

ULASAN BUKU/BOOK REVIEW

Development Policies and Income Inequality in Peninsular Malaysia oleh Jomo K.S. dan Ishak Shaari, *Siri Monograf: SM Bil. 1, Institut Pengajian Tinggi, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur 1986.*

Penerbitan daripada Jomo dan Ishak Shaari merupakan satu yang berlarutan di dalam arena ketidaksamaan yang mereka sering pelopori dan dikenali. Monograf pertama Institut Pengajian Tinggi, Universiti Malaya setebal 115 muka dibahagikan ke dalam 6 bab mencerminkan usaha 2 orang akademik ke arah menerapkan pengertian ke atas asal usul ketidaksamaan di dalam pengagihan pendapatan yang pada amnya mereka asaskan kepada dasar-dasar pembangunan.

Di dalam bab pengenalan, mereka memajukan faktor yang mempengaruhi pengagihan pendapatan di Semenanjung Malaysia terutamanya selepas zaman penjajahan. Terdapat 3 bahagian yang merumuskan ketidaksamaan pendapatan. Bahagian pertama membawa pembaca kepada era penjajahan yang mula membentuk ketidaksamaan pendapatan, punca serta bentuk ketidaksamaan warisan zaman penjajahan sementara bahagian 2 menawarkan arah aliran serta bentuk pengagihan pendapatan antara kaum, sesama kaum serta hubungannya antara pendapatan dan kebajikan ekonomi. Bahagian terakhir membincangkan kesan-kesan sistem 'fiscal' dan belanjawan awam terhadap pengagihan pendapatan.

Di dalam bab pertama "The Malaysian Economy in Perspective" kedua-dua penulis telah membincangkan asal usul kedudukan ekonomi negara dengan berpandukan aspek-aspek sejarah. Apa yang penting kita dapat lihat di dalam bab ini adalah "concept of dependent capitalist economy."

Di antara lainnya bab ini menerangkan mengapa terdapat perbezaan di antara Pantai Timur dan Pantai Barat dan di antara sektor ekonomi serta berasaskan kumpulan etnik. Di samping itu juga mereka telah menitikberatkan tentang usaha yang dijalankan semenjak negara kita merdeka dan bagaimana usaha tersebut telah dipengaruhi oleh parti-parti politik yang bersatu untuk mendapat nikmat daripada "dependent capitalist economic relations". Penulis telah merumuskan bahawa dengan munculnya Dasar Ekonomi Baru sejak 1970 maka terdapat perbezaan pengagihan yang agak ketara di dalam peruntukan belanjawan negara yang buat pertama kalinya memberi keutamaannya kepada pembasmian kemiskinan diikuti dengan penyusunan semula masyarakat tanpa menitikberatkan ketidaksamaan pengagihan di dalam sesuatu kumpulan etnik. Mereka juga menunjukkan bagaimana ketumbuhan ekonomi Malaysia begitu impresif sekali baik daripada pengeluaran kasar Negara, pekerjaan dan penambahan hasil negara dan bagaimana masalah "Imbangan Pembayaran" bertambah rumit dengan kemelesetan ekonomi dunia di awal tahun '80an. Mereka seterusnya dalam muka surat 14, merujuk bagaimana "Imbangan Pembayaran" telah menjadi satu masalah yang besar dengan sebahagian daripada belanjawan negara diperuntukan semata-mata untuk menjelaskan hutang negara.

Saranan yang mereka kemukakan itu kurang konkrit dan lebih bercorak kenyataan am kerana sebahagian besar apa yang mereka nyatakan itu tidak

dapat didepankan dengan program-program yang khusus untuk dilaksanakan secara praktikal. Misalnya mereka mahukan Malaysia menambahkan lagi "commitment" untuk berdikari ataupun "walking on two legs" bagi membolehkan negara berdikari, seterusnya mereka menambah bahawa:

"In principle, the Malaysian government's recent commitment to heavy industrialization can provide the balance and basis for a more coherent and integrated national economic structure capable of 'walking on two legs'. Unfortunately, however, the choice of industries announced so far (e.g. steel, cement, petrochemicals, motorcar) may actually deepen technological dependence in some cases, while loading Malaysia with dubiously viable industries, which are losing money or are otherwise unacceptable elsewhere" (m.s. 15).

