding of the Chinese diaspora's remarkable degree of heterogeneity and their multifaceted strategies in confronting an uncertain world.

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Southeast Asia

Malay, World Language: A Short History
By JAMES T. COLLINS
Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1998. Maps, Tables, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. Pp. xxii, 101.

This booklet provides an overview of the main developments in the Malay language from its early stages until the end of the twentieth century. It is divided into five chapters, each dealing with a certain stage of the development. In Chapter 1 the pre-historic stage of Malay is depicted against the background of the Austronesian language family. Chapter 2 deals with 'Early Malay': the language used in inscriptions found scattered in the Archipelago and the few data found in documents from the sixteenth century. The next chapter informs the reader about the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'Early Modern Malay'. During this period the intrusion of European powers entailed an increase of Islamic fervour that had its effects on the language as it absorbed an increasing amount of Arabic loanwords and adopted certain syntactic structures. Since Melaka had fallen to the

Portuguese in 1511, the language was no longer linked to a single centre of authority. Fine pieces of literature were produced in the Malay court traditions in many towns and European traders used the language to communicate and missionaries to spread the Christian faith. Especially the latter group's endeavours had long-lasting effects on Malay because they produced religious and prescriptive linguistic treatises coining a 'classical' Malay based on the formal register of some literary works and official letters, in total disregard of all the other language registers. Therefore 'classical' Malay may be regarded as a form based on the 'idea' of what Malay should be without much bearing on historical data (pp. 39-40). Several of these early treatises are discussed in this chapter, in which James Collins shows that by the end of the eighteenth century 'the ties of the Malay language to a single, widespread, yet diversely interpreted ethnicity had been imperceptibly loosened' (p. 49).

European powers intensified their grip on Southeast Asia and introduced print literature and schools, which set in motion a decline of power of the indigenous courts and consequently an apparent decrease in the number of literary and theological manuscripts. This development continues in Chapter 4, 'Late Modern Malay'. The Malay world was divided between English and Dutch spheres and the language in the two regions experienced different influences. Through the nationalistic movements in Indonesia, Malay came to be identified with a modern, educated lifestyle in the beginning of the twentieth century and the development of Malay as national language of Indonesia was accelerated by the invasion of the Japanese army and the revolution after the war. Some of the post-war developments are described in the last chapter, entitled 'Postcolonial Malay'.

It is remarkable that the author has succeeded in presenting such a comprehensive study of the 1,300 year history of Malay in about 50 pages of text and 30 mostly good-quality and rare illustrations. Although the discussion about early modern Malay (Chapter 3) takes up most of these pages, it is also the most interesting part for specialists. The puzzling, politically inspired title of 'Malay as world language' becomes a little clearer in the comparison the author makes throughout his book between English and Malay, which both have an equally long history of written records. Still the title also suggests something of a justification for the fact that this study was written, and the need for it. The book in fact meets the requirements of the intended audiences: it provides the general public with a comprehensive introduction into the history of the Malay language, while specialists are served with a readable booklet that can be used for quick and easy reference. It also provides a nice framework and basis on which other, more detailed, studies may be founded. Let us hope the author and/or other specialists in the field are indeed stimulated by this booklet to further this initiative and a long overdue full-fledged study of the history of the Malay language will be published in the future.

JAN VAN DER PUTTEN
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Formes Extrêmes de Dépendance. Contributions à l'Étude de l'Esclavage en Asie du Sud-Est.
Edited by GEORGES CONDOMINAS.
Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1998. Pp. 582. Illustrations, Indexes. [In French]

This long-awaited collection is a product of seminars held at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s. Although a few of its chapters have previously been published, and the time that has elapsed between the seminar and this publication means that some contributions now appear dated, the volume is nonetheless still valuable both to Southeast Asianists and to other scholars of slavery and involuntary servitude.

The volume serves to remind us of the widespread historical existence of slavery in Southeast Asia, although it is somewhat disparate. Georges Condominas deliberately eschews imposing a uniform theoretical or conceptual model on his contributors. Studies range from the first century CE to the present, with a geographical focus on mainland Southeast Asia, although there are also incisive single contributions on Rajasthan, the Liangshan region of China (both justified by the editor because of the Indian and Sinic influences on the region), Java and a particularly interesting inclusion of material on Madagascar, a region whose experience of slavery owes much to its Southeast Asian roots. A striking omission is the impact of colonial slavery in insular Southeast Asia, while (with the exception of a chapter on Melaka) urban societies are almost completely ignored. Many contributions are case studies of particular ethnic groups based on ethnographic field work with varying degrees of attention to diachronic change, although there are also a couple of historiographical pieces and an incisive discussion by Bénédicte Milcent on Javanese concepts and perceptions of dependency that challenges the slave/free dichotomy scholars so often assume.

Readers will find particular chapters of relevance to their own interests, but the volume as a whole also raises issues of broader significance. Condominas arranges the contributions around categories of 'social space', a concept that is never precisely defined but is used to distinguish societies characterised by large state politics from smaller kinship or clan groupings, with an intermediary category of societies that fit neither. Such an arrangement seems useful only in demonstrating the lack of distinctive forms of slavery or dependency in each type of society. Thus members of 'small social space' societies are shown in several chapters to have been owners and traders of slaves and not merely the passive victims of raids from more powerful neighbours.

Condominas refuses to limit discussion to slavery alone, with all the attendant problems of definition, but allows his writers to include a range of forms of extreme dependency. Most contributors avoid preconceived definitions of slavery but rather specify localised terms and concepts. Given the debates over this, some comment on the utility of the very concept of slavery in Southeast Asian studies seems called for in the editor's conclusion. Several chapters show that slavery need not be a formal relationship, and certainly not a permanent status. Often a rigorously defined concept of slavery only emerged when the need arose to define opposing social categories, such as 'citizen' or 'waged employee', and in this the Asian material bears intriguing comparisons with Western and African slave studies.

Although only a few chapters discuss the ending of slavery (a notable example is Lu Hui's account of the Communist abolition of slavery in China among the Yi in 1956), several contributors comment on the legacy of forced dependency today. This does not only include limited access to land or other sources of wealth. Malagasy studies reveal how lack of identifiable ancestors has isolated slave descendants from their neighbours, while linguistic devices continue to stigmatise those of slave origin in parts of Thailand and Indonesia.

Despite the many insights from individual contributions, the disparity of the collection can be problematic. Several writers comment on the inadequacies of studies that rely on legal codes as sources or take writings by outsiders at face value, which focus on legal and political factors to the exclusion of individual social experience. Yet, adjacent chapters sometimes ignore such warnings and are undermined by them. The most innovative contributions are those that utilise different types of sources, a striking example being Jacques Ivanoff's use of oral traditions and contemporary observations about the Moken slave raiders of southern Thailand. Esteban Magannon and Lu Hui both write about ethnic groups from which each of them originates, with penetrating critiques of the assumptions made by previous ethnographers.

Overall the volume makes an important contribution to research on Asian slavery, although the individual contributions do not add up to a convincing overall synthesis. In this respect the volume well complements, but does not replace, the insights of Anthony Reid's *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

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Turbulent Times and Enduring Peoples: Mountain Minorities in the South-East Asian Massif
Edited by JEAN MICHAUD
Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000. Pp. xiii, 255. Maps, Tables, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

This collection of nine essays, given at a conference held by the Association for South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom in 1997, is concerned with the 'Mainland South-East Asian Massif'. Geographically, the essays cover many upland communities, including the Hmong in southwest China, the Montagnards in the Northern and Central Highlands of Vietnam, and the Karen and Mien (Yao) in northern Thailand. The book begins with four papers on the history of some of these upland societies, while the rest are case studies of contemporary upland people. It thus offers studies of historical, economic and political dimensions of these minorities.

Among the mainland Southeast Asian upland people, the Hmong seem to be one of the best researched and best documented, and there are three papers focusing on them in this book. Alison Lewis tells a very interesting story of the encounter, which 'is one of extreme cultural contrasts', between Western Protestant missionaries and the Hmong in Yunnan and Guizhou in the early twentieth century. Lewis notes that despite its rugged and isolated location, Yunnan 'was at the point of convergence of major religions' (p. 81). There were Buddhists, Muslims and, later, Christians among the indigenous people. And diversity seemed to have been common, even amongst the missionaries, who were Scot, Cornish and Devonian. Many missionaries adapted well to the local environment and some tried to learn Hmong languages. But they occasionally yearned for 'home' and often spoke out against local practices that 'contravene the moral codes of the new faith' (p. 92).

In recent years, we have learnt of the Vietnamese migration and the expansion of cash-crop production, especially coffee, into the Central Highlands of Vietnam and of the impacts of such activities on the indigenous people. Oscar Salemink's 'Sedentarization and Selective Preservation among the Montagnards in the Vietnamese Central Highlands' provides insight into this issue. He attempts to analyse the Vietnamese government's ethnic policies, especially on sedentarisation and selective preservation, and their effects on native lifestyles. Unfortunately, he mentions little on how the Montagnards responded to such changes. Another paper, 'Emergence of a Leading Group: A

Case Study of the Inter-Ethnic Relationships in the Southern Shan State', by French anthropologist François Robinne, concentrates on the minorities who live around the Inle Lake in Burma's Shan State, a little-known area at the present time. Robinne interprets how the Buddhist religious ritual of the Phaung-Daw-U procession functions at the local level and is thus shared by all groups of people.

But, my favourite paper is on the trekking tourism in Karen villages in northern Thailand by Henry Bartsch. Ever since trekking became popular among foreign tourists, particularly back-packers, upland villages have been invaded by a variety of people, including Thai tour guides and operators, and foreign goods. Usually, the upland hosts are viewed as victims of the exploitation – and amongst the worst of such exploitation is prostitution. But Bartsch does not see the Karens as 'passive players in the game' (p. 211), but as an indigenous group who learns to make the best out of the changes. This chapter is valuable to the study of tourism and its impact on indigenous peoples.

Turbulent Times and Enduring Peoples proves to be valuable to the study of mainland Southeast Asian communities, upland people in particular. This kind of essay collection deserves academic attention and, I hope, there will be more like it soon.

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Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture and the Causes of War
By STEPHEN J. MORRIS
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. Pp. xiii, 315. Maps, Notes, Bibliography.

The author begins the preface to his book with the assertion that 'it is the only scholarly study to date of the causes of Vietnam's decision to invade Cambodia in 1978' (p. 1). This statement may come as a bit of a surprise to readers familiar with the considerable body of literature on the China–Vietnam–Cambodia triangle, so it should be explained that what is truly distinctive about the book is its analytical framework based on 'political culture'. Specifically, Stephen J. Morris focuses on what he terms 'chiliastic regimes' (Democratic Kampuchea [DK] and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV]), particularly their 'ideology and paranoia', to explain 'certain irrational state behaviors that have contributed to the outbreak of war' (p. 1). These psychological themes dominate his analysis and ultimately shape his main conclusions.

The book is an interesting read. Morris devotes several informative and well-documented chapters to Vietnam's relations with Cambodia, China and the USSR. He also has separate chapters on Vietnamese and Cambodian foreign relations in general. Particularly valuable is his use of archival sources from the former Soviet Union, which include reports from Soviet diplomats in Hanoi and translations of Vietnamese official documents not available elsewhere. The insights to be gleaned from these materials constitute the book's greatest strength.

Conversely, one of its most serious weaknesses is Morris's failure to utilise two categories of equally valuable sources. First of all, he seems to have taken a solemn oath to avoid relying on material by Gareth Porter, Ben Kiernan or Michael Vickery, whom he presumably views as too leftwing to be useful (though Stephen Heder somehow passes the ideological litmus test). These authors' standard works are included in the bibliography but are almost completely absent from the endnotes. This selective use of scholarship is reflected in a somewhat uneven treatment of the history of Cambodian communism that would have benefited from a careful reading of their work. A notable example is Morris's observations on the so-called 'Khmer Viet Minh', those members of

the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP, later the Communist Party of Kampuchea) who regrouped to Hanoi in 1954 and only returned to Cambodia in the early 1970s. Morris portrays them more or less as Pol Pot saw them, as Vietnamese 'agents' (p. 73) and 'political instruments' (p. 54), part of Hanoi's 'Trojan Horse method' (p. 55). Such characterisations ignore the fact that these were the original Cambodian Communists, whose decision to remain with former Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) comrades in Vietnam enabled Pol Pot and other returnees from France to wrest control of the KPRP – a development that Morris does acknowledge. He also argues that Hanoi had a strategy based on 'infiltrating' the Cambodian and Lao parties 'with people it had trained and indoctrinated' (p. 73), when in fact it had created these parties (and their leadership) in the first place after the final dissolution of the ICP.

Second, Morris is too quick to dismiss the potential value of propaganda from the various governments concerned. While he is correct in saying that 'it would be very foolish to accept uncritically the contents of these statements at face value', he appears to reject them completely as sources of information. This is a serious error since propaganda materials such as Democratic Kampuchea's famous *Livre Noir* and Vietnam's *Truth about Sino-Vietnamese Relations* contain a certain amount of historical accuracy and, even more importantly, reflect the perceptions these countries had of their neighbours, however distorted. For example, Hanoi propaganda clearly manifested a sense of betrayal at Geneva 25 years earlier, when China had failed to give its full support to Vietnamese Communist demands or to the Cambodian and Lao revolutionary movements. China's stance is well documented and has been thoroughly analysed by scholars like François Joyaux *(La Chine et le reglement du premier conflit d'Indochine [Génève 1954]* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1979). Yet Morris downplays the significance of this issue, saying the 'evidence [that China's actions at Geneva had angered the Vietnamese]…is weak' since it only really emerged in polemics in 1978 (p. 126). Similarly, he hammers away at the 'Indochinese Federation' idea with no mention of the lengthy document the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued in 1978 tracing the rise and fall of this concept. He also dismisses Porter's thoughtful and balanced study on 'Vietnamese Communist Policy Towards Kampuchea, 1930-1970' (in *Revolution and Its Aftermath in Kampuchea*, ed. David Chandler and Ben Kiernan [New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1983], pp. 57-98) on the grounds that it is 'seriously flawed, in part due to Porter's reliance on unreliable documentation', that is published Vietnamese sources which were possibly 'selected or even tampered with' to reflect the Party line (p. 248, fn. 17). The Soviet archival documents that Morris so proudly cites admittedly have the advantage of being 'raw data', but he shows no evidence that Porter's analysis was wrong.

