

ULASAN BUKU / BOOK REVIEWS

Politics In Sarawak 1970-1976, The Iban Perspective

by Peter Searle

Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press 1983

243 pp. Bibliography, Appendices, Maps, Plates, Index.

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Few books have been written on Sarawak Politics.¹ Up until now, there were none that focused on the participation and integration of the rural Iban community into the post-1963 political system and its processes. Peter Searle's book which discusses politics at the Iban longhouse and district levels and then links them to changes at the centre is an important new contribution and is particularly welcomed.

Moreover, it marks an important change in "Iban studies". It focuses on contemporary politics, not on the history of the Iban community under the white Rajahs nor on Iban material culture, folklore, kinship and village structure, agricultural practices or the "modernization" of these.²

Research for the book was conducted over a period of six years, including field work from October 1971 to September 1972. The book is divided into two parts; Part One comprises five chapters while Part Two, six. The first four chapters in Part One are introductory in nature and set the stage for Chapter Five, "The Iban Electorate: Longhouse Policies at the Grassroots — Political Division and Political Unity" which is central to the whole book. (It is almost seventy pages long in contrast to the other chapters which average about twenty odd pages each).

¹The major books on modern Sarawak (and Sabah) politics are still M. Leigh, *The Rising Moon: Political Change in Sarawak*, Sydney: 1974; M. Roff-Clark, *The Politics of Belonging: Political Change in Sabah and Sarawak*, Kuala Lumpur: 1974; and R.S. Milne and K.J. Ratnam, *Malaysia New States in a New Nation: Political Change of Sarawak and Sabah in Malaysia*, London: 1974. Two other more specific in scope are J. Ongkili's, *The Borneo Response to Malaysia 1961-63*, Singapore: 1967 and *Modernization in East Malaysia 1960 to 1970*, Kuala Lumpur: 1972.

²See for instance R.M. Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule 1841-1941*, Ithaca, N.Y.: 1970; S. Runciman, *The White Rajah: A History of Sarawak from 1841-1946*, Cambridge: 1960; D. Freeman, *Report on the Iban*, London: 1970; and J.D. Freeman, *Iban Agriculture: A Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak*, London: 1955.

In this chapter, the author argues that the 1970 to 1974 years were an important transitional period for longhouse Ibans in that divisive local factors, which had loomed large in longhouse political experiences and attitudes, and which were responsible for the political division of the longhouse between SNAP, Pesaka and SUPP were increasingly overridden by common socio-economic and political experiences and aspirations. The experiences and aspirations prompted the movement of the longhouse electorate toward political unity in order to solve the common problems and attain common goals" (p. 69).

Searle argues his case by studying the political attitudes and the socio-economic position of a total of 21 longhouses in three different parts of Sarawak in the 1971-72 period: five longhouses in Saribas and its district in the Second Division, ten longhouses in Kapit District in the Third Division and six others in Kalaka District bordering on both the Second and Third Divisions.

The political attitudes and the socio-economic position of the longhouse Ibans were determined through a questionnaire and its findings supplemented by interviews with longhouse leaders, local officials and politicians.

The choice of these districts is important for in the sixties the Saribas was the stronghold of SNAP while in Kapit, Pesaka was virtually unchallenged. In Kalaka, there was much active competition among not only SNAP and Pesaka but also SUPP. Furthermore these districts were also at varying stages of socio-economic development and political penetration by modern government then. Indeed, most of the longhouses in Saribas may be considered as *pasar* longhouses while a majority of Kapit longhouses may be considered as *ulu* ones. Kalaka has longhouses of both types. For Searle the *pasar* longhouses, more accessible to market towns and administrative/political centres, are generally more dependent on cash crops and hence susceptible to market forces as well as having greater contact with modern government.

Predictably, Searle discovers that there was increasing support for SNAP in all the longhouses that he studied in the early 1970s, the Saribas (a special case which we shall not discuss here) excepted. As mentioned earlier, his thesis is that the Ibans in general, regardless of geographic location, began to undergo common experiences — for instance, falling commodity prices during 1970 to 1972 and relative neglect by the government.

These common experiences, in turn, were the result of socio-economic changes like "the rapid spread of a cash economy (pepper

growing), of education and improved communications" (p. 69) on the one hand and political developments like increased contact with 'Government', government agencies and the effects of government policies on the other (p. 70).