Walaupun apa yang mereka sarankan adalah pengalaman daripada negara Jepun malangnya mereka tidak menyambung ide tersebut kepada aspek-aspek yang tegas, yang dapat digunakan sebagai asas untuk mengeluarkan negara daripada kemelesetan dan seterusnya untuk menambahkan lagi keupayaannya untuk membangun dan berdikari.

Di dalam bab ke 2 berjudul "Income Distribution-Estimation Exercises" penulis cuba memberikan kajian agihan pendapatan, aliran dan bentuk selepas kemerdekaan. Penganalisaan dikaitkan dengan kumpulan etnik dan perbezaan di antara kawasan luarbandar dan perbandaran. Sepertimana yang mereka bentangkan itu, andaian yang telah mereka gunakan adalah berpatutan. Ketidaksamaan pendapatan telah bertambah runcing sejak kemerdekaan dan keruncingan ini lebih ketara di dalam kawasan perbandaran daripada kawasan luarbandar. Ketidaksamaan di dalam pengagihan pendapatan adalah disebabkan oleh perbezaan di dalam kumpulan etnik dan bukan antara kumpulan etnik.

Satu penemuan yang juga menarik berasaskan kepada peningkatan pendapatan dan pembasmian kemiskinan di dalam tahun 70an yang dapat dikaitkan dengan penerusan perbezaan di dalam pengagihan pendapatan. Rumusan yang boleh telah didapati daripada bab ini ialah penumpuan pemilihan kekayaan di Semenanjung menunjuk bahawa hanya segelintir ahli masyarakat menguasai banyak kekayaan di dalam sektor terpenting ekonomi. Ini dapat dilihat dengan "gini ratio" yang agak tinggi (0.91).

Bab ke 3 juga meneliti kesan-kesan dasar "fiskal" sama ada ke atas pengagihan pendapatan ataupun pengagihan belanjawan negara, dengan berpanduan kepada kajian McLure 1972, Snodgrass 1975 dan 1980, Andic 1977 dan Ismail 1977 dan 1980. Ismail telah menunjukkan bahawa kesan daripada dasar "fiskal" ini lebih mendatangkan manfaat kepada golongan yang berada daripada golongan yang tidak berada. Regresiviti lebih bertumpu di dalam kumpulan etnik bukan bumiputera berbanding dengan kumpulan bumiputera.

Sementara itu penulisan Thillainathan (1976) mengenai Felda serta penemuan oleh Mehmet juga dirujuk. Akan tetapi saya rasa ini merupakan

sesuatu yang terkeluar daripada konteks perbincangan. Walau bagaimanapun, kita semua bersetuju bahawa Felda merupakan sebuah agensi yang membelanjakan banyak peruntukan negara untuk membangun rancangan-rancangannya, kedudukannya di dalam bab ini masih dirasakan "out of place".

Di dalam bab ke 4, berjudul "Poverty Eradication Programme" kita menghadapi beberapa masalah terutamanya rancangan pembasmian kemiskinan dibentangkan secara "in passing". Andaian-andaian yang telah dikemukakan serta kesimpulan yang dikemukakan lebih bercorak spekulatif. Ini adalah kerana bab ini tidak berjaya untuk menentukan corak dan bentuk program menilai sama ada sesuatu program berjaya menyelesaikan masalah yang mana ianya direkabentuk. Misalnya peranan kesan projek-projek Pembangunan Pertanian Bersepadu ataupun IADP tidak dibincangkan langsung walhal sebahagian besar daripada peruntukan pembangunan negara di dalam sektor pertanian (di luar daripada Felda dan rancangan dan pembangunan kawasan) berbentuk program IADP.