Morris's arguments centre around two distinctive points: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)'s 'tilt' towards the Soviet Union in the 1970s and the 'political culture' of the Vietnamese and Cambodian Communists. Both of these points merit closer consideration. Morris argues that from 1968 to 1975 Hanoi made a substantial reorientation of its foreign policy away from a point of relative equilibrium between Moscow and Beijing, paving the way for a Soviet–Vietnamese alliance after 1975, a decision which naturally antagonised China and contributed to the breakdown of Sino-Vietnamese relations. Morris cites several reasons for this 'tilt': Hanoi's distaste for the Cultural Revolution and its impact on Chinese foreign policy, 'Vietnamese Communist internationalism' as opposed to 'Maoist schismatics', Sino-American détente in the early 1970s and factionalism within the DRV government. All of these have some degree of validity and would certainly have caused Hanoi to look to the Soviets with more warmth than had been the case under Khrushchev, whom the Vietnamese cordially detested.

Other evidence cited for the 'tilt' is less convincing, however. True, Hanoi did side with the Soviets on issues like the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and developments in the Sudan, Angola and Portugal, where Beijing and Moscow were on opposite sides. In these situations, however, the opposition between the two socialist powers was based on little more than mutual antipathy, and Hanoi had little to lose by backing the USSR. As even Morris acknowledges, in situations such as the conflict between India and Pakistan, where Moscow and Beijing had very concrete interests at stake, the Vietnamese remained neutral. Moreover, his own findings in Soviet archives show that the Hanoi–Moscow relationship in the early 1970s was complex and at times cool, which suggests that the Vietnamese did not hurry to cosy up to the USSR at the expense of their ties to the PRC and that they did not completely abandon the pragmatism with which they are usually credited.

A more serious problem is Morris's explicit rejection of several other possible reasons for a Vietnamese turn towards Moscow, two of which are relevant to his analysis as a whole. The first is the possibility that Hanoi moved closer to the USSR as a 'political and military counterweight' to China. Morris argues that during this period 'China was anything but threatening to North Vietnam' and that Hanoi should have avoided any risk of alienating Beijing, whose support it needed against its 'real enemy', the United States (p. 154). The second possible reason is Vietnamese 'antipathy toward China' based on 'traditional nationalism'. Morris observes that 'Vietnamese behaviour has never been that consistently anti-Chinese'; that 'Vietnamese emperors entered into a tributary relationship of subordination to China' based on 'deference, not overt hostility'; and that 'North Vietnam's political independence from China was at risk neither when they were close to China nor when the decision to tilt toward the Soviet Union was made' (pp. 156-7).

The fact that Morris dismisses national security and 'traditional nationalism' as essentially irrelevant to understanding Hanoi's relationship with China is one of the most crucial flaws in the book. These two factors are at the core of the Vietnamese world-view and were never absent from it even during the most vociferous protestations about 'revolutionary solidarity' and the 'lips-and-teeth' relationship with China. Morris cannot find any logical reason why the Vietnamese might trust the Soviets more than they did the Chinese; the reason is that the Soviet Union had never threatened, attacked, or occupied Vietnam. Soviet–American détente, though perhaps unpalatable to Hanoi, could never be as potentially threatening as a thaw between China and the US, Vietnam's former and current enemies respectively. This was particularly the case after 1976, when post-Mao China was drawing closer to Washington and to DK at the same time. (The US is curiously absent from the book's discussion of 1975-8, as if it no longer had relevance to Vietnam's perceptions of its security.) Given this context, the 'alliance' with the Soviet Union in the late 1970s was quite rational from Hanoi's standpoint.

Nor is Morris well served by his simplistic view of the historical Sino-Vietnamese relationship. While none of the three points he mentions is completely wrong in and of itself, collectively they ignore the latent tension between suzerain and vassal which was always below the surface of the rhetoric of tribute and diplomacy and which periodically broke into open conflict, usually initiated by the Chinese. Cultural Sinophilia notwithstanding, the Vietnamese elite prided themselves on their ability to keep Chinese demands of deference and subordination to a minimum. The fourteenth-century official who forced an arrogant Mongol envoy to dismount in front of the Vietnamese imperial palace (by strewing broken glass in front of his horse) and the nineteenth-century envoy to the Qing court who angrily denounced the 'Vietnamese Barbarian hostel' sign over his lodgings would have been perfectly comprehensible figures to Party leaders in the 1970s. Nor is any Vietnamese unaware that almost every single great hero and heroine in the national pantheon

got there by fighting invaders from the north.

This is the other serious weakness in Morris's study: he fails to grasp the history which shapes the Vietnamese and Cambodian 'political cultures' so central to his arguments. There are two fundamental truths which cannot be ignored: most Cambodians dislike and distrust Vietnamese, and they have 400 years of history behind them, while most Vietnamese dislike and distrust Chinese, and they have two millennia of history behind them. The book characterises the political culture of the Hanoi and Phnom Penh regimes as 'irrational' and 'paranoid', two terms that are reiterated mantra-like throughout the study. It cannot be denied that irrationality and paranoia existed in both governments, particularly among the Khmer Rouge though perhaps less so in Vietnam, but historical considerations do suggest a certain 'method' to the 'madness'.

Consider two issues which Morris cites as evidence for his arguments: Vietnam's treatment of its Overseas Chinese community and DK's fear of its neighbours on both sides. Hanoi's perception of its Chinese community as potentially subversive, however ill-advised the policies it generated, can be at least partially understood in terms of its growing security concerns vis-à-vis the PRC and its determination to rid the South of capitalism. Similarly, DK's contention in 1976 that 'from the east and the west [enemies] persist in pounding and worrying us', which Morris rightly labels as 'almost certainly a delusion' (p. 72), is at least comprehensible in the context of three centuries of Thai–Vietnamese rivalry and intervention in Cambodia. What is less comprehensible given this history is Morris's suggestion (p. 69) that 'it would have seemed logical' for the Khmer Rouge to look to the Scylla of Thailand to protect them against the Charybdis of Vietnam. Similarly implausible is the scenario he constructs whereby Hanoi could supposedly have avoided invading Cambodia: the 'temporary seizing of several eastern Cambodian provinces in conjunction with the pursuit of a sincere negotiation strategy to secure peace, involving China as an intermediary' (p. 230). Leaving aside the prospects for 'sincere negotiations' with a regime which boasted that it could mobilise a quarter of its population to kill thirty Vietnamese each, it should be pointed out that for Hanoi to rely on Beijing to facilitate negotiations with Cambodia would be roughly equivalent to Finland asking the Soviets to arbitrate a conflict with Sweden.

Morris's study provides a thorough overview of the Soviet–Chinese–Cambodian–Vietnamese quadrilateral, and that is perhaps its greatest merit. However, the somewhat ahistorical explanations of 'political culture' and the rather glib assumptions that 'irrationality' and 'paranoia' provide a more useful framework for analysing foreign policy than national security considerations and strategic calculations seriously weaken his arguments. Readers with a reasonably solid understanding of Indochina, while they may well agree with his conclusion that Hanoi's decision to occupy Cambodia did more harm than good to Vietnamese interests over the long run, are unlikely to be convinced by his explanations of why this decision was taken in the first place.

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Road to ASEAN-10: Japanese Perspectives on Economic Integration
Edited by SEKIGUCHI SUEO and NODA MAKITO
Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 1999. Pp. xiv, 224. Tables, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

This book is a compendium of research papers arising from a study group of Japanese intellectuals under the guidance of Sekiguchi Sueo. It examines the medium- and long-term prospects of ASEAN, and its relations with the rest of the world. In 1967, five countries in Southeast Asia: namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, formed a regional grouping known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), mainly for political and regional security reasons. In 1984, Brunei joined ASEAN following its independence from British rule. Vietnam joined in 1995, and Laos and Myanmar were admitted in 1997. The entry of Cambodia in 1999 led to the achievement of an earlier aspiration for 'one Southeast Asia' – or what is commonly referred to as 'ASEAN-10'.

Although the book deals with both economic and political aspects of regional integration, it is heavily oriented towards the former. It begins with Sekiguchi's discussion of the role of ASEAN in the economic development of its members. He points out that 'no consensus exists in ASEAN's specific contributions to the development of its members' (p. 5). He argues that 'on the one hand, ASEAN has contributed to the creation of a favourable investment climate' but, on the other hand, 'institutional arrangements within ASEAN have contributed little to the development of its members' economies' (p. 6). He cites the failure of earlier schemes like preferential trade agreements and industrial projects to promote trade and industrial cooperation, respectively. Even the ASEAN Free Trade Area made very little progress in the mid-1990s (p. 6). Thus, Sekiguchi and economists like Ross Garnaut (*ASEAN in a Changing Pacific and World Economy* [Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980]), Seiji Naya ('Economic Performance and Growth Factors of the ASEAN Countries' in *The ASEAN Success Story: Social, Economic and Political Dimensions*, ed. Linda G. Martin [Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Centre, 1987], pp. 47-87) and Teofilo C. Daquila ('The Southeast Asian Economies: Growth, Development and Crisis', A public lecture delivered at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies [Copenhagen], June 1999) have one thing in common – they agree that economic development of ASEAN members cannot be attributed to any regional framework, but more to the individual economic policies adopted by respective member countries.

The remainder of the book is organised as follows. Only two chapters deal with non-economic aspects of regional integration. Chapter 2 deals with ASEAN-10 and regional political relations with emphasis on the role of the ASEAN Regional Forum. Chapter 8 reviews the functions of non-governmental organisations within the regional grouping. The other five chapters are economic in nature. Chapter 3 discusses the extra-regional involvement of ASEAN in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The other four chapters are concerned with intra-regional economic relations including a discussion of international capital movements and financial networks in Chapter 4, assessment of intra-regional trade transitions and outlook in Chapter 5, analysis of foreign direct investment and economic cooperation in chapter 6, and discussion of the role of Vietnam in ASEAN in Chapter 7.

Sekiguchi concludes the book with a prognosis of ASEAN's internal and external relations. Following the severity of the economic crisis during the 1997-98 period, the ASEAN economies have shown signs of economic recovery. What are the prospects? To what extent would economic recovery in ASEAN continue? This would certainly depend on the various strategies adopted by these economies at the national, regional and multilateral levels. This is so since the strength and stability of the ASEAN economies and the whole region are dependent on the national strategies to

a large extent, and to regional and multilateral strategies to a lesser extent. However, in the long run, as ASEAN further integrates with the Asia-Pacific through APEC, with Europe through the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and with the global economy through the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the ASEAN economies will be relying increasingly on both regional and multilateral initiatives.

On the national level, ASEAN governments need to adopt the following strategies: (a) implement a stable macroeconomic environment through prudent and responsible fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policies; (b) continue with export-oriented industrialisation policy cum foreign direct investment; and (c) further deepen the banking and financial sector. On the intra-regional level, ASEAN needs to continue implementing trade, investment and financial liberalisation measures to achieve a higher degree of regional integration. On the extra-regional level, ASEAN needs to strengthen its linkages with Japan and US through APEC, and with the European Union through ASEM. On the multilateral level, ASEAN needs to participate actively in the future WTO negotiations as well as in the future re-designing of the global financial architecture.

While the above strategies are desirable, ASEAN's future will also depend on whether economic or political disturbances take place at national, regional or international levels. Since they are relatively small, the performance of ASEAN member economies will continue to be vulnerable to various disturbances like hikes in oil prices and interest rates, liquidity crunch, capital account crisis, poor export performance, and others. Moreover, the delay in the implementation of some intra-regional trade and investment liberalisation measures has certainly affected the move towards a more closely knit regional economic grouping including the achievement of the ASEAN Free Trade Area and the ASEAN Investment Area. Presumably, this trend will continue, unless ASEAN members fully support their intra-regional economic activities.

Despite the heavy orientation of the book towards the economic aspects of regional integration, I highly recommend it to scholars, practitioners and students who are interested in learning more about the ASEAN regional grouping. It does provide well-written analyses of the various intra- and extra-regional relations of ASEAN.

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Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States
Edited by ANDREW TURTON
Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000. Pp. xxii, 376. Maps, Plates, Notes, Index.

The collective focus of the chapters in *Civility and Savagery* is on social identity in Tai areas of mainland Southeast Asia. The material in the book derives from an International Conference on Thai Studies. Such 'ethnic studies' associations are increasingly common, and it is a sign of a certain maturity that the collection aims at an understanding of the multiethnic and multisocietal character of the region. There are two chapters on Thai-speaking Muslims ('Sam Sam') on the borderlands with Malaysia, four chapters on Laos, three on inter-ethnic relations in Lanna ('northern Thai' states) areas, and five on various aspects of Tai–uplander relations. Nicholas Tapp also provides a Postscript where he discusses the changing configuration of local histories and regional studies. In his introductory chapter, Andrew Turton locates the book's materials in

historical and theoretical context, and he also provides an introductory discussion to each of the book's sections.

The stated theme of civility and savagery, which shows up most prominently in notions of 'Kha' peoples as the (savage) opposites of (civilised) Tai, is not as central to the book as one might imagine. This opposition provides a productive angle on the social landscape of mainland Southeast Asia in the chapters where it is central, which are written by Thongchai Winichakul, Ronald D. Renard, Shigeharu Tanabe. I kept hoping for a more region-oriented discussion regarding similar issues on the Malay Peninsula, in Indonesia, and in the Philippines, that would have contributed to a better-rounded regional understanding of Tai and others. But even if the book's contributors do not venture much beyond the Tai area, the book is a major step toward a regional understanding of the historical relations between identity and society. As such, it should be of interest to Southeast Asianists outside the realm of Tai-speaking peoples.