Those experiences in turn, generated common aspirations and "rising expectations". Hence differences noticeable in the sixties, between Ibans were gradually eroded and replaced by increasingly common experiences and aspirations. Thus whereas parochial concerns like "the influence of local personalities, issues and antagonisms both within particular longhouses and immediate environs or districts" (p. 69) resulted in support for different political parties in the sixties, common experiences in the late sixties and early seventies resulted in a growing awareness of "Iban communalism" and "political solidarity" expressed in terms of support for SNAP.

Searle says that SNAP thus succeeded because it "was able to identify with and reflect both the socio-economic needs and communal aspirations of the longhouse electorate" (p. 119).

This ability to reflect the changing socio-economic environment came about because of (i) an extensive grass roots organization which reached across the state but also brought leaders and rural Ibans together; (ii) recruitment of young, well-educated and more directly political groups of Iban elite; and (iii) its status as an opposition party which became a rallying-point for Ibans as "the strong ground-swell of 'protest' developed" (p. 20).

On the other hand, SNAP's ability to identify with Iban communalism was due to (i) its acceptance as the party of Iban nationalism especially after it was ejected from office in 1966; (ii) its ability to maintain not only a "separate and identifiable Iban political entity but also one which was prepared to challenge the increased Malay orientation and Islamic symbolism associated with Rahman Yakub's Coalition Government"; and (iii) its success in attracting the younger generation of educated Iban professionals which showed its ability "to bridge the gap between the longhouse and Kuching and at the same time to be 'modern' and Iban" (p. 121). These, then, are the conclusions drawn from Part I.

The six chapters in Part two trace developments at the macro state level some of which have been discussed in order studies.

Chapter Six discusses the formation of the Barisan National government in Sarawak, the emergence of Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) as the main party and the consolidation of power by Rahman Yakub, the Chief Minister, through control of the bureau-

theocracy, creation of extra-party political organizations and distribution of political goods.

Chapters Seven elaborates upon that the author terms "the politics of collaboration" of erstwhile opposition parties, SUPP and Pesaka, which led to their eventual demise.

The two chapters set the stage for a review of SNAP as the sole opposition party between 1970 to 1974 in Chapter Eight. One of the "fundamental questions" SNAP persistently pursued was the definition of the concept of bumiputra in Sarawak, a state where the majority indigenous population was Iban. In this regard they called for more socio-economic opportunities for Ibans as well as a reflection of "Iban-ness" in the formulation of the state's identity (p. 164). At this point Searle clarified how on the one hand the PBB leadership viewed the 1957 constitution as the basic document on these matters — hence its Malay-Muslim orientation — whereas SNAP viewed the London Agreement as the basic document determining cultural and political affairs.

The study climaxes in Chapter Nine wherein the author discusses SNAP's spectacular victory in the 1974 General Elections. It emerged as the largest party in the state capturing 18 of 48 seats in The Council Negeri and polled 43 per cent of the popular votes cast.

Searle's account ends with a discussion of negotiations between SNAP and the Barisan Nasional government via Kuala Lumpur which led, ultimately, to SNAP's incorporation into the ruling coalition in 1976. Thus began SNAP's own "accomodation with the Barisan Nasional" as Pesaka and SUPP had done, and were criticised by SNAP itself for doing so, some years earlier.

Its important contribution notwithstanding, a major flaw in Searle's study is an assumption, central to his thesis, that "communal solidarity" at the longhouse level leads on the "Iban communalism" and given the right conditions, Iban "political solidarity" expressed in terms of support for an Iban political party.

Hence the questions the lack of political solidarity among the Ibans in the various districts despite the existence of communal solidarity in the 1960s. For Searle, apparently, Iban support for different multi-racial parties in that period was an aberration. It is explained in terms of socio-economic and political circumstances particular to the division, the district or the longhouse. Once rapid socio-economic changes occur however, there is "a desire to retain and reinforce their (Iban) communal identity" But what is this? Iban (or

Chinese or Malay) identity? Where are its boundaries? How has it come about? The saliency of ethnicity in politics cannot be deduced directly from the existence of communal solidarity at the longhouse level. The latter is based on concrete material as well as ideological needs confronting a small "face-to-face" group, an acceptable extension of the solidarity existing within a family and among close kins. But such communal solidarity for political purposes among "assumed kins" and members of "imagined communities"³ (like those possessing a common language, religion or customs, and ultimately those belonging to the same nation-state), has to be explained if it is so claimed. Such "solidarity" is not a "given".

This point is pertinent especially since rapid socio-economic changes, more than not, lead to social differentiation and unequal growth among members of the same ethnic group as well. Indeed, Searle's contention that these changes led on to "common experiences and aspirations" is not substantiated by empirical evidence.

