

captures it all in his marvellous, surreal, sometimes comical, drawings of the macabre years of Pol Pot. What remained etched on his mind was a series of indelible images — of the stunned disoriented mass of people evacuating the capital of Phnom Penh, the brutal nastiness of Khmer Rouge cadres; the district prison; propaganda classes; the toothy, bloated and grinning face of Pol Pot; the consciousness-building seminars and the bodies of the dead. His drawings are a vivid glimpse of the irrational dimensions of man's inhumanity to man. This collection of Bunheang Ung's drawings is, as Martin Stuart-Fox notes, a unique record of the suffering of the Kampuchean people and a memorial to the dead. For that alone, this book is surely a valuable addition to the literature of a painful subject.

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Indonesia and Malaysia: Scandinavian Studies in Contemporary Society. Edited by Thommy Svensson and Per Sørensen. London and Malmö: Curzon Press, 1983. 282pp.

As co-editor Svensson says, the publication of this book is indeed "a remarkable event" in Scandinavian academic life, which traditionally has had its regional focus elsewhere than Southeast Asia. In the past, scholarly activities and direct commercial or practical contacts in the area have been small compared to those of the larger, colonial powers. However, upon the independence of the new regional states and the setting up of formal diplomatic links, scholarly interest in the region was co-ordinated by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, a research body set up in 1967 in Copenhagen. Social anthropology, followed by the other social sciences, history and linguistic studies are the major fields of research at the Institute.

Several of the essays in this book were presented at a symposium held in 1977 in Sweden. The long incubation has resulted in a collection of nine essays, six of them written by academics attached to social anthropology departments at various Scandinavian universities. The geographical focus is mainly on Indonesia but Malaysia and the New Guinea Highlands also provide material for a few essays. The book has been broadly divided to represent three different lines of research in an attempt to organize the selection. A superficial glance at the essays does not give one the impression that this is justified. The book seems to contain detailed studies of a wide range of topics with possibly as wide a range of theoretical implications. However, a more thorough reading reveals that the book does indeed hold together.

Let us examine the individual contributions in this mosaic more closely. Elisabeth Lind demonstrates how the rhetoric used by Soekarno fits important traditional concepts of the Javanese people. The structural and rhetorical similarities between the two are clear and easily recognizable. This worked to Soekarno's advantage because it validated his position and popularity. The analysis, showing the apparent parallelism between two systems of ideas is interesting and difficult to ignore. But an awareness of its explanatory limitations reminds us of complementary approaches necessary for a fuller understanding of the charisma of Soekarno.

In the second essay, Lars Vikør charts the history of language policy planning aimed at integrating the population of new states like Indonesia and Malaysia. Focusing mainly on Indonesia, Vikør suggests that the social and the political implications be taken into account

more than has been done in the past. Otherwise, instead of integration, the planning of "public language" without regard for "popular language" could deepen the cleavage between the two even more.

In the early decades of this century, rural Priangan in West Java was an area of successful political organization. This is interesting because, in general, political activity originated and developed mainly in emerging towns and trading centres. In this excellent paper, Thommy Svensson discusses the structural conditions for this special case of rural mass politics. Agrarian relations and the agrarian economy as they are interpreted and subsequently "used" by the people are important in this analysis. It is particularly exciting to follow Svensson's attempt at merging individual behaviour and structural conditions.

Rural change remains the subject for two essays set in West Lombok and East Java. Both present material to refute Geertz's well-known theory of agricultural involution in the area. They painstakingly demonstrate how the basic form of the economy has been replaced by contrasting forms of land tenure and has not, as Geertz would have it, shown its durability through social metamorphosis into more "involved" relations. In neither case have traditional relations disappeared altogether, but rather they have acquired new functions subordinate to the new situation of conflict between landlords and the landless.

Magnus Lindgren suggests that an isolated view of kinship seen only in its own terms is one-dimensional and lacking in its ability to explain descent as an ideology. He argues that kinship studies would benefit by concentrating on the interrelationship between kinship and the social relations of production. He concludes that in the New Guinea Highlands, descent as an ideology legitimizes and hides unequal relations in the process of social and material reproduction. However, he is also aware that such a materialist view of primitive societies presents a major theoretical difficulty within the Marxist framework. Kinship as ideology is part of the superstructure but when considering its interconnections with the relations of production it becomes part of the infrastructure too. Such a theory of society cannot be accepted because it has difficulty accommodating social change. This should be stimulating enough to invite more research on this subject.

Sven Cederroth demonstrates how the Surenese nobility manipulate the marriage system to perpetuate their traditional, privileged position in the face of eroding changes. Moving away from the concentration on structural explanations, this and the next two essays turn to people actively using ideas and custom as resources in dealing with changing structural conditions. Wil Lundstrøm-Burghoorn points out that names and terms of address have much more ethnographical value than normally thought. We are told that in addressing a person what is important is what you want to emphasize and what is appropriate. It becomes clear that labels have different capacities and that we actively choose them accordingly.

In the last essay, Ingrid Rudie describes change in agricultural and ceremonial patterns of co-operation. Originally, the system of exchange of labour and goods between neighbours worked out such that everyone received approximately fair exchange for what they put in. However, due to external change and its local social implications, this system no longer functions as it did before. Rudie addresses the intriguing interrelationship between macro-level factors and dynamic local communities. Indigenous concepts are considered together with conditions in a particular historical setting to produce a highly readable essay.

Looking at the selection as a whole, we see clearly that the theme running through all the essays is that of social change. The question generally addressed is what the forces and the mechanisms of change are. Several approaches are presented. In some papers, explanations

are looked for in indigenous systems of ideas. In others, the emphasis is on the structural conditions that provide people with opportunities and limitations. However, the approaches are not mutually exclusive and there are attempts to marry the two in other papers. These analyses try combining a description of native concepts on their own terms and the analyst's own view of the structural conditions. Whilst such ambitious aims have not been completely realized and perfected in this volume, it is nonetheless inspiring to view the efforts made by our Scandinavian colleagues.

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