Perhatian harus diberikan kepada usaha meningkatkan hasil yang merupakan satu program di mana Kerajaan turut berusaha untuk meningkatkan hasil terutamanya rancangan tanaman semula getah, kelapa sawit, kelapa dan sebagainya. Kelemahan yang ketara adalah ketidakupayaan penulis untuk mengikat dengan teliti beberapa andaian yang telah mereka kemukakan. Kalau kita tinjau penulisan Gibbons di dalam monografinya berjudul "Paddy Poverty and Public Policy" kita akan dapat menilai bahawa program kerajaan berupaya untuk menambahkan pendapatan, untuk memberikan kemudahan-kemudahan asas walaupun saki baki golongan miskin yang tertinggal itu masih banyak dan memerlukan rancangan yang lebih sesuai.

Di dalam bab program pembasmian kemiskinan, penulis telah menarik perhatian kepada pesawah, pekebun kecil getah Risda dan Felda. Apa yang perlu di dalam kontek ini adalah untuk mereka memberi alasan yang lebih konkrit untuk membantu memperkukuhkan lagi andaian mereka yang menyatakan bahawa kadar kemiskinan menurun disebabkan terutamanya oleh kenaikan di dalam harga getah. Kita harus ingat bahawa rancangan tanaman semula getah misalnya telah berjaya meningkatkan hasil pekebun kecil sehingga hampir dengan produktiviti yang terdapat di dalam sektor estet dan rumusan ini telah dapat dilihat daripada kajian CPR-RISDA.

Di dalam bab ke 5 penulis membawa pembaca kepada beberapa program yang bercorak pengagihan semula. Pada hakikatnya dasar Kerajaan bukanlah berbentuk pengagihan semula tetapi lebih bercorak peningkatan produktiviti. Ini adalah dua isu yang agak berbeza. Di dalam penganalisaan pesawah yang melibatkan 20% daripada penduduk dan 32% daripada sektor pertanian (yang melibatkan lebih 3000,000 keluarga dalam mana 95% daripadanya adalah bumiputera) mereka telah menerangkan dengan panjang lebar peruntukan-peruntukan yang banyak terutamanya ke kawasan padi seperti Muda, Kemubu, Kerian-Sungai Manik dan Kawasan barat laut Selangor.

Bagi golongan pekebun kecil getah pula, mereka juga mendatangkan andaian bahawa pengurangan kadar kemiskinan di dalam golongan ini bukanlah disebabkan oleh penglibatan Kerajaan untuk mempertingkatkan lagi produktiviti dalam sektor tersebut. Mereka merumuskan bahawa sebahagian besar daripada pengurangan kadar kemiskinan itu disebabkan oleh harga. Kita memang bersetuju harga itu penting tetapi hasil getah juga meningkat dan cantuman dua faktor ini yang mempengaruhi kedudukan kemiskinan dan pengiraannya.

Bahagian Perindustrian Bab membawa kita kepada sejarah perindustrian negara terutamanya dari segi pengeluarannya daripada "import substitution" bertukar kepada "eksport orientation." Penulis juga menunjukkan perbezaan di antara "Neoclassical" dengan "Marginalist" berkaitan dengan pulangan kepada tenaga buruh dan juga bagaimana peningkatan di dalam nilai buruh tidak begitu menarik disebabkan oleh faktor-faktor tertentu di antaranya undang-undang yang berkuatkuasa yang menghalang ataupun melemahkan peranan kesatuan sekerja. Mereka juga menunjukkan bagaimana "import substitution" ini dijalankan dan bagaimana dasar tersebut telah berubah kepada satu dasar yang mementingkan 'eksport'.

Penulis juga meneliti dengan panjang lebar kajian pekerja dan perbezaan telah dikemukakan bagi membuktikan bahawa pulangan kepada tenaga buruh adalah tidak begitu tinggi berbanding dengan pulangan kepada pemilik industri.