By contrast, one could have reconstructed a different argument based on the very findings that Searle unearths. But one would have started from the premise that these exists conflicting interests within society, even among those from the same ethnic group. Hence it is not surprising that the Ibans were not attracted to the same party in the sixties. Starting from this perspective one would then have asked why Iban support for SNAP was forthcoming in the early seventies.

Here one would have to focus on both, (i) socio-economic neglect of the Ibans, and their alienation from a state that was increasingly Malay-Muslim; and (ii) the institutionalization of politics along ethnic lines as multi-ethnic parties turned mono-ethnic within the context of coalition politics and (iii) the concomitant sponsorship of rural and alienated Iban interests by SNAP leaders then in opposition. And as these interests were highlighted, these leaders' legitimacy was enhanced and contributed towards the formation of an ethnic community which ultimately closed ranks politically behind SNAP.

The counter-argument, like Searle's own, is based on certain premises as well. But this is not the place to debate the point. And despite my criticism of Searle on this matter, nevertheless, his book remains an important contribution that will be referred to by later researchers.

³The term "imagined communities" is from B.R.O.G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: 1983

One hopes that Searle or some other will take up the story of the longhouses Ibans into the eighties soon. Since 1976, where Searle leaves us, much has happened. Rapid economic growth has continued but brought about greater inequalities; ethnic politics has intensified and the group of well-educated Ibans that Searle talks about broke away from SNAP in 1983 to form their own party, the Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak. What does this say about SNAP's own "politics of collaboration" from 1976 to 1983. And there is also a new Chief Minister at the helm. More writing on Sarawak politics is clearly needed.

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Masyarakat Malaysia: Tinjauan Dan Perbincangan Terhadap Beberapa Isu dan Topik Semasa

Suntingan Zuraina Majid.

Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia (untuk Pusat Pengajian Sains Kemasyarakatan), 1982

Muka Surat: 217

Harga tidak disebut

Buku ini mengandungi rampaian esei; mengandungi empatbelas kesemuanya. Telah ditulis oleh tigabelas ahli akademik daripada pelbagai bidang, justru itu kerencaman isu yang diteliti memang dijangkakan. Bukan saja isu-isu yang telah disentuh meliputi bidang minat sains sosial bahkan juga lapangan perundangan dan kesenian. Luasnya liputan buku ini menjadikannya agak istimewa dikalangan *genre* berbentuk ini khususnya yang berbahasa Malaysia. Kelebihan ini semestinya mencerminkan kemampuan penyunting, Zuraina Majid, yang telah berjaya menemu dan mengumpulkan ahli-ahli akademik yang agak pakar dalam bidang masing-masing lansung menghimpunkan sumbangan mereka. Dari segi ini, si penyunting patut diberikan tahniah.

Ada beberapa esei yang boleh dianggap menarik, seperti tulisan Jomo, Lowe dan Saravanamuttu. Masing-masing telah menyampaikan analisis mengenai tajuk pilihan mereka bukan sahaja dengan penuh kewibawaan malahan dengan agak terperinci lagi luas cakupannya. Misalnya, Jomo telah memperkatakan tentang pelaksanaan perancangan pembangunan di Malaysia serta kedudukan pembangunan di Malaysia dalam konteks struktural tempatan serentak dunia keseluruhannya. Esei-esei Lowe pula menarik kerana isu-isu yang beliau perkatkan, yakni mengenai sistem kesultanan kita dan tentang kebebasan bersuara melalui akhbar, merupakan tajuk-tajuk yang jarang diperkatakan namun penting lagi besar

implikasinya dalam kehidupan di Malaysia. Esei tunggal daripada Savaranamuttu pula menggariskan rupabentuk dan perkembangan dasar luar Malaysia semenjak Merdeka hinggalah ke zaman "pandang timur" sekarang. Jelas sekali kepekaannya tentang hubungan antara dasar luar Malaysia dengan golongan berkepentingan dalam Malaysia, justru itu perspektif analisisnya merupakan suatu penerokaan dalam konteks pengajian hubungan antarabangsa di kalangan sarjana bidang ini di tanahair kita.

Esei-esei lain, seperti tulisan Shukur Kassim mengenai pembangunan pertanian di Rancangan Perairan Muda, Kedah, dan sumbangan Zuraina Majid sendiri mengenai pertanian di Sarawak pun menarik juga. Kedua-dua tulisan ini menyogokkan kita dengan data-data terperinci lagi khusus mengenai dua wilayah yang telah dipilih oleh mereka untuk dikaji. Lagipun inilah saja sumbangan mengenai aspek pertanian di Malaysia yang telah disentuh dalam buku ini.