Thongchai's 'The Others Within' explores the role of ethnographic knowledge in Siamese self- and nation-constructions around the turn of the twentieth century. His examination is primarily concerned with travel and proto-ethnography, and he discerns a clear 'ethno-spatial' pattern in the accounts of strange forest people and more mundane villagers. His analysis of the construction of ethnographic knowledge shows how the Siamese elite conveyed itself as civilized *vis-à-vis* its subject peoples, in the context of Siam's encounter with the West. But while he borrows the notion of 'contact zone' (from M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* [Routledge, 1992]) to describe the elite's engagements with Western ideas and practices, he does not apply this term to the then-changing relations between the elite and the people they constructed as Siam's internal Others. His aim is an analytical critique of hegemonic constructions of Siam (as in his *Siam Mapped* [University of Hawaii Press, 1994]), but his choice of sources limits his description of social reality to the elite's voices and agendas. Renard's 'The Differential Integration of Hill People into the Thai State' draws on Karen histories to examine patterns of political relations between courts and peoples who subsequently became minorities. His account of varied political connections on Siam's fringes is an important contribution to a more comprehensive understanding of shifting upland-lowland relations in the context of nation-building, and can also serve as a test of the social resonance of the Siamese proto-ethnography that Thongchai describes.

Katherine A. Bowie's 'Ethnic Heterogeneity and Elephants' is framed as a challenge to the view of Thailand as ethnically 'remarkably homogenous' (p. 330). This is a curious starting point, but her case is interesting regarding the difference between the keepers of royal and commoner elephants. Tanabe ('Autochtony and the Inthakhin Cult of Chiangmai') and Tapp ('Ritual Relations and Identity: Hmong and Others') examine the ritual aspects of the relations between marginal groups and lowland states. Both cases concern the role of intersocietal appropriations in ritual for the (re-) production of identity. Tanabe's analysis is more attuned than Tapp's to historical changes in ritual forms. While the structural approach of both studies has its problems (how do we know that this understanding reflects 'Hmong' or reflects Tai relations with Lua'?), the focus on ritual is a productive angle on the politics of inter-ethnic relations that raises questions regarding local understandings of identity and of politics.

Skirting the issue of anti-Muslim sentiment in recent Thai history, Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian ('The Historical Development of Thai-Speaking Muslim Communities') takes an antiquarian's approach to identity. She contrasts Sam Sam in Malaysia, who now speak Malay and have thus in her words 'destroyed' social and cultural forms that previously made them 'unique' (p. 172), and those on the Thai side of the border, who have their identity 'intact' and are determined 'to preserve it even

in the face of great difficulties' (p. 174). In 'Emergence and Transformation of Peripheral Identity', Ryoko Nishii offers a much more nuanced sense of Sam Sam identity and history, and how these relate to local memories, as well as an interesting case of a local big man on the eve of national integration.

Considering that the book is essentially a conference volume, the mixed-bag approach is understandable. As an indication of the state of Thai studies, the book suggests a certain ferment and an openness to new directions. But as a compilation of studies concerning Thai–Other relations it is very much lacking a discussion of Chinese and Westerners in Thailand. Several of the cases have appeared in some form elsewhere, but this is not clear from reading the book. The editor's introduction to the book and its sections are well done and informative, but there is little evidence of an editorial hand in the individual chapters. They do not appear to have been updated from the 1993 conference, and several of them make for a very disjointed reading. Leo Alting van Geusau's chapter is possibly in the worst shape, editorially speaking. His argument for the match between Akha internal history and the 'external' history of the region from about 220 BCE is difficult to follow, as he weaves conjectural and generally accepted histories together with (his own) speculations. In addition to a convoluted argument and very difficult prose, this chapter is a further challenge to read because of 45 citational mismatches and at least five other obvious mistakes in the bibliography.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the collection as an indication of the directions of Thai studies is that Charles Keyes and Thongchai Winichakul, both very prominent in the field, are writing primarily about royalty and the Thai elite. In his contribution, Keyes relates how a Thai princess's visit to Laos in 1990 was 'a significant watershed in Thai-Lao relations' (p. 222). Even if scholars are looking 'uphill' or 'outward' in their studies of the larger context of Tai peoples, many of them still mostly notice Bangkok royalty past and present.

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Indonesia

Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia
By ABIDIN KUSNO
London and New York: Routledge, 2000. Pp. xiv, 250. Plates, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

Abidin Kusno's addition to the Routledge *Architext Series* makes important contributions to two distinct intellectual territories. While seamlessly interwoven in the text, the colon in the title of the book conveniently divides these territories (for purposes of review, at least). In the first place, and relating to the subtitle, Abidin provides a study on the political history of architecture and urban space in Indonesia. The concern here is not merely one of providing a 'reading' of urban sites as representations of political cultures, but also of demonstrating the constitutive role of urban space in the making of national subjects. Abidin suggests that the recent proliferation of discussions of 'space' in scholarly literature has largely proceeded to the neglect of the material properties of architecture and space. Space, however, 'is not only metaphorical; instead its materiality helps to construct social identities' (p. 21). The three chapters that comprise the second section of the book – there are three sections in total – consider the ways in which subjectivities have been formed and reformed through city space in Indonesia.

This project is founded upon a specific understanding of 'the political' and of 'political power'. Following Foucault, political power here is understood not so much to work 'down' on subject-citizens as through their individual and collective everyday practices. Even in the colonial and New Order regimes, Abidin shows, political objectives made use of 'ethical' strategies to foster the self-regulating capacities of the population. He highlights the changing (re)combinations of pre-modern and modern (disciplinary or normalising) power working through urban space (p. 105). In addition, Abidin's approach is to be distinguished from 'political' work that centres on the activities of the state. While attentive to the important role of the Indonesian state in shaping urban space, the book situates this in broader 'scopic regimes' (p. 13), which make known appropriate aims and means of government, including state action. In this way, it is possible for Abidin to analyse the political dimensions of architecture as a disciplinary space that, in Indonesia, has long considered politics as something beyond its field of inquiry.

The book's genealogical approach to political cultures does not imply a distancing or stepping back from contemporary problematics. In Chapter 4, Abidin provides a sophisticated reading of the urban violence that resulted in Suharto's resignation in May 1998. Abidin traces the criminalisation of the street to political memories of Sukarno's regime that the New Order sought to displace. This history of the present serves to unsettle existing understandings thus opening space for alternative futures. He details regionalist architectural alternatives to nationalism and modernization in Chapter 8, but these too are shown to be in need of critical scrutiny. Such '(trans)national imaginings', he says, have 'tended to be incorporated into, and adapted for the order of the world-economy, rather than to provide a site to interrogate it' (p. 205).

It is through the expert and patient labour of examining political cultures in and through urban spaces, that Abidin is also able to interrogate the postcolonial. Thus, moving to the first part of the title, delving *Behind the Postcolonial* in Indonesia, the author identifies limits to existing 'postcolonial studies'. The Indonesian experience, he suggests, points to the inadequacy of struggles with colonial power and 'the West' as the basis for analyses of postcolonial history. The political cultures of postcolonial Indonesia show no will to forget a supposedly ruinous colonial past, and there is no 'new world' expected to emerge from colonial displacement. Rather, it was 'erasure of the memories of its immediate illegitimate past' that formed the focus of struggle for the New Order postcolonial elite: 'Today, the postcolonial nation is struggling not only with a singular past, namely, the colonial history of "East"/ "West", but also with its own immediate, and often more intimate but no less violent, set of histories after decolonisation' (p. 211). The dialogue with, as opposed to rupture from, the colonial past is precisely what made Indonesia's 'postcolonial' regime a form of colonialism itself.

Without elevating these arguments to the status of a 'theory', there are clearly important insights here that extend beyond the contested geopolitical space of Indonesia. Similarly, scholars of/in other national contexts in Southeast Asia and beyond will engage with Abidin's analysis of the ways in which accepted categories such as 'development' and 'modernization' are constituted and reconstituted through local practice. Of course, the primary readership of *Behind the Postcolonial* is likely to be scholars of Indonesia. This is a rich and detailed analysis of Indonesian political cultures and their inscription and shaping in urban space. Yet, without its theoretical base, elaborating the politics of architecture and urban space, this important book could not have been written this way; perhaps it could not have been written at all.

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Shifting Languages. Interaction and Identity in Javanese Indonesia
By J. JOSEPH ERRINGTON
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xv, 216. Figures, Tables, Bibliography, Indexes.

The Javanese and Indonesian languages are both famous, Javanese for its extravagantly elaborate speech levels, Indonesian for its extraordinary success as a national language imposed upon, or more accurately, taken up by, an extremely polyglot nation. J. Joseph Errington's earlier work has focused on Javanese, in particular, the changing attitudes and practices of Javanese-speaking aristocrats in urban Solo. In *Shifting Languages*, Errington breaks out of the elite circles of urban Java to look at linguistic practices in villages as well as in towns. He also moves beyond Javanese to consider the full language-scape of today's Java, where Indonesian is a ubiquitous feature of almost everyone's speech, even among people ostensibly speaking Javanese. The questions that arise in this expanded view of language in actual use are fascinating, and Errington's treatment of them judicious, subtle, and acute – but hard.

There are certain easy assumptions about language contact and change, both in the theoretical literature and relative to the specific case of Indonesian, with which Errington must contend. Many Indonesians, including many Javanese speakers, assume that Indonesian may well come to displace Javanese entirely. Some look forward to this eventuality with approval: they see Indonesian as direct, objective, egalitarian and modern, in contrast to Javanese, which they see as allusive, feeling-full, hierarchical ('feudalistic') and old-fashioned. As Errington points out, this view accords not only with stereotypes about Java and Indonesia, it also fits the teleological grand-sweep-of-history thinking of such eminent experts as Ernest Gellner when describing 'national languages'. In fact, it is a distortion, a vast oversimplification of a much more complex and interesting situation. Similarly, whereas the literature on code switching and bilingualism is predicated on the notion that one language is spoken by a minority, perhaps beleaguered, and another by a dominant majority, the Indonesian case differs since Indonesian is not the native language of any sizable ethnic group in Indonesia. It is, as Errington puts it, an 'un-native' language for almost all its speakers. This makes its use quite different from the code-switching one encounters in most other contexts of bilingualism, requiring a different sort of analysis.

To get beyond received wisdom, Errington had a number of Javanese assistants record speech in many different situations and then transcribe those exchanges and review them meticulously with him. The nuggets extracted by this tedious process are indeed valuable, although one pities all the parties to this terrible labour (including three assistants who, Errington tells us, couldn't bear it and dropped out).

In the array of specific issues he raises, Errington emphasises the remarkable variety of ways in which speakers can combine or distinguish Javanese and Indonesian in accordance with an overall principle: that in contrast to a personal and expressive Javanese, Indonesian represents a 'detached, "third-person" way of speaking' (p. 97), appropriate to some contexts, not to others. This suggests not Javanese speakers' submission to new, state-promoted norms of social interaction so much as their creative appropriation of yet another style for their repertoire, one already characterized by contrasting styles in Javanese. Indonesian is not an invasive threat, then, but rather yet another resource. Thus, for example, Javanese and Indonesian can be melded by public speakers to draw upon differing forms of authority, one bespeaking a prestigious aristocratic authority, the other a modern instrumental one. Javanese particles also can be incorporated into Indonesian, and Indonesian lexical items into Javanese, without compromising this sense of the different kinds of

relationships using one language or another implies.

In analysing transcripts of conversation, Errington shows an exemplary sensitivity to the risks one runs when interpreting specific language choices people make in given utterances. He worries about the way the interpreter's concerns may run completely apart from those of the speakers themselves. He tells us when his assistants gave only lukewarm assent to his proposed readings as to a speaker's motivations. This methodological care, and frankness, on Errington's part are truly welcome, and they inspire trust. I wonder, however, if it isn't a bit off the mark to look for explanations for single instances of, say, Indonesian usage within Javanese speech. In what Errington refers to as 'low básá', a moderately respectful form of Javanese, many lexical items can be taken from different vocabulary sets fairly indifferently. What matters is the overall mix. Much the same might well apply to admixtures of Indonesian in Javanese, something that can be tracked, and explained, only over the length of a conversation.

I also found myself wondering occasionally if Errington's efforts to collect evidence unaffected by his own presence didn't hamper him in a crucial respect: losing a sense of the individuals who are speaking. For example, when he cites the use of the Indonesian *lah* in a Javanese conversation among some young, bilingual men (p. 104), he neglects to consider the show-off factor. Knowing more about these particular young men would make it easier to diagnose the degree to which they are striking a pose. (And would young, bilingual Javanese women be as likely to use *lah* in their speech? Gender adds an interesting feature to code-switching, one that we can only hope Errington addresses in future work.) Indeed, in noting that Indonesian is an un-native language, Errington overlooks the way in which it is nevertheless the language of an out-group in certain respects: that it is associated with an urban elite from which most villagers feel to one degree or another removed – but may try to associate themselves with. Psychologizing explanations for linguistic choices run another sort of risk, of course, but leaving personalities out of analysis of encounter is still a reduction.

These are quibbles. But I would make one last point. I have a long-standing interest in language, and in these two languages in particular. I find all the questions Errington raises important. I applaud his emphasis on how the two languages are actually used in encounter. And I admire the extreme care with which he has considered the data he has collected, yielding many fascinating insights. But I am not a linguistic anthropologist and I found the book very hard to read. The field has developed great sophistication over the years and with it a hermetic vocabulary that can only cow us non-initiates. Errington's book is a very valuable contribution to the topic of language contact and language shift. But it is not for the fainthearted.

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Living Through Histories: Culture, History and Social Life in South Sulawesi
Edited by KATHRYN ROBINSON and MUKHLIS PAENI
Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Published in Association with the National Archives of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia), 1998. Pp. vi, 296. Index.

