

Four essays are particularly concerned with new order policies or institutions: Ichlasul Amal on decentralization, Michael Vatikiotis on representative organs (parties, DPR), Soetjipto Wirosardjono on GOLKAR, and Ulf Sundhaussen on the Armed Forces. Finally, Marsillam Simanjuntak raises tough questions for anyone holding a gradualist approach to change or who expects incremental changes in the direction of liberalizing authoritarian rule.

These essays, especially those in part 2, provide a succinct introduction to important issues in contemporary politics. But the volume's main contribution is in rekindling interest in the "disappearing decade" (1950s) by documenting how negatively it has been portrayed, both by scholars and New Order polemicists for different reasons, and how much it has been ignored by scholars since Feith's classic work, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Cornell, 1962).

Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, U.S.A.

DWIGHT Y. KING

RICH FORESTS, POOR PEOPLE: Resource Control and Resistance in Java. By Nancy Lee Peluso. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1992. xv, 321 pp. (Maps, photographs, tables.) US\$45.00, cloth, ISBN 0-520-07377-0; US\$15.00, paper.

IN THE REALM OF THE DIAMOND QUEEN: Marginality in an Out-of-the-way Place. By Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing. Princeton (New Jersey): Princeton University Press. 1993. xvi, 350 pp. (Maps, photographs.) US\$49.50, cloth, ISBN 0-691-03335-8; US\$15.95, paper, ISBN 0-691-00051-4.

THESE TWO BOOKS provide crucial perspectives on environment, the state, and marginality in Indonesia. Both are focused, passionately, on the struggle of rural communities for autonomy: in Java and in southeastern Borneo, more often referred to as South Kalimantan. Nancy Lee Peluso's *Rich Forests, Poor People* looks at the dynamics between evolving local communities and the Indonesian state and through this articulates a highly sophisticated framework for identifying points of social conflict in the management of forests. *Rich Forests, Poor People* almost presents a new paradigm for analyzing rural resource and environmental management for the developing world. Where Peluso considers the village level, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing's *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen* works back from the adaptations of a small number of individuals, principally a group that formed around a Kalawan woman of the Meratus Dayak, Uma Adang. In both cases, the focus is on local adaptations to and local efforts to reconstruct "marginality," "the unequal subject positions within common fields of power and knowledge" (Tsing, page xi).

Nancy Peluso's central argument is that peasant resistance to forest conservation emerged because of the criminalization of customary villager rights over adjacent lands. This theft by the state intensified in the

Dutch colonial period and has become central to the stances and functions of the Indonesian government. Peluso carefully describes how German "scientific" forestry methods in the mid-nineteenth century set in place a system that pushed entire villages outside of the law. She then identifies a framework for inventorying access controls and repertoires of resistance. She relates these conflicts to the divergent social forces that cause deforestation (Peluso, page 5) and reviews the often destructive legacies from the imposition of European forestry on to the tropics. Peluso links the early phases of colonialism, which in Java were exceptionally brutal, to more contemporary instruments of state coercion. Peasant resistance, which often results in forest destruction, is viewed as largely the result of a dialectic between interests of the state and those for survival of local peasant communities. This is a relatively symmetrical framework though Peluso relates it well to the nagging contradictions in the slightly friendlier contemporary Indonesian state.

Tsing's stories of the Diamond Queen, a series of contemporary "myths" for cultural adaptation and survival, are more grounded in cultural theory than historical materialism. As with Peluso, she explores a community on "the periphery of state power" (Tsing, page 5). Tsing was particularly concerned with the interrelationships of the power of the state, regional and ethnic identities, and gender. Whereas *Rich Forest, Poor People* very carefully charts the engines of conflict, Tsing looks at how people survive in spite of multiple marginalizations and the malevolent state. The analytical frameworks of both books explain some aspects of environmental problems as indigenous and less-established peasant groups are increasingly brought into confrontations with the globalizing forces of economic expansion. Both books provide exceptional insights into the many sides of contemporary "state terrorism" (Tsing, page 85) especially as it is played out in contests over resources in deteriorating environments.

Rich Forests, Poor People is a superb historical investigation that brings to light some poorly understood periods such as the forest destruction under the Japanese Occupation. The subtext on the linkages between colonialism, poverty, population growth, and deforestation is particularly powerful. The conclusion, "Towards Integrated Social Forestry," could well constitute the beginning of an important textbook in environmental management. And Peluso's studied activism is exemplary especially when she concludes that "it is time for...the forestry agencies on Java to commit themselves not to a more aggressive style of repression, but to an aggressive style of development...of the forest poor. It just might keep those trees in the ground, growing."

The power of Tsing's stories of the Diamond Queen are in their irony and humour. Given the threats to local cultures and their environments in Borneo, these seemingly absurd and playful explanations and rationalizations that Tsing calls "creative transgressions" (Tsing, page 209), for survival. Cultish local responses begin to illuminate the absurdity of the rationalizations of the state and its contentious powers over land,

resources, and people. In this context, the discussion of "female subjectivity" (Tsing, page 1986) extends well beyond the more typical equation of gender disparities to those of the more subtle cultural contests over interpretations and values.

What happens in the vast rural peripheries of Indonesia will have a tremendous impact on the shape of Pacific Rim economic and political integration in the coming decades. These two books are essential reading for understanding the ongoing social transformations, the persistent political contradictions, and the ongoing conflicts with the centralized Indonesian state. These are also the best two books, currently, for constructing new strategies to counter destruction of rainforest in the Pacific Rim.

*The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, Canada*

GORDON BRENT INGRAM

COLONIAL PRODUCTION IN PROVINCIAL JAVA: The Sugar Industry in Pekalongan-Tegal, 1800-1942. By G. R. Knight. Amsterdam (*The Netherlands*): VU Boekhandel/Uitgeverij. 1993. vii, 67 pp. DFL20.00, paper. ISBN 90-5383-260-2.

FOR WELL OVER A DECADE, Roger Knight has been pumping out articles and conference papers addressing a great variety of topics associated with his consuming interest in the economic and social history of the Pekalongan-Tegal region of north-central Java, particularly as it relates to the sugar industry, that famous and much-studied arm of Dutch colonial enterprise. The appearance of this little pamphlet, which reads like a schema for a larger definitive work, indicates that Knight is moving to integrate the fruits of his diverse researches and reflections into a larger understanding of the region's society and economy, and its relationships with larger actors, over the century and a half after 1800.

One may approach the analysis of the history of the Java sugar industry from a number of perspectives. Knight's method is essentially institutional; he seeks to explain the industry's local development by evaluating the complicatedly intertwined reasons why things turned out the way they did. He sketches three major phases in the industry's development: the movement from inauspicious beginnings in the Pekalongan-Tegal region in the early nineteenth century to rapid growth under the aegis of the state-sponsored system of forced cultivation introduced by Van den Bosch in 1830; a period of consolidation and rapid growth in the late nineteenth century in both the area engrossed for cane cultivation and in sugar yields, within the context of crisis engendered by troublesome commodity markets for sugar that were both shrinking in availability and falling in price; and a pacy era of boom, bust, and partial recovery in the 1920s and 1930s. In tracing these developments, Knight investigates the changing face of factory ownership and management, the emergence of new