Tulisan Wan Halim mengenai hubungan ras di Malaysia tidak menawarkan gagasan ide yang baru mengenai isu yang telah banyak diperkatakan oleh sarjana tempatan daripada pelbagai perspektif pula. Jelas sekali kelapukan perspektif beliau lagi lemah daya kritiknya. Sumbangan Cheah Boon Kheng mengenai suatu tajuk yang penting begitu ringkas: sekadar mampu menaikkan nafsu ilmiah pembaca dan selepas itu nafsu itu tersadai dengan kedahagaan ingin tahu. Tulisan-tulisan Mansoor Marican, Ahmad Ibrahim, Ismail Omar dan H.G. Mannur mengulangi apa yang selama ini sudah menjadi pengetahuan umum dan begitu sederhana sekali analisis mereka, malah esei-esei ini lebih bercorak pemerian. Zakaria Ali yang menulis mengenai perkembangan seni di Malaysia telah mencuba beria-ia memasukkan sebanyak mungkin fakta mengenai budaya kebudayaan Malaysia sehingga pembaca berasa seolah-olah dipaksa dan didera supaya segera tahu segala semuanya itu mengenai apa yang disogokkannya. Tulisan Khaw Guat Soon, yang dalam banyak aspek menyentuh isu-isu yang telah diperkatakan oleh Saravanamuttu, didapati terlalu sederhana apabila diletakkan di samping tulisan Saravanamuttu, yang jauh lebih baik kualiti analisisnya.

Secara keseluruhan buku ini lebih menumpukan perhatian kepada keadaan di Semenanjung Malaysia, maka lebih tepat kalau dijudulkan sebagai MASYARAKAT SEMENANJUNG MALAYSIA. Di samping itu ia terlalu memberatkan dua aspek, yakni politik dan ekonomi, sehingga tiada disentuh langsung tentang isu berkaitan dengan pendidikan, hal ehwal kumpulan minoriti, seperti Orang Asli dan isu sosial seperti kedudukan wanita juga lain-lain lagi. Walaupun demikian buku yang berbentuk begini memang selalunya terbatas liputannya. Namun dalam keterbatasan ini, buku suntingan Zuraina Majid ini, seperti yang dinyatakan di bahagian awal tadi, telah berjaya mengumpulkan isu-isu penting yang harus kita beri perhatian.

Kelemahan besar buku ini dari segi bahasa, yakni tatabahasanya, penggunaan istilah dan ayat-ayatnya yang janggal kerana terdapat banyak sekali kesalahan dari segi ini. Ini mencerminkan kemampuan dan penguasaan bahasa Malaysia penyuntingnya sendiri yang amat sederhana dan kadang-kadang terlalu dhaif. Kita menyaki bahawa bentuk asal kesemua ini adalah dalam bahasa Inggeris yang telah diterjemahkan kerana terdapat banyak ayat yang berstrukturkan bahasa Inggeris tetapi ditulis dalam bahasa Malaysia. Misalnya, dalam Pendahuluan buku ini yang ditulis oleh penyunting terdapat ayat seperti "... Dengan sesungguhnya, kami harap pembaca-pembaca akan menerima tinjauan yang luas sambil mendalam, dalam beberapa aspek yang terpilih masyarakat dan negara..." (hal.vii). Pencemaran bahasa ini telah mencemarkan kejayaan buku ini. Dirasakan bahawa kelemahan ini boleh diatasi jika manuskripnya telah dibaca oleh penyunting profesional yang baik penguasaan bahasa Malay-nya.

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The Sexual Politics Of Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Oleh Joel Schwartz.

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Harga tidak disebut

Minat dalam isu-isu wanita dan kewanitaan kini mengambil tempat keutamaan dalam disiplin falsafah politik dan teologi di institusi-institusi akademik Barat. Kajian-kajian falsafah sosial terkenal seperti J.S Mill, diselidiki semula bagi memperkenalkan pandangannya terhadap kewanita-an dalam buku *Essay in Sex Equality* (Penerbit Alice S. Rossi, 1970) dan penulisan Engels dan Marx kini digunakan sebagai sumber-sumber perujuk teori-teori jantina (bermaksud "gender"), (umpamanya, *Feminist Theory: A Critique of Ideology*, Penerbit N.V. Keohane, M.Z. Rosaldo, B. Gelphi). Di antara teks-teks ahli falsafah, M. Foucault yang dianggap penting dalam konteks sosial moden ialah kajiannya, berjudul *History of Sexuality* (1980) yang merupakan suatu sumbangan radikal di kalangan disiplin falsafah politik. Mungkin, sebahagian dari minat ini berhubung dengan isu-isu penindasan wanita di konteks masyarakat-masyarakat barat di mana ideologi demokrasi, persamaan dan kesamarataan masih lagi membayangkan sistem-sistem diskriminasi asas, mengikut jantina.