This volume of papers is the outcome of a new era of close collaboration between indigenous and foreign scholars dedicated to the study of South Sulawesi's history. It provides ample indication

both of the fruitfulness of these scholarly relationships, and of the exciting progress currently being made in unearthing fresh information about the distinctive and intriguing past of this long understudied region. The 1996 conference that gave rise to the book was partly inspired by the remarkable progress made by a team of local scholars, under the leadership of Mukhlis Paeni, now director general of the National Archives of Indonesia, in microfilming and cataloguing over 4,000 Bugis and Makassarese manuscripts (*lontara*'), treasured as heirlooms by people in rural areas. Originally the conference was intended to launch the catalogue of these manuscripts, but so many new finds had come to light that its publication had to be delayed.

Kathryn Robinson in her introductory chapter describes how successful this project had been, because photographing the manuscripts *in situ* enables their owners to retain control of them. So highly valued are these items, often believed to hold concentrations of ancestral power (which bring blessings to the occupants of the house in which they are stored), that any viewing of them generally requires elaborate ritual, while the owners are liable to fall into states of violent trance as they are opened. Far from being dusty relics, then, the manuscripts must be seen as part of a living cultural tradition in Sulawesi. At the same time, they can provide a wealth of new materials for historical analysis. Although foreign scholars are predominant in this volume, an extensive abstract in Indonesian has been provided for each paper. The contributions of local scholars and intellectuals are also detailed in Robinson's introduction, and preserved in her translation of a forum in which the participants debated deeply felt questions about the rapidity of the social transformations they have experienced in their own lifetimes. These included the problems of deciding how far cultural manifestations such as wedding rituals, dance and music may be altered while still maintaining their authenticity, and the difficulty of resolving the very different cultural perspectives of those who seek to reach back to a 'classical' past, and those of a reformist outlook, as represented by the Muhammadiyah association, who would rather see such traditions swept away.

Christian Pelras's opening paper immediately presents a conceptual challenge. Pelras argues that a historical perspective on Bugis culture shows it to have been developing distinctive features of 'modernity' since the seventeenth century, and clearly in advance of Western influence. The Bugis can thus be said to have 'a tradition specifically open to change' (p. 27), one whose versatility has well equipped them to meet the challenges of globalisation. Ian Caldwell's examination of the king lists of Luwu' and Soppeng represents a revised analysis of estimated reign lengths with a view to dating the relative antiquity of the kingdoms and making an informed guess about a probable date for the emergence of writing, which Caldwell now places at c.1300 CE, rather than the date of c.1400 CE proposed in some of his earlier writings. A crucial motivation for the development of writing in South Sulawesi, he proposes, was the desire to record royal genealogies. An archaeological paper by David Bulbeck also sheds light on some aspects of the old kingdoms. His excavations of Makassar's forts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show certain technical developments over time, but his careful contextualisation also reveals that the forts were designed to incorporate important symbolic points of reference such as ancestral graves, sacred wells, mosques and older sacred spots considered to contain the 'spirit of the fort' (*saukang*).

C. C. Macknight's paper on the *Chronicle of Bone* provides an insightful discussion of the genre of the work and the context in which it was written. In a society in which literacy was restricted, and orality remained an important feature, texts such as the *Chronicle*, Macknight argues, were intended primarily to be performed, or recited before an audience, in order to have a public effect. Enshrining information about the ruling of Bone, the *Chronicle* also served to legitimate the rulers' claims to status. Helen Ceperkovic examines a little-studied variety of manuscript, an official diary of events,

written in Jawi script, kept by the *Kapitan Melayu* (the head, or heads, of the Malay community) in Makassar between 1781-1818. The events recorded, though in an impersonal style, give some indication of what was considered worthy of record, and provide an interesting example of the extension of a distinctive South Sulawesi court tradition into a commoner context.

Evidence of widely shared cultural traditions is provided by two papers relating to Sawerigading, the great culture hero of Luwu', variants of whose story are found all over Sulawesi. Horst Liebner analyses four oral versions of stories about the origins of the Bajo people of southern Selayar. Bajo versions of the Sawerigading story serve to make claims about Bajo relations with the formerly powerful kingdoms of Gowa and Luwu', while explaining the Bajo's own dispersal and migratory traditions. Jennifer Nourse discusses the uses of the Sawerigading myth among the Lauje of Central Sulawesi, who have 'co-opted Sawerigading as one of their own ancestors' (p. 135). The different variants of the story here reveal a certain ambivalence: some versions acknowledge links with the more powerful Bugis settlers of the region by making Sawerigading the son of a Lauje who married a Bugis or other migrant, while others deny any such connection, insisting that the culture hero was of pure Lauje descent. These claims reflect the current political concerns of a marginal people, either to claim an accommodationist alliance with powerful outsiders, or to resist the hegemony of immigrants.

Some papers explore the interweaving of the material and spiritual in local cultures. Elizabeth Morrell's paper analyses the ubiquitous plaid motifs of the Bugis sarong as reflecting, consciously or otherwise, a cultural preoccupation with harmony, perfection and completeness, metaphorically rendered in the cosmological image of 'four sides' (*sulapa' eppa'*), and reflected in a number of Bugis sayings and practices. A paper by Kathryn Robinson sheds new light on vernacular architectural traditions of the South Sulawesi lowlands by looking at manuscripts devoted to ritual aspects of house building – divination, geomancy, the selection of auspicious days for construction, and the methods of calculating the orientation of the *naga* or mythical earth-dragon which, in a widespread Indian and Southeast Asian tradition, is believed to rotate on a three-month cycle. This pre-Islamic system, whose introduction to Southeast Asia can be dated to between the ninth and twelfth centuries, has here been integrated with the months of the Islamic calendar. Other texts manifest the universal Southeast Asian concern with the correct treatment of house timbers, from the felling of trees, and the measurement of timbers, to the orientation of 'trunk' and 'tip' ends of house members and the proper order of digging post-holes, or erecting the parts of the house. Although ostensibly concerned with ritual procedures, these manuscripts indirectly imply a great deal of technical knowledge. They reflect the typical Southeast Asian concern with ensuring that the vitality of the house and its occupants should resonate in harmony with each other, and that the house itself be satisfactorily aligned with its natural environment. Robinson, who has interviewed house builders in many districts of South Sulawesi, relates the manuscript traditions to the shifting patterns of contemporary concern with such matters, and shows how they shed light on syncretic cultural processes, understandings of human destiny, and interactions with the natural world.

Interaction with the environment is also the subject of three papers dealing with coastal ecosystems. Anton Lucas discusses the environmental degradation caused by rapid destruction of mangrove forests, largely for prawn farms. Southeast Asia now supplies 90 per cent of Japan's shrimp and prawn consumption. By 1991, mangroves, which have a wide variety of ecological functions and practical uses in an older subsistence economy, had been reduced within the space of ten years to less than one-sixth of their former area of 150,000 hectares. Lucas describes one highly successful local initiative in Kabupaten Sinjai, on the east coast, to regenerate mangroves and use

them sustainably, not least as an important source of fuelwood for the local community. The scheme also protects the vital breeding grounds of fish, crab and shrimp among the mangrove roots. Several environmental NGOs in South Sulawesi have been working at grassroots level at developing schemes that, as the Sinjai example shows, can be successful in both preserving the ecosystem, and providing a livelihood for poor communities, as long as the communities manage them. In some instances, activists have encouraged the revival of traditional ceremonies and oral regulations for the protection of the environment, as well as drawing upon verses from the Quran and the Hadith relating to human responsibility for the environment. Jackie Alder and Linda Christanty examine community-based marine resource management in Taka Bonerate atoll (Indonesia's largest coral atoll) in Kabupaten Selayar, which supports a population of 5,000 people, and was designated as a National Park in 1992. As elsewhere in Indonesia, pressures on local ecosystems are exacerbated by competition between local communities and outside interests; the development of the area as a National Park is an effort to combine conservation with a sustainable livelihood for local people, while phasing out commercial fishing. Marie-Trees Meereboer writes of the patronage and debt relations among fishermen in the Spermonde archipelago, west of Makassar, and how these are changing in response to technological and market changes.

The volume as a whole presents a wealth of new information and insights into South Sulawesi history, culture and social transformations, and is welcome evidence of the vigorous scholarship, both indigenous and external, which is transforming our knowledge of this fascinating region of Indonesia.

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Authority and Enterprise among the Peoples of South Sulawesi
Edited by ROGER TOL, KEES VAN DIJK and GREG ACCIAIOLI
Leiden: KITLV, 2000. Pp. 285.

Authority and Enterprise is a snapshot of the state of the field of South Sulawesi studies and will be of interest primarily to specialists. Most contributions began life as conference papers in a 1987 gathering, though why this volume took so long to materialise is not explained. In their introduction, the trio of editors do an admirable job of placing the contributions within an ongoing debate over the degree to which the diverse inhabitants of South Sulawesi share a cultural or social order. The central theme that links these essays is the connection between, as the title indicates, authority and enterprise. The contributors try to better understand the construction of social relationships in South Sulawesi, how authority is negotiated and exercised, and the effects of diverse commercial environments on social arrangements and notions of power. As a whole, this collection provides a clear sense of how shared tendencies have been intentionally or unintentionally adjusted to meet an array of historical circumstances.

The initial contribution is Christian Pelras' detailed and lengthy examination of patron-client ties in South Sulawesi. Pelras examines the erosion of patron–client ties in the wake of modernisation in certain areas (such as intensive agriculture) and its durability in other areas of economic life (such as small-scale trading and fishing enterprises). Importantly, Pelras recognises the danger of seeing in patterns of social patronage 'models' and 'rules' that 'govern' behaviour. Patronage, he writes, 'is only, so to speak, a spontaneous pattern, a regular manner in which social

actors organize their everyday behaviour. It is not a consciously articulated model, an exemplary mode of social organisation which social actors invoke and consciously follow' (p. 51).

To a considerable extent, Pelras' contribution establishes the basic themes and questions with which subsequent authors grapple. The nine additional contributions contain a range of historical, textual and ethnographic case studies of authority and enterprise in South Sulawesi. This is most evident in the complementary pieces by Anthony Reid, Heather Sutherland and the late J. Noorduyn. They examine how South Sulawesi traditions of leadership depended on social contracts, describe historical periods of economic vitality, and offer thoughts on the connections between political and economic organization in the region's history.

Roger Tol examines a Bugis *toloq* text account of the 1905 war against the Dutch for how it encoded and accorded authority. Anton Lucas and Chris de Jong describe how the Mukdhi Akbar religious movement on Selayar arose as an expression of resistance to traditional religious and cultural authorities, a process which has parallels in the recent 'conversion' of numerous practitioners to state-sanctioned Hinduism.

In upland Makassar, Martin Rössler analyses how a changing political environment has affected traditional notions of authority based on possession of sacred heirlooms and inherited rank. Expansion of the Indonesian administrative hierarchy into the highlands provided an alternative locus of power and accelerated the decline of traditional bases of authority. Birgitt Röttger-Rössler also examines sacred heirlooms as symbols of political authority in the Makassarese highlands, but from the perspective of gender relations, arguing that female authority is extensive and by no means limited to the household.

R. Z. Leirissa and Greg Acciaioli investigate how migrants from South Sulawesi seeking their fortunes elsewhere have either altered or retained traditional leadership patterns. Leirissa contrasts the experiences of two South Sulawesi diasporic communities in Ambon and Ternate, examining the different conditions that affected their social structure, leadership roles, and degree of integration into local society through the nineteenth century. Acciaioli provides a detailed account of how Bugis migrants to central Sulawesi's Lake Lindu region have had to negotiate social relationships based on debt as much as on kinship.

The themes highlighted by the authors in this collection are as important now as when the papers originally were written, and represent a launching point for additional research. We know enough to be dissatisfied with references to a false overarching 'Bugis-Makassarese' culture and social order. Yet one cannot help but feel that these essays, by leading scholars in the field, could have been strengthened by looking beyond South Sulawesi. More often than not, contrasts or parallels with other parts of the archipelago are only implicit. For example, it has been argued, the editors note, 'that there is indeed a distinct South Sulawesi form of management that contrasts with modern commercial forms and that the way economic activities have been, and continue to be, organized in much of South Sulawesi can serve as a model for economic development in Indonesia' (pp. 2-3). Such a fascinating statement begs for a wider framework for discussion than generally found in the contributions. Nevertheless, for students (and inhabitants!) of South Sulawesi there is much to think about here, and for specialists of other parts of the archipelago much to entice them into taking a closer look.

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Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia. Volume III
By WOLFGANG FRANKE, CLAUDINE SALMON, ANTHONY SIU, HO CHÜN-YIN, TEO LEE KHENG
Singapore: South Seas Society, 1997. Pp. vii, 424. Map, Photographs, Bibliography.
[English and Chinese]

This volume is another in the valuable series of publications of primary sources by members of this team that is yielding an increasingly detailed picture of Chinese epigraphy in Southeast Asia. The contents of the present volume cover Bali, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Maluku. It also has a list of addenda and corrigenda (which are not numerous) for volumes I–III. The oldest item in this volume is a tombstone from Ambon dated 1664. The majority of sites listed in this volume belong to the group of fourteen semi-autonomous Chinese settlements along the west coast of Borneo from Sambas to Pontianak, including Montrado (earliest dated inscription: 1766), Pontianak (1798/90) and Singkawang. The Dutch, concerned that these settlements constituted a potential source of independent power, attacked and destroyed some of them in the 1850s. Others remained important until the Japanese Occupation, when many Chinese were massacred and others fled. The final blow came when independent Indonesia required the Chinese to relocate from rural areas and smaller towns to larger urban centres. Some of these settlements still exist, especially Singkawang, where a flourishing traditional ceramic industry continues. Beyond the west coast, other Kalimantan settlements covered include Banjarmasin, Martapura, Balikpapan, Samarinda and Nunukan, but the epigraphic materials there are all from the twentieth century.