Mereka juga menyentuh tentang penyusunan semula pemilikan dan bagaimana dasar ini telah dikuatkuasakan melalui pelaksanaan Dasar Ekonomi Baru yang memperuntukkan 30% pemilikan bumiputera. Di samping itu mereka juga menunjukkan bahawa terdapat berbagai Agensi Di Luar Belanjawan (OBA), dan badan-badan Kerajaan yang mempertingkatkan lagi perindustrian di kawasan-kawasan tertentu. Berbagai agensi Kerajaan seperti MADA, KADA, DARA, KETENGAH dan lain-lainnya dibincangkan. Setiap negeri mempunyai Perbadanan Kemajuan Ekonomi Negeri yang bertujuan untuk melibatkan "state" di dalam usaha perindustrian.

Salah satu penemuan yang sungguh menarik boleh didapati di dalam muka surat 81 di mana penulis dengan terang pengagihan lebih menumpu ke arah penyusunan semula pemilikan di dalam sektor koperat berbanding dengan peruntukan program pembasmian kemiskinan. Ini mereka buktikan seperti berikut:

"Since the NEP's inception, the government has increasingly shifted emphasis in terms of allocation of funds from poverty eradication towards restructuring society, as can be seen in Table 29. The ratio of allocations for restructuring compared to poverty eradications rose from 21.6% for the Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975 to 37.3% for the Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980. The ratio of the original allocations under the Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985 rose to 47.2%, but with the Mid-Term Review, announced in

March 1984, it has risen to 62.7%. However, the ratio of estimated expenditures so far under the Fourth Malaysia Plan, i.e. during 1981-83 has been even higher, at 80.7%".

Walaupun ini merupakan satu penemuan yang menarik dalam mana peruntukan belanjawan negara telah berubah daripada kemiskinan kepada pengagihan semula, apa yang penting bagi penulis adalah untuk menentukan apakah bidang yang boleh dikaitkan arena pembasmian kemiskinan dan apakah arena di dalam sektor penyusunan semula. Hanya dengan memberi pendekatan dengan lebih teliti barulah andaian sedemikian rupa akan lebih kukuh dan boleh digunakan untuk menekan pihak-pihak tertentu supaya mengagihkan semula kehendak tersebut supaya dasar pembasmian kemiskinan diutamakan. Perubahan kepada pembasmian kemiskinan juga bagi mereka mempunyai dilemma kerana mereka merumuskan bahawa "In any case, shifting the emphasis from poverty eradication to restructuring society would tend to increase inequality within the Malay community". Dilemma kedudukan tenaga buruh di Malaysia boleh dikatakan bercorak universal kerana terdapatnya tenaga kerja yang lebih murah selalunya daripada kawasan-kawasan yang kurang maju adalah merupakan satu 'feature' utama di dalam sistem kapitalis lebih-lebih lagi di dalam arena "dependent capitalist economic relations". Ini dapat dilihat walaupun di negara-negara Eropah di mana sebahagian besar daripada tenaga buruh tertentu datang daripada Afrika Utara atau negara-negara kurang maju di Eropah pada keseluruhannya.

Di dalam bab terakhir mereka mengutarakan berbagai-bagai cadangan supaya kedudukan ekonomi negara tidak lagi begitu terbuka sehinggakan apa yang berlaku di pasaran dunia akan menyebabkan berbagai masalah di dalam kedudukan sosio-ekonomi negara. Walau bagaimanapun, alternatif yang lebih saksama yang mereka kemukakan bercorak kurang penelitian. Misalnya di dalam juka surat 100 mereka mahukan supaya koperasi pekerja mengendalikan institusi-institusi penting dalam ekonomi.

Salah satu saranan yang mereka kemukakan ialah berbentuk pengagihan semula tanah. Ini merupakan satu cara koperatif berasaskan "economic democracy". Ini merupakan rumusan mereka di dalam muka surat 101 yang kalau dilihat dengan lebih mendalam, lebih bercorak slogan yang susah untuk dilaksanakan kerana kita tidak mempunyai angkuh-angkubah tertentu di dalam usaha kita untuk mempraktikkannya.