Buku ini oleh Schwartz ialah suatu pandangan tambahan terhadap isu-isu kewanitaan. Schwartz menilai penulisan-penulisan Rousseau yang sekunder (selain dari *On the Social Contract and Confessions*), seperti *Sur*

Les Femmes, Emille et Sophie, Dialogues, Discoune (pertama dan kedua) yang pada pandangannya mencerminkan aliran-aliran pemikiran Rousseau yang paling asas dan kreatif. Analisisnya menunjukkan ketidaktentuan (ambivalence) dalam pandangan-pandangannya terhadap kuasa (power) di antara wanita dan lelaki. Dalam *Emile et Sophie* umpamanya; Rousseau menunjukkan bahawa kaum wanita dan kaum lelaki sering berkerjasama bertolak-ansur dalam isu kewibawaan 'public' (luar dari domestik) tetapi berhubungannya ini sentiasa mencadangkan sifat pertandingan seorang lelaki kerana sifat biologinya yang dapat membebaskan dirinya dari tanggungjawab dari beban-beban keluarga. Kesan dari kebebasan ini ialah kecenderungan merebut kuasa dan menindas, suatu sifat asas juga dalam peribadi manusia. Justeru, kuasa politik sentiasa dalam tangan lelaki tetapi ini ialah suatu keadaan biasa, kerana sifat-sifat kemanusiaan tidak dianggap penting dalam politik. kes-kes dari Rome dan Sparta menunjukkan bahawa kaum wanita, apabila diberi peluang-peluang yang sama dengan kaum lelaki untuk menguji kuasa mereka, memperoleh sifat-sifat dominasi yang sama, juga dengan cara-cara yang tersembunyi (coverted) dan tidak tentu dapat menguasai proses-proses politik dan sejarah.

Penulisan-penulisan Rousseau yang lain seperti *Sur Les Femmes* pula membayangkan sifat-sifat dominasi seksual manusia sebagai suatu kecenderungan buruk manusia, kerana kaum lelaki menggunakan kebebasan mereka (dari biologi dan reproduktif) untuk menindas wanita dengan suatu cara yang kejam dan tidak adil. Justeru, Rousseau mencadangkan bahawa seks dan politik saling bertanding dan kebebasan manusia akan tercapai apabila manusia tidak menggunakan seks sebagai suatu cara mencapai kewibawaan dan kuasa.

Rumusan ide-ide Rousseau ini mengikut Schwartz ialah,
'Since sexuality provides a natural basis for this interaction and mutual domination, if males would be better off without politics, they would also be better off without sexuality' (7)

Ulasan-ulasan Schwartz ini sebagai suatu teks akademik adalah penting dalam konteks aliran-aliran fikiran baru, di disiplin-disiplin Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, bukan sahaja apabila isu-isu politiks dan seks dikaji di negeri-negeri Barat tetapi juga di negeri-negeri Timur yang sedang membangun. Umpamanya soal-soal pertandingan, kuasa, dominasi dalam konteks pembangunan dan gerakan-gerakan agama di negeri-negeri Timur dengan tidak sengajanya sempit kepada isu-isu jantina khususnya soal-soal kedudukan dan taraf wanita dalam konteks kewibawaan pemimpin-pemimpin politik (termasuk pemimpin-pemimpin politik wanita). Mungkin selain dari kuasa fizikal (brute force), jantina ialah strategi kedua yang paling mudah sekali digunakan dalam perebutan kuasa. Ide-ide Rousseau yang dibincangkan dalam buku ini membayangkan keadaan 'Sains Sejarah' di mana peraturan-peraturan sosial yang sama sering digunakan oleh

manusia Barat dan Timur untuk menindas kaum-kaum dan kelompok-kelompok tertentu.