In Sulawesi, Ujungpandang (now Makassar, again) has an inscription from 1797, but the oldest in the nearby historic area of Gowa only dates from 1911. In Bali, Kuta has a tombstone dated 1821 (restored in 1952). Five other places with Chinese epigraphic material are also known in Bali.

This volume contains a very extensive bibliography, covering Dutch, French, German, English, Japanese, Chinese and Malay/Indonesian sources. The annotated list of Chinese deities found herein is very useful. Also included are such interesting aids to research as a list of Chinese foundries (because many of the inscriptions discussed herein are found on such objects as cast iron bells used in temples).

Remnants of Chinese occupation in many areas of Indonesia are now increasingly difficult to discover. These documents are therefore records of a vanishing heritage. The compilers of this series have performed a very useful and valuable service for future scholars.

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The Philippines

The Philippine Revolution in the Bicol Region
By ELIAS M. ATAVIADO. Translated by JUAN T. ATAVIADO
Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1999. Pp. xxii, 226. Appendices, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

The Bikol Blend: Bikolanos and Their History
By NORMAN G. OWEN
Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1999. Pp. xiv, 291. Illustrations, Figures, Tables, Bibliography, Index.

More than three decades have passed since John Larkin's call for attention to the histories of sub-national regions in the study of the Philippines and their Southeast Asian neighbours ('The

Place of Local History in Philippine Historiography', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 8, 2 [1967]: 306-17). Drawing on research into the province of Pampanga and its experience of the Revolution of 1896, Larkin stressed the importance of local considerations and interests in determining the role of local actors in national events. He argued that sub-national studies of Philippine regions and provinces could serve as 'building blocks' (Larkin, p. 317) for a national historiography that did not mistake events in Manila for the life of the archipelago.

Among the sources for research on sub-national histories, Larkin noted the writings of local historians or antiquarians, 'rather unsophisticated works by untrained scholars, occasionally rich in raw data but rather sparing in good methodology' (Larkin, p. 306). In its richness but not in any lack of sophistication, Elias Ataviado's account of *The Philippine Revolution in the Bicol Region* matches Larkin's characterisation. Published in Spanish before the Second World War and first published in English translation half a century ago, this volume deals with political and military events in the provinces of far southeastern Luzon that comprise Bikol between August 1896 and January 1899. The primary focus is on the core abaca-producing province of Albay, where the author witnessed in his youth much of what is described in the text. Regrettably, a second volume treating the start of the Philippine-American War up to mid-1900 apparently remains to be translated.

The main thread of Ataviado's frankly nationalist narrative follows the growing awareness among townsmen in Bikol's most important province of their own stake in the struggle for independence from Spain. From the eagerness in late 1896 of Albayanos to fight against 'the Tagalog rebellion' (p. 20), this thread leads to the first recognition a year later that the leaders of that rebellion fought for the rights and interests of all Filipinos and finally to the willing acceptance of the revolutionary army's assumption of administrative control of the region in the last months of 1898. Ataviado shapes his story in explicit refutation of American colonial scholarship and its representation of the Revolution of 1896 as a localised, essentially Tagalog affair with little backing from other groups in the archipelago. This scholarship had promoted the theory that favourable economic conditions and the unimportance of grievances over friar lands in Bikol might have delayed support for the revolution in the region. This delayed support would have been further exacerbated due to Bikol's distance from of most of the fighting, which diminished the military significance of that support. But Ataviado's Bikolanos counted the fight as their fight.

While stressing the willing, if rather inactive, support of Albay for the cause of national revolution, Ataviado keeps in view the distinct courses of events in Bikol's various provinces. An early chapter also features the story of his own memorable flight from the eruption of Mount Mayon in June 1897. Throughout, the tone of the narrative is fresh, and its argumentation elegant. The translation seems in most respects an admirable one.

Though with an unconcealed nationalist agenda and without the sociological focus of later generations of historians, Ataviado offers an account of events in Bikol that meets Larkin's call for historical study of Philippine regions. The narrative of the revolution in Albay, as Ataviado presents it, does add to the story of the national revolution. Rather than undermine the integrity of that story, its regional perspective makes possible a better appreciation of its national context.

In *The Bikol Blend: Bikolanos and their History*, Norman Owen collects writings reflecting his work on the region since, consciously or not, he first heeded Larkin's call toward Philippine provincial history in the early 1970s. Of the volume's eleven essays, all but one – a talk given to schoolteachers in Bikol in 1983 – have previously appeared elsewhere. In focus, they range from broad synthetic surveys of the social and economic history of the region, and its century-long dependence on abaca, to detailed treatments of the careers of an eighteenth-century Spanish

missionary and a nineteenth-century American abaca-trading firm. Four essays fall into a middle range between such specificity and such breadth. It is these chapters of *The Bikol Blend* that make the collection so valuable as testament to Owen's distinctive contribution to the study of modern Philippine and Southeast Asian history.

One of the four, 'Winding Down the War in Albay, 1900-1903', highlights that contribution by counter-example. Tracing the course of accommodation between Bikolano elites and the emergent American colonial order, it offers a regional study of a national development of clear import. It serves, that is, the agenda for provincial history Larkin put forward in 1967. But in the context of Owen's work on Bikol history, this essay is aberrational. Rather than situating regional developments in national developments, Owen has long stressed the impact of supra-national economic forces on Bikol society. Thus, he writes in 'Abaca in Kabikolan: Prosperity Without Progress' – reprinted in this collection from *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations*, (ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus [Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982]) – of the relevance of the regional case to 'an insufficiently studied problem in Third World history – the paradox of truncated development'. At risk of oversimplification, Owen's Bikol emerges most often as regional society and economy in world rather than national context.

Three other essays – 'A Subsistence Crisis in the Provincial Philippines, 1845-1846', 'Measuring Mortality in the Nineteenth Century Philippines', and 'Subsistence in the Slump: Agricultural Adjustment in the Provincial Philippines' – also underline the ends other than a more robust national history to which Owen has turned his decades of research on Bikol. Space precludes extensive discussion of these essays, but each is marked both by a meticulous discussion of sources of data and by a treatment of the lives and choices of ordinary Southeast Asians that, for all its utter mastery of materials on Bikol, contributes less explicitly to Philippine national historiography than to the broader study of commodity-producing zones integrated into world markets.

Owen's command of the historical geography of Bikolandia is a particularly gratifying aspect of each of the constituent chapters of this book. Maps superior to the three basic figures reproduced from his *Prosperity without Progress: Manila Hemp and Material Life in the Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) would have served the collection well.

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Crime, Society and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines
By GREG BANKOFF
Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1996. Pp. vii, 251. Tables, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

This study of criminality and the state response to it begins with an interesting premise: that 'determining criminality reveals the dominant values of society and popular culture' (p. 1). This immediately strikes the reader since crime and criminals are generally considered divergent of society and not representative of it; the dark side of human society. Greg Bankoff theorises that the study of this divergence can and does reveal as much about societal norms and practices as a study of the day to day life of law-abiding citizens.

The book is divided into two main parts: Part I revolves around crime in the context of the nineteenth century Philippines. The author attempts to define crime and criminals in that particular period of Philippine history. He acknowledges the difficulty of this since crimes were

perceived differently at that time. This is further aggravated by a 'divergence between Spanish and indio perceptions of crime' (p. 32). What may be considered a simple crime against property in Spanish law, i.e. the theft of a *carabao*, may be a matter of life and death for the *indio* whose very survival depends on the labour of the animal. Thus, the murder of a *carabao* thief may seem just and right in the *indio* world view but evidence of savagery from the Spanish viewpoint.

The author also emphasises that crime is a measure of social tension. If so, then the nineteenth-century Philippines was indeed fertile ground for crime because of the enormous changes and social upheavals occurring. Among these changes were a swelling population, commercialisation of agriculture, and changes in land ownership patterns. The demand for privately held and controlled land resulted in the growth of tenancy as more and more peasants were dispossessed of their fields and communal lands. In addition to these socioeconomic upheavals were such natural disasters as flood, drought and outbreaks of locusts and rinderpest. It is not difficult to imagine this as a backdrop for rising criminality in the country.

The author then goes into the specifics of these crimes. He further classifies crimes as urban and rural. The urban areas are represented by Intramuros, Binondo and Tondo, all of which are located in Manila, the first highly urbanised area in the country. Cavite, Camarines Sur and the hinterland are used to exemplify rural crime. These sections are extremely interesting as they delve into the details of crime and criminal behaviour. It is apparent that there are differences between rural and urban crime.

In the urban areas, most were crimes against property, crimes of a commercial nature and crimes against chastity. This may well be because of the prevalence of merchants, traders and their goods, which explained such crimes as smuggling, theft and the sale of stolen goods. The floating, predominantly male population (labourers, stevedores, Chinese coolies and artisans) also explains the prevalence of prostitution in the city.

In contrast, rural areas experienced more banditry or group crime, manifested as attacks on landowners, arson and theft. Passive resistance was also evident in the crimes of vagrancy and flight. Rural crimes were largely the result of the peasants' increasing alienation from the land due to the increasing commercialisation of the cash crop economy. In both urban and rural settings, crimes committed reflected the prevailing socioeconomic challenges faced by both areas.

Having given the readers a colourful and riveting description of crime and criminals, Bankoff discusses how crime also 'reveals much about the structure of the state and especially changes in its institutions' (p. 3) in Part II. He then goes on to discuss the change from a colonial to a judicial state through the use of the courts, the police and punishment. The first two sections deal mainly with the structure, function, procedure and personnel of the courts and the police. These sections provide a wealth of information on the colonial government's set-up and functions, as well as the reality of nineteenth-century Philippines. The author emphasises that despite well-meaning laws, rules and restrictions, the judicial reforms of the nineteenth century 'never managed to bridge the gulf between theory and practice' (p. 114). In both the judicial and police systems, harsh realities invalidated the noble aims of laws, selection criteria and guidelines. The shortage of qualified manpower plus the inevitable lack of funds to sustain them resulted in such anomalies as policemen involved in banditry and local politicians who skimmed off the tax collection. This situation sounds depressingly familiar to the modern-day Filipino.

The final chapter on 'Punishment' echoes the same refrain: Spain did establish a colonial prison system but not the funding for it. This again resulted in the inevitable gap between intention and reality. Whereas Spain intended to provide decent, clean prisons in which to rehabilitate

criminals, the result was overcrowded, unsanitary and substandard jails where, more often than not, prisoners succumbed to illness or violence. This chapter is particularly interesting for the glimpse it provides us of the lives of convicted criminals: the unsanitary and dangerous conditions they lived in, the endless round of hard labour, and the prison social hierarchy with which they had to contend. Again, most of these conditions may still be observed today and Bankoff may just as well have been writing of current conditions rather than those in the nineteenth century.

The author's scholarly efforts are evident in his astute use of diverse historical sources such as the criminal statistics of the *Real Audiencia*, travel documentaries of colonial officials, visiting writers such as Sinibaldo de Mas and Jose Montero y Vidal, court records, prison files and the *Asuntos Criminales*, or case histories in the Philippine National Archives. From these sources, Bankoff constructs tables and data to support his assertions and findings. The use of these facts and data make the book extremely useful for scholars pursuing specialised study of the Philippine social history.

However, for the general reader, the book would have profited more from visuals or illustrations. Although there is a photo section, very few are of actual criminals and/or punishments. Most are of peripheral generic characters such as 'mestizo merchant' and 'servant girl'. The photo of 'Chinese merchants' seems incongruous since the trio looks more like Chinese monks. Despite these, the book makes for interesting and informative general reading, as well as scholarly perusal.

Bankoff's book raises numerous other points or questions for further research. Some of these would include the Church role in the penal system, the baffling continuity of the conditions presented, and the changing (or enduring) perceptions of crime and criminals. How did these affect the national psyche? Are perceptions of crime still divergent? How do these apply in today's situation? Can this help explain the election of Joseph Estrada as president in 1998? For those interested in legal history, the book provides a wealth of information on the judicial and legal framework, the penal system, police procedures and prison conditions. These are only some of the questions and issues that can spin off from Bankoff's study. The book also provides interesting vignettes, which can be of great use to social historians, or teachers who want to inject slices of real life in their classes. These include vignettes on local crime, domestic crime, prostitution, banditry and the like.

All in all, Greg Bankoff's work is a very useful and interesting book for scholars because of his use of hard facts and his compilation of otherwise scattered and raw data. But it is also extremely engaging for the general reader who will indeed see that it is often the dark side of society that mirrors it most clearly.

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Population and History. The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines
Edited by DANIEL F. DOEPPERS and PETER XENOS
Madison: University of Wisconsin- Madison, Center for Southeast Asian Studies Monograph Number 16/Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999. Pp. xi, 431. Tables, Maps, Graphs, Figures, Bibliography, Index.

Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century was a demographic anomaly. Its populations and human densities, even in many of the areas showing greatest potential for human settlement, were much lower than those in China and India. Nineteenth - and twentieth-century population growth in the region has been very rapid, though not without its vicissitudes. There is therefore an important story to be told, a story with important ramifications for demographic and social theory. But for Southeast Asia as a whole, there are precious few records on which a sound study of demographic change in the nineteenth century and earlier could be based.

The Philippines, however, provides an outstanding exception. Parish records relating to births, deaths and marriages kept by the Catholic Church provide a similar foundation for historical demographic analysis as has been productively mined in Europe and Latin America. Somewhat surprisingly, little use had been made of these records until relatively recently, except for some interesting studies by the editors of this book and others, notably Norman Owen. But, thanks to the ongoing efforts of Peter Xenos, Michael Cullinane and later by the Genealogical Society of Utah in putting together a microfilm record of parish and civil registers, this oversight is being gradually redressed, making records more accessible to researchers. The chapters in the book provide ample testimony to the value of such records to a fuller social history of the Philippines. For example, in the late nineteenth century, economic expansion 'collapsed into a decade of virulent epidemics, mass mortality, and the destruction of the country's plow animals' (p. 13), raising some profound questions about the underlying causes of the peasant and elite revolts that make up the Revolution of 1896-98.