Pada keseluruhan kita dapati bahawa buku ini merupakan satu pendekatan ke arah memahami dasar Kerajaan serta ketidaksamaan di dalam pengagihan pendapatan. Walaupun mereka cuba sedaya upaya mencerminkan bahawa usaha-usaha sekarang kurang memadai dalam ertikata pengagihan pendapatan, kita dapati bahawa sebahagian besar daripada usaha mereka itu berjaya hanya untuk memastikan apakah punca masalah negara kini.

Di samping itu juga alternatif yang mereka sarankan terutamanya di dalam bahagian kesimpulan mereka merupakan pernyataan dasar yang samar yang hanya dapat digunakan sebagai landasan sahaja. Mereka haruslah berusaha dengan lebih untuk mendatangkan pendekatan yang lebih konkrit supaya ianya boleh dipraktikkan di dalam arena pembangunan nasional.

Pendekatan kita dapati bahawa penulisan Jomo dan Ishak ini mendepankan berbagai hipotesis yang perlu diuji dengan lebih terperinci supaya andaian-andaian tersebut boleh diterima untuk membolehkan dasar yang baru yang lebih berkesan dikemukakan.

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Spirits of Resistance & Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia by Aihwa Ong. New York, State University of New York Press, 1987.

Amongst the growing literature on women in Malaysia, this book is particularly successful in advancing interest in the theory and problem of women's work both within the under parameters of the 'sociology of work' and the concern in women studies with women's 'value' and 'status' in history and culture. Mooted in post-Marxist concepts where culture regains favour as a unit of analysis' against class, the author criticises earlier approaches which see the proletarianization of rural Malays as leading to a political movement which replaces ethnic hostilities with class consciousness (pg. 201 citing Zawawi and Shahril, 1983). Ethnicity and culture continue to maintain their hold on the mode of social relations which unfolds in the nitty gritty of industry and factory work. Hence the concern for the 'changing sense of personhood and of things' and the social construction of the 'self' against the 'other' vis a vis the cultural changes emerging in a capitalist society. Proletarianization together with cultural conformity and covert resistance becomes the Malay and female way of seeing and doing. Ethnicity and gender take the spirits of resistance from the past into the present making ghost-busting the concern of the future, as the management makes its determined bid to preserve the continuity of patterns of work and industry. Indeed the approach differs from those previously attempted in women studies in the area of the sociology and anthropology of work in the Malaysian or Southeast Asian context, for the author attempts to weave a cultural analysis of work and industry into the fabric of industrialization which supports gender hierarchies and female oppression.

Some sections of the study probably deserve specific comment. Field investigation covers the district of Kuala Langat in Selangor, more specifically, in the *mukim* (sub-district) of Telok where most Malays are mainly of Javanese ancestry. This discussion ties in neatly with the earlier record of the colonial history of the Malay peasantry, which explains their gradual incorporation into the world capitalist system, relationships between pre-existing systems of power relations and women's work, variants of sexuality in Malay women resulting from the opposing forces of Westernization and Islam and the legacy of superstitions and mistrust they cling to in the world of hard labour and competition. Personal and group alienation exacerbated by latent and manifest hostilities towards the dominant sex become associated in real and symbolic terms with the

prevailing injustices of the system and give rise to mass hysteria and the dramatic representation of culture and ideology in a new format and strategy for survival.

However, the author's build up to the phenomenology of mass hysteria and spirit-possession ends on a disappointing note. Only in Chapter 9, the last chapter before the conclusion, is the phenomenon discussed in some detail, through secondary accounts from interviews with the management staff and girls from the factory. Though this does give us an idea of its patterns of manifestation, its effect on the victim, on observers, the management or the family, anthropologists researching extensively on hysteria, mass hysteria, spirit possession, trances, etc., cannot help but have a feeling of uneasiness about the thrust of the research and the research process itself at this stage.