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Wazir Jahan Karim

Warisan Perubatan Melayu

Diselenggarakan oleh A. Samad Ahmad.
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Tentu ramai yang tertanya-tanya, khususnya dalam suasana keghairanan masyarakat terdapat perubatan moden, kenapa buku seperti ini diterbitkan. Penyelenggaranya telah mengemukakan beberapa alasan: (1) memberikan gambaran tentang cara pengubatan yang diamalkan oleh nenek moyang orang Melayu pada zaman dahulu yang sehingga hari ini masih diamalkan bukan sahaja di kampung-kampung tetapi juga di bandar-bandar; (2) usia kitab itu yang mendorong beliau menyusun dan menerbitkan buku seperti ini. Kitab ini berumur lebih kurang 100 tahun. Kitab ini asalnya disalin oleh Muhamad Salleh ibni Ahmad Penambang dan selesai disalin pada tahun hijrah 1288; (3) satu usaha perintis menuju ke arah pengumpulan secara bertulis berbagai jenis ubat-ubatan tradisional Melayu yang dipercayai masih banyak terpendam dalam pengetahuan pada dukun, bomoh dan pawang.

Sungguhpun buku ini merupakan satu usaha perintis, sumbangannya terhadap penambahan pengetahuan tentang perubatan Melayu amatlah besar. Bahkan buku ini besar ertinya kepada orang Melayu. Sungguhpun buku ini tidak tebal dan mengandungi dua puluh bab yang pendek-pendek banyak perkara tentang perubatan dibicarakan misalnya, tentang ilmu perubatan serta asal usul penyakit, jenis-jenis penyakit, serba sedikit mengenai penyakit wanita, penyakit kanak-kanak serta cara-cara pengubatnya.

Yang menarik dalam buku inilah ialah gambaran yang pembaca peroleh tentang perubatan Melayu. Selama ini kita disogokkan dengan hujah-hujah bahawa perubatan Melayu tidak berpijak di bumi. Unsur-unsur kuasa ghaib ditekankan. Manakala unsur-unsur yang berpijak di bumi tidak ditonjolkan. Tentang tiori perubatan, misalnya halaman 12 dan 13 diceritakan bahawa tubuh manusia ini mengandungi empat anasir iaitu tanah, air, api, dan angin. Tiap-tiap anasir ini mempunyai ciri-ciri tertentu. Anasir-anasir inilah yang menyebabkan sakit demam. Sesiapa yang hendak mengubati "hendaklah mengetahui dan memahami demamnya pada segala tubuh manusia itu" (hal. 13).

Juga "pohon penyakit pada segala tubuh manusia" iaitu angin, darah, balgam dan pitam" yang menyampaikan pergi mari sakit demam pada segala tubuh" (hal. 13). Faktor masa dan bulan juga berperanan menentukan jenis penyakit. Misalnya dari bulan satu hingga bulan empat punca penyakit ialah angin, dari bulan lima hingga bulan lapan, punca penyakit ialah darah dan dari bulan sembilan hingga bulan duabelas punca penyakit ialah balgam.

Ubat-ubatan yang digunakan pula berbagai. Ada yang dibuat daripada ramuan akar-akar kayu, daun-daun (tumbuh-tumbuhan), haiwan-haiwan kecil khususnya bahagian-bahagian tertentu. Tetapi "segala ubat yang terlebih utama daripada sekalian ubat, tiada lagi ada penyakit sertanya, bahawa jangan makan melainkan ketika lapar, barangkali makan jangan bahana penuh. Dan jangan himpulkan makanan yang sama perangnya... Dan jangan makan makanan yang berlendir kurang masaknya..." hal. 10)

Sejauh mana mujarabnya ubat-ubatan yang disenaraikan dalam kitab itu tidak dapat dipastikan melainkan dengan membuat kajian yang lebih mendalam. Kerana kajian yang mendalam belum lagi dilakukan maka adalah tidak wajar bagi kita untuk membuat sebarang penilaian. Sungguhpun begitu bagi masyarakat yang mengamalkannya sudah semestinyalah mereka mengiktiraf kemujaraban ubat-ubatan itu.

Satu masalah yang besar tentang ubat-ubatan itu ialah sukatan. Cara sukatan yang digunakan adalah berbeza dengan sukatan yang ada sekarang. Adalah sulit untuk menentukan dengan tepat "dose" bagi seseorang pesakit. Misalnya bagi sukatan berat diguna sekeder, sekupang, sememas; bagi ukuran panjang pula seruas jari, sejengkal telunjuk (ini lebih mudah ditentukan berbanding dengan sukatan berat tadi).

Sungguhpun terdapat kelemahan seperti itu tidaklah dapat dinafikan sumbangan buku ini kepada khazanah pengetahuan perubatan orang Melayu. Di samping itu dengan cara menurunkan secara bertulis pengetahuan perubatan Melayu tidak terkubur bersama pemiliknya.