The editors modestly describe the book as a reconnaissance, an enticement to demographers, sociologists, historians and historical geographers to join the effort to produce a comprehensive demographic history of the Philippines intertwined with the study of social and economic change across the archipelago. They are too modest. The book is a significant contribution, not only to our understanding of Philippine demographic and social history, but also to the worldwide enterprise of historical demography.

Studies included in the book utilise two of the classical techniques for historical demographic analysis: aggregative analysis and family reconstitution. The scope of the studies ranges from archipelagic through major regions to single parishes or urban districts. The geographic scope is not comprehensive, but the variety of local and regional results is striking. 'Clearly, we have just begun to construct the textured mosaic that will take on a larger pattern only when a sufficient number of pieces are in place' (p. 12).

Linda Newson's chapter addresses the much debated issue of why the Philippines escaped the demographic collapse of Spanish America, related to the introduction of Old World diseases. Newson argues that the main difference in the role of epidemic disease was not so much between the Philippines and Spanish America but between different types of society in both regions. The impact of acute infections in the early colonial period may not have been much different from that among tribal groups in Spanish America. But the small size of the population in the Philippines (a size held down partly by prevalence of chronic infections) and its dispersal throughout several thousand islands seem to have moderated the impact of epidemics in early colonial Philippines. The impact of

acute infections was greater in the nineteenth century, when larger populations and improved communications facilitated their spread.

Part 2 of the book deals with dynamic regions, and includes chapters by Xenos on the Ilocos coast since 1800, by Cullinane and Xenos on Cebu and by Daniel Doeppers on migration to Manila. These are all richly textured studies. To this reviewer, the Ilocos study is outstanding because of its application of the notion of multiphasic response to population growth in a region that faced much greater demographic pressure on the land than other regions of the Philippines. Xenos relates patterns of heavy outmigration to other responses including delayed marriage, high levels of celibacy and diminished levels of childbearing within marriage. As a result, between 1903 and 1970, the population of the Ilocos coast 'only' doubled, whereas the rest of the Philippines population grew five times. The chapter on Manila challenges the Todaro thesis on causes of rural-urban migration, as well as showing that the recent predominance of female migrants among the Manila-bound actually had its origins in the 1920s and 1930s. Its analysis of the detailed settlement patterns of migrants from various places of origin in Manila reflects a real 'feel' for the geographic realities of the region.

Part 3 turns to detailed locality studies, starting off with Xenos and Shui-Meng Ng on Nagcarlan in Laguna. This is a fascinating study based on very complete parish records (more than 200,000 events recorded on more than 42,000 manuscript pages) as well as census-type civil records, also maintained by the parish priest or his representative and comprising another 20 volumes. These data enable a detailed demographic history of this parish in the nineteenth century to be reconstructed, and questions to be raised about such things as the response of marriage patterns (a falling age of marriage for females towards the end of the century) to the increasing incidence of crisis mortality late in the century. Norman Owen's study of a Bikol parish is self-admittedly not as far along in terms of demographic analysis as the Nagcarlan study, but it confirms falling ages of female marriage (though for a different period) and raises important issues about under-registration and its effect on the demographic measures. This part of the book concludes with two brief papers by Doeppers on social stratification in Manila and Iloilo.

A substantial final section provides (appropriately in a book seeking to enlist others to use the historical records) a detailed description and assessment of the ecclesiastical and civil records that can be used as sources for Philippine historical demography.

With this book, the editors have pushed forward the frontiers of Philippine historical demography. Such demography is hard work, but it is to be hoped that, in discovering the insights into social history that emerge from the careful historical demography represented in the book, some who read it will join the enterprise.

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Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms
By LAURA LEE JUNKER
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999. Tables, Maps, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. Pp. x, 477.

At last a book that fills the 'black hole' on the Philippines and confers on its peoples the sense of an historical past that only an archaeological pedigree can confer. Laura Lee Junker's portrayal of pre-Hispanic society restores the Philippine Archipelago to its rightful place in the region. Her reconstruction of the dynamics of indigenous chiefdoms shows them to be very much part of a wider Malay world that interacts with an East Asian trading network in prestige goods linking Southeast Asia with China, India and Arabia. The absence of such an archaeological past had previously left the islands in a somewhat ambiguous and nebulous position. Bereft of either an Indic or Sinic legacy, bordering on the Pacific and Polynesia, and cast adrift by its subsequent Hispanic and Christian legacy, the Philippines has often been viewed as the 'odd man out' of the region, even to the extent of being excluded from D. G. E. Hall's seminal first edition of *The History of Southeast Asia* (1955). By 'filling in' the missing years from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries, Junker sets out to rebut the idea that complex societies in the archipelago are late-developing and wholly derived from foreign contact and, instead, presents a coherent picture of the structure of its pre-modern polities and chiefdoms. On this score alone, her book confers a respectability over the entire enterprise of Philippine Studies that goes a long way towards removing the barriers that have impeded its serious consideration in comparison to other major 'cultural blocs' in the region.

By deftly combining Chinese and Spanish historical documentation, nineteenth and twentieth-century ethnographic accounts and the somewhat patchy archaeological record, Junker charts the development of complex societies in the archipelago. She begins with the leaders of Metal Age chiefdoms, adept at manipulating volatile alliance networks based on the exchange of locally produced luxury goods, and how they were able to expand quite rapidly with the advent of foreign trade in Chinese porcelain after the tenth century. And how this added 'wealth' created the conditions for several larger scale inter-regionally powerful polities to emerge at Manila, Cebu, Sulu and Magindanao by the time of European contact. More importantly, she is able to trace the link between escalating maritime raiding, intensifying foreign trade networks and increasing competitive feasting (that give the study its title) to explain the political, economic and social dynamics behind the expansion of these chiefdoms. Above all, chiefly power rested on the ability to engage in alliance building exchanges through attracting foreign luxury goods that in turn depended on augmenting the available labour supply through intensified maritime raiding. In turn, the endemic nature of the latter prompted the increasing construction of coastal fortifications, an expansion of metal weapon production, the adoption of foreign military technology, the emergence of a specialised warrior class and evidence of a rising numbers of violent deaths. This was the society that Ferdinand Magellan and Miguel Lopez de Legazpi encountered in the sixteenth century and that William Henry Scott depicts in his posthumous classic *Barangay* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1994). In a sense, Junker provides the wherewithal to understand Scott's depiction of contact societies in the Philippines. Moreover, she does so by drawing on extensive studies of comparative societies in other parts of Southeast Asia, the Pacific and even Iron Age Europe to affirm both their evolutionary parallels and their cultural and historical uniqueness.

Quite apart from the timely nature of the subject matter, a particular strength of this study is its ability to show how trade in exotic prestige goods from China and other Southeast Asian polities acted as a catalyst in the emergence of more organisationally complex and territorially expansive chiefdoms in the archipelago. The 'wealth' accumulated by chiefs engaged in this long-distance

trade was channelled exclusively through their own hands as they also restricted the social contexts for its exchange. The power bases so constructed were dependent more on fluctuating personal alliance networks, cemented by the distribution of such wares through competitive feasting or in the form of bridewealth, than on primarily descent-based kin groups. The resulting political units, according to Junker, were 'even less stable' than comparative chiefdoms elsewhere (p. 68). Given the nuances of this insight into the nature of such societies, however, it seems even more incomprehensible that she should choose to use the modern nation-state as the unit of analysis on which to base her study. The distortions, whether truncations or forced comparisons, dictated by such a framework undermine one of her central arguments that the archipelago's polities were very much part of a wider Malay and Southeast Asian world even if located on the outermost limits of its trading routes. Nor does it always seem appropriate to compare the northern centres of Manila and Cebu with those of Sulu and Magindanao in the south just because they are currently part of the same national unit. Their individual trajectories were often quite separate and distinctive, while developments in the latter frequently paralleled centres further south in Brunei, the Moluccas, Makassar or Bone. Moreover, Junker's preoccupation with foreign trade networks at times creates the image of a completely maritime focused world where nothing much happened inland or away from the rivers. Such, of course, was far from the truth as testified to by structures like the Ifugao rice terraces at Benaue (despite disagreement as to their exact provenance). The risk here is to replace a history written from the 'deck of a[n European] ship' with one based on that of a prao or junk, and with largely similar consequences. The danger is particularly grave as much of the archaeological evidence on which she rests her arguments comes from just one region, the Bais-Tanjay area on Negros that may or may not be typical of others. In fairness, many of these criticisms are largely the consequence of the organisational practicalities inherent in writing such a book and the availability of sources. Still, perhaps, more attention could have been drawn to qualifications of this nature in the text.

Junker has written an important book with great scholarly acumen gleaned from fragmentary and divergent sources. She takes the reader on a voyage into the past to reveal something of the dynamics that lay at the heart of much of this pre-Hispanic world. If, at its end, the reader is still left looking through the glass darkly, this only serves to highlight the importance of archaeology in the future to uncovering the archipelago's history.

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American Exiles in the Philippines, 1941-1996: A Collected Oral Narrative
By JOSEPH P. McCALLUS
Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1999. Pp. xxxi, 254. Photographs, Notes, Index.

In the mid-1990s Joseph McCallus conducted biographical interviews with eighteen Americans, sixteen men and two women, who had long made their lives and careers in the Philippines. Though most of the group had first arrived in the country during the 1940s and 1950s, one dated his first residence to as early as 1928 and another to as late as 1974. Many set out to make their fortunes in the Philippines in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, and the majority of those interviewed had been businessmen. Such successful figures as prominent Cebu entrepreneur and restaurant owner Edward Woolbright (of 'Eddie's Long Cabin' fame) and former

Philippine Packing (Del Monte) president Paul Perrine numbered among those latter. The group also included several clergymen-educators and others from outside the private sector, among them the distinguished Jesuit James Reuter and prolific chronicler of the American experience in the Philippines Lewis Gleeck. With four or five exceptions, those interviewed had lived in Metro Manila since settling in the Philippines. Without exception, their lives in the country had brought professional accomplishment or financial success or both.

This book is not a study of the end of empire and the making of a 'new nation' as these processes touched those who opted not to return to the metropole. Nor is it a narrative of the roles played by Americans in the economic, social or political life of the Philippines after independence. Rather, in choosing somewhat flatteringly to label his respondents 'exiles' (p. xvii) and in alluding to theirs as the experiences of the 'hero-traveler' (p. xi), McCallus signals his decision to let the accomplishments and impressions of these men and women, shared with the author in oral histories that rarely diminish their own sense of self-importance, shape his book. Its focus is, then, the nature and fate of the American 'community' (p. xvii) in the post-war Philippines.

Most of the book is arranged chronologically. Successive chapters treat the immediate pre-war era, war-time, the two post-war decades, the later 1960s, the Marcos and Aquino periods, and the years following the withdrawal of American forces from the Philippines in 1991. In each chapter, McCallus's approach is to draw on his wide reading of standard works on Philippine political history to set the context, to offer a few comments on respondents' views of the issues of the period in question, and then to present excerpts from his interviews ranging from a paragraph or two to several pages. Endnotes offer some clarification of matters raised in these verbatim excerpts. A similar approach characterises thematic chapters – on family life, on American clubs and organizations, and on relations between Americans and Filipinos.

Respondents' comments address themes and eras in a very general way. Illustrative anecdotes may include reference to specific personalities or incidents, but the emphasis is always on offering summary impressions. Their stories do work collectively, however, to make evident a number of features of the post-war American community in the Philippines. One such feature was the sobering failure, hardly corrected even with the advantage of hindsight, of prominent members of that community to understand in any serious way the waves of student activism on Philippine campuses in the second half of the 1960s and the social and political strains to which that activism was so closely tied. This failure related, no doubt, to the general sense that the years from the late 1940s to the early 1960s were the high point of the American community in the Philippines. Not only was the anti-Americanism of the succeeding period still rare then, but the combination of comfort, opportunity and numbers gave the American community self-confidence and coherence and that it would soon lose.

Much of that coherence was clearly due to critical mass. One respondent shared with McCallus the information that the Manila Elks Club (Lodge Number 761, and the only Elks lodge outside the United States), a flagship institution of the American community in the post-war Philippines, had seen its membership drop from 1,500 just after the war, to 700 in the early 1970s, to 150 in the mid-1990s and that of that latter figure up to half had in fact returned to the United States while remaining members of the lodge. But declining numbers do not tell the whole story. McCallus consistently and convincingly argues that what really accounted for the end of any viable American community in the Philippines was a change in the nature of the expatriate presence itself. 'Transnational workers' (p. 154), serving short postings on behalf of large corporations likely to send them to another country or continent within a couple of years, have in recent decades become

far more common than long-term residents like the respondents. The former group has lacked incentive to develop commitment to, lasting friendships in, or even an understanding – no matter how modest – of the Philippines.

Though the relationship between the Americans whose story Joseph McCallus would tell and official American representatives in the Philippines was frequently uneasy, he still regards the withdrawal of American forces from the Philippines a decade ago as the most apt symbol of 'the demise of the American experience in the Philippines' (p. 154). Among his respondents, feelings towards that event reveal surprising variety. Many regarded the American departure from Clark Field and Subic Bay positively. They were aware that the opposite outcome would have done little to revive their own waning numbers. And at least some of these respondents based their approbation of the withdrawal on an appreciation of the imperatives of Philippine nationalism. It is this sort of appreciation, however superficial or flawed, that most distinguishes McCallus's lifers from the short-timers who now dominate the 'expat' scene, not only in Manila but in other large cities of the region. If only imperfectly, *American Exiles in the Philippines* recalls an era, not so long gone, before the globalisation of financial markets and of the media had replaced the aspiration to cosmopolitanism among leading Westerners resident in Southeast Asia with the ersatz corporate internationalism of today.

