



East Kalimantan: The Decline of a Commercial Aristocracy.

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Lindsay's brief explanation as to why there are no standard forms of the two tuning systems of the gamelan (*slendro* and *pelog*) go straight to the heart of the matter. The reasons she gives for this lack of standardization are (i) historical, for Javanese tradition ruled that the ancient, sacred gamelan sets could not be copied exactly, and (ii) aesthetic, for expert Javanese musicians desire variations of tuning between gamelan sets, knowing that certain pieces sound best when played on instruments that produce certain intervallic structures, which are determined by their tuning.

This booklet is highly recommended, not only for general readers and tourists, but also for students and scholars of Indonesia. It will give its readers a listening framework within which to enjoy and make cultural sense of the gamelan music of Central Java.

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East Kalimantan: The Decline of a Commercial Aristocracy. By BURHAN MAGENDA. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1991. viii, 113 pp.

A substantial part of Indonesian historiography consists of regional studies dealing with the colonial period in which local elites figure prominently. Few studies focus on what happened to these elites after independence, and this is particularly true of areas outside Java. Thus, Burhan Magenda's book is a welcome contribution to a rather neglected subject. He offers a concise and well-written account of the decline of the once-powerful trading aristocracy of Kutai, and analyzes the interplay between processes of state penetration, economic change, and shifting ethnic alliances in East Kalimantan from the mid-nineteenth century until the present.

In the nineteenth century the unstable power of the Kutai rulers was based on their control of trade. Isolated from the inland population and threatened by pirates, the sultans relied on Buginese mercenaries and European adventurers, while successions often resulted in internal conflict. The gradual expansion of Dutch colonial rule was reflected in a series of treaties with the Kutai sultans that were intended to prevent British involvement in this area.

The year 1902 marked a decisive turning point in Kutai history. The discovery of oil brought the area in close contact with the colonial state and the world market. The Dutch obtained a monopoly on the exploitation of oil, in exchange for which the sultan and his family experienced a period of unprecedented luxury and leisure. While the sultan enjoyed himself with motorcars and speedboats, the middle-level aristocracy and recently immigrated Banjarese entered the lower ranks of the colonial administration. Meanwhile the small coastal village of Balikpapan became the center of the new oil industry and attracted a wave of mainly Javanese labor migrants.

It is regrettable that Magenda's information on the colonial period depends heavily on sources closely related to the Kutai aristocracy. If colonial archives in Holland or Indonesia had been consulted, he could have checked, for instance, their assertion that the Dutch paid the sultan initially a monthly salary of 25,000 guilders (p. 16), which I find very hard to believe.

The best part of Magenda's study is the post-war history of East Kalimantan based on interviews and local historiography. He provides short biographies of the main actors in an appendix. Without Dutch support, the sultan lost his privileged position; national political parties entered the scene, and the towns of Samarinda

and Balikpapan became centers of political activity. Initially the nationalist PNI succeeded in gaining support among the lower administrative strata and the Banjarese-educated elite of Samarinda. However, during the years of Guided Democracy a more radical group in Balikpapan, which was backed by the Javanese military commander, took over.

The New Order caused fundamental changes. The new Banjarese governor succeeded in a "de-PNI-zation" of regional politics while the timber boom in East Kalimantan supplied him with enough money to establish his own patronage network until the end of the 1970s. By then timber exports were almost totally monopolized by Jakarta-based conglomerates. As the process of unchecked deforestation set in, the influence of local politicians declined.

Despite Magenda's clear analysis of political developments after 1945, he seems to neglect the role of Islam within East Kalimantan politics. Although he mentions the rise of the United Islam Party (PPP) in the 1977 elections (p. 87), which was supported by discontented Banjarese, earlier developments during the 1950s are not evaluated. During the 1955 elections the Masyumi became the second party, while the Nahdatul Ulama was by far the biggest party in Kutai. This raises not only the question of the origin of these political parties, but also of the causes of their failure to gain their share in local power. Apart from this unanswered question, Magenda's study is an important step toward a better understanding of regional elite politics outside Java. It is a subject that deserves further comparative elaboration.

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Timor's Anschluss: Indonesian and Australian Policy in East Timor, 1974–1976. By SUE RABBITT ROFF. Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. xii, 129 pp.

The Portuguese military coup of April 1974 initiated a long period of governmental instability in the metropolis and triggered fierce political competition in some of Portugal's colonies. In remote and diminutive East Timor, the early winner among the nascent political movements was Fretilin (Front for the Liberation of East Timor). With Portuguese power and authority deflated, a Fretilin government declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on November 28, 1975. In reply, on December 7, Indonesian military "volunteers" invaded allegedly to assist anti-Fretilin forces, and some six months later East Timor was annexed as Indonesia's twenty-seventh province. Some observers estimate that perhaps one-quarter or one-third of East Timorese have perished as a result of the invasion and the vicious campaign waged from then until today against pro-independence guerrillas and their numerous sympathizers. The annexation still lacks United Nations' recognition.

Sue Rabbitt Roff recounts events from April 1974 to May 1976. She claims that while East Timor has received a degree of scholarly attention, her own special contribution to the topic is the use of Indonesian-language sources, most especially the Jakarta daily *Sinar Harapan*. She argues that *Sinar Harapan* is as good a source of official news and views as any because under General Suharto's decades-long dictatorship, all media have had to toe the government line most carefully on matters of importance. At the same time, she weaves into the narrative an exposé of the various Australian governments' complicity in Indonesia's actions in Timor.