Secara keseluruhannya buku ini amat berguna khususnya bagi mereka yang ingin mengetahui lebih lanjut tentang perubatan yang diamalkan oleh orang Melayu. Bagi budayawan buku ini merupakan salah satu sumber untuk melihat sejarah dan perkembangan perubatan Melayu.

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Hashim Awang A.R.

ah, **Rural Malay Women Tradition and Transition**

aday Heather Strange.

en-ew York : Praeger Publishers, Praeger Special Studies, 1981

ncap. 259. Glossary. Bibliography, Index

tkit This study reflects a period of research over fourteen years, from the
id sixties to the late seventies, conducted in various phases when the
thor was a faculty member and exchange lecturer from Rutgers. General-
ada though the study is focussed on the village of Rusila in Terengganu, it at-
vanpts to provide more general material on Malay kinship and family pat-
angrns throughout the Peninsula, with an emphasis on the changing roles and
ya,ssition of Malay women accelerated by modern educational processes and
ganider policies of social and economic development.

10) In the tradition of 'village-type' studies, focussing mainly on the ac-
tivities of the Malay peasantry in a highly volatile East Coast community in
tab Peninsula Malaysia, this study attempts to provide more substantive infor-
bihtation and data on gender relationships and intersexual behaviour, than
akaat provided in earlier anthropological studies of a similar nature, for
ngample, J. Djamour's study of *Malay Kinships and Marriage* and the subse-
dahnt studies by Swift and Wilder on the Malay family and kinship order.
n overview of the Malaysian social and political milieu in Chapter One
ovides useful introductory material for the new reader of Malaysian
nography and the subsequent chapters on Education, Marital Status and
adaonomic Occupations widens the readers' opportunity to gain insights into
pagi Malaysian development policies and processes while scanning their effects
angthe grassroots, through the traditional and modern roles of the women
biht Rusila. Yet, despite the extensive secondary research undertaken and
eticulous efforts in providing contemporary social statistics to illustrate
kanreveling trends in intersexual relationships within the community, the
angudy does not attempt to provide any meaningful theoretical analysis of a
ulisociological or anthropological kind, beyond rustic descriptions and probes
to Malay village life. Invariably, the conceptual perspectives of other
riters like Djamour, Swift and Wilder remain unchallenged and in fact,
her than updating the socio-economic conditions of the Malay rural com-
ekaunities, this study provides no further theoretical insights beyond those
bleh already provided by these earlier writers. This is all the more disappointing
unr it is in the village of Rusila today that trends of structural transforma-
ons in ideology and ritual appear to challenge the earlier view of bilateral-
in adat as a force in balancing status differences between Malay men and
A.r women. The contemporary Rusila scene, with the mass veiling of women,
e trend towards privatisation in Islamic education; the mobilisation of
omen as political functionaries and the reordering of female domesticity
ough Islamic (or Arab) Muslim notions of male-female role behaviour
ough the efforts of the dominant Malay opposition party, PAS (*Parti*
am SeMalaya) and the Muslim Youth Organisation of ABIM (Angkatan

Belia Islam Malaysia), is both dramatic and traumatic, particularly when it is conceived against Malay *adat* or earlier arbitrary and eclectic conceptions of Islam in Malay rural villages. Yet, reading Stranges' ethnography on Rusila, its remote references to these wider, political and religious movements do not so much as provide clues to the growing stirrings of political discontent and scepticism, expressed (as in many other societies facing similar trends of transformations) through the subjugation of women. Here, the Rousseauian notion of male domination through sexuality, encouraged by conceptions of female modesty and reinforced by notions of biological determinism of role differentiation through gender could have been usefully explored. The Foucault view of power constantly expressed through sexuality at all levels of human behaviour is a similar conceptual theme that could have been developed. The more general view of misogyny reinforced through parochial and political reinterpretations of Qur'anic verses is a covert ideology of local organisations and associations like PAS and PERKIM, yet, this is not in any way expressed or indicated in the study, although the period of research terminated in 1978 when the controversial nature of Terengganu politics had already altered the attention of local and foreign social scientists. Possibly, this was not the author's task or intention, but it seems to be all the more a pity, if the aim of the book was only to provide a comprehensive ethnography of Malay women. The author's keynote of 'tradition and transition' in fact has been undertaken without a construction or investigation of wider historical and political processes which enable such observable definitions as 'transitional change' to be made. Rusila is an extremely exciting area sociologically for the study of political schisms, religious factions, personality cults, local sainthoods, all of which have been operationalised through women in covert or demonstrative forms. The more the pity that the researcher's ethnography of Malay women has helped us recognise the trees rather than the forest.