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White Love and Other Events in Filipino History
By VICENTE L. RAFAEL
Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000. Pp.xiv, 286. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, Index.

Ecce libro! Behold, an engaging, mind-boggling book that handles the Philippines with expertise; slicing, mincing, even scavenging, and then proffering for sampling and scrutiny trivial but heroic details on certain significant periods of the archipelago's 'vertigo' history; so trivial, in fact, that earlier authorities on the area have usually disregarded or refused the same. An anthology of eight provoking 'essays', the nausea is already felt in the carrier piece, set at the Americans' fledgling turn at colonisation in Asia at the turn of the twentieth century (a performance that generated so many sarcastic referent hues, both official and non-official, such as President McKinley's 'White Man's Burden' or William Taft's 'little brown brothers'; Vicente Rafael, the specialist, still intrigued by the reference of colours, calls this supposedly 'benevolent assimilation' as 'White Love', providing a catchy title for the collection). The feeling of nausea continues while Rafael tinkers on variegated nodes of Philippine history: domesticity and photography - still during the American colonial era, collaboration during the Japanese Occupation, Marcos dictatorship (including the proliferation of pornography in the 1970s – the so-called bomba films), *TagLish* (combo of Tagalog and English) as a lingua franca, historiography after EDSA – or the so-called People Power Revolution – and concludes, not to end but again to confound, with the death by hanging of a Filipina maid in Singapore in 1995.

At first glance, for one who is familiar with Rafael's background (having been harnessed by a string of American universities, specifically Cornell), there is the immediate notion that this book was prepared with *balikbayan* (homecoming native's) sentimentality, in the tear-jerking genre of his

compatriot Carlos Bulosan in the 1930s, who had seen America as a land of exile and must replenish his ties with *home*. As Rafael writes in his introduction, 'from the place of forgetting, the United States of America, these essays relate events in the cultural and political history of the Philippines and Filipinos from roughly 1898 till the middle of the 1990s' (pp. 1-2).

But to be seriously engorged with an opus as *White Love* afterwards, one may see rather a prodigal son who has to give up if not correct the *punto de vista* of his ethnic kindred back home, the same ones he had to pay an occasional visit to. As the author felt but did not actually say, Philippine history, as has been previously written, was too encompassing and too immense. The nation, as always advertised, after all, is a *fiesta*, a cavalcade of festivities, even in its historiography.

In preparing this book Rafael's intentions were clear: that it 'explores the fractious history of a nation state at a time when both the nation form itself and the scholarly genre for addressing it – area studies – are undergoing intense scrutiny and face uncertain futures in the United States' and has to do also with the 'history of nationalism in the Philippines' (pp. 2-3). However, do not be deceived by these statements of simplicity.

The author is modest enough to confess that in preparing these essays, he was following 'in the wake of those writers who have sought to render an episodic rather an epic account of the Philippines' (p. 4), allegedly, Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil, Rey Ileto and Nick Joaquin, among others. He is actually different. His 'episodic histories', as he calls them, were actually prepared in epic proportions, and one is easily reminded of the generous servings, in spite of the limited menu, when he eats in that 'place of forgetting'.

Rafael is a master chef. Through his innovative contrasts and parallels, with topics such as census and melodrama in the colonisation of the Philippines, 'white female' writers and their native domestics, ethnicity and historicity in colonial photographs and portraiture, rumour-mongering during the Japanese Occupation, youth, patronage politics and pornography during the Marcos dictatorship, Taglish and the *mestizo* identity, the *balikbayan* vs. the OCWs (overseas contract workers), and so many more, there is a sluicing of the juice and the meat of race, gender, nationalism, and other interesting but relentless discourses. He has garnished them with such a succulent parlance that there will certainly be a grateful aftertaste.

A few minor flaws can be mentioned, but calling attention to them should not be seen as detracting from the overall high quality of the book. For example, the 'white love' cover of giving Gospels to *insurrecto* POWS in 1901 was not an American novelty; it was actually initiated by a Spanish Dominican turned Protestant pastor (Fr Alonso Lallave) in the 1870s, who, under the pain of heresy, even translated the Gospel of St. John into the Pangasinan language and had it printed in Singapore (Anne Kwantes, *Presbyterian Missionaries in the Philippines*, [Quezon City: New Day, 1989], pp.11-12.). And that the Philippine census of 1903 by the Americans was 'organized around the production of a stable state apparatus that would rule paternally over a racialized and gendered people' (p. 51), cannot easily distinguish it from the already discriminating – race and gender – slurs of the earlier censuses, *planos de almas*, the *relatos* and the *libros de asientos* of the Spaniards, except of course with the use of more advanced schedule sheets and keyboard punch cards (pp. 30-1). Nor could one see much engendering difference in reading a male, let us say, William B. Freer's, account (*The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher*, 1906) concerning his Filipino muchachos (servants), and that of his fellow or a female Thomasite Mary H. Fee, except that both were supposedly 'benevolent assimilators'. For the sombre pictures of the ethnic physiognomies (pp. 78-80, 84, albeit a smiling Aeta on p. 38), their seriousness may not be altogether due to colonisation but could have been caused by a technology at that time that was too slow to catch a smile or a guffaw.

And for seditious playwrights who feminise the 'Inang Bayan' in their characters during the 1910s, were they as serious as they were in providing the death-knell of the *kumidya* and the *moro-moro* by popularising the modern *zarzuela*, and the entertainment of the people, perhaps mostly servants, probably those of Mrs Shunk, Mrs Taft, Mrs Moses or Miss Fee?

But the legacy of Rafael's book is in its rendition of the ever-bloated Philippine nationalism. Though it is rather hefty and sometimes polemical (such as in the probability of using, in excusing Ambeth Ocampo, 'English as a medium of nationalist identification' [p. 199]), it provides a realistic perspective on this issue. Previous historians of the Philippines have been so used to compartmentalise nationalism and stuff or compact its complexities in simple A, B, C, Ds, to the discomfort of their readers. *White Love* not only diagnoses the vertigo of Philippine nationalism, but also its indigestion.

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After Postcolonialism: Remapping Philippine–United States Confrontations
By E.SAN JUAN, JR.
Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000. Pp. xi, 252. Appendix, Bibliography, Index.

The book, like its companion literature in the 'Pacific Formations' series edited by Arif Dirlik, is on Asia, America and Asia-America. A Filipino-American, Epifanio San Juan, Jr, highlights in this work the 'historical specificity' of the Filipino and Filipino-American or US Filipino. That the Filipino diasporic community is distinct from others in America because of a specific Filipino experience of American aggression (this is San Juan's alternative version of Philippine–American 'special relations') is actually one of the main theses of this work. In Chapter 2 the author interrogates the notion of panethnicity and Pan-Asianism. He writes that 'pan-Asianism concealed the ethnic chauvinisms and class cleavages, hierarchy, and conflicts generated by the operation of US racialising politics or inherited from imperial divide-and-rule policies' (pp. 47-8). For San Juan, coming to terms with racialised existence in the American capitalist formation especially as it concerns American–Filipinos cannot – can never be – detached or isolated from the overall framework of US–Philippine relations or, as the author would prefer, confrontations. The American Filipino's struggle to overcome racialized politics and structures in his/her second homeland is an integral component of the larger *Kampf* for national liberation and national democracy in the homeland of his/her progenitors.

The main task of the author in this book is the de-canonisation of existing safe, orthodox and received representations of who Filipinos are and what the Philippines is. The de-canonisation agenda is, of course, corollary to one that involves canon-revision. Practically the entire book, from Chapters 2 to 7 (six of the seven chapters exclusive of the Introduction and the Afterword), is therefore replete with critical and pillorising revisitations of what the author regards as inadequate and problematic versions of Filipinos, the Philippines, and Philippine–United States 'relations'. Chapter 7 contains the author's alternative representation. For him, his alternative is the one – and the only one – which is truly emancipatory, transformative, and in keeping with sociohistorical realities. The rest of this review will present, in concise and summary form, the various orthodoxies and semi-orthodoxies revisited, interrogated and critically exposed by the author and the author's alternative vision. I will conclude with my own observations.

The first paradigm to be problematised is the ethnicity paradigm. The proponents of this paradigm claim that confrontations in a 'melting-pot' society like the United States are a 'natural' phenomenon. By fetishising ethnicity – worse, ethnicity uprooted from the historicomaterialist totality – these knowledge-producers gloss over the sociohistorical determinants of the reality of racism and racialising politics. San Juan believes that 'racism, racial inequality, is inextricably tied to capitalism as a politico-economic system that produces and reproduces inequality' (p. 48). The centring of ethnic confrontations that, for the ethnicity paradigm school are resolved by the concepts of multiculturalism, cultural pluralism and the 'model minority', covers and occludes the reality of institutional racism created, produced and reproduced by the contradictory logic of capitalism.

The capitalist-racist hegemon, like any living entity, devises ways to legitimate itself and prolong its life. For the author the notions of 'cultural pluralism' and 'transnationalism' – knowledge produced by post-modernists – are the cultural-ideological apparatuses contrived for these ends. By attempting to absolutize the contingent and neutralise and naturalise class antagonisms, the 'postality' theoreticians miss out on the sociohistorical reality of contradictory asymmetries. The academic entrepreneurs of 'postality' would insist on equilibrium where contradiction exists. San Juan is an avowed enemy of post-modernism.

Moving on to the 'historical specificity' of the land of his forebears, San Juan likewise revisits and problematises received mythological representations of the Philippines, Filipinos and Philippine–American 'relations'. The whole of Chapter 3 is devoted to this. He follows the same format and the same pattern as when he criticized received and established notions of Asian Americans. He begins with hegemonic orthodoxies and goes on to their latest attempts at legitimation and life-prolongation. Neo-colonial representations of the Philippines, Filipinos and Philippine–American relations, exemplified by such authors as Stanley Karnow, Peter Stanley, David Joel Steinberg and the infamous Glenn May, are attacked for being naked apologies for US imperialism. Not content with citing specific works and titles, San Juan proceeds to launch an offensive against an entire sociological paradigm he calls, interchangeably, 'functionalism', 'empiricist and positivist functionalism', and 'structural-functionalism'. The authors cited form part of the class of scholars and academic technocrats devoted to 'Philippine Studies'. They are the so-called 'Filipinologists' who have devoted much time and effort to 'understand' the Philippines, Filipinos and Philippine–American relations and who, for San Juan, habitually 'inferiorise' 'other' Filipinos. He calls their knowledge-products 'texts of legitimation' and alleges that for a long time this school has exerted considerable influence on the mass consciousness and state policy.

The legitimating branch of the orthodox school can be labelled as 'post-colonial'. Post-colonialism is to Philippine–American relations at home as post-modernism is to US–Filipino relations in America. Like post-modernism, post-colonialism occludes sociohistorical contradictions and antagonisms based on class, gender, race and so on. San Juan is especially sensitive to 'neo-Weberian concepts of patrimonialism' courtesy of the 'structural-functionalist' school and post-modernist, 'neo-Hegelian notions of "civil society"' and the entire pseudo-progressive non-governmental organisations (NGO) movement. The framework using the notion of collaborative and reciprocal clientelism in depicting and describing Philippine–American relations, for San Juan, is pernicious because it completely overlooks American accountability – something practically absolute and unilateral for the author – for the woes of the Philippine sociopolitical formation. Civil society and NGOs are tools for social pacification. They are regarded as, predictably, 'counterrevolutionary' (p. 96). For San Juan, NGOs were 'designed to coopt energies

being channeled to support for the armed underground resistance (e.g., the New People's Army and the Islamic Liberation Front) and other dissident challenges to the system' (p. 10). Texts which valorise and glamourise these notions are damned because in them 'class struggle, property relations, inequality of wealth – in short, the categories of domination and subordination – are all erased in favour of putative "shared values and commitment", "voluntary action," and so on . . . Democracy as merely procedural becomes fetishised, obfuscating its class content and the material specificities of oppression constituted by the rigid hierarchies of class, gender, "race," locality, and so on' (p. 10). In a later addendum, he writes: 'The fiction of a mythical "civil society" insulated from the state is one effective expression of a hegemonic neoconservatism – the argument and rhetoric of the free unregulated market, the genuine simulacrum if ever there was one' (p. 183). San Juan's objective is to go beyond post-colonialism – hence, post-postcolonialism. Post-colonialism for him is none other than neo-colonialism.

The existing orthodoxy is to be opposed and in its place a new orthodoxy is to be installed. The neocolonial-hegemonic knowledge produced by the apologists for US imperialism and their postcolonial ilk is to be superseded by an oppositional, transformative, and counterhegemonic representation (or absolute truism?) of Philippine–American confrontations from a historico-materialist, Marxist, national-liberationist, and national-democratic perspective.

San Juan is at the vanguard of a return to Marxism. His Marxism is going to be 'Filipinised' and purged of all European and Europeanising elements which are foreign to the Philippine 'historical specificity'. For San Juan, the imperative is to re-root Philippine-American confrontations on the 'historical specificity of colonial bondage, alienation and reification (features of sociopolitical conditions tied to the logic of capital accumulation and commodity exchange)' (p. 13). Post-modernist and post-colonial attempts at reality reconfiguration notwithstanding, San Juan believes firmly that:

> we have not yet fully transcended the normalizing asymmetry of nation-states, the hegemony of the industrialized states over dependent and subordinate peoples [Gill 1993; Wood 1999]. Racist and chauvinist practices, underpinned by corresponding ideologies, characterize the general economy of exchange of intellectual and other kinds of property around the world between North and South, between the West and "the Rest", mainly people of color, in this epoch of globalized, late or transnational capitalism. (p. 166)

The 'rule of capital' is still the 'condition of possibility' for class inequality, racial asymmetry and oppression of every form. He still continues to seek the 'rectification of the national-democratic strategy' and his goal is still the 'hegemony of national-democratic forces'. Marxism, for the author, is still the only viable 'revolutionary theory' that can be used to educate, discipline and impel the 'oppressed and exploited masses' to action. One with Jean-Paul Sartre, he firmly holds that Marxism is still 'the unsurpassable philosophy of everyone suffering under capital. It is also the guide for subjugated peoples of color fighting for liberation from the terror of racism and reification, from the hell of commodity fetishism and barbarisms galore, sustained by a really existing world system whose citadels are Washington, Tokyo, Berlin, Paris, and London' (p. 179). Almost 70 years after the establishment of the original Communist Party in the Philippines and over 30 years after this same movement's re-invention, San Juan still believes that 'Marxism, insofar as it has not been "Filipinized" or really given the chance to open up the space for initiating the socialist adventure in the Philippines, amid US "low-intensity warfare", the seduction of laissez-faire pluralism and spectacles of consumerist jouissance, is a resource that we can dare use, test, enrich, and appropriate

for a future waiting to be born' (p. 179).