The author is concerned with the cultural constructions and reconstructions of phenomena relating to work and gender in history. Not much is revealed, however, about the constructions of the female psyche in the village outside the factory, the way in which young girls and women derive support systems from one another and within the family and community, the way in which hostilities and frustrations of Malay women surface in mental and emotive states relating to individual hysteria (*terasuk*, *masuk hantu*, *kena buat*, *masuk pelesit*) and the common mechanisms of redress sought by women from elders within the family and kindred groups. These constructions of age and gender in traditionally hierarchichal situations may be directly relevant to the phenomenon of mass hysteria developing from within male dominant structures in formal employment.'

Ong does not subscribe to the 'live-cycle' approach which she finds inherently constraining in her broader analysis of culture, gender and class but a deeper examination of spirit-possession and spiritualism might enable her to differentiate the stateless and nubile *anak dara sunti* from the comfortably married, as a problematic phase in socialization and child-rearing when contrary social expectations zero in on the *anak dara sunti* sufficiently to cause her to assume states of hysteria in a visibly dramatic form. An *anak dara sunti* is frowned upon for being a *puteri lilin* ('candle princess', one who sits at home and does nothing) but is also severely criticized for being a *kaki jalan* or *bunga raya* (one who loves to roam about and socializes freely). She is stigmatized for being modern yet criticized for following Islamic or *dakwah* trends set by members of her peer-group. The only comparable age-group to her marginality, socially and ritually, are toddlers.

The combination of *adat* morality and work ethnics for young unmarried women creates predisposing factors for hysteria which become massive in situations where hundreds together experience similar emotions of confusion and hostility - hence its occurrence in public residential type schools, religious-type schools residential or non-residential, telecommunication offices (where most telephone operators are Malay women) and factories. The factory situation with its obviously impersonal and uncompassionate structure, lack of support systems and male authority aggravates the situation further thereby introducing a specific kind of 'spiritual resistance' against the representations, of capitalism and the world order. In a sense these girls are

resisting their own cultural peculiarities as much as using it as a ploy against the impassive management.

These comments are not intended to suggest that the study is fatally limited as a contemporary ethnographic study. On the contrary, it is probably the first of its kind in making a serious attempt to probe into the cultural fabric of Malay society and to connect it with women's work patterns and newly emerging family strategies. For this, the author deserves much praise and attention. This book should be strongly recommended for courses in women studies in universities.

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Ethnic Groups in Conflict by Donald L. Horowitz. Los Angeles: University of California Press Berkeley, 1985.

This is a very impressive book. Donald Horowitz, no stranger to academics in this country, has managed in this admittedly not too short book, to cover the most important areas pertaining to the causes of ethnic group conflict. These range from theories of the origins of ethnic group affiliations and relations to the political and military aspects of ethnicity. It is also a book rich in insight, valid generalizations and conclusions which may not be unhelpful to policy-makers. To both specialists and laymen in the field of race relations, this book should be indispensable reading. Space does not allow me to do real justice to the book, so I will only discuss theories he discusses that are of relevance to Malaysia.

One important contribution Horowitz makes to our understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and class is by making a simple distinction, that between what he calls ranked and unranked groups. Ranked groups are characterised by a coincidence of social class with ethnic origins such as are found in its extreme form, for example in that of black slavery under white masters. Unranked groups on the other hand consist of groups that cut across class divisions. Unlike ranked systems where, for example, all blacks are subordinated to all whites, an unranked group may have a trader from one ethnic group deferring to an aristocrat from the other ethnic group while a servant from this latter group may be subordinate to the same trader from the former group. The concept of unranked groups is of particular relevance to Malaysia.