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Response To David Lim's Review Of "Recession And The Malaysian Economy."

I was disappointed to read David Lim's superficial review of my book. Criticism and disagreement on substantive points are certainly welcome, but sweeping statements without substantiation are unworthy of a reviewer.

Firstly, Lim accuses me of "omission" for not arguing a proper case

by the global recession in structural. I admit that the scope of this small book did not enable the hundreds of pages or even volumes which a major and controversial subject like this requires. Neither is there a satisfactory book on the market that I know of which covers this field. However I did take pains to trace the roots of the world's structural economic problems in the first chapter, to several major factors: the tendency of developed economies for under-consumption and over-production; the present limits of Keynesian counter-cyclical fiscal policies due to inflationary pressures; inflation itself caused by decades of high government deficit financing, the build-up of consumer credit, the wage-price spiral and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods monetary system; growing protectionism and trade conflicts in the developed countries; and the threat to the world financial system posed by the US\$700 billion Third World debts.

In the specific case of Malaysia, the book also analysed the following serious constraints to growth: the \$7 billion annual current account deficit; the balance-of-payments; the need to reduce the public-sector deficit running at \$15 billion in 1982-83; the rapid increase in external debts from \$5 billion in 1980 to \$12 billion in 1982 (and, recently revealed, \$31 billion at end-1983); the imminent depletion within 10 to 20 years of Malaysia's oil and timber resources; and uncertain demand for our export commodities due to the world situation.

Lim is at liberty to disagree that these are structural obstacles to Malaysia's growth prospects. But he should state his reasons why, instead of merely being displeased by my having referred to *Time* and *Newsweek*. Indeed I quoted data on current Third World debts from these magazines and I fail to see why I shouldn't, or why I should only quote from Harvard Business Review or other "prestige journals", unless of course one wants to display academic snobbery.

Lim does not seem to agree with my analysis of the recession's impact on developing countries but again he does not put forward any reasons why. He makes vague and indeed rhetorical references to countries which have "put their houses in order." Which countries? Nor does he spell out what "unctad line" I am supposed to be guilty of swallowing. Is he disputing that many developing countries badly hit by the recession were those whose terms of trade declined substantially?

Again, his criticism that I have ignored the impact of domestic policies sounds petty. As explained in the Introduction, this is after all a small book expanded from a seminar paper, confined to explaining the course and effect of the recession in Malaysia. It does not pretend to be a tome on Malaysian economic development analysing in detail the merits and demerits of recent government policy.

Lim also terms my outline of an alternative development strategy as a "recipe for disaster." Once more, he refrains from explaining why, except for making derogatory remarks on Burma. My main argument is that structural weaknesses in both the world and domestic economy are forcing us to rethink current development structures and policies since our growth prospects are now severely constrained. In this context of lower growth than in the past, the issues of poverty, income distribution and thus the rational allocation of scarce resources have taken on increased importance. Thus, I argued, there is now a need to orientate the economy more towards the production and provision of basic goods and services, since a large portion of the Malaysian population are still living in poverty. The alternative development strategy proposed in the book - a development oriented towards basic needs, greater social equity, harmony with the ecology, and greater self-reliance - is a fast emerging concept in development studies. By dismissing this integrated view of development as "mere rhetoric", Lim indicates his narrow perception of Economics as being separated from other aspects of social life, including human values, social relations and ecological balance.

In the past two years, even top government officials, including those in the Central Bank and the Treasury, have called for a reduction in Malaysia's external dependence, greater reliance on "domestic engines of growth", and a reorientation towards basic needs. I would argue that the reorientation of development strategy is now the most important item on the nation's economic agenda if Malaysia is to avoid an external debt-induced crisis of the Mexico-Brazil-Argentina-Philippines type.

This does not necessarily mean we should copy the "Burma model." As the book argues, what is needed is not autarky, but "a proper mix between production for the domestic market and production for exports." The recession has shown up that there is currently overweightage in dependence on exports, so that the emphasis should be shifted more towards production for domestic use. This should of course be done carefully and rationally in areas such as food production and domestic pharmaceutical drug production where efficient substitution can be carried out. It does not mean approval of high tariff protection for grossly inefficient industries. The book does not claim that building up a Malaysian model of alternative development is a simple matter. On the contrary, it is agonisingly complex. But I believe if we do not do so, there will be greater economic problems and social tensions ahead.

Khor Kok Peng