San Juan's opus is a work of apologetics on Marxism. His response to those who lambast the indigenous national-democratic movement for alleged failures and hypocrisies, like Walden Bello, Omar Tupaz and Patricio Abinales, is a further reiteration of the need to – not rehabilitate – but reaffirm orthodox Marxism. To rectify whatever strategic errors and missteps the struggling movement for national liberation committed, there is a need to re-learn Marxism and to eschew the latest fad among Filipino leftists known as *Ideologiekritik* or post-utopianism. For the author,

> Marxism as theoretical guideline still demarcates the horizon of our everyday life. . . Whatever the historical specificities involved, given the domination of transnational capital over the state and civil society in the Philippines, one can say that the resources of the Marxist tradition, its efficacy as a theory/practice of radical social transformation and people's empowerment, still remain to be fully understood, mastered, and creatively applied by millions of Filipinos, notwithstanding haphazard attempts in the past to do so. We can certainly do better. We persevere in blazing a world-historical path in uncharted and dangerous territory. We have no choice. What is at stake is the survival and renewal of a whole people whose daily degradation is carried out in the interests of the capitalist world system and an exclusive minority. (p. 172)

For San Juan, the struggle is cultural; it is a struggle for the hearts and minds of the oppressed masses. In the counterhegemonic process, discursive politics serves the ends of practical politics. 'Language and textuality', in the words of the author, cannot be 'fetishized . . . at the expense of the education and mobilization of the collective subjects in practical politics' (pp. 184-5). Ultimately, the bloc-victor will be that which is able to legitimately express and articulate the 'national-popular'. If this is so, then the Philippine political experience from 1998 to 2001 is certainly not encouraging. The latest in the long list of hindrances to San Juan's emancipatory project, which includes bourgeois consumerism and eclectic pragmatism-opportunism, is the most recent Filipino incarnation of lumpen-fascism.

San Juan fetishises what he perceives to be the 'exceptionalism' of the Philippines. He extols the Philippine Communist insurgency. He dangles the following suggestive remarks: 'The "New World Order" marked by the collapse of bureaucratic/statist regimes may have overlooked what is going on in the Philippines. Is the past of the Soviet Union/Eastern Europe the future for the Philippines? Or is the horizon of socialist revolution, far richer than the five-year blueprints of official Marxism-Leninism, still to be discovered and assayed by 70 million Filipinos?' (p. 166) The *pakikibaka* (struggle) phase of an ideological movement is difficult and replete with frustrations. Not only is the process problematic, the end is as well. One has to be constantly reminded by what 'the great historical-materialist philosopher' Karl Korsch hypothesised about the inescapable logic of any ideology: 'It is in the nature of an ideology to gain severity as it loses practical validity.' This line is quoted on page 88 of the book and is directed at the 'degeneration' of the ideology of white supremacy and apartheid 'into fascist barbarism'. Who is to say, however, that this cannot apply as truthfully to socialism?

This book is certainly a good read for those who are seeking new reasons for believing in an old idea.

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Yon Roi Kosapan Nai 'Ton Thang Farangset' [Follow in Kosapan's Footsteps in 'The Way to France']
Edited by PREDEE PHISPHUMIVIDHI
Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 2001. Pp. 142 [in Thai].

In 2000 Predee Phisphumvidhi, a student at Silpakorn University discovered a manuscript, coded 317, at the Oriental Manuscripts Department (*Division des manuscrits Orientaux*) at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. This manuscript, entitled *Ton Thang Farangset* ('The Way to France'), was written in Siamese in 1686-87 by one of the Siamese ambassadors or one of the scribes who took a diplomatic journey from the court of King Narai to the court of Louis XIV. The identity and corporate name of the author of this text are not mentioned. As far as we know, four groups of Siamese mandarins were sent to France by King Narai between 1680 and 1688. The date on this manuscript corresponds to the third Siamese group, which was headed by Ok-Phra Wisut Sunthorn (Kosapan), a Siamese mandarin.

This text gives an account of the journey between Siam and France. The related events begin on 22 December 1686 when the vessel *L'Oiseau* leaves the port of Ayuthaya and end on 18 June 1687 when the ship arrives in Brest. This account consists mainly of short descriptions of the populations, nature, customs and manners of foreign countries that the narrator saw during his travel. His annotations include stereotyped patterns that we can find in the *nirat* (a Siamese literary genre), notably the list of places crossed (Bantam, Sonda, Indian Ocean, Good Hope Cape, Brest and so on).

To give the account of this manuscript, Predee organises his work in four parts. The first one (pp. 23-70) is a general introduction that presents the nature of the manuscript, historical context and philological problems. This introduction is graced with reproductions – from the reign of Louis XIV – of maps and portraits of the main protagonists of this period. The second part (pp. 71-104) is the reproduction of the original manuscript, a *samut thai dam*-type manuscript, found by Predee. It runs over 38 'pages' (*phap*), comprising 6 lines each, which are printed as fascimile. The dimensions are 38.5 cm x 12.5 cm. The third part (pp. 105-33) consists of a transcription into Thai standard characters of the original text. The fourth and last part (pp. 134-42) is a glossary that identifies obscure toponyms and decodes difficult to understand occurrences. In total, this glossary includes 157 entries and is an indispensable guide for the reader.

What is the value of this manuscript? From a literary and philological viewpoint, this text is important for three reasons. First, although the term *nirat* is not in the title, this text has all the characteristics of the *nirat* genre, with its focus on themes of 'separation', 'travel', 'nature', list of toponyms, and so on. In short, this piece can be considered as a crypto-*nirat*. Therefore, according to Predee, *The Way to France* is probably the first *nirat* focusing on a journey to foreign countries (p. 67), one century before the *Nirat Phraya Mahanuphap Pai Muang Chin* which was written in 1782 (some exegetes consider that this *nirat* dates from 1781). Secondly, the poet composed this piece by using three kinds of metres: the *kap chabang 16* (in total, 16 verses), the *kap yani 11* (54 verses) and the *kap surangkhanang 28* (131 verses). Consequently, as Predee observes, this poem is 'perhaps the first *nirat* which used *kap*' (p. 25). Thirdly, this crypto-*nirat* contains few Sanskrit, Pāli and Khmer words, in comparison with other *nirat* composed in this period (such as the *Nirat Nakhorn Sawan* dated 1658).

From a historiographical viewpoint, this text is very welcome as it allows us to re-examine the

'Eurocentric view' on this period. Indeed, about this Siamese embassy, except for 'Kosapan's manuscript that described the events on this mission in 1687 when he and his party arrived in Brest' (p. 19), scholars do not have sources in Thai. Thus, in order to reconstruct the astonishing flurry of diplomatic exchanges between France and Siam during this period, it seems that this discovery can fill in the gap. Unfortunately, the content of this manuscript does not really shed light upon the details of secret negotiations with France and Siam, notably concerning the 'treaties' relating to religion and commerce. In other words, we do not really know the reactions and points of view of the Siamese mandarins, nobles and court officials about these events. So, historians may be a little disappointed in reading this text.

Of course, the above critical remark is nothing in comparison with the importance of this discovery. Moreover, the edition of this manuscript ought to be the standard point of reference for all future scholarship in this domain.

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Thaïlande: Bouddhisme renonçant, Capitalisme triomphant
By BERNARD FORMOSO
Paris: La documentation Française, 2000. Pp. 179. Maps, Appendix, Bibliography.

This work is one of four published volumes (along with those on Indonesia, India and Vietnam) of a new series, '*Asie plurielle*', which emphasise, in the editors' words, 'the analysis and discussion of Asian societies and cultures which are affected by the effects of economic and political modernisation as well as globalisation'. The obvious intent of the series is to provide French readers with synthetic and updated (as well as affordably priced) introductory texts in the tradition of the renowned '*Que sais-je*?' series.

Bernard Formoso's volume is arranged into three parts framed by an Introduction and Conclusion: the first part provides an overall picture of Thailand's sociohistorical development; the second part introduces the main social actors on the national stage; and the last analyses the social and economic dynamics that fuelled the ephemeral economic boom of the decade from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. The discussion is informed and updated, especially on social and economic issues, and complemented by a useful appendix of demographic and economic data. In addition, Formoso integrates lengthy excerpts from other studies and glosses on selected topics, presented in textbook-like colour 'boxes'. However, the bibliography of fifteen titles is less than adequate, especially since many issues are treated only cursorily in such a compact volume and a longer list of bibliographic references would help those readers who want to read more on the subject.

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Vietnam

Profit and Poverty in Rural Vietnam: Winners and Losers of a Dismantled Revolution
By RITA LILJESTROM, EVA LINDSKOG, NGUYEN VAN ANG, and VUONG XUAN TINH
Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998. Pp. 269. Bibliography, Photographs.

Longitudinal studies on any topic in Vietnam are rare, and those dealing with data from the 1980s are even rarer. *Profit and Poverty in Rural Vietnam* provides a valuable glimpse into the lives and strategies of northern rural farmers and forestry workers from 1987 to 1994. In 1987 the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), which had funded the construction of the Bai Bang paper mill in northern Vietnam, hired a research team including Rita Liljestrom and Eva Lindskog to investigate the living conditions of state forestry workers. Liljestrom and Lindskog were subsequently, in 1993-94, funded by SIDA to follow-up on their earlier studies with a team including Vietnamese researchers Nguyen Van Ang and Vuong Xuan Tinh. Between Liljestrom's and Lindskog's first and second visits, the Vietnamese government passed the Land Law of 1988 and the Land Law of 1993. The implementation of these laws drastically altered the ways in which land could be used, saw the return of previously collectivised land to individual households, and allowed land to be sold or inherited. Liljestrom and Lindskog returned to three of their previous sites, each a forestry brigade or enterprise coupled with an adjacent village, and chose one new additional site of a forestry enterprise and village that had not received any form of Swedish aid.

Chapter 1 provides an excellent overview of the changing land relationships resulting from changes in the legal status of land and land ownership. The explanations of the often-confusing process of land reform and the various decrees, regulations, and laws pertaining to land (Decree 100, the 1988 Land Law, Resolution 10, and the 1993 Land Law) are clear, concise, and extremely helpful. Liljestrom is equally brief and illuminating in her description of the institutional context for research in Vietnam. The rest of the book deals with the four case studies, each emphasising a different aspect of the social impact of these land laws and the consequent change in land relationships and socioeconomic situation. The main themes of the research (outlined on p. 14) include institutional and enterprise restructuring, the emerging commodity economy and diversification of the household economy, causes of wealth and poverty and sources of social support, and the interactions between Kinh (majority Vietnamese) migrants and the local ethnic minorities. Exploring the impact of *doi moi* (the economic renovation policy promulgated in 1986) in the northern regions of Vietnam is the overall research agenda of this project.

In summarising their findings, Liljestrom provides an interesting typology of the 'winners' referred to in the title (pp. 247-8). These 'winning' households are those that have diversified and have learned 'to do business'. In addition, they have the optimal labour/health/social configuration. The poorer households have, in contrast, only one labourer instead of two, a sick family member, little support from the family network, poor nutrition, and/or perceive themselves as lacking options (pp. 249-50). The authors also have some interesting conclusions to draw regarding ethnic relations in the areas they studied, including the cross-adoption of cultural customs. They conclude that not only have the local ethnic minorities experienced 'Vietnamisation', but the Kinh migrants in some areas practise some local customs as well (p. 254). In general, the authors observe that the *doi moi* reforms and the land laws have significantly reduced poverty, though by no means eradicated it, while the concomitant changes in land and social relationships have begun to eat away at some of the previously existing forms of mutual support which tended to keep the gap between rich and poor from widening too drastically. These are perhaps not surprising conclusions, but they are solidly supported by the material provided here.

While the case studies are rich with anecdotal material that lends the socio-economic themes a human face, they are perhaps too rich. The wealth of detail sometimes obscures the larger points, sacrificing some analytical strength for example after specific example. This is perhaps a product of the writing structure, as the final volume is the result of compiling a number of individual papers by various members of the research team. A strength of this work is the attempt to provide historical contextualisation to the present situation, but a weakness is the reluctance to venture opinions about the information offered or the observations made. Many tantalising questions arising from the fieldwork are left unanswered. Though Liljestrom and the collective team of authors may not have the definitive answers, and it is refreshing to find authors willing to be so clear about this (p. 150, for example), it would have been useful if they had at least speculated on some of the possible causes. In cases where the authors have essayed a speculative response, it is generally insightful. Residents in some areas, for example, expressed or demonstrated an eagerness to claim back ancestral land that had been taken under collectivisation; in other areas, residents seemed unconcerned about the disposition of their former ancestral lands. Liljestrom offers an elegantly brief assessment of this apparent contradiction, together with a subtle gloss on the politics of it, on page 83. More of this would have been very welcome.

A smaller irritation is the uneven editing which failed to eliminate the occasional language hiccough such as the sexist 'man and nature' (p. 144) and a number of other rather archaic phrases. On the whole, however, *Profit and Poverty* provides a detailed picture of the effects macro-level reforms have had at the household and individual level in one of Vietnam's poorest areas, as well as abundant background data for further studies on the socioeconomic situation of the country's mountainous regions.

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