In the main Horowitz believes that unranked groups, because they do not have a clearcut ideology of domination, may have a better chance of survival than ranked groups as there is a global trend towards the decline of ethnic subordination. When applied to the Malaysian case, one finds that this is basically valid though one can argue that for the stability of race relations in the short run, one should distinguish between ideology and reality. Thus it can be argued that much of the racial tension before 1969 arose from the fact that

there was no clearcut dominant group. The Malays, who felt then that the Chinese were not only unwilling to share their economic power but were in fact a political threat to them, were inclined to actions which may upset the status quo. But after 1969 when they were substantially able to confine the Chinese to a secondary political position much of the racial tension may have been reduced. On the other hand, while the Chinese may have been realistic enough to accept the limits imposed by this fact of domination, it is another thing altogether to accept the ideology of domination as evidenced by the furious reaction of many non-Malay intellectuals when the ideal of Malay domination was explicitly floated by one prominent Malay politician recently. Actual domination cannot be legitimized in the long run but has to be disguised or legitimated as a short term necessity towards achieving a long term ideal of equality or whatever.

Horowitz also makes another very important point. On the basis of his encyclopaedic knowledge of ethnically divided societies in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, he concludes that the democratic system is the best of all systems for ameliorating ethnic conflict while by contrast, "regimes that dispense with the discipline of democratic elections, in the interest of preserving ethnic harmony, typically sacrifice harmony as well as democracy" (page 682). I think this point should be given the greatest possible stress, and that anti-democratic proponents should be aware of the dismal record of military and authoritarian regimes in maintaining racial harmony in the Third World.

That being so, how can the dangers of ethnic bifurcation be avoided given the tendency for political parties in a democracy to be identified with ethnic groups because of the need to make ethnic appeals in order to win competitive elections. This, of course, was the substance of Soekarno's criticism against parliamentary democracy in Indonesia. But where Soekarno advocated guided democracy, Horowitz recommends two structural safeguards; the adoption of a federal system and certain electoral arrangements.

In a federal system not all ethnic issues converge on the centre of the political system. Some of them are likely to be focussed on the state level thus taking off some of the heat from the centre. Horowitz also discusses other aspects of a federal arrangement and those which pertain to ethnically homogeneous or ethnically heterogeneous units or states in the federal system are very illuminating. In India in the case of Andhra Pradesh, a state of Telugu speakers merged with Tamil - majority Madras, there existed the problem of language conflict. Yet after a separate Andhra came about in 1953, language conflict was superseded by struggle between the Kammas and Reddy castes, both Telugu, to control the state. The creation of an ethnically homogeneous Andhra thus enabled caste struggle to supersede language struggle. In other cases where groups are territorially intermixed, heterogeneous units may be recommended. In the case of Malaysia, an unwritten agreement that gave the Chinese a preminent voice in Penang mitigated to some extent Chinese resentment of their reduced influence or even exclusion from the centre. Thus federal systems may promote intraethnic competition and exacerbate subethnic divisions, in addition to encouraging interethnic cooperation on the state level.

Horowitz is correct in making this general point but federalism is essentially an American device which works well in the United States but may not in developing countries. The expulsion of Singapore in 1965 suggests the failure of the federal system to accommodate Singapore within Malaysia. However, Horowitz does discuss some of the special conditions needed for a federal system or regional autonomy to take hold in his section on separation.

One also wonders whether federalism, with its corollary that it works best in big countries with big populations where there can be some meaningful power which can be left to the federal units, will work as well in small countries with small populations which are ethnically divided. In which case, one should consider his second suggestion, that of devising electoral arrangements, which could be based on proportional representation, first past the post system or whatever. The idea is to achieve five aims. They are to prevent a majority ethnic group from permanent domination; to induce a majority ethnic group to behave moderately towards other groups and engage in ethnic bargaining; to encourage the formation of multi ethnic coalitions; to prevent bifurcation and the permanent exclusion of the minority, and to reduce the disparity between votes won and seats won so as to reduce the possibility that a minority in an ethnically plural society can by itself gain a majority of seats. In discussing the practice of all these, he draws examples from many countries, among them Lebanon, Nigeria, Guyana and Sri Lanka. He concludes that many of these aims can be achieved in ethnically divided societies if the electoral arrangements are right.

The above are but only some of the many insights Horowitz gives us. His book will certainly take its place as one of the more important books on ethnic relations to have